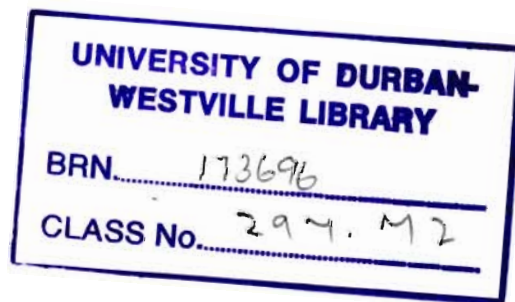


# JIHĀD IN ISLAM

by

Mahomed Abdus Salaam Ebrahim Khan

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY  
in the Department of Islamic Studies in the Faculty of Arts at the University of Durban-  
Westville.



SUPERVISOR: PROFESSOR SYED SALMAN NADVI

JOINT SUPERVISOR: DR. ABUL FADL MOHSIN EBRAHIM

DATE SUBMITTED: JANUARY 1995

**Dedicated to the loving memory of my beloved parents  
Ebrahim Jehanghir and Ruqayya Bibi**

# CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
INTRODUCTION	iv
CHAPTER ONE: <i>JIHĀD</i> IN THE <i>QUR'ĀN</i> , <i>HADĪTH</i> AND <i>FIQH</i> LITERATURE	1
1.1 Definitions of the Term <i>Jihād</i>	2
1.2 The <i>Qur'ān</i> Encourages <i>Jihād</i>	5
1.3 The Infidels, the Hypocrites and <i>Jihād</i>	7
1.4 <i>Jihād</i> in <i>Hadīth</i> Literature	9
1.5 <i>Jihād</i> in <i>Fiqh</i> Literature	12
1.6 The <i>Khawārij</i> and <i>Jihād</i>	20
1.7 The <i>Shī'ah</i> and <i>Jihād</i>	21
CHAPTER TWO: CATEGORIES OF <i>JIHĀD</i>	25
2.1 <i>Jihād bi al-Sayf</i> or <i>Qitāl fī Sabīl Allāh</i>	27
2.2 <i>Jihād bi al-Māl</i>	39
2.3 <i>Jihād bi al-Nafs</i>	44
2.4 <i>Jihād bi al-'Ilm</i>	56
CHAPTER THREE: <i>JIHĀD</i> IN WESTERN LITERATURE AND REASONS FOR THE DISTORTION OF THE CONCEPT OF <i>JIHĀD</i>	60
3.1 <i>Jihād</i> As Depicted in Western Literature	61

i

① Introduction  
① Definition of Term Jihād  
②  
③ Categories of Jihād  
① - ④  
④

3.2 The Message of <i>Jihād</i> in the Makkan and Madīnan Revelations	73
3.3 The Expansion of Islam	79
<b>CHAPTER FOUR: JIHĀD IN CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM SOCIETY</b>	
4.1. <i>Jihād</i> in the Late Nineteenth Century	91
4.2 <i>Jihād</i> in the Twentieth Century	95
4.2.1 Afghanistan	95
4.2.2 The 1979 Revolution in Iran	98
4.2.3 The Crisis in the Gulf	101
4.2.4 Bosnia	108
4.3 Qadianism	111
4.4 <i>Jihād</i> in the Writings of Selected Twentieth Century Muslims	116
4.5 <i>Jihād</i> and <i>Tasawwuf</i>	123
<b>CONCLUSION</b>	129
<b>TRANSLITERATION TABLE</b>	134
<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	135

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am most grateful to *Allāh* (SWT) for having granted me the strength and guidance in the completion of this dissertation. I am also grateful to my late parents for encouraging me to pursue further studies.

I am indebted to my teacher and promoter, Professor Syed Salman Nadvi, Head, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Durban-Westville, for his guidance and genuine concern during the course of my studies. The completion of this thesis would not have been possible without the encouragement and incisive criticism of Dr. Abul Fadl Mohsin Ebrahim, my joint-supervisor, senior lecturer, Department of Islamic Studies, University of Durban -Westville.

I must express my appreciation to the teachers and students of *Madrasah 'Arabiyyah Islāmiyyah* (Azaadville) for their assistance with some of the sources in the library of the *Madrasah*. I must also thank my friend, *Mawlānā* Junaid Adam of Durban for rendering financial assistance and for furnishing me with the relevant Arabic sources.

I am also grateful to the Lenasia Teacher's Centre and Mr. Yusuf Mohamed of The Southern Life Association for the use of their computers.

Finally, I must acknowledge my gratitude to my wife Shehraaz and members of my family and friends who have been supportive throughout the period of researching and writing this dissertation.

## INTRODUCTION

[ The word *jihād*, derived from the verb *jāhada* means "to strive", "to struggle" or "to exert oneself to the utmost" but in the strict terminology of the *Sharī'ah*, *jihād* means to strive and to struggle to the utmost in the path of *Allāh* (*jihād fī sabīl Allāh*). The sources of Islamic Law have accorded *jihād* a most significant status in Islam. The *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth* have used the word *jihād* in a much wider sense than has been presumed but in *Fiqh* literature, *jihād* is used mainly in the sense of *qitāl* (fighting) because of the importance of this form of *jihād*. This is discussed in chapter one. The views of the *Khawārij* and the *Shī'ah* in regards to *jihād* are also mentioned in that chapter.

Since *jihād* means to strive and to struggle to the utmost in the path of *Allāh*, *jihād* can take many forms:

1. Striving to defend Islam and Islamic territories by fighting against forces of aggression in the battlefield. This is called *jihād bi al-sayf* or *qitāl fī sabīl Allāh*, that is, fighting in the way of *Allāh*.
2. Striving with one's wealth, i.e. spending one's wealth in the furtherance of the Cause of Islam. This is known as *jihād bi al-māl*.
3. Striving against one's carnal desires and evil temptations in order to achieve self-purification and inculcating the spirit of sacrifice. This is called *jihād bi al-naḥs*. Thus the

purpose of chapter two is to prove that in Islamic literature, the term *jihād* does not refer exclusively to fighting but that *jihād* also refers to other forms of striving sanctioned by Islam. Fighting in the way of *Allāh* is one aspect of *jihād*, not the only one as is erroneously understood today.

Ideological confrontations are not uncommon in our everchanging world and Islam has faced confrontation since its inception. The confrontations increased with the spread of Islam in the Western countries and the early European encounters with Islam on the battlefield. This was especially so in the post-Crusades' era which was when the term *jihād* was misconceived in the exclusive sense of "holy war". The purpose of chapter three is, therefore, to depict how *jihād* is defined in Western literature and the reasons for the distortion of the concept of *jihād*.

Although the Muslim World experienced moral and spiritual decadence in the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century, Islam still saw the emergence of such leaders who saved Islam and the Muslims from annihilation by waging *jihād* against the forces of aggression.

In view of the fact that the followers of Islam are currently involved in local and global politics, it is inevitable for Islam to come into conflict with ideologies alien to it. These conflicts led to wars which in turn were seen as *jihād* by Muslims since the strife was against non-Muslims as in the case of Afghanistan, Iran, the Gulf Crisis, Kashmir, Palestine and Bosnia. Were the Muslims in these countries involved in *jihād* as sanctioned by Islam? How did Muslims in other parts of the world react in these circumstances? These issues are discussed in chapter four.

Thus the aims of this study are to:

- a) determine the meaning and scope of *jihād* in Islam;
- b) analyse the historical events which eventually led to the distortions of the original meaning and scope of *jihād* and the assumption that *jihād* is synonymous with "holy war" exclusively; and
- c) explain the various categories of *jihād* as mentioned in the original sources in order to prove that *jihād* in Islam has a much wider connotation than is generally understood today.

In the course of fulfilling the objectives of this thesis, the original sources, namely, the relevant *Qur'ānic* verses and their exegeses, *Aḥadīth* (sing. *Hadīth* i.e. Sayings of the Prophet) pertaining to the different forms of *jihād* and *Fiqh* literature dealing with the rules and regulations of *jihād* have been consulted.

Encyclopaedias and other works of the orientalisists have also been cited in order to elucidate their misconceptions of the term *jihād*.

As far as was possible, original historical sources were consulted in order to shed light on particular events and where it was not possible, relevant secondary sources in English have been perused. Articles appearing in various magazines which covered the Gulf Crisis and the Bosnian issue have been heavily relied upon. It must also be conceded that the monumental Urdu work of the late *Mawlānā* Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī's *Sīrat al-Nabī* was an invaluable source of reference.



During the course of writing this dissertation, it was observed that most of the relevant Islamic literature restrict discussion on *jihād* to a single chapter or paragraph and moreover discussions are generally confined to *jihād bi al-sayf*. Thus the writer of this dissertation tries to explain all the aspects of *jihād* as it should be understood.

Finally, the international system of transliteration is used which is different than that used in the Encyclopaedia of Islam. A table of the system of transliteration used in this dissertation appears at the end before the bibliography.

## CHAPTER ONE

### ***JIHĀD IN THE QUR'ĀN, ḤADĪTH AND FIQH LITERATURE***

There is no doubt that worship (*'ibādah*) plays a fundamental role in the life of a Muslim. For a believer in any religious tradition, worship occupies a central position in his/her life. On the other hand, worship has no value for a non-believer unless who is totally oblivious to the existence of a Supreme Being. In the *Qur'ān*, the imperative to engage in worship is universal:

*"O mankind! Worship your Lord Who created you and those before you."<sup>1</sup>*

*"And I have not created jinns and men except that they worship Me."<sup>2</sup>*

Through the medium of worship one is drawn closer to the Creator in view of the fact that the worshipper's mind is totally focussed on his Creator. In the above verses, therefore, the call of the Almighty is addressed to the entire mankind commanding them to worship the Lord Who created everything.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:21

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 51:56

3. Sayyid Qutub, *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, n.d., Vol. 6, p. 3387.

One ought to note that worship cannot be confined merely to the fundamentals of Islam<sup>1</sup>, viz. the *shahādah*, *ṣalāh*, *zakāh*, *ṣawm* and *ḥajj*, for, although they are important institutions, they do not comprise the entire aspect of the life of a Muslim and Islam in reality is not only a religion but a way of life.

There are different forms of worship that a Muslim may engage in and although some of these forms of worship do actually fall within the *fard* (compulsory) category of the fundamentals of Islam, yet they are nevertheless significant. For example, the *Qur'ān* exhorts Muslims to engage in *jihād* and salvation is assured for those who engage in this form of worship.

It is, therefore, important for every Muslim to understand exactly what is purported when *jihād* is commanded by *Allāh*. Likewise, it is imperative to point out that every act executed in accordance with the Laws of *Allāh* could fall within the parameters of *jihād*.



### 1.1 Definitions of the Term *Jihād*

[*Jihād*, an infinitive noun, derived from the verb *jāhada* means primarily "to strive" or "striving" or "to exert oneself to the utmost".

---

1. Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl al-Bukhārī, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Kitāb al-Īmān, Beirut, Dār al-'Arabiyyah, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 8; Abū al-Ḥusayn Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj ibn Muslim, *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, Kitāb al-Īmān, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 34.

Striving can take many forms and the word has been used widely in the *Qur'ān*, *Hadīth*<sup>1</sup> and *Fiqh*<sup>2</sup> literature. *Jihād* may be synonymous with fighting if it is used in the sense of physical combat as expressed in the following *Hadīth*:

"There is no *hijrah*<sup>3</sup> after the Conquest (of Makkah) but *jihād* and good intention."

This *Hadīth* is mentioned in *Lisān al-'Arab* where explanations are given for the meaning of *jihād* and its use in Islamic literature.<sup>4</sup> If the word *jihād* is used in the context of wealth, it would refer to striving with one's wealth, that is, spending in promoting the Cause of *Allāh*. However, it is generally accepted that *jihād* means striving and to give off to the best of one's ability.<sup>5</sup> The *Arabic-English Lexicon* gives the meaning of *jihād* as "the using or

- 
1. *Hadīth* (pl. *Aḥādīth*) comprises the sayings and actions of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), the sayings of the Companions of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and their actions sanctioned by the Prophet (s.a.w.s.).
  2. *Fiqh* means "understanding" but in the terminology of Islam, it refers to Islamic Law.
  3. The *hijrah* or migration of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and the Muslims from Makkah to Madīnah in 1 A.H./ 622 C.E. marks a significant period in the history of the early Muslims. The importance of the *hijrah* is such that the early Muslims chose to start their calendar from this event.
  4. Muḥammad ibn Mukarram ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'Arab*, Qum, Adab al-Hawzah, 140 A.H, Vol. 3, pp. 133-135; Muḥammad Murtaḍā al-Ḥusaynī al-Zabīdī, *Tāj al-'Arūs*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, n.d., Vol. 2, pp. 329-330.
  5. *ibid*, pp. 133-135; *ibid*, pp. 329-330.

exerting one's utmost power, efforts, endeavours or ability in contending with an object of approbation."<sup>1</sup> It also mentions the meaning of *mujāhada* (also derived from the verb *jāhada*) as "he fought with the enemy imposing upon himself difficulty or distress" or "ability to repel his enemy and his enemy doing likewise." Hence, the verb *jāhada* came to be used by Muslims to signify generally "he fought, warred or waged war."<sup>2</sup> Thus *jihād*, a derivative of the verb *jāhada*, means primarily all forms of striving.<sup>3</sup> In the strict terminology of the Islamic *Sharī'ah*, when the word *jihād* is used with the suffix *fī sabīl Allāh* (in the path of *Allāh*), then it would mean striving to the utmost (all forms of striving including the aspect of fighting) in the path of *Allāh*. In Islamic literature, the term *jihād* is used commonly. Again, this expression includes all forms of struggle, active and passive, in the path of *Allāh* and does not mean only "holy war". War or fighting is an aspect of *jihād* but not the only aspect as it is commonly understood. Where the *Qur'ān* likes to indicate the aspect of fighting in the path of God, it uses the term *qitāl fī sabīl Allāh*. Thus *qitāl*, that is, fighting, is an aspect of *jihād*, as explained above.

The word *jihād* in particular is found only four times in the *Qur'ān*. Altogether, derivatives of the verb *jāhada* and *j-h-d* appear forty two times.<sup>3</sup> *Jihād* deals with a personal effort to the utmost of one's ability, to struggle against all forms of evil, tyranny and oppression, corruption and injustices even if the injustices are perpetrated against non-Muslims. The above

---

1. Edward William Lane, *Arabic-English Lexicon*, New York, Frederick Unger Publishing, 1955, Book 1, Part 2, p. 473.

2. *ibid*, p. 473.

3. Muḥammad Fu'ād 'Abd al-Bāqī, *al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfāz al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*, Beirut, Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Turāth, n.d., pp. 182-183.

makes it clear that as far as the pure meaning of the word is concerned, jihād has no relation to warfare or fighting.

*Jihād* is the opposite of *qu'ūd* which means "sitting". The *Qur'ān* condemns *qu'ūd* because it denotes one's reluctance to uphold the commandments of *Allāh*. This is evident from the following verses:

*"Not equal are those who sit (al-qā'idūn) from among the Believers and receive no hurt and those who strive (al-mujāhidūn) in the path of Allāh with their wealth and their lives..."*<sup>1</sup>

*"When a sūrah (chapter) comes down enjoining them to believe in Allāh and to strive with His Messenger, those with wealth and influence among them ask you for exemption and say: Leave us (behind), we would be with those who sit" (al-qā'idūn).*<sup>2</sup>

From the above verses, one gathers that there is a difference between "striving" and "sitting". The former denotes active participation and the latter implies passivity or dormancy.<sup>3</sup>

## **1.2. The *Qur'ān* Encourages *Jihād***

Words which pertain to *jihād* or derivatives of the verb *jāhada* appear in different passages of the *Qur'ān*. It can further be stated that one may strive or exert oneself in many ways to uphold Islam. These ways are aptly pointed out in the *Qur'ān*:

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:95.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:86.

3. Sayyid Sulaymān Nadwī, *Sīrat al-Nabī*, Delhi, Dār al-Muṣannifīn, 1975, Vol. 5, p. 300.

"O Believers. Shall I guide you to a commerce that will save you from a painful torment. That you believe in Allāh and His Messenger and that you strive with your wealth and your lives, that is better for you, if you knew."<sup>1</sup>

This verse is a pointer to the fact that *jihād* is a direct way to Paradise and since material gain and love for the world are inherent in man, Allāh encourages the Believers by offering them Paradise and its bliss which is eternal in return for the benefits of this world which is in fact temporary.<sup>2</sup> The encouragement to strive are exemplified in that the Almighty promises to punish those who show hypocrisy and neglect where *jihād* is concerned.<sup>3</sup> The fact that a Muslim's eternal salvation depends on *jihād*<sup>4</sup> and that health and status are no excuses for neglecting the duty of engaging in *jihād*<sup>5</sup> are again indicative of the significance and importance given to *jihād* by Allāh. Therefore, irrespective of the category of *jihād* (*jihād bi al-sayf*, *jihād bi al-māl* or *jihād bi al-nafs*), it must be conceded that *jihād* does occupy a significant status in the *Qur'ān*.

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 61:10-11.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 87:16,17; *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān*, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 3894; Muḥammad Ra'fat Sa'īd, *Jund Allāh fī Ma'ārik Ramaḍān*, Riyāḍ, al-Taw'īyyah al-Islāmiyyah, 1985, p. 9.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:39; 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Qurṭubī, *al-Jāmi' al-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah, 1952, Vol. 8, pp. 140-142.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 3:142; 'Imād al-Dīn Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr, *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-Azīm*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, Vol. 1, p. 182.

5. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:141.

### 1.3. The Infidels, the Hypocrites and *Jihād*

*"O Prophet, strive against the infidels and the hypocrites and be firm against them."*<sup>1</sup>

The exegetists of the *Qur'ān* substantiate the commandment given to the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) in the above verse by citing a number of *Aḥādīth* which are relevant. There is one *Ḥadīth* mentioned in the *Tafsīr* of ibn Kathīr reported on the authority of 'Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, a cousin of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was sent with four swords: a sword for the pagans, a sword for the polytheists, a sword for the hypocrites and a sword for those who renounce Islam.<sup>2</sup> 'Abd Allāh ibn 'Abbās, another cousin of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and a renowned exegetist of his time, asserts that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was commanded to strive against the infidels with the sword, that is, fight them and to strive against the hypocrites with the tongue.<sup>3</sup>

*Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī*, another exegetist, maintains that there is no clear proof that *jihād* against the hypocrites was to be either with the tongue or the sword. In an attempt to shed light on this issue, he mentions a *Ḥadīth* which states that *jihād* can sometimes be with the hand, sometimes with the tongue and if that was not possible, the *mujāhid* should display his dislike for such an act on his face or the least would be to feel negative about it in his heart.

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:73; 66:9.

2. *ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr* , op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 381.

3. *ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 381.



Other *Aḥādīth* quoted in his work explain that *jihād* against the hypocrites means to enforce the rules of the *Shari'ah* upon them.<sup>1</sup> Let us consider the following:

1. *"Do not obey the disbelievers and strive with it (the Qur'an) a mighty striving"*<sup>2</sup> The reference here is to to make an effort of propagating Islam by means of explaining and spreading the teachings of the *Qur'an*.<sup>3</sup>
2. *"We have enjoined on man kindness to parents but if they (either of them) strive with you to join partners with Me, anything of which you have no knowledge, do not obey them..."*<sup>4</sup>

The conditions in Makkah were such that the early converts to Islam did not escape the persecution which also came from their parents. Although utmost respect and kindness is commanded for parents as far as the teachings of Islam are concerned, one cannot obey even parents in matters which are expressly against Islam, for example, polytheism.<sup>5</sup>

It becomes evident that the *Qur'ān* commands the upholding of *jihād* which is all-embracing.

---

1. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, *Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, Beirut, Dār al-Iḥyā' al-Turāth, n.d., Vol. 16, p. 135.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 25:52.

3. *ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr* , op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 321.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 29:8; 31:15.

5. *ibn Kathīr, Tafsīr* , Vol. 3, p. 405 and 445.

#### 1.4. *Jihād* in *Hadīth* Literature

Most of the Traditionists have used the term *jihād* in the exclusive sense of *qitāl* (fighting). This is because the other forms of *jihād*, that is *jihād bi al-māl* and *jihād bi al-nafs* could be executed in other ways whereas *jihād bi al-sayf* involved fighting in the battlefield where the lives of people were endangered. Besides, where the reference was to other forms of jihad, then it is qualified by *al-mal* or *al-nafs*.

*Hādīth* literature on *jihād* place emphasis on the excellence of *jihād* as a pious and meritorious act. We must bear in mind that it is from *Hādīth* literature, together with verses of the *Qur'ān*, that the Muslim jurists based their juridical opinions. A famous *Hadīth* spells out the discipline that ought to be upheld while engaging in *jihād bi al-sayf*:

*"Fight in the name of Allāh and in the way of Allāh. Fight against those who disbelieve in Allāh. Fight.(ughzū) Do not embezzle spoils, do not break your pledge, do not mutilate bodies and do not kill children. When you meet your enemies, invite them to the three courses of action..."*<sup>1</sup>

Another *Hadīth* also states that whenever the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) sent out an a reconnaissance party or soldiers, he would command them with the fear of *Allāh* and in particular regard to the *amīr* (leader) himself and he would wish the Muslims well and would say to them:

---

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 140; Abū Dā'ūd ibn al-Ash'ath al-Sijistānī, *Kitāb-al-Sunan*, Beirut, al-Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah, n.d., Vol. 3, p. 37.

*"When you meet the enemy from the polytheists, invite them to the three courses of action: Whichever one of these three they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourselves (do not fight them). Invite them to Islam. If they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourselves. Then invite them to shift (migrate) from their place to the place of the muhājirīn and inform them and if they do this, then they will have the rights of the muhājirīn and whatever is against the muhājirīn. But if they refuse, and prefer to stay in their own land, then inform them that they will be just like the bedouin Muslims. The Laws of Allāh applicable to the Believers will be applicable to them as well. They will have no share in the spoils of war unless they fight together with the Muslims. But if they refuse this as well, invite them to pay jizyah<sup>1</sup> and if they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourself. If they refuse, seek help from Allāh and fight them..."<sup>2</sup>*

Another *Ḥadīth* mentions that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) found no deed equal to *jihād*<sup>3</sup> and in another *Ḥadīth* the *mujāhid* is described as one who continuously fasts and prays.<sup>4</sup> The

- 
1. *Jizyah* is a tax taken from non-Muslim subjects of a Muslim government whereby they ratify the pact that ensures them protection. *Arabic-English Lexicon*, op. cit., Book 2, p. 422.
  2. *Kitāb al-Sunan*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 373.
  3. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, *Kitāb al-Jihād*, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 200-201.
  4. *ibid*; Mālik ibn Anas, *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*, Beirut, Dār al-Āfāq al-Jadīdah, 1981, p. 357.

encouragement to participate in *jihād* is also mentioned: "*Jannah (Paradise) is under the shade of the sword*"<sup>1</sup> and that "*Jihād is a door from the doors of jannah.*"<sup>2</sup> After the Conquest of Makkah in 8 A.H./ 630 C.E., there was no need for migration. However, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) informed the Muslims that one could obtain reward through *jihād* against infidelity otherwise one should at least have intentions for *jihād*<sup>3</sup> because a person is rewarded equally for good intention. Another *Hadīth* quoted by many scholars sums up the real purpose of *jihād*: "*Whoever fights so that the word of Allāh becomes respected, he is in the path of Allāh.*"<sup>4</sup>

Yet another *Hadīth* states:

*The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was asked: "Which of the Believers is the most complete in Faith?" The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied: "A man who strives in the path of Allāh with his life and his wealth and a man who worships Allāh in a remote place and people have been saved from his mischief."*<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, Kitāb al-Jihād, Vol. 2, p. 208; Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā al-Tirmidhī, *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*, Beirut, Maktabah al-Fayṣaliyyah, n.d., Vol. 4, p. 159.
  2. Abū Bakr ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī al-Bayḥaqī, *al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, Hyderabad, Dā'irah-al-Ma'rifah al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1356 A.H., Vol. 9, p. 20.
  3. Shihāb al-Dīn ibn al-Hajr al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*, Beirut, Dār al-Ihyā' al-Turāth, 1985, Vol. 6, p. 30.
  4. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 206; *Kitāb al-Sunan*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 14.
  5. *Kitāb al-Sunan*, Vol. 3, p. 5.

However, one also finds that in *Hadīth* literature, *jihād* is not always confined to *qitāl* for the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) is reported to have said that the *mujāhid* is one who strives against his baser self (*nafs*) and the *muhājir* is one who migrates from major to minor sins.<sup>1</sup> This means, that *Hadīth* literature, of which a great deal is confined to *qitāl* as a form of *jihād*, does not always confine itself to *qitāl* which can be gauged from the *Hadīth* which is found in *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh*.

### 1.5. *Jihād* in *Fiqh* Literature

Muslim jurists have used the term *jihād* in the sense of *qitāl*. This is not difficult to understand as the early jurists, in particular, worked in the light of the *Qur'ān* and *Aḥādīth* to demonstrate the limitations and rules pertaining to warfare. It must further be noted that the era was one of conquests and expansion of the Caliphal lands and the word *jihād* came to be used in the exclusive sense of fighting. Besides, the jurists would be faced with questions arising from the battles fought. The need to explain *jihād bi al-sayf* was great. We therefore find sections dealing with *jihād* are in fact *qitāl* as a form of *jihād*. Also, the jurists restricted themselves to *qitāl* or *jihād bi al-sayf* because laws had to be developed to execute this form of *jihād*. The Muslims had to await the announcement of *jihād* from the *imām* (leader of the Muslim community); when to initiate and when to terminate *jihād bi al-sayf*. Whereas *jihād bi al-māl* and *jihād bi al-nafs* dealt with one's moral and spiritual development

---

1. The words *al-mujāhid* and *jāhada* are used in the *Hadīth*.

2. Muḥammad ibn 'Abd Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-Tabrizī, *Mishkāt al-Maṣābīh*, Beirut, n.d., Vol. 1, p. 17.

development, *jihād bi al-sayf* concerned the lives of not only the Muslims but also those against whom *jihād bi al-sayf* was being waged. Thus, *jihād bi al-sayf* was given preference in the works of the jurists.

*Al-siyar* is a plural of "*sīrah*" which means "path" or "way". However, the plural "*siyar*" means "campaigns".<sup>1</sup> This is why one would find the sections on *jihād* in the works of some of the jurists entitled *Kitāb al-Siyar* or *Kitāb al-Jihād*. For example, *al-Sarakhsī*, the author of *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, states that the section on *qitāl* is called *Kitāb al-Siyar* because explanations are given which pertain to the dealings and transactions that existed between the Muslims with the polytheists, with whom the Muslims were at war. Thus the reason for *jihād* in the works of the jurists is confined to *jihād bi al-sayf*.

② All the jurists concur that *jihād* is *fard* in view of its importance being stressed in the *Qur'ān* and *Hadith*.<sup>2</sup> The scholars of the *Hanafi* School of Islamic jurisprudence aver that *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah*.<sup>3</sup> If the Islamic state is in danger, then *jihād* becomes *fard al-'ayn*<sup>4</sup> on every

---

1. *Tāj al-'Arūs*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 288; Abū Zakariyya Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf al-Nawawī, *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj*, Makkah, al-Maktabah al-Fayṣaliyyah, n.d., Vol. 4, p. 208; Shams al-Dīn al-Sarakhsī, *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, Beirut, Dār al-Ma'rifah, 1986, Vol. 5, p. 22.

2. *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj* op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 208.

3. *Fard al-kifāyah* is an obligatory duty incumbent collectively on the Muslim community.

If a few Muslims render it, the rest of the community is absolved of the obligation.

4. A duty binding on every Muslim.

Muslim including the civilian.<sup>1</sup> *Al-Sarakhsī*, states that *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah*. He bases his opinion on the fact that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) did not take all the Companions along on his military campaigns and that some of the Muslim men were left behind in Madīnah.<sup>2</sup> This means that the obligation of *jihād*, if executed by some of the Muslims, then the rest of the Muslims would absolve the rest of the community from upholding it. Hence, *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah*. He also states that if *jihād* was *fard al-'ayn* in every time and on everybody, then the Muslims will not be able to execute their worldly activities and the purpose of *jihād* would be diffused since the real object of *jihād* was to uphold peace.<sup>3</sup> Imām al-Shāfi'ī (767 C.E.- 820 C.E.) states that *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah* if:

1. There are Muslims (already engaged in *jihād*) to prevent the enemy from invading the Muslim territories.
2. There are enough people waging *jihād* thereby absolving the rest of the community of the obligation of *jihād*.
3. Those engaged in *jihād* wage *jihād* (fight) with such might that the non-Muslims accept Islam.<sup>4</sup>

---

1. Zayn al-Dīn ibn Nujaym, *Bahr al-Rā'iq*, Pakistan, Maktab al-Majīdiyyah, Vol. 5, pp. 70-71.

2. *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 3.

3. *ibid*, op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 3.

4. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Idrīs al-Shāfi'ī, *Kitāb al-Umm*, Bombay, Tujjār al-Kutub n.d., Vol. 4, p. 40.

The above views are supported in *Mughnī al-Muhtāj* which also mentions that *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah* if the Muslims are in their own country.<sup>1</sup> The view in *Mughnī al-Muhtāj* is based on the verses:

*"Not equal are those who sit from among the Believers and receive no hurt and those who strive in the path of Allāh with their wealth and their lives. Allāh has granted a grade (higher) to those who strive with their wealth and their lives than those who sit (at home). And Allāh has promised good unto all. But those who strive He has distinguished above those who sit (at home) by a special reward."*<sup>2</sup>

This means that certain expeditions of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) were of an offensive nature. However, these rulings apply only to the lifetime of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.).<sup>3</sup>

Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah,(d. 620 A.H.) a scholar of the *Ḥanbalī fiqh*, and Ibn Rushd,( 1126-1198 ) a scholar of the *Mālikī fiqh*, are also of the view that *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah*. Ibn Qudāmah states three forms of battle engagements:

---

1. *Mughnī al-Muhtāj*, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 209.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:95.

3. *Mughnī al-Muhtāj*, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 209.



1. When Muslims confront the enemy, they are exhorted not to flee from such a confrontation thus making this form of *jihād*, *fard al-‘ayn*. This is drawn on the basis of the verses:

*"O Believers. When you meet (the enemy) force, take a firm stand against them and remember Allāh much, perchance you may be successful."*<sup>1</sup>

2. Another form of battle engagement relates to the attack coming from the enemy and the Muslims would have no other option but to defend themselves.

3. When the leader of the Muslims (the ruler of the Islamic lands) undertakes an offensive war against the enemies of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

In *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*, it is stated that those scholars who opine that *jihād* is *fard al-‘ayn* base their opinion on the verse:

*"Fighting is prescribed for you but you dislike it. But it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you love a thing which is bad for you. And Allāh knows and you do not know."*<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qur‘ān*, 8:45.

2. Abū Muḥammad ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Qudāmah, *al-Mughnī li ibn Qudāmah*, Riyāḍ, Maktabah al-Riyāḍ, n.d., Vol. 8, p. 345; Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Rushd al-Qurṭubī, *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, n.d., Vol. 1, pp. 278-279.

3. *Al-Qur‘an*, 2:216.

Those scholars who say that *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah* base their opinion on the verse:

*"The Believers should not all go forth (in jihād) together. If a contingent from every expedition remained behind, they could devote themselves to studies in religion (so that they may gain understanding in religion) and warn their people when they return to them. Thus they (may learn) to guard themselves (against evil)."*<sup>1</sup>

and

*"And Allāh has promised good unto all.."*<sup>2</sup>.

This verse means that *Allāh* has favoured both parties, that is, the *mujāhidūn* and the *qā'idūn*. Besides, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) never left for an expedition except by leaving a contingent behind in Madīnah. Thus, considering these facts, *jihād* is *fard al-kifāyah*.<sup>3</sup> It is further stated in *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid* that *jihād* is *wājib* (obligatory) on mature males who are militarily prepared and healthy. This opinion is based on the verses:

*"There is no blame on the blind, lame or the one ill (if he does not join in the battle)"*<sup>4</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:216.

2. *ibid*, 9:122.

3. *Ibn Qudāmah*, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 347.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:91.

and

*"There is no blame on those who are infirm, sick or those who find no resources to spend (in the path of Allāh). If they are sincere in duty to Allāh and His Apostle, no ground (of complaint) can there be against such as do good. And Allāh is Most Forgiving, Most Merciful."*<sup>1</sup>

✕ All the jurists, according to *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*, concur that in case of *jihād* being *fard al-kifāyah*, permission is required from one's parents for participation in *jihād*. The opinion that permission is necessary from parents for participation in *jihād* is based on the *Ḥadīth* of a man who asked the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) permission to participate in *jihād*. The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) questioned him regarding his parents. On being informed that the man's parents were living, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) advised the man to strive for his parents, that is, be good to them and obey them. However, there is a difference of opinion on whether one should seek permission from parents who are non-Muslim.<sup>2</sup>

As far as the participation in *jihād* of the one who has a debt, the following *Ḥadīth* is noteworthy:

---

1. *al-Qur'ān*, 48:17.

2. *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 278.

*A man asked the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) if his (the man's) sins would be forgiven if he died with patience (inculcating the quality of patience) and hoping for reward. The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied: "Yes, except debt."*

However, the majority of the jurists agree that it would be permissible for the one in debt to participate in *jihād* especially if the debt can be repaid from the wealth that he may leave behind.<sup>1</sup>

Al-Sarakhsī has also mentioned that it is the duty of the *imām* himself to participate in *jihād* and to send out armies in *jihād*.<sup>2</sup>

Ibn Qudāmah mentions that the obligation of *jihād* rests with the individual even if the *imām* is a sinner.<sup>3</sup> A similar view is mentioned by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ (d. 370 A.H.). He gives the example of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, a famous Companion of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), who had participated in battles under the leadership of Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah.<sup>4</sup>

From the above, the significant position of *jihād bi al-sayf* can be assessed . It must be reiterated that the early jurists restricted themselves to *jihād bi al-sayf* in view of its importance

---

1. *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 278-279; *Ibn Qudāmah*, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 347.

2. *Al-Sarakhsī*, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 3-4.

3. *Ibn Qudāmah*, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 350.

4. Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ, *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabiyyah, 1914, Vol. 3, p. 119.

especially since this form of *jihād* was directly involved with the lives of human beings and thus laid down stringent rules for it, whereas *jihād bi al-māl* and *jihād bi al-nafs* did not require to be governed by such rules.

### 1.6 The *Khawārij* and *Jihād*

The *Khawārij* (singular *Khārijī*) were those men who deserted the camp of ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib, the fourth Caliph of Islam, during the Battle of Siffīn in 659 C.E. They refused to accept the decision made by the chosen arbiters; Abū Mūsā al-Ash‘arī on behalf of ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ on behalf of Mu‘āwiyah ibn Abī Sufyān. The main grievance of the *Khawārij* was that the decision was being made by men and they thus claimed:

*"There is no judgement except for Allāh."*<sup>1</sup>

Since they deserted, they earned the name *Khawārij*, the singular *Khārijī* being derived from *kharaja*, "to leave".

The literal meaning of *Khawārij* is given in the Arabic-English Lexicon as "those who go forth from a party" or "secede".<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Abū al-Faṭḥ ibn ‘Abd al-Karīm al-Shahrastānī, *al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*, Beirut, Dār al-Kutub al-‘Ilmiyyah, 1990, Vol. 1, pp. 106-108.

2. *Arabic-English Lexicon*, op. cit., Book 2, p. 720.

Later, during the period of the Umayyads, they became a religiously and politically separated sect and even developed their own *Fiqh* (jurisprudence).

The *Khawārij* believe that *jihād* cannot be relaxed and that it is a fundamental article of faith which is binding on the individual and the community.<sup>1</sup> The *Khawārij* law concerning *jihād* propounds that Muslims should be constantly involved in *jihād* thus making their view on *jihād* one of violence in contrast to the Sunnī view. According to *Khawārij* law of *jihād*, heretics must be killed and this teaching is based on the *Hadīth*:

*"My fate is under the shadow of my spear."*<sup>2</sup>

### 1.7 The *Shi'ah* and *Jihād*

The *Shi'ah* are those who supported the claim that the successor to the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) after his demise should come from the genealogy of Fātimah, the daughter of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and 'Alī ibn Abī Tālib.<sup>3</sup> After the death of 'Alī, the *Shi'ah* also separated as a religious and political group. Today, there are numerous branches of the Shi'ism which are found in various parts of the world, especially in Iran.

---

1. Majid Khadduri, *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, Baltimore, John Hopkins Press, 1955, p. 68.

2. *ibid*, p. 68.

3. Muḥammad Jawād Maghniyyah, *Fiqh al-Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq*, Beirut, Dār al-'Ilm, 1965, Vol. 1, p. 260.

*Jihād* forms an important component of Shī'ism and in a study it is revealed that the importance of *jihād* in Islam is impressed upon amongst children from a very young age.<sup>1</sup> Studies reveal that there exists controversy amongst Shi'ite scholars as regards seeking permission from the *imām* for *jihād*.<sup>2</sup> The Shi'ite scholars agree, however, that permission from the *imām* is not necessary if *jihād* is executed to invite non-Muslims to Islam.<sup>3</sup> They also state that *jihād* could be executed at any time and any place except in the precincts of the *Ka'bah* in Makkah.<sup>4</sup>

The following points are also noteworthy:

1. *Jihād* is interlinked with the principle of imamate and it can only be executed after allegiance to the *imām*.<sup>5</sup>
2. The *imām*'s ability to declare *jihād* is a condition of his leadership and the basis of the *imām*'s legitimacy.<sup>6</sup>

---

1. *Fiqh al-Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 261-263.

2. *ibid*, p. 263.

3. *ibid*, p. 263.

4. *Expectation of the Millenium*, edited by Sayyid Hossein Nasr et al, Albany, New York Press, 1989, p. 58.

5. *ibid*, p. 58.

6. *ibid*, p. 58.

3. The *imām* can enlist the support of non-Muslims for *jihād* if the enemy are too powerful.

However, *jihād* cannot be risked if the enemy is too powerful.<sup>1</sup>

4. The obligation of *jihād* will remain unfulfilled because of the disappearance of the *imām*.

Since only the *imām* can proclaim *jihād*, it has become inconsequential and the obligation is dormant.<sup>2</sup> However, a significant change resulted in a reversal of the above

view which meant that the right to declare *jihād* rests with the Shah of Iran and that *jihād*

would be waged in the name of the twelfth *imām*, *Imām al-Zamān* or Lord of the Age.<sup>3</sup>

As has already been mentioned, verses of the *Qur'an* deal with *qitāl* as a form of *jihād* but not all the verses containing the word *jāhada* or its derivatives refer to fighting or warfare.

Although citations in the *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh* literature are not restricted to *qitāl* in most cases, reveal the necessity of *jihād* and for *jihād*. It is not surprising that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), at a time when the very lives of his nearest and dearest were threatened, (and the annihilation of his movement), would encourage and incite the people to strive to uphold Islam. The revelation of verses pertaining to *jihād* further lent weight to the institution of *jihād*, be it in its literal sense or not. Otherwise, the inferences of the early jurists mentioned above definitely unveils the significance of *qitāl* as a form of *jihād*. From the views of the jurists, it can be noted that *jihād bi al-sayf* occupies an important position in Islam.

---

1. *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, op. cit., p. 67.

2. *ibid*, p. 67.

3. *Expectation of the Millenium*, op. cit., p. 59.



The view held by the *Khawārij* that heretics be executed remains to be discussed. However, the Shi'ite view that *jihād* cannot be "risked" if the enemy are too powerful, is unacceptable on the basis of the *Qur'ānic* verses which remind us of the power of the Almighty under all circumstances<sup>1</sup> and that Muslims should place their complete trust in *Allāh*.<sup>2</sup> Also, the Shi'ite view that the duty of *jihād* is unfulfilled due to the absence of an *imām* can also be refuted on the basis of the statement of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) that *jihād* is a continuous process.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:20; 2:109; 3:165; 59:6.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 3:159-160.

3. *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 3.

## CHAPTER TWO

### CATEGORIES OF *JIHĀD*

It has already been pointed out in the previous chapter that the word *jihād* does not mean fighting, warfare, killing or war as far as the uncorrupted meaning of the word is concerned. There is a misconception existing amongst many scholars that the term *jihād* is synonymous with warfare or killing. Here, it must be emphasized that if the word *jihād* meant fighting or warfare or if derivatives of the word *jāhada* referred to fighting or killing, then the *Qur'ān* would not have differentiated in the use of the words *jihād*, *qitāl* and *ḥarb* (war or warfare).<sup>1</sup> It was also mentioned that the jurists who appeared after the era of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) used the word *jihād* to signify fighting or warfare because *jihād bi al-sayf* played an important role in the early days of Islam. Laws had to be formulated since *jihād bi al-sayf* involved the lives of people. We might also observe that *jihād* is used in two different contexts if we consider the verses on *jihād* that were revealed in Makkah as compared to those revealed in Madīnah.

Thus, if derivatives of the verb *jāhada* do not mean war or warfare and if *jihād* is a striving, then this strife, which is looked upon as a form of worship, could take many forms. Hence, the need to discuss the categories of *jihād*. The fact that *jihād* can and does take different forms can be deduced from a number of *Qur'ānic* references which relate directly to "striving with one's life" and "striving with one's wealth":

---

1. *Sīrat al-Nabī*, op. cit, p. 300.

1. *"Verily those who believe, migrate and strive in the path of Allāh with their wealth and their lives..."*<sup>1</sup>
2. *"Those who believe in Allāh and the Last Day do not ask you for exemption from striving with their wealth and their lives..."*<sup>2</sup>
3. *"But the Apostle and those who believe with him strive hard with their wealth and their lives..."*<sup>3</sup>
4. *"Verily those are believers in Allāh and His Messenger then did not doubt and strove with their wealth and their lives..."*<sup>4</sup>

The verses quoted above sufficiently elucidate that one could strive in the path of Allāh by spending one's wealth for the furtherance of the Cause of Islam. This is called *jihād bi al-māl* or striving with one's wealth. The verses also mention striving with oneself. This could refer to striving for the Cause of Islam in the battlefield and even expending one's life. This form of *jihād* is called *jihād bi al-sayf* or *qitāl fī sabīl Allāh* (fighting in the path of Allāh). Striving with oneself could also mean to strive against one's carnal desires and evil temptations in order to achieve self-purification and to inculcate the spirit of sacrifice. This form of *jihād* is called *jihād bi al-nafs*.

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 8:72.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:44.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:88.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 49:15.

## 2.1 *Jihād bi al-Sayf* or *Qitāl fī Sabīl Allāh*

Collins English Dictionary defines war as an "*open conflict between two or more parties, nations or states*" and "*any conflict or contest.*"<sup>1</sup> Man has been involved in warfare since the beginning of history. War is the final judge in man's disputes. Throughout the centuries, nations have suffered local and global wars which resulted in the loss of millions of lives. Since wars are initiated by man, the reasons for going to war vary from region to region and country to country. These reasons can take the form of a desire for more land, a desire for wealth, power or security.<sup>2</sup> Many of the conflicts could possibly have been orchestrated merely on the basis of economics. The concept of war was not introduced to the Arabian Peninsula by Islam in view of the fact that prior to Islam, there existed intertribal conflicts which took the form of raids and vendetta (*tha'r*). With the introduction of Islam in Arabia, all forms of warfare, except for the pleasure of *Allāh* were outlawed. This can be deduced from the verses of the *Qur'ān* which stipulate that warfare was to be carried out "in the path of *Allāh*". This means that warfare and fighting for material and personal gain have no place in Islam.

Since the teachings of Islam are all-embracing *Qur'ān* and encompasses social, moral and political injunctions, references are also made to warfare and fighting. Every Muslim should

---

1. *Collins English Dictionary*, edited by Patrick Hanks, 2nd edition, Glasgow, Collins, 1986, p. 1709.

2. Payson S. Wild, *War* in *The World Book Encyclopedia*, edited by Robert O. Zeleny et al, Chicago, World Book Incorporated, Vol. 21, pp. 21-23.

thus accept the reality of warfare and cannot compromise what is explicitly commanded in the *Qur'ān*. Fighting for the cause of *Allāh* is described as a cause for the love of *Allāh*:

"Verily *Allāh* loves those who fight in His path in ranks.."<sup>1</sup>

This verse is a direct reference to *jihād bi al-sayf* carried out in the path of *Allāh* (SWT).<sup>2</sup> }

Any study of the history of armed conflict in Islam would be incomplete if the early history of Islam is omitted. This is so because certain events that took place in Makkah and Madīnah led to armed conflicts between Muslims and the Quraysh of Makkah. For the purpose of this study, it is interesting to note that the encounter between the Quraysh of Makkah and the Muslim under the leadership of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) marked the first opportunity of Muslims to repel attacks from a non-Muslim enemy.

Initially, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) invited the people of Makkah to Islam in secrecy for a period of three years.<sup>3</sup> However, with the command to preach Islam and the Oneness of *Allāh* openly,<sup>4</sup> the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) preached Islam to his closest family members, emphasizing the

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 61:4

2. *Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, op. cit., Vol. 29, p. 312.

3. Muḥammad ibn Sa'd, *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*, edited by Eduard Sachua, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1917, Vol.1, p.132.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 26:214; 56:2; 15:94.

Oneness of *Allāh*. Thus the preaching of Islam and the declaration of the Oneness of *Allāh* in the precincts of the *Ka'bah* by the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was seen as an open insult to the Quraysh and a threat to their religious and political authority. The more Islam gained ground, the more the Quraysh became alarmed and felt threatened. This resulted in the persecution of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and the early Muslims. The Quraysh tried all kinds of pressure and temptation to silence the Muslims, but all such attempts were in vain.

The persecution of Muslims took the form of a social boycott and some of the Muslims had to migrate to Abyssinia.<sup>1</sup> Muslims who migrated to Abyssinia were welcomed by al-Aṣḥamah ibn Abjar,<sup>2</sup> the Christian Negus of the time, who gave them refuge. However, the Quraysh chiefs of Makkah sent an envoy to Abyssinia to deter Negus from offering refuge to the Muslims.<sup>3</sup> At a later stage, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) asked the Muslims to migrate to Madīnah in small numbers in order to safeguard them from further persecutions.

In Madīnah, the Muslims engaged themselves in organising an infra-structure and consolidating the concept of *ummah*.<sup>4</sup> This included an agreement with the Jews which

---

1. Abyssinia is present-day Ethiopia.

2. Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Qayyim al-Jawziyyah, *Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*, Cairo, Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī, 1970, Vol. 1, p. 45.

3. 'Abd al-Malik ibn Hishām, *al-Sīrah al-Nabawiyyah*, Cairo, 2nd ed., Muṣṭafā al-Bābī-al-Ḥalabī, 1950, Vol. 1, p. 338.

4. *Zād al-Ma'ād*, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 63-65.

guaranteed religious freedom and mutual assistance.<sup>1</sup> From then on, the persecution of Muslims in Makkah now changed into an active opposition which resulted in armed combat. The Quraysh threatened the people of Madīnah with pillage, plunder and rape and they began harassing the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> These events were clear indications that the Quraysh were looking for the smallest excuses in order to spark off a conflict with Muslims. Besides, the Battle of Badr and other battles were also fought between Muslims and the Quraysh .

### **2.1.1 Reasons for the Conflict between the Muslims and the Quraysh**

1. The teachings of Islam diametrically opposed the moral, spiritual, religious and economic outlook of the Makkans. Trade was the core of their livelihood and Islam posed a threat for it challenged their dishonesty in business dealings and their monopolisation of business in Makkah.
2. It is quite understandable that the process of instilling a thought and philosophy completely alien to theirs could have sparked off an intense hatred and frustration which eventually culminated in the persecution of the Muslims.
3. The new ideology propounded by Muḥammad (s.a.w.s.) resulted in the break-up of families.
4. When the Quraysh heard that Muḥammad (s.a.w.s.) was in Madīnah, they were furious since Madīnah lay on their trade-route and this meant that their livelihood would be in jeopardy.

---

1. *Ibn Hishām*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 501-504.

2. *Kitāb al-Sunan*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 156.

The Quraysh desperately sought the return of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) for they feared that he could plot against them from Madinah and hence they threatened the people of Madinah.

5. Moreover, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) criticized idolatry and idol-worship.

### 2.1.2 Reasons why the Muslims went to War

1. The life Muslims chose to uphold, that is, under the banner of Islam, gave them moral, political, religious and economic freedom and it was precisely for these that they were being persecuted.
2. They had pledged to the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) at a place called '*Aqabah*' before the migration that they understood that one of the implications of the *Hijrah* would be war. Hence, the pledges of *Bay'at al-Ḥarb* and *Bay'at al-Nisā'*.<sup>1</sup>
3. It was only natural for Muslims to have an aversion for those who had not left any stone unturned to torture and persecute them. The migration came about as a result of the Muslims being driven out of their homes as is evident from the following verse:

*"Those who migrated and have been driven out of their homes or suffered harm in My Cause..."*<sup>2</sup>

---

1. *Ibn Hishām*, op. cit., Vol.1, p. 441; *ibn Sa'd*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 149.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 3:195



4. Many of the wealthy Muslims from Makkah had to migrate. They had to forsake their homes and their wealth to gain religious freedom. As a result, the independent now became dependant.
5. The persecution of Muslims on religious grounds also affected the family life of Muslims since they had to migrate to a foreign land, that is Abyssinia and Madīnah. This meant that they were uprooted from their place of birth and family members.

In Makkah, persecution of Muslims took place in the form of torture and harassment. While in Madinah, active armed encounters took place. It was in Madīnah that Divine permission to retaliate was given. Hence striving in the battlefield to uphold Islam became a matter of dignity instead of shame and humiliation. We thus find that Islam recognised war as a lawful and justifiable cause in order to restore justice.

[ It must be re-iterated that war is not the objective of Islam and it was prescribed under the most extraordinary circumstances. The words Islam and Muslim are synonymous to peace and there is a *Hadīth* which states:

*"A Muslim is one from whose hands and tongue Muslims are safe."*<sup>1</sup>

From this *Hadīth* one may infer that that peace which exists among Muslims should extend to encompass all those around them.

---

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 9.

It is to be noted here that initially Muslims were averse to engage in war, hence the revelation of the verse:

*"Fighting is prescribed for you and you dislike it. But it is possible that you dislike a thing which is good for you and that you love a thing which is bad for you. Allāh knows and you do not know."*<sup>1</sup>

It is, however, possible that the rigours of migration and the fact that the Muslims were ill-prepared for any kind of armed conflict led them to display reluctance to go to war. But the matter was urgent and they were commanded accordingly:

*"To those against whom war is made, permission is given to fight because they are wronged. Verily Allāh is Most Powerful for their aid. Those who have been expelled from their homes in defiance of right except that they say "Our Lord is Allāh." If Allāh did not check one set of people by means of another there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues and mosques in which the name of Allāh is commemorated in abundant measure. Allāh will certainly aid those who aid His Cause for verily Allāh is full of strength, Exalted in Might."*<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Al-Qur'ān, 2:216.

2. Al-Qur'ān, 22:39,40.

Summary

"A Muslim is one from whose hands and tongue Muslims are safe"

The above verses elucidate the nature of Islamic warfare } war is necessary under certain circumstances but it is not the primary objective of Islam. Muslims resorted to warfare under extreme circumstances when all else failed. Here, it would be appropriate to point out that Muslims exercised considerable restraint under the harsh and unbearable conditions in Makkah.<sup>1</sup> It is beyond reasoning that a nation or community would be passive and await to be conquered or disgraced after it has been informed of the imminent attack of the enemy. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī, a contemporary *Qur'ānic* scholar, states that it is incumbent on all the countries of the world that deserve to live a life of respect to prepare itself to the utmost to face the enemy with whatever strength there is at its disposal. Muslims should make use of all the means of help available and the youth should also be prepared to fight in the cause of Islam. He further states that Islam is concerned with inviting people to Islam so that they may enjoy a life of peace, stability and dignity as intended by *Allāh*, since *Allāh* chose Muslims to elevate His religion and to propagate it so that it may reach all corners of the earth, it will become necessary to eradicate all forms of evil that may seek to stop *Allāh's* guidance.<sup>2</sup>

Thus according to *al-Ṣābūnī*, Muslims are duty-bound to fight against oppression. Failure to do so would result in living a life of disgrace which in turn would not augur well for Muslims as far as the propagation of Islam is concerned. Muslims were granted permission to fight in order to save themselves from an onslaught which would inevitably lead to their ruin.

---

1. *Zād al-Ma'ād*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 65.

2. Muḥammad 'Alī al-Ṣābūnī, *Rawā'i' al-Bayān Tafsīr Ahkām al-Qur'ān*, Damascus, Maktabah al-Ghazālī, n.d., Vol. 1, pp. 235-236.

Such was the plight of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and the Muslims in Madinah in 2 A.H. when the first conflict in the history of Islam took place. When the situation became intolerable and frustrating for the Muslims, they prepared for battle with the permission of Allāh. Most of the exegetists are unanimous that the verse:

*"To those against whom war is made, permission to fight is given..."*<sup>1</sup>

were the first verses revealed in connection with warfare.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Jāhiliyyah* (pre-Islamic) period, fighting during certain months of the year was forbidden. However, when 'Amr ibn al-Ḥaḍramī was killed in a skirmish,<sup>3</sup> (before the Battle of Badr), the Quraysh questioned his death and the following was revealed:

*"They ask you concerning fighting in the sacred months. Say: Fighting therein is a great (sin). But it is greater in the sight of Allāh to prevent access to the path of Allāh, to deny Him, to prevent access to the Sacred Mosque<sup>4</sup> and to drive out its members.*

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 22:39.

2. *Al-Tafsir al-Kabīr*, op. cit., Vol. 23, pp. 237-238; *Tafsīr ibn Kathīr*, op. cit., Vol.3, pp. 224-225.

3. *Ibn Hishām*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 622.

4. i.e. the *Ka'bah* in Makkah.

*Tumult and oppression are worse than killing, nor will they cease fighting you until they turn you back from your faith if they can.."*<sup>1</sup>

〔Muslims were further commanded to fight and kill those who violated the sanctity of Islam on condition that they were the aggrieved and not the aggressors. They were also commanded to fight the oppressors even in the precincts of the *Ka'bah* because oppression is considered worse than fighting: 〕

*"And kill them wherever you find them and turn them out from where they have turned you out, for tumult and oppression are worse than killing. But do not fight them at the Sacred Mosque unless they fight you there. But if they fight you, kill them. Such is the reward of those who suppress faith. But if they cease, Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful. And fight them until there is no more oppression in the land and there prevail justice and faith in Allāh. But if they cease, let there be no hostility except for those who practise oppression."*<sup>2</sup>

〔Thus the aim of warfare in Islam is to secure liberty and freedom for the oppressed. The principles regarding self-defence laid down in the *Qur'ān* made war justifiable.〕Furthermore, the reference to places of worship in the verses mentioned above are again indicative of the

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:217.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:192.

fact that Islam propounded warfare and fighting to attain religious and spiritual freedom not only in Islam but other religions as well.<sup>1</sup> The reason for warfare in Islam is again made distinct when the *Qur'ān* states:

*"Those who believe fight in the way of Allāh and those who disbelieve fight in the way of the devil. So fight against the friends of the devil. Verily the plan of the devil is weak."*<sup>2</sup>

*Jihād bi al-Sayf*, as has been mentioned above, occupies an important position in *Ḥadīth* literature and as an example the following *Ḥadīth* may be considered whereby a man approached the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and said: *"Tell me of a deed equal to Jihād."* The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) said: *"I cannot do that."* ( I cannot find it.) The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) continued: *When the mujāhid goes for jihād, will you be able to enter the mosque and offer ṣalāh (prayer) continuously and fast continuously?"* The man replied : *"Who can do this?"*. Another *Ḥadīth* mentions that the man replied: *"I cannot do this."*<sup>1</sup> According to this *Ḥadīth*, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) likened the one in *jihād* to one who devoted himself to continuous prayer and fasting which in turn indicates the status of *jihād*.

---

1. Hammudah 'Abdalati, *Islam in Focus*, Damascus, Holy Qur'an Publishing House, 1977, p. 149.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:76.

3. *Fath al-Bārī*, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 32.

It could also mean that under the circumstances, *jihād* took precedence above other forms of striving. In *Ḥadīth* literature, *jihād bi al-sayf* has also been described as the best of deeds.<sup>1</sup> Permission to engage in *jihād bi al-sayf* is given in both the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth* and the combatants were exhorted accordingly:

*"And do not let the hatred of a people - because they hindered you from the Sacred Mosque - incite you to transgress, and help one another in righteousness and piety and do not help one another in enmity and sin."*<sup>2</sup>

*"And do not let the hatred of a people to let you not act equitably. Be just, that is nearer to observance of duty."*<sup>3</sup>

The following *Ḥadīth*, mentioned in Chapter One, is also relevant here:

*"Fight in the name of Allāh and in the way of Allāh. Fight against those who disbelieve in Allāh. Fight (ughzū). Do not embezzle spoils, do not break your pledge and do not mutilate bodies and do not kill children. When you meet your enemies who are polytheists, invite them to the three courses of action..."*<sup>4</sup>

---

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, op. cit., Vol. 8 p. 9.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 5:2.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 5:8.

4. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Muslim*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 140.

Thus the battles fought in the early days of Islam were for the Pleasure of *Allāh* only - material gain and personal reward found no place in their faith. Muslims had no other choice but to retaliate or to be faced with abject disgrace and humiliation. Muslims fought to preserve their dignity and to secure freedom from all forms of oppression which they had to face as a result of their conversion to Islam. It must be mentioned again that in order to practise their religion freely, they had forsaken their homes and their families. However, the Quraysh were not satisfied with that for whom they had persecuted were now safe in Madīnah. Thus the Quraysh continued their offensives by harassing the Muslims and threatening them. The Muslims patiently awaited relief from their predicaments. When the command to retaliate eventually came, the Muslims sought to defend themselves and their beliefs.

## 2.2 *Jihād bi al-Māl*

It is essential for any country to have a strong financial system. History has recorded numerous examples of empires crumbling as a result of maladministration in their financial and economic circles. Time and again, luminaries of the world have occupied themselves with economic and socio-economic endeavours and reforms so as to create a strong infra-structure most suitable to their needs. However, personal greed and corruption in economic and political circles did not augur well for the nations in the annals of history.

Islam is a way of life and an all-encompassing religion. We therefore find that Islam has laid down policies and laws for every aspect of a Muslim's life. Even the manner in which a Muslim would act with the wealth he owns is governed by the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah*. Thus the



✓  
[ *Qur'ān* encourages *jihād bi al-māl* which means that the one who has the wealth should strive with it for the benefit of the one who does not. ] It must be understood here that such striving is voluntary but it entails a great sacrifice considering one's natural attraction to wealth and the hold it has on one's mental and physical composition. ]

People from all walks of life and in all situations would be benefitted by engaging in *jihād bi al-māl* and that would result in overall prosperity which is in effect the ultimate aim of Islam. ] It is a known fact that economics and finances ungoverned by any law have resulted in instances whereby one group of people came to enjoy the fruits of labour all the time. So Islam even regulates the financial aspect of a Muslim's life. Every Muslim is expected to spend his wealth for the cause of Islam in one way or another (as sanctioned by Islam) for the pleasure of his Creator and for the benefit of his fellowmen. ✓

13  
The *Qur'ān* and *Hadīth* are replete with encouragement for *jihād bi al-māl* and one often encounters words such as *zakāh*, *ṣadaqah* and *infāq*<sup>1</sup> in the *Qur'ān* and *Hadīth* of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). All these words are related to charity. ]

The status of charity in the *Qur'ān* is put on par with *ṣalāh* (prayer) and condemnation for the neglect of both these principles is evident. Belief in the Unseen, a basic tenet of Islam, is dependent on one's charitability. Says the *Qur'ān*:

---

1. *Zakāh* literally means "to increase". *Ṣadaqah* is a gift to the poor for the sake of *Allāh* while *infāq* means spending.

*"Those who believe in the Unseen and establish prayer and spend from what We have provided them..."<sup>1</sup>*

The following *Qur'ānic* passage is also noteworthy:

*"Did you see the one who disbelieves in the Day (of Judgement)? So that is the one who pushes away the orphan, and does not encourage the feeding of the needy, so cursed be those worshippers who are neglectful of their prayers, those who ( execute these duties) for show, and forbid the feeding of the needy."<sup>2</sup>*

Since the main subject matter of the *Qur'ān* is man, charity becomes a theme in the *Qur'ān* which actually means showing benevolence to man. In encouraging man to spend, the *Qur'ān* also reminds him that his material possessions in reality belong to *Allāh*. Since *Allāh* provides man with whatever he owns, it is thus an act of benevolence that the one endowed with wealth and possessions should spend a part thereof as is depicted in the following verses:

*"O Believers. Spend out of the bounties We have provided for you..."<sup>3</sup>*

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:3.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 107:1-7.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:254.

Furthermore, one is encouraged to do just that as is evident in the following verse:

*"The parable of those who spend their wealth in the path of Allāh is that of a grain of corn. It grows seven ears and each ear has a hundred grains. Allāh gives manifold increase to whom He pleases. And Allāh cares for all and He knows everything. Those who spend their substances in the cause of Allāh and do not follow their gifts with reminders of their generosity or with injury, for them, their reward is with their Lord. On them shall be no fear nor shall they grieve."*<sup>1</sup>

The *Qur'ān* further states:

*"O Believers. Cancel not your charity by reminders of your charity or by injury - like he who spends his wealth to be seen by men...."*<sup>2</sup>

In the above verses, one can easily note the significance of *jihād bi al-māl* and also, that he who engages in *jihād bi al-māl* should execute it with due sincerity and not for show, a point which is also stressed.

It must be stated that it is not always possible for every Muslim to engage in *jihād bi al-sayf* whereas those amongst Muslims who possess wealth and are able to spend thereof must make an effort in executing *jihād bi al-māl* to promote the furtherance of Islam. However, since it

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:261-262.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:264.

is permissible to give charity to non-Muslims, spending to uplift them from poverty or any other problem will also fall within the scope of *jihād bi al-māl*.

Furthermore, the necessity for *jihād bi al-sayf* does not always arise as in the case of *jihād bi al-māl*, given that finances and economics play an important part in any country. Let us also consider the following verse:

"Not equal are those who strive with their wealth and their lives..."<sup>1</sup>

This verse enunciates that those who strive in the battlefield enjoy a status above those who sit at home (that is, they did not go forth in *jihād*). However, what is clear from the verse is that even those who did not go forth to execute *jihād bi al-sayf* are still rewarded for they participated in some other form of *jihād* because "Allah has promised good unto all..."<sup>2</sup>

Summary

22

Jihad bi al-Mal

In summary, therefore, *jihād bi al-māl* seeks to safeguard one from spiritual destruction according to the verses pertaining to *jihād bi al-māl* cited above. This can be gauged from man's natural love for wealth and the material world in general while the main objective is to attain the pleasure of *Allāh* so that he may achieve the bliss of the Hereafter.

*Jihād bi al-māl* tends to create a balance in society - the one who possesses wealth spends on the less-privileged for the pleasure of *Allāh* and the result is two-fold - the one who spends achieves spiritual development and satisfaction while the recipient acknowledges the benevolence shown to him by his fellow being.

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:95.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:95.

Also, the idea of *jihād bi al-māl* is to safe-guard Muslims as well as non-Muslims from the destruction of the society as a result of poverty which entails a great deal of misery. The fact that the *Qur'ān* continuously encourages *jihād bi al-māl* is indicative of the significance attached to this category of *jihād*.

### 2.3 *Jihād bi al-Nafs*

It has already been mentioned that *jihād* is engaged in for the attainment of the pleasure of *Allāh* only. And since *jihād* refers to an effort and a striving to remove an object of approbation to achieve a particular objective, then striving against one's baser desires and evil temptations is also a form of *jihād*. This *jihād* falls under the category of *jihād bi al-nafs*.

Every religion or creed embodies an aspect which entails striving to attain spiritual upliftment. So it is not surprising that the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth* mention the cause of spiritual maladies and prescribe the remedies. One's spiritual development to gain proximity to the Creator is thus termed *jihād bi al-nafs*.

The pleasure of *Allāh* is achieved by executing certain acts of worship which are condoned in the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*. On the same note, the pleasure of *Allāh* can also be achieved by restraining oneself from those acts which are against the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*. Since man has been created spiritually weak, it is imperative that he should engage in good deeds so as to restrain himself from acts that would destroy his spiritual growth. Thus, restraining oneself from evil temptations is in actuality *jihād bi al-nafs*. *Jihād bi al-nafs* has been considered the highest form of *jihād*. This fact is based on what has been recorded in

*Ḥadīth* literature and duly impressed upon in the *Qur'ān*.

There is a *Ḥadīth* to the effect that when a group of Companions returned from a military expedition, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) stated:

*"Your return is blessed. You have come from a smaller jihād to a greater jihād because the greater jihād is to fight against one's carnal self (nafs)".<sup>1</sup>*

There are also other *Aḥādīth* pertaining to *jihād bi al-nafs* such as the one already mentioned in chapter one wherein the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) stated that the *mujāhid* is one who strives with regard to himself and the *muhājir* is one who migrates from major and minor sins.<sup>2</sup>

In the *Qur'ānic* chapter entitled *al-'Ankabūt* there are two relevant verses in which the Almighty *Allāh* exhorts mankind to strive for the sake of the truth:

*"And those who strive for Us, We will guide them to Our Path."<sup>3</sup>*

---

1. 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn, *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, Hyderabad, Dakkhan, Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah, 1953, Vol. 4, p. 269.

2. *Mishkāt al-Maṣābiḥ*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 17.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 29:69. The *Tafsīr al-Maḥharī* states that this verse could also refer to *jihād bi al-sayf*. I have quoted it here as a reference to *jihād bi al-nafs*. See Muḥammad Thanā' Allāh Pānīpatī, *Tafsīr al-Maḥharī*, Quettah, Baluchistan Book Depot, 1983, Vol. 7, p. 217.

"And whoever strives, strives for himself..."<sup>1</sup>

The *Qur'ān* further states:

"And strive for Allāh a true striving. He has chosen you and has imposed no difficulties on you in religion, it is the way of your father Ibrahim..."<sup>2</sup>

If we consider the goal of any Muslim, then it is the pleasure of *Allāh*. The pleasure of *Allāh* is obtained through good deeds. Good deeds in turn make up worship or '*ibādah*'. This '*ibādah*' is an institution controlled by the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah* and '*ibādah*' enshrined in the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah* puts one on the path of the truth. It was in view of this truth that Prophet Ibrāhīm (peace be upon him), styled in the *Qur'ān* as the spiritual father of the Muslims, strove for. Prophet Ibrāhīm's quest for God, the Creator of the heavens and the universe and all that exists in it was in effect a spiritual endeavour. Besides, the hardship undergone by Prophet Ibrāhīm (peace be upon him) is reminiscent of the period of persecution and torture undergone by the early Muslims in Makkah who also sought to tread the path of the truth and were enjoined to bear patiently the aggression of the unbelievers.<sup>3</sup> This perseverance for

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 29:6.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 22:78.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 19:41-48; 21:51:69; *Zād al-Ma'ād*, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 201; Abū al-Fidā'

Ismā'īl ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa al-Nihāyah*, Beirut, Maktabah al-Ma'ārif, 1990, Vol. 1, pp. 140-142; Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Tarīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, n.d., Vol. 1, pp. 225-230.

the sake of *Allāh* has been accorded the status of *jihād al-akbar* or the *greater jihād* which is built on the example of Prophet Ibrāhīm (peace be upon him).<sup>1</sup>

The *Qur'ān* introduces itself as a cure for the sicknesses of the heart.<sup>2</sup> The reference here pertains to a spiritual malady as exemplified in another citation that describes those who reject the teachings of *Allāh* as having a disease in their hearts.<sup>3</sup> While the *Qur'ān* informs one of the lowly origin of man,<sup>4</sup> it also notifies one that man could achieve spiritual elevation and spiritual cleanliness.

Apart from *īmān*, that is firm belief in *Allāh* and the Apostleship of Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.s.), a person has to take stock of oneself so as to perceive his spiritual weaknesses.

The *Qur'ān*, as mentioned above, contains the remedy to the malady. It also states that it is a guidance for those who possess *taqwā* (God-consciousness).<sup>5</sup> After all, the purpose of worship is to attain *taqwā*:

*"O Believers. Worship your Lord Who created you and those before you perchance you may gain taqwā."*<sup>6</sup>

---

1. *Sīrat al-Nabī*, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 303.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 10:57.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:10.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 96:2; 86:5-7.

5. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:2.

6. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:21.



*Taqwā* can be explained as abstention from evil or those acts which would lead one to evil and to save oneself from evil, keeping in mind the Presence of *Allāh*. It can also be explained as doing everything in accordance with the laws of *Allāh*. All acts of worship should be executed to attain *taqwā* but it must be noted that *taqwā* is not visible. That is why the *Qur'ān* states:

*"Those whom Allāh has examined their hearts for taqwā."*<sup>1</sup>

*"And whoever holds in honour the symbols of Allāh, such honour should come truly from the piety (taqwā) of the heart"*<sup>2</sup>

The verses quoted above show that *taqwā* has to do with the spiritual self. However, inculcating *taqwa* requires purification of the *nafs* and it involves a great deal of spiritual toiling bearing difficulty as there will always be some form of opposition against purging oneself of the spiritual diseases inherent in oneself.

The idea of *jihād bi al-nafs* would be to perfect faith to create a real, living consciousness of God - an awareness of God so sincere that it would be as if one is in the very Presence of God or actually seeing God. When this state is achieved, then the effulgence of God consciousness reaches a point whereby every facet of a person's life is governed by the

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 49:3.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 22:32; *Sīrat al-Nabī*, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 311-319.

dictates of God. This state is called *iḥsan*<sup>1</sup> which marks the ultimate stage in achieving perfection of faith.<sup>2</sup> A famous *Ḥadīth* mentions that one day the Arch-angel Jibrā'īl (A.S.) appeared in the shape of a man, approached the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) who was sitting with the Companions (*Aṣḥāb*). The angel asked the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) certain questions and the first one was: "What is *īmān*?" The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied: "*Imān is to believe in Allāh, His angels, the meeting with Him, His Messengers and to believe in the Resurrection.*" The second question was: "What is *Islam*?" The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied: "*To worship Allāh alone and do not associate partners with Him, to establish prayer, to execute zakāh and to observe fast in the last month of Ramadān.*"<sup>3</sup> The third question was: "What is *iḥsān*?" The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied: "*To worship Allāh as if you see Him, and if you cannot see Him, verily He sees you...*"<sup>4</sup> However, the state of *iḥsān* can only be reached, as mentioned earlier, by spiritual toiling and bearing difficulty. This toiling to ward off evil and base temptations is

- 
1. *Iḥsān* is referred to as *Taṣawwuf* (mysticism) by some scholars. *Taṣawwuf* is derived from the verb *Taṣawwafa* which means "*he became a ṣūfī (mystic)*", "*he devoted himself to religious exercises*" or "*he applied himself to devotion*", *Arabic-English Lexicon*, op. cit., p. 1748.
  2. Muḥammad Manzūr Nu'mānī, *Islamic Faith and Practice*, Lucknow, Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1969, pp. 171-172.
  3. *Ramadān* is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar during which Muslims observe fast.
  4. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 18; *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 30.

called *sulūk* and the person involved in such a task is called a *salik*.<sup>1</sup> Thus the path which the *salik* treads in order to reach the state of *ihsān* is *jihād bi al-nafs*.

The *Qur'ān* mentions *al-nafs al-ammārah*<sup>2</sup> and *al-nafs al-lawwāmah*.<sup>3</sup> The *nafs* (man's spiritual self) is a composition of the heart and soul which in turn has four traits or qualities. These traits or qualities of the *nafs* are such that it leads man naturally towards evil. For example, it is because the *nafs* is created from fire that man becomes angry and proud. Due to its creation from earth, man is inclined to meanness or contempt. Because the *nafs* is created from water, man is impatient while due to its creation from air, man engages in matters that are vain.<sup>4</sup> Thus *al-nafs al-ammārah* is that part of man's spiritual self which is prone to evil and has to be checked by striving against base conditions such as pride, anger, meanness and matters that are vain.

*Al-nafs al-lawwāmah* is that *nafs* in man which alerts him of the evil and gets involved in the cleansing of the soul. The *sālik* involves himself in the cleansing of the soul but he finds

---

1. *Salik* and *sulūk* are derived from the verb *salaka* meaning "he travelled" or "went along", eg. *salaka ṭarīqan* means "he pursued a course of conduct". *Arabic-English Lexicon*, op.cit., Book 1, p. 1141.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 12:53.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 75:2.

4. Abū al-Thanā' Maḥmūd Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ālūsī, *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, Makkah, Dār al-Bāz, n.d., Vol. 13, p. 2; *Tafsīr al-Maḥzarī*, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 17.

that he still cannot free himself from evil completely and blames his *nafs*.<sup>1</sup> However, when he has completely cleansed himself of the spiritual malady and distanced himself from everything other than *Allāh* and he is pleased with His remembrance, he would attain peace.

This state of peace is experienced by the *sālik* once he is pleased with *Allāh* and *Allāh* is pleased with him:

*"(To the righteous soul it will be said): O soul. In (complete rest and satisfaction) Come back to your Lord well-pleased well-pleasing unto Him. Enter then among My devotees and enter My Heaven."*<sup>2</sup>

The above verse clearly indicates that striving against evil temptation and base desires are a form of spiritual exertion and that *jihād bi al-nafs* is practised in order to attain eternal salvation. The idea of *jihād bi al-nafs* is also elucidated in the following verse: *"Truly he succeeds that purifies it (the nafs) and he fails that corrupts it (the nafs)."*<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, op. cit., Vol. 29, pp. 135-136; *Tafsīr al-Maḥḥarī*, op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 136-137.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 89:27-30; *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*, op. cit., Vol. 30, pp. 130-131; *Tafsīr al-Maḥḥarī*, op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 261-263.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 91:9,10.

The idea of *jihād bi al-nafs* is deeply rooted in the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah*. The *Qur'ān* also commands man to inculcate *ṣabr* (patience)<sup>1</sup> and *shukr* (gratefulness)<sup>2</sup> while it exhorts against envy and greed<sup>3</sup> which could lead one to spiritual destruction.

*Jihād bi al-nafs* is also illustrated in the following *Ḥadīth*:

*Once the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) asked his Companions if they knew who a brave man was. The Companions answered that the brave man was one who could easily defeat and overcome his enemy. The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied in the negative saying that the brave man was one who could control his anger.*<sup>4</sup>

Another *Ḥadīth* also records the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) advising a man against anger.<sup>5</sup> Anger is the result of pride (*kibr*) and it stems from a base level of the human. Hence, the advice of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) against anger - a spiritual malady.

*Jihād bi al-nafs* is also demonstrated in the act of humility as depicted in this saying of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.):

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:153.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 14:7.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:32.

4. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, op.cit., Vol. 8, p. 30.

5. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, op. cit., Vol. 4, pp. 99,100.

"Whoever adopts humility for the sake of Allāh, Allāh elevates him."<sup>1</sup>

Jihad - bi - al - nafs

✶ The importance of *jihād bi al-nafs* is emphasized in the *Qur'ān* and *Hadīth* because man is spiritually weak and given to spiritual weaknesses which in turn could divert him from the spiritual path of righteousness and eventually to the eternal goal, that is, Paradise. Since man has been created for the worship of Allāh<sup>2</sup>, it is only natural and logical that while stating the reason for the creation of man, the Almighty would also prescribe acts of worship for the physical and spiritual side of man. But it would be the onus of man, who is created in the best of moulds<sup>3</sup> and being given the option of choice, to implement the teachings of Allāh which will be beneficial to him. ∩



In the early days of Islam, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) represented the spiritual mentor. The Companions (R.A.) who were his disciples involved themselves in what is known as *sulūk*. The *Qur'ān* and *Hadīth* were the sources for guidance. However, subsequently, the Muslim world at large fell into spiritual degeneration. Thus a need for spiritual upliftment arose whereby it became necessary to account for one's actions. This practice was initiated by Harith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243 A.H.). He initiated the practice of introspection, whereby one had to engage in remonstrating one's self. Harith came to be known as al-Muḥāsibī - one who takes account of himself.

---

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 21.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 51:56.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 95:4.

This practice of examining the self was further developed as a result of individual efforts which led to the formation of spiritual brotherhoods which in turn resulted in a hierarchy of spiritual brotherhood.

Schools were instituted and each school had its distinguishing feature. We thus find that spiritual reformers appeared from time to time. One such reformer was Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Tūsī, better known as al-Ghazālī (d. 1111 C.E.).

In Islamic history, it is widely known that the works of al-Ghazālī created a great impact on the minds of Muslim as far as *jihād bi al-naḥs* was concerned. One such work was *al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (Deliverance from Error) which recounted al-Ghazālī's experiences in the field of *jihād bi al-naḥs*. The other work, *Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* (Revival of the Religious Sciences), was the means by which other scholars derived teachings from it in the field of *jihād bi al-naḥs*.

*Iḥyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn* was later prescribed as a standard text in many Islamic colleges and universities and served as an important work especially where spiritual training and *jihād bi al-naḥs* was concerned. Further, the fact that the *Iḥyā'* was divided into two significant parts, namely, *al-munjiyyāt* and *al-muhlikāt*,<sup>1</sup> also encouraged *jihād bi al-naḥs*.

---

1. *Munjiyyāt* consists of those elements which save one from the fire of Hell and lead one to the bliss of Paradise. For example, the Book of Fear and Hope deals with the means by which one can achieve bliss of the soul. *Muhlikāt* is dealt with in respect of those elements that destroy the soul and can lead one to Hell. *Muhlikāt* covers greed, passion, envy, anger and attachment for the world.

It must be pointed out that though it may not be possible for every Muslim to engage in either *jihād bi al-sayf* or *jihād bi al-māl* due to prevailing circumstances; *jihād bi al-nafs*, however, though it may be difficult to execute it, does not demand the requisites of *jihād bi al-sayf* or *jihād bi al-māl*.

② Furthermore, *jihād bi al-nafs* has been aptly described as the "greater *jihād*" for it is a struggle against one's egos and desires. These egos and desires have to be eradicated from oneself before one can see the fruits of the other forms of *jihād*. Therefore, Muslims are commanded not to transgress the limits set by *Allāh* as the idea is to fear *Allāh* more than than the enemy. As mentioned earlier, the life in Makkah was a period of restraint and the Muslims were commanded to persevere patiently when the commands to fight were not yet given. The period in Makkah was characterized by *jihād bi al-nafs* which is a form of spiritual cleansing and character-building programme which prepared Muslims in order to embrace other forms of *jihād* at a later stage. Thus the *Hadīth* of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) quoted above from *Kanz al-'Ummāl*<sup>1</sup> wherein the Companions (R.A.) were commended for their

---

1. This *Hadīth* has been cited as weak (*ḍa'īf*) in *al-Isrār al-Marfū'ah fī al-Akḥbār al-Mawḍū'ah*. See Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Sulṭān, *al-Isrār al-Marfū'ah fī al-Akḥbār al-Mawḍū'ah*, Beirut, al-Maktabah al-Islāmī, 1986, pp. 211-212. The commentator, Muḥammad ibn Luṭfī al-Sabbāgh, states that this *Hadīth* is not only weak but also appears to be invalid (*bāṭil*) because it is belittling the status of *jihād bi al-sayf* regarded by the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) as "the peak of Islam". However, it is mentioned here and the Traditionists have quoted it to stress the role of *jihād bi al-nafs* in view of the spiritual sacrifices involved in executing *jihād bi al-nafs*.



return from a smaller *jihād* to a greater *jihād* denotes that it is a greater sacrifice to strive against one's evil temptations than to fight against an enemy in the battlefield. Thus according to this *Hadīth* of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), the greater *jihād* is *jihād bi al-nafs*.

#### 2.4 *Jihād bi al-'Ilm*

In an age of ignorance as a result of deviation from the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and *Sunnah*, it is necessary for one to engage in such activities which will dispel the darkness of ignorance that exists. It would therefore require a person of wisdom and education to impart knowledge to fellow Muslims and the world at large. Striving towards this end is termed *jihād bi al-'ilm* or *jihād* with knowledge.

*Jihād bi al-'ilm* is two-fold; to educate oneself and to educate others. The seeking of knowledge has always occupied an important place in Islam and the *Qur'ān* encourages the seeking of knowledge, accrediting special status to those who possess knowledge\*. In this regard, the *Qur'ān* states:

"Allāh will raise those who believe from amongst you and those who have been granted knowledge. And Allāh is well-acquainted with all you do."<sup>1</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 58:11.

The above verse indicates that those possessing knowledge enjoy a status as far as Allah is concerned because whatever the *'ālim* (the learned one) does, it is based on *'ilm* and the ignorant will follow him and also become learned.<sup>1</sup>

There is a famous *Hadīth* encouraging learning and teaching of the *Qur'ān*:

*"The best amongst you is he who learns the Qur'ān and teaches it to others."*<sup>2</sup>

Thus striving to disseminate knowledge is also called *jihād bi al-Qur'ān* as indicated by the verses:

*"And do not follow the unbelievers and strive with it a mighty striving..."*<sup>3</sup>

It has already been mentioned in Chapter One that "it" in the verses above refers to the *Qur'ān*, that is, *jihād bi al-Qur'ān* or *jihād* with the *Qur'ān*. {The significance of *jihād bi al-'ilm* has been emphasized to the point that *jihād bi al-'ilm* is referred to as *jihād al-kabīr* or the great *jihād*.}

---

1. *Tafsīr al-Maḥḥarī*, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 167.

2. *Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 108.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 25:52; *Sīrat al-Nabī*, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 304.

Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ has stated that the status of *jihād bi al-‘ilm* is such that it receives preference to *jihād bi al-māl* or *jihād bi al-nafs*.<sup>1</sup> Besides, Islam depends on the propagation of Islam by means of *jihād bi al-‘ilm* and *jihād bi al-Qur’ān*.

The *Qur’ān* further states:

*"Invite to the way of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious..."*<sup>2</sup>

Al-Māwardī (d. 450 A.H.), a famous jurist, commenting on the verse above states that "way of your Lord" refers to the *Qur’ān* while "with wisdom" means with kindness. This verse is thus a direct reference to *jihād bi al-‘ilm*.<sup>1</sup>

Furthermore, the significance of *jihād bi al-‘ilm* comes to the fore when one considers that the very first word revealed to the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was "Read"<sup>2</sup>. It can therefore be stated that [seeking knowledge received priority in the directives of the Almighty.]

In the *Hadīth* literature we find that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) stated that the greatest form of *jihād* is to speak the truth in front of a tyrant ruler.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Aḥkām al-Qur’ān*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 119.

2. *Al-Qur’ān*, 16:125.

3. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb al-Māwardī, *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Wilāyah al-Dīniyyah*, Kuwait, Maktabah Dār ibn Qutaybah, 1989, Chapter 4, p. 51.

This *Hadīth* means that under circumstances, to speak out against wrongs perpetrated by a ruler of a country is also considered a *jihād*. This *Hadīth* also indicates the various forms that *jihād* can take.

[ Another *Hadīth* states the performance of *Hajj* (pilgrimage) is also a form of *jihād*<sup>1</sup> considering the great self-sacrifice that is involved in the performance of the *Hajj* obligation.

*Conclusion*  
In summary, therefore, *jihād* refers to an effort and an attempt to execute a good deed. These good deeds are executed for the Pleasure of *Allāh* only and are brought about by striving in various ways.

The following *Hadīth* sums up the position of *jihād* in Islam:

*"Whoever from amongst you sees a wrong, he should change it with his hand. And if he is unable to do so, he should change it with his tongue, and if he is unable to do so, he should change it with his heart (that is, he should at least feel bad about it in his heart), and that is the weakest form of iman."*<sup>2</sup> ]

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 96:1.

2. *Al-Tirmidhī*, op. cit., Vol. 9, pp. 20,21.

3. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*, op. cit., Vol. 9, pp. 20,21.


4. *Al-Tirmidhī*, op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 407.

## CHAPTER THREE

### ***JIHĀD* IN WESTERN LITERATURE AND REASONS FOR THE DISTORTION OF THE CONCEPT OF *JIHĀD***

In the previous chapter it was pointed out that *jihād* may take different forms but in essence it is a struggle and a striving to bring to fruition the other forms of *'ibādah*. Since *jihād* is derived from the verb *jāhada* which means to exert oneself, it does not have any affinity with the word *qitāl*, that is, fighting. However, despite the Muslim scholars endeavours in elucidating this point, one finds that misconceptions about *jihād* still abound. European and western works project *jihād* negatively and are generally critical about anything that is associated with Islam. The purpose of this chapter is aimed at appraising and examining the works of these scholars with the view of finding out the reasons for their misrepresenting Islam and the Islamic teachings, especially with regard to *jihād*.

It is also a known fact that the word Islam is synonymous with peace and that the word Islam is derived from the root *aslama* which basically means "complete surrender to the Will of God". There is, therefore, a distinction from other religions and cults in that Islam aims to shift man's submission and subservience to the creation of God to God Himself. At the time of the advent of Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.s.), the entire world had sunk morally and spiritually. The teachings of the *Qur'ān* and *Aḥādīth* sought to remove humanity from the prevailing moral and spiritual decadence. But the Prophet's (s.a.w.s.) teachings were not easily heeded. Initially there were attacks against the personality of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). These attacks were also launched against the teachings of Islam. That is how *jihād*, an important

teaching of Islam, also came under the negative scrutiny of the enemies of Islam. Nevertheless, the misunderstanding came not only from non-Muslims but Muslims as well. The questions that need to be addressed are: Why did the word *jihād* come to be used in the exclusive sense of fighting? What were the reasons that led to the distortion of the concept of *jihād*? 

### 3.1 *Jihād* as Depicted in Western Literature

*The Cambridge History of Islam* states: "the assumption that Muhammad deliberately moved towards open hostility with the Meccans explains what became a feature of the Medinah period of his career, viz the sending out of expeditions... After some six months in Medinah, Muhammad began sending out expeditions (quoted as razzias in the book) with the special aim of intercepting and capturing Meccan caravans on the way to or from Syria."<sup>1</sup>

Here, the following observations must be made: Firstly, Muslims had no alternative but to go to war because the Quraysh began harassing them after their migration to Madīnah. Secondly, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) did not intend to make the interception of the Qurayshite caravans a means of livelihood. As an astute military tactician, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was forced to send out reconnaissance parties to check on the activities of the

---

1. *The Cambridge History of Islam*, edited by P.M. Holt, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985, Vol. 1 A, p. 42.

Quraysh as a result of the raids against Madīnah.<sup>1</sup> Thus circumstances and events led to the armed conflicts between Muslims and the Quraysh. As mentioned earlier, Muslims were averse to war but they had to resort to it under the most extreme circumstances.

Another work entitled *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* states: "the importance of jihad in Islam lay in shifting the focus of attention of the tribes from their inter-tribal warfare to the outside world; Islam outlawed all forms of jihad except the jihad, that is the war in Allah's path. It would, indeed, have been very difficult for the Islamic state to survive had it not been for the doctrine of jihad, replacing tribal raids, and directing the enormous energy of the tribes from an internal conflict to unite and fight against the outside world in the name of the new faith..."<sup>2</sup>

The same source further mentions: "Some writers emphasized the economic changes within Arabia which produced dissatisfaction and unrest and inevitably led the Arabs to seek more fertile land outside Arabia..."<sup>3</sup>

It has to be noted here that the idea of *jihād* was not to shift the focus of attention from within the Arabian Peninsula to the countries beyond the borders of Arabia for the purposes

---

1. *al-Sijistānī*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 156.

2. *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, op. cit., p. 63.

3. C.H. Becker, *The Cambridge Medieval History*, Cambridge, 1913, Vol. 2, p. 139 as quoted in *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, op. cit., p. 63.

of proselytization. For example, the migrations to Abyssinia and Madīnah, which in itself were a *jihād*, were forced upon the Muslims.

Majid Khadduri, the author of *War and Peace in the Law of Islam* also states that it would "have been very difficult for the Islamic state to survive had it not been for the doctrine of jihad."<sup>1</sup> This is true as *jihād bi al-sayf* was prescribed for the Muslims as a means of survival against onslaughts of all kinds. If this statement is made in the light of economics as a reason for *jihād* waged by Muslims, then it must be known that the Muslims had survived economically long before the *Qur'ān* commanded *jihād bi al-sayf* and if the Muslims of later generations engaged in conflicts merely for economic reasons, then this does not mean that Islam warranted such activities.

Nikki R. Keddie, in his book *Roots of Revolution* states: "Once Arab tribes adopted Islam they were no longer to engage in the raids that had kept population down and helped support many tribes. Tribes were still equipped for warfare and sought to make up what they had lost in the raids. Mohammad's spreading of his religion and rule through wars against nearby tribes and the Meccans gave Islam a warlike precedent and theory, suggested by the word Jihad or holy war. Contrary to what many believe, jihad was not meant to force conversion (to Islam)... Rather jihad aimed at extending territories ruled by Muslims, while allowing inhabitants who were "People of the Book" (monotheists with a scripture) to keep their own religion in return for a special tax. This policy allowed the Arab Muslim armies to offer

---

1. *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*, op. cit., p. 62.



religious freedom to large Christian groups in greater Syria and Egypt treated as heretics by Byzantine rulers..."<sup>1</sup>

It must be mentioned here that fighting was not new to the Arabian Peninsula for tribesmen had fought and lost their lives for the cause of their tribes long before the advent of Islam. It must also be stated here that Muslims do not regard Islam to be a religion in the conventional sense with a set of beliefs but Islam on the other hand is a way of life encompassing all facets of life. Neither is it acceptable to Muslims that Islam is "his" (Muhammad's) religion nor was the objective of the waging of wars against the Meccan's and non-Muslim neighbours restricted to the spreading of Islam or the expansion of the Islamic territories. As already pointed out, Muslims had no alternative but to resort to warfare.

Although Nikki R. Keddie has correctly pointed out that *jihād* was not meant to force conversion to Islam, the word *jihād* is nevertheless still defined in his work as "*holy war*." The fact that Islam allowed religious freedom to the conquered Christians who were otherwise "treated as heretics by the Byzantines rulers..." as illustrated by N.R. Keddie, also lends weight to the real purpose of *jihād* which is to free man from injustices perpetrated against him.

Fred McGraw Donner, in his book *The Early Islamic Conquests* has defined *jihād* as "*holy battle*". He further states:

---

1. Nikki R. Keddie, *Roots of Revolution - an interpretive history of modern Iran*, New York, Vail-Ballog Press, 1981, p. 6.

"Jihad certainly facilitated the expansion and, perhaps, even the cohesion of the Islamic community, but it is itself a product of the rise of Islam, not a cause of it - a product to be exact, of the impact of the concept of Ummah on the old idea that one fought, even to the death, for one's community."<sup>1</sup>

With regard to the above quotation, it can be argued here that with the advent of Islam, fighting took on a new meaning - fighting for the Cause of *Allāh*. Thus the statement that the Muslim soldiers fought for the community cannot be correct since the *Qur'ānic* verses mentioned in chapter two refute such a practice for the verses command that *jihād* should be carried out in the path of *Allāh*.

Hichem Djait in his book *Europe and Islam* states: "The spirit of the Jihad, in the final analysis, is only a military fiction, a source of energy and enthusiasm at the outset, an ideal mobilisation of defensive reflexes in the second Islamic period. A recent study points "out how hard it was to rekindle the old fire of the jihad during the Crusades."<sup>2</sup>

Djait's view is untenable. Are the sources of Islam insufficient to prove that *jihād* is in reality a striving and a struggle to effect a change for the betterment of mankind? If *jihād* was, as alluded in the above work, a military fiction, then the sources of Islam and works by non-

---

1. Fred McGraw Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests*, Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1981, pp. 295-296.

2. Hichem Djait, *Europe and Islam*, London, University of California Press, 1985, p. 75.

Islam Muslim scholars would not have dedicated so much space to the topic. It can also be stated that it is an erroneous belief that the spirit of *jihād* could not be revived during the Crusades.<sup>1</sup> When the European non-Muslims launched their attacks against the Muslims during the Crusades, the Muslims retaliated strongly and drove back the armies of Europe. This retaliation to the attacks made primarily by European Christians against Muslims was seen as a *jihād* by the Christians. Thus it was not difficult, at that time, for the spirit of *jihād* to be rekindled.

Now, let us consider some of the definitions of *jihād* by the western and European scholars: The *Encyclopaedia Americana* states: "Jihad means a struggle. It is a religious duty laid upon all the followers of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) based on a concept of Islamic faith since it is of universal validity. Islam must be spread to all mankind by force of arms if necessary".<sup>2</sup>

*The New Encyclopaedia Britannica* states: "Jihad is a religious duty imposed to spread Islam by waging war...Modern Islam places special emphasis on waging war with one's inner self. It sanctions waging war as a defensive measure... Throughout Islamic history, war against non-Muslims, even with political overtones, were termed jihad to reflect a religious flavour."<sup>3</sup>

---

1. Discussed later in the same chapter.

2. C.E. Bosworth, "Jihad" in *The Encyclopaedia Americana*, edited by Grolier Incorporated, Connecticut, Grolier Enterprises Incorporated, 1980, Vol. 16, pp. 91-92.

3. W and H Benton, "Jihad" in *The New Encyclopaedia Britannica*, edited by Philip W. Goetz, Chicago, Encyclopaedia Incorporated, 1974, Vol. 5, pp. 557-558.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* gives the following definition of *jihād*: "...etymologically signifies an effort towards a determined objective... according to general doctrine and historical tradition jihad consists of military action with the object of the expansion of Islam. This notion stems from the fundamental principle of the universality of Islam, that is Islam ought to embrace the whole world if necessary by force...Jihad is nothing more than a means to effect conversion to Islam or its authority... Jihad has principally an offensive nature but it is equally a Jihad when it is a case of defending Islam against aggression..."<sup>1</sup>

T.P. Hughes, the author of "*Dictionary of Islam*" states: "...a religious war with those who are unbelievers in the mission of Muhammad... enjoined especially for the purpose of advancing Islam..."<sup>2</sup>

Cyril Alasse in "*The Concise Dictionary of Islam*" states : "...holy war... divine institution of warfare to extend Islam..."<sup>3</sup>

The above definitions are totally alien to the the classical understanding of the term *jihād* and thus in what follows an attempt is made to point out the errors contained in the above definitions:

- 
1. E. Tyan, "Jihad" in The *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by E. von Donzel, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1965, pp. 538-539.
  2. T.P. Hughes, *Dictionary of Islam*, New Delhi, India, Cosmo Publications, 1978, p. 243.
  3. Cyril Alasse, *The Concise Dictionary of Islam*, London, Stacey International, 1989, p. 209.

The *Encyclopaedia of Islam* states that "Islam must be spread to all mankind by force of arms if necessary." The *Qur'ān* emphatically refutes this point in the following words:

*"There is no compulsion in religion..."*<sup>1</sup>

Besides, those who have studied Islam know that Islam cannot be forced on anyone and if it did, Islam would not survive. It would be very difficult for a convert to Islam to pretend submission to the tenets and teachings of Islam because Islam cannot exist in a person merely on a superficial level. Furthermore, the fact that the *Qur'ān* states that Islam would prevail over all other religions<sup>2</sup> does not mean that Islam is to be forced on everyone. History has proven that wherever the conquered nations accepted Islam, Islam survived in that region. It must be admitted that conflicts between Muslims and non-Muslims did take place in the centuries that followed after the demise of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) but that does not mean that these Muslims were necessarily involved in *jihād bi al-sayf*. Any conflict that was engaged in had to be with the express intention of defending the Cause of Islam and for attaining the Pleasure of the Almighty *Allāh* as has been pointed out in the foregoing pages. Thus the statement in the *New Encyclopaedia Britannica* that "throughout Islamic history, war against non-Muslims, even though with political overtones, were termed Jihad...." does not reflect the Islamic viewpoint of *jihād*. The teachings of Islam, especially in matters of principle, never change to suit the whims and fancies of man. The actions of Muslim nationalists of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries cannot be blamed on Islam since Islam has clearly defined the consequences for *jihād*.

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:256.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 61:9.

The statement in the *The Encyclopaedia of Islam* that "according to general doctrine and historical tradition jihad consists of military action with the object of expanding Islam" is also incorrect. It would be more appropriate to state, according to our definitions of *jihad* in chapter one, that as a general doctrine, *jihād* refers to a struggle or a striving. If such struggle is aimed at bringing an end to oppression from all wrongs and injustices perpetrated by man against man, one could possibly be dragged into a military encounter.

The classical sources concur that *jihād* could be executed in several ways, one of which is *jihād bi al-sayf*. Also, the statement that "Jihad has principally an offensive nature..." deserves comment. Since the nature of this article from the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* informs us that *jihād* is discussed in the light of military action only, it must be mentioned that military action was the last resort according to the *Hadīth*: Whenever the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) sent out a reconnaissance party or soldiers, he would command them with the fear of *Allāh* with particular regard to the *amīr* himself and wish the Muslims well and he (the Prophet s.a.w.s.) would say:

*"When you meet the enemy from the polytheists, invite them to the three courses of action: Whichever one of these three they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourselves. (Do not fight them). Invite them to Islam. If they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourselves. Then invite them to shift (migrate) from their place to the place of the muhājirīn (Emigrants) and inform them and if they do this, then they will have the rights of the muhājirīn and whatever is against the muhājirīn. But if they refuse and prefer to stay in their own land, then inform them that they will be just like the bedouin Muslims. The Laws of Allāh applicable to the Believers will be applicable to them as*

*well. They will have no share in the booty and the spoils of war unless they fight together with the Muslims. But if they refuse this as well, invite them to pay jizyah and if they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourself. If they refuse, seek help from Allāh and fight them...*"<sup>1</sup>

The above *Hadīth* mentioned the payment of a tax (*jizyah*) from the non-believers if they did not wish to accept Islam. The payment of *jizyah* meant that the non-Muslim knew that Islam was presented to him and that, out of his own free will, he had refused it. The *jizyah* taken from him meant security for both the non-believer and the Muslim conquerer and that the non-believer wished to co-operate fully with the Muslim government. The taking of *jizyah* also meant that the conquered nation would not pose a threat or become hostile to the new state of affairs.<sup>2</sup>

The *Hadith* quoted above also informs us that contrary to "Jihad has principally an offensive nature" as quoted in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, the Muslims only resorted to offensive encounters only if the non-believers declined payment of *jizyah* which in fact was to secure their freedom and protection equal to that of the Believers.

---

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 140; *al-Sijistānī*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 37.

2. Hammudah Abdalati, *Islam in Focus*, Damascus, The Holy Qur'an Publishing House, 1977, p. 150.

In this context, Hammudah Abdalati points out that during the Muslim and non-Muslim confrontations in the early days of Islam, those people who opposed Islam and Islamic rule by rejecting the conditions in the above-mentioned *Ḥadīth* meant to be hostile towards the Muslims and they thus created problems for themselves.<sup>1</sup> He supports his argument thus: "In a national sense, that attitude (refusing acceptance of Islam or the payment of jizyah) was treacherous; in a human sense, mean; in a social sense, careless; in a military sense, provocative."<sup>2</sup>

However, it is to be conceded that *jihād bi al-sayf* took on an offensive nature which came to the fore when a threat arose from a particular area or region. The threat had to be checked as in the case of the Battle of Khaybar in 7 A.H./ 629 C.E. It must be noted here that the Muslims were the aggrieved and not the aggressor. The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) had acted quickly against the Jews of Khaybar so as to avoid their creating another hostile alliance by inciting the hostile tribes of the Peninsula against the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and the Muslims. The idea of the expedition of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) against the Jews of Khaybar was also to bring to an end once and for all the Jewish intrigues against Muslims.<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Islam in Focus*, op.cit., p.150.

2. *ibid*, p. 150.

3. *Ibn Hishām*, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 329-330; Muhammad ibn 'Umar al-Wāqidī, *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*, London, Oxford University Press, 1961, Vol. 1, p. 13.



It is also clear that scholars like T.P. Hughes and Cyril Alasse did not even attempt to research the different forms of *jihād* and they have blindly defined *jihād* as "a religious war" or "holy war".

It must be reiterated that warfare was made permissible for Muslims and if executed according to the teachings of Islam and in the Cause of Islam, this form of striving was referred to as *jihād*. The very fact that the enemy were first invited to Islam displays the humanitarian principles adopted by Islam in the field of active and armed conflict. Let us compare this attitude of the Muslims to that of the Allies who were responsible for the deaths of thousands of innocent women and children in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945, an event which heralded the end of the Second World War (1939-1945).

From the western sources quoted above, one is given the impression that since its inception, Islam posed a threat to all those alien to its teachings. It must be borne in mind that the initial opposition to Islam originated in the form of attacks against the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). In due course, the attacks moved from the personality of the Prophet (s.a.w.s) to certain teachings and aspects of Islam. Since various events (discussed later) in the history of Islam and Europe were shaped by *jihād bi al-sayf*, *jihād* as an aspect of Islam received the most attention. It is thus not surprising that the European and Western scholars explained *jihād* in the exclusive sense of *qitāl* and defined *jihād* as "holy war". It may be possible that in view of the fact that the Western and European scholars defined *jihād* in the sense of *qitāl* as a result of Muslim nationalists who called their struggles *jihād*. However, the exception taken here is that *jihād* does not refer to fighting nor warfare as far as the pure meaning of the word is concerned. Thus the western scholars have not succeeded in giving a correct account of *jihād* and they

have erred in misrepresenting *jihād*.

### 3.2 The Message of *Jihād* in the Makkan and Madīnan Revelations

Studies of the *Qur'ānic* verses reveal that the word *jihād* in the Makkan revelations refer to an inner striving against the soul as an act of purification in attaining closeness to *Allāh*. The verse:

*"And verily those who strive in Our Cause, We will certainly guide them to Our Paths.*

*For verily Allāh is with those who do right"*<sup>1</sup>

refers to a spiritual striving. The words "*fi nā*" (in Our Cause) refers to striving to assist Islam spiritually.<sup>2</sup>

Besides, fighting was not prescribed until after the migration as depicted in the above verse.

The same would apply in relation to the following verse:

*"And if they strive (to force) you to join with Me (in worship) anything of which you have no knowledge, obey them not."*<sup>3</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 29:69.

2. *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*, op.cit., Vol. 7, p. 216.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 29:8.

It has already been mentioned that these verses were revealed in regards to those parents who sought to deter their children from acceptance of Islam in the early Makkan period. A typical example is of a Companion of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), ‘Ayyāsh ibn Abī Rabī‘ah, a step-brother of Abū Jahl, the uncle of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) who was killed at Badr. When ‘Ayyāsh’s mother heard that he (‘Ayyāsh) had accepted Islam, she strove to stop him from following Islam. Hence, the revelation of the above verse.<sup>1</sup>

The fact that the Muslims were commanded to restrain themselves while still in Makkah is noted from the verses:

*"But verily your Lord, to those who leave their homes after trials and persecutions, and who thereafter strive and are patient, your Lord, after all this is Most Forgiving, Most Merciful."*<sup>2</sup>

However, this verse does not mean that the restraint and patience persevered in Makkah meant that the Muslims were to become vindictive once they were in Madīnah. Nor does it mean that this was the main reason for the conflicts after the migration to Madīnah. Neither does the verse mean that *jihād* and *ṣabr* are opposites bearing in mind that the command to strive in the verse takes precedence to the command for patience. If the command to strive appeared after the command for patience in the verse, then it could be said that patience was to be observed in Makkah and retribution could be sought after the migration to Madīnah.

---

1. *Al-Qurṭubī*, op. cit, Vol. 13, p. 328

2. *Al-Qur’ān*, 16:110.

However, as is noted, this was not the case and the verses were revealed in regards to those who had undergone severe persecution and torture in Makkah, like ‘Ammār ibn Yāsir and Bilāl ibn Rabāḥ.<sup>1</sup>

Another verse:

*"...So do not follow the unbelievers and strive with it, a mighty striving..."<sup>2</sup>*

The implication of this verse was mentioned in chapter two. However, *al-Qurṭubī* states that "it" in the verse could refer to "Islam" or "sword" but he argues the improbability of "it" referring to "sword" since the commands to fight were only given in Madīnah while the verses above were revealed in Makkah.<sup>3</sup>

Since the commands to fight was only given in Madīnah, it becomes clear that reference to *jihād* in the Makkan revelations was one of self-purification and striving to overcome the evil perpetrated by non-Muslims. Furthermore, *jihād* in the Makkan revelations could also mean striving against the self in order to forsake un-Islamic practices. The use of the word *jihād* in the Makkan revelations could also mean that Muslims were to combat all forms of evil by means of the *Qur'ān*.

---

1. *Al-Qurṭubī*, op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 180 and 192.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 25:52.

3. *Al-Qurṭubī*, op. cit., Vol. 13, p. 158.

*Jihād* in the Madīnah revelations made reference not only to striving but also striving in the battlefield or *jihād bi al-sayf*. This is deduced by the use of the word *qitāl* in the Madīnah verses. It must also be noted that the word *jihād* in the Madīnah verses also meant fighting because this is what a *mujāhid* was qualified for. The idea was to prepare the Muslim from a spiritual level (in Makkah) to encouragement in military warfare as and when the necessity demanded it.

However, some of the scholars still argue that not all the verses in the Madīnah revelations referred to *jihād* in the battlefield. Let us reconsider the verse:

*"O Prophet. Strive hard against the unbelievers and the hypocrites and be firm against them..."<sup>1</sup>*

which is an example of a Madīnah revelation.

It must be remembered that the hypocrites did outwardly profess Islam and also prayed and prepared for battle alongside Muslims. Therefore, the use of "strive" in the above verses could not refer to *jihād bi al-sayf*. Also, the reference to the unbelievers in the verse was the same as the Makkan revelations which commanded striving against the evil of the spiritual kind. The views of Ibn Kathīr and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the above verses have already been mentioned.

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 9:73; 66:9.

Al-Qurtubī has also quoted the view of Ibn ‘Abbās that striving against the infidels was to be with the sword and striving against the hypocrites was to be with the tongue, that is, by argument. Ibn Mas‘ūd, also a renowned exegetist of the time of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), quoted in al-Qurtubī, states that striving against the hypocrites was to be with the hand. If that was not possible, then strive against them with the tongue. If this was also not possible, then at least show the dislike on the face, that is, feel negative about it in the heart.<sup>1</sup> In chapter one of this thesis a *Hadīth* quoted by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī was also mentioned in which it was stated that the laws of *ḥudūd*<sup>2</sup> be applied to the hypocrites. *Imām* Ibn al-‘Arabī, another reputed scholar and exegetist, disagrees that the laws of *ḥudūd* be meted out to the hypocrites. He states that remonstrating with the hypocrites by means of *jihād bi al-lisān*<sup>3</sup> was always a condition of action against hypocrites but the application of *ḥudūd* laws is an inference for which there is no proof. He has stated that a hypocrite is one who has hypocrisy in his heart and not the one who has committed sins openly and physically that *ḥudūd* laws be applied to him. This is because, in the early days of Islam, those on whom *ḥudūd* laws were applied

---

1. *Al-Qurtubī*, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 208.

2. *Ḥudūd* - singular *ḥadd*, In Islamic terminology, means "a restrictive ordinance or statute of God, respecting things lawful and unlawful, and castigations of punishments prescribed or appointed to be inflicted upon him who does that which he has been forbidden to do", *Arabic-English Lexicon*, op.cit., Book 1, Part 2, p. 525.

3. *Jihād bi al-lisān* or Striving with the Tongue implies speaking out against wrongs as alluded to by the *Hadīth* in *al-Tirmidhī*, op. cit. Vol. 4, p. 409.

were not from amongst the hypocrites. Thus this argument proves that the above verses on striving against the hypocrites does not mean fighting against the hypocrites but preaching to them and remonstrating with them by means of Islam. It also means that Muslims should be strict with them instead of being beguiled by them.<sup>1</sup> Thus the word strive is used in the general sense of the term which refers to striving for the Cause of Islam.

Let us also consider the following verses:

*"Those who believe and those who migrate and strive in the path of Allāh..."<sup>2</sup>*

This verse could refer to the *mujāhid* striving against oppression of the physical kind as well as the spiritual for the spiritual was developed as a result of the command "...and do not let the hatred of a people...incite you to transgress..."<sup>3</sup> and "And do not let the hatred of a people let you not act equitably..."<sup>4</sup> while the striving of the physical kind was developed through verses such as "Fight in the Cause of Allāh those who fight you but do not transgress the limits..."<sup>5</sup>

---

1. *Al-Qurtubi*, op.cit., Vol. 8, p. 204.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:218; 8:74.

3. *Al-Qur'ān*, 5:2.

4. *Al-Qur'ān*, 5:8.

5. *Al-Qur'ān*, 2:190.

The above verse while encouraging a striving of the physical kind, that is, *jihād bi al-sayf*, to combat an evil of a physical nature, is supported by a command to observe the spiritual aspect of *jihād* which can be noted in the words "do not transgress". We might also add that attraction of wealth in the form of booty was everpresent among the early Muslims if we seriously consider the economic background of some of the Companions of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). Restraining themselves from such an attraction was a *jihād* itself - a spiritual *jihad* while the actual fighting formed *jihād bi al-sayf*.

During the later phases of Islam, the word *jihād* lost its wider significance possibly due to the fact that scholars of Islam did not give consideration to the use of *jihād* and other derivatives of *jāhada* in the Makkan and Madīnah revelations. Thus the interpretation of the word *jihād* and derivatives of *jāhada* in verses of Makkah and Madīnah revelations again prove that *jihād* does not refer to warfare or fighting.

### **3.3 The Expansion of Islam**

Historical occurrences also enhanced misconceptions of the term *jihād* in circles alien to Islam and the Muslims. There arose the trend that one of the important aspects of *jihād* was *jihād bi al-sayf* against non-Muslims whether the Muslims were attacked or not. Severe criticisms seem to have arisen especially in the face of a threat posed as a result of the expansion of Islam after the period of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). Certain scholars and historians have seen *jihād* as an instrument to suppress Christianity. P.K. Hitti, in his book *History of the Arabs*, states:



".....Directed primarily against Christians, piracy partook first the nature of Jihad. Like soldiering, it became a profession..."<sup>1</sup>

It must be argued here that at that point in time, the enemy were primarily Christian and the Muslim fought them on the basis of an enemy in battle irrespective of religious affiliations. The misuse of the word *jihād* is also apparent. The Muslim saw every battle against him as an act of oppression and when he retaliated, he did so in the name of God - hence it was considered a *jihād*.

However, the worst distortions of the term *jihād* arise from the political, social and religious expansion of Islam. The political expansion of Islam had already begun during the life of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) when he led an expedition against the Jews of Khaybar. The Conquest of Khaybar, reasons for which were given above, marked the introduction to Islamic annals the subjugation of non-Muslims to a Muslim government.

In 8 A.H./630 C.E., Makkah came under the sway of Muslims and expeditions were sent out to check the activities of the Byzantine Christians at Tabūk and Mu'tah in 9 A.H./631 C.E. With the expansion of Muslim territories, people also accepted the new faith in large numbers which added to the expansion of the Islamic lands. Thus the expeditions of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) were to a large extent the result of threats arising from the neighbouring countries which saw the growth of Islam as a threat to their religious and political aspirations.

---

1. Hitti, P.K., *History of the Arabs*, 10th ed., London, Mc Millan Press Limited, 1980, pp. 711-712.

History has recorded that whenever the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) sent out an expedition, the combatants were commanded by the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) to fear *Allāh* and fight for the Pleasure of *Allāh*<sup>1</sup>. The courses of action called out before actual combat was the manner in which the Muslims initiated their battles against those who opposed them. This mode of conduct was continued during the era of the Orthodox Caliphs (632 - 661 C.E.).

Islam was basically a new religion as far as the co-religionists were concerned and as mentioned earlier, its rate of growth attracted the attention of other religious groups. The Muslims were imbued with the spirit of *jihād* and the spirit to spread the message of Islam. They were also very much enthusiastic to defend the borders of Islam. These factors meant that they would invariably come into contact and conflict with the neighbouring countries. The situation was also on the one hand, fear of one party for another and on the other hand, zeal to follow the precepts of faith. Thus Islam grew from strength to strength and its growth continued during the era of the Umayyads and 'Abbasids (661 - 1258 C.E.) and beyond.

Muslim domination extended from Spain in Europe, North Africa and the greater parts of Asia Minor including a part of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent. Even during a lull in Islamic expansion after the sack of Baghdād in 1258 C.E., the Caliphal lands still remained in the hands of Muslims who ruled in the name of the deposed Caliph.

It was around this time that Christian Europe began making inroads into the domains of Islam to recapture land lost to the Muslims. The Christians saw the occupation of their holy lands

---

1. *Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 140; *al-Sijistānī*, op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 37.

and the conversion of churches into mosques a desecration of their religion and religious beliefs. The opportune moment to take action against Muslims had arrived. In the eleventh century, when Islam was undergoing a period of spiritual, moral, religious and political decadence, the Byzantine Emperor Alexius Comnenus made several urgent appeals to Pope Urban the Second to incite the Christians of Europe and Asia against the Muslims. Pope Urban saw an opportunity to win glory for the church and an opportunity to reduce the rivalry that existed among the nobles and kings of Europe. At a meeting in Claremont (France) in 1095, Pope Urban's fiery speech aroused the Christian World and the Crusades thus came into being in 1096.<sup>1</sup>

The Crusade Movement spanned three centuries and was partially successful in its endeavours. Although the reasons for the Crusades were not purely religious,<sup>2</sup> the primary and most pressing role of the Crusades was the recovery of the Christian Holy Lands in the hands of Muslims and in the process, the annihilation of the Muslims at any cost.<sup>3</sup> As a result, thousands of Muslims lost their lives.

---

1. Edward McNall Burns, *Western Civilizations*, 8th ed., New York, W.W. Norton and Co., Vol. 1, p. 321; Bryce Lyon, "Crusades", in *World Book Encyclopedia*, edited by R.O. Zeleny et al, Chicago, World Book Incorporated, 1985, Vol. 4, p. 926.

2. *Burns*, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 321-323.

3. Norman Daniel, *Islam and the West*, Chapter Four, The Place of Violence and Power in the Attack on Islam, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1980.

In what is referred to in history as the First Crusade (1096-1099), the Muslims suffered utter defeat and loss of lives. It was also during this period that Jerusalem was lost to the Crusades in accordance with the words of Pope Urban the Second: "Enter upon the road to the Holy Sepulchre and wrest it from the wicked race..."<sup>1</sup> Thus in the name of God, the Crusades launched attack upon attack until it seemed that Islam would be effaced from military annals. But whenever Islam was rebuffed from all sides and the Muslims became spiritually and physically weak, there always appeared from the crumbling ruins a savior to re-instate the prestige of Islam. Thus the second Crusades met the likes of Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (1137-1193), popularly known in history as Saladin.

It was during the sultanate of Salāḥ al-Dīn, who, with his skill and mastery as an able-bodied military tactician and strategist that Islam was saved from the onslaught of Christian Europe. Salah al-Din is known for his zeal in the field of *jihād bi al-sayf* and under his leadership, the Muslims gained much of the lands that had fallen into Christian hands. One of the decisive battles fought during the time of Salāḥ al-Dīn was at Hittin in 1187 C.E. In the same year, Jerusalem once more came under Muslim rule.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. M.M. Qureshi, *Landmarks of Jihad*, Lahore, Shaykh Muhammad Ashraf, 1971, p. 189.
  2. *Landmarks of Jihad*, op. cit., pp. 207-210; Jamil Ahmad, *Hundred Great Muslims*, Lahore, Ferozsons Limited, pp. 551-552; Bahā al-Din Abū al-Maḥāsīn ibn Shaddād, *Saladin*, Pakistan, Islamic Book Service, 1976, pp. 110-116. Ibn Shaddād is known to have lived and worked with Salāḥ al-Dīn.

Another Crusade was launched against the Muslims but the Muslims were able to weather the storm and Islam was saved from complete annihilation. Salāḥ al-Dīn Ayyūbī is known as a man of indomitable will, dauntless courage, magnanimity and chivalry. His humane attitude towards the subdued enemies has also found an important place in historical annals.

Several Crusades were launched against the Muslims after the demise of Salāḥ al-Dīn and in all of them, the Muslims were not victorious. However, Christendom has never forgotten these encounters. The stigma that *jihād* is a holy war carried out primarily with the end of forcing non-Muslims into conversion to Islam has remained.

The era of the Crusades marked a distinct discord rooted deeply in religious matters in so far as Islam and Christianity are concerned. The Crusades also represents the longest conflict in the history of mankind. The reaction of the Muslims to the Crusade onslaught and in some instances, the defeat of the Crusade forces, especially during the period of Salāḥ al-Dīn and his predecessors has left an indelible mark in the minds of the Christian World that the Muslims would not rest until the entire world succumbs to Islam and Islamic rule. The defeats suffered by the Christians have since been seen as *jihād* to suppress Christianity and the Christian World. Thus, the term *jihād* became synonymous with warfare and which eventually led to the distortion of the concept of *jihād*. The rise of the Ottomans in the twelfth century C.E. also threatened Christianity and Christian Europe. The conquest of Constantinople (present-day Istanbul) in 1453 by Muḥammad al-Fātiḥ<sup>1</sup> further served as a death-blow because

---

1. *Hundred Great Muslims*, op. cit., pp. 556-559.

Constantinople was regarded as the seat of Christian government in Europe. The zeal of the Ottomans to expand the Islamic lands brought under Muslim subjugation the greatest parts of Asia Minor, the Middle East and Europe during the reigns of Sultān Salīm and Sulaymān.<sup>1</sup> Ottoman hegemony was a direct result of *jihād*. The defeats suffered by Christians during this period were also seen as *jihād* against them to force Islam onto them.

It can now be stated that since Islam inadvertently came into contact with Christianity, *jihād bi al-sayf* became inevitable. The Christian World experienced several defeats and cases of humiliation. The defeats had come from a nation that had not been given consideration for centuries. Also, it cannot be over-ruled that Islam posed a threat to Christianity, firstly on religious concepts which stemmed from the time of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and secondly, on a political basis.

The conquest of North Africa by ‘Uqbah ibn Nāfi’ and Musā ibn Nuṣayr which finally paved the way for the conquest of Spain by Ṭāriq ibn Ziyād was also another factor that humbled the Christians of Europe and the Christian World at large. It is therefore not surprising that upto this day, *jihād* is defined as "holy war".<sup>2</sup>

In summary, therefore, it must again be stated that the initial opposition to Islam was religiously motivated but after the migration to Madīnah, the conflict between Muslims and

---

1. *Hundred Great Muslims*, op. cit., pp. 476-480.

2. Peter Funk, *It Pays to Enrich Your Wordpower in Reader's Digest*, edited by Wendy Morgenrood, Cape Town, Reader's Digest Association, Vol. 145, No. 867, p. 9.

non-Muslims took political and economic overtones which culminated in several battles taking place between the non-Muslims and Muslims. With the passage of time, propagandist efforts were made to mislead the world into misrepresenting and misinterpreting those aspects of Islam that were seen as a threat.

( As can be gauged from the above, *jihād* received the most attention and the slightest reaction from Muslims in the defence of Islam earned the Muslims titles such as "militant" and "fanatical". The propagandist efforts were continued by European and Western scholars who purposely defined *jihād* as holy war and holy battle.)

( It is also recorded in historical sources that whenever Muslims waged *jihād*, they waged it against the leaders and their forces and not against civilians and the people who lived under unjust regimes. So it could not be possible that *jihād* was engaged by Muslims for the purposes of proselytization. )

It must be reiterated that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was commanded to spread Islam and he executed his duties by inviting people to Islam. The invitation was also extended to rulers of neighbouring countries which resulted in large-scale conversion to Islam. The growing number of Muslims alarmed the neighbouring Christians and when they crossed the borders and attacked the Muslims or posed a threat to the religious and political domains of Islam, the Muslims had no option but to retaliate.

It must also be noted that the only means of spreading Islam in those days was by personal contact. Therefore, when the Muslims travelled, they travelled in numbers as a form of

security should any any form of unpleasantness arise. Whenever and wherever the necessity arose to defend themselves, the Muslims were involved in *jihād*. These were thus the circumstances under which the Muslims became involved in conflicts which scholars of Europe and the West have failed to note.

It is also a ridiculous notion that the Muslims issued beyond the borders of the Arabian Peninsula merely for economic achievement. If this was the case, then why did the Muslims not plot such moves prior to Islam and plunder the neighbouring states of Yaman and Persia?

Keeping the above facts in mind, one may observe that the Western and European scholars have not succeeded in giving correct accounts of *jihād* and whether these scholars accept that it is historically and scholastically proven that universal peace can only be achieved through *jihād* in the path of *Allāh*, remains to be seen.

It must therefore be conceded that *jihād bi al-sayf* is encouraged in the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth* but it was ordained as an exception and not as a rule. The greatest distortions of *jihād* still arise, however, from not understanding *jihād* as a personal or group effort that can be implemented and channelled to achieve a particular aim, i.e. for the Pleasure of *Allāh* only.



## CHAPTER FOUR

### ***JIHĀD* IN CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM SOCIETY**

Muslims have been commanded to engage in *jihād* since the inception of Islam. *Jihād* was waged in order to bring about a change and this exercise continued to be executed until the Muslims were at the pinnacle of their glory. But, unfortunately due to political and religious circumstances, Muslims could not hold on to their glory and their political and spiritual collapse eventually came about in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Ottomans were defeated and the Muslims of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent suffered the same consequences. Nationalism and imperialism played key roles in destabilising the already disintegrating Muslim powers.

However, Muslims throughout the world sought to salvage the remains and once again bring Islam back to life and Islamic values that were lost to the processes of westernization. Muslim rulers such as Mustafa Kamal (d. 1938), at the helm of political affairs, also opted to adopt western systems but without success for Islam. A typical example in this case was Turkey where the adaptation of westernization resulted in that country being completely cut-off from its cultural and religious past. The following is recorded as regards Mustafa Kamal, the ruler of Turkey after the First World War: "In his youth he had assimilated, along with his revolutionary ideas, the teachings of Zia Gokalp (1876-1924) who had fought for liberalism and freedom of religious thought... He sought refuge in drink, for he had no God to console him and no belief in an afterlife... He recognised that his real fight was against religion. Since

childhood he had no use for God, an abstract name warped in mystery and fallacy...he preached freedom from religious domination, the curtailment of the power of the 'Ulama'<sup>1</sup>, the various religious schools... he had advocated elimination of the Shari'at, the ecclesiastical courts of the Kadis - the exponents of the Islamic Law..."<sup>2</sup>

When Mustafa Kamal came to power in 1924, his Republican People's Party worked strongly towards secularism, one of the six ideologies of the constitution drawn up by the new Turkish government that succeeded Ottoman rule after the First World War (1914-1918). Amongst the changes made were the abolition of the caliphate and declaration of Turkey as a secular state<sup>3</sup>; modernization of all aspects of political and social life;<sup>4</sup> polygamy was abolished, court marriages were given preference to religious marriages and for the first time in the history of Islam, women began to expose themselves in public and even entered beauty competitions. The Islamic calendar was replaced by the Gregorian Calendar and spirits and alcohol were made legal for Muslims.<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. singular 'ālim - literally learned man.
  2. Halide Edib, *Turkey Faces West*, 1930, pp. 84; 246-251 as quoted in Abū Al-Ḥasan 'Alī Nadvi, *Western Civilization - Islam and Muslims*, Lucknow, Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1969, pp. 46,47.
  3. S.J. Shaw and E.K. Shaw, *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 197,, Vol. 2, p. 375.
  4. *ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 378.
  5. *ibid*, Vol. 2, p. 385; William Miller, *The Ottoman Empires and its Successors 1801-1927*, London, F. Cass and Co. Ltd., 1966, pp. 555-556.

Thus in an attempt to imitate western values and systems, Turkey drifted away from Islam. Upto the day, the highly secular government of Turkey works to suppress any kind of political interference. The latest constitution has banned, *inter alia*, the *Shari'ah* and the government is known to depend on revenue from gambling and prostitution.<sup>1</sup>

Confrontation between Eastern and Western cultures also appeared on the Indian Subcontinent. While institutions like Nadwat al-'Ulama' in Lucknow, founded in 1893, sought to bridge the influences of East and West where Islam was concerned, the '*ulamā*' fraternity worked towards preserving lost Islamic identities and values by establishing *Dār al-'Ulūm* (literally House of Knowledge - a college for Islamic Education) in the hope that graduates from these institutions would take up the duties of preaching and spreading Islam.<sup>2</sup> This move was indeed successful to the extent that several such institutions exist even in South Africa. This means that despite the differences of opinion that existed as is noted in the case of India, Muslims became aware to revive Islam. This was a *jihād* to uphold Islam. Although Mustafa Kamal's activities were frowned upon, movements were established to re-instate Islamic Law.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. *Shaw and Shaw*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 385; Ahmad 'Irfan, "Muslim Society, Secular Constitution" in *Impact International*, edited by A.'Irfan, London, News and Media Ltd., Vol. 24, No. 6, pp. 13-15.
  2. *Western Civilization - Islam and Muslims*, op. cit., pp. 57-59.
  3. *Shaw and Shaw*, op. cit., Vol. 2, pp. 409,410.

However, it must be conceded that Turkey's role in the westernization process set a precedent for other Muslim countries to follow. Turkey's attempts to remove teachings of Islam and replace them with teachings alien to Islam also motivated Muslims in other countries to strive to uphold Islam and Islamic teachings in affairs religious, political and social. The emergence of Islamic movements in other countries where Muslims lived meant that *jihād* was to become interlinked in global politics.

#### **4.1 *Jihād* in the Late Nineteenth Century**

In 711 C.E., during the rule of the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd, Muḥammad ibn Qāsim entered Sindh and captured the area. The ruler of Sindh, Rājā Dāhir, had harboured enemies of the Muslims and his men had looted the belongings of Muslim traders. The capture of Sindh meant the introduction of Islam to India. After several battles, India came under Muslim domination but as in the case of other Muslim empires, there appeared many politically weak rulers from amongst the Mughals in Muslim India. The last of the great Mughal rulers was Aurangzeb 'Ālamghīr. As far as statemanship was concerned, he is known to have saved India, to a certain extent, from neighbouring Hindu states. The Hindus had long since been making inroads into Muslim territories and they had begun reclaiming land lost to Muslim conquests. However, after Aurangzeb, the situation for the Muslims worsened and there appeared many provinces. The weaknesses of the Muslims were seen by their Hindu counterparts. From amongst the Hindus, the Marathas were the first to make inroads into Islamic territories. The period was one of general decay as far as religious, political, social and spiritual matters were concerned. Muslims in India had lost their links with Islam and innovative practices had crept into their lives.

Furthermore, the British also had interests in India. Among those who tried to save India from the British was Sulṭān Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān , popularly known as Tipṭu Sulṭān. He was driven by a fervour to save India from a foreign power, that is the British; but the British and their alliance with some of the Hindu leaders eventually resulted in the defeat and death of Tipṭu Sulṭān in 1799. India thus fell into the hands of the British.<sup>1</sup>

The Muslims in India awaited a reformer who could take them out of their spiritual and political state of degradation and they thus found Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd. Born in 1786, Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd paid little attention to education in his childhood but took genuine interest in exercises and military warfare. As an adult, he studied the Islamic sciences under Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 1824). He studied *taṣawwuf* (Islamic Mysticism) and two years later, he turned to Rae Bareilly, his birth-place. He served in the army of ‘Āmir Khān and thus gained experience in the field of military warfare. Islam now had a man imbued with piety and a zeal for religion and *jihād* to rid India of oppression.

Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd preached the importance of *jihād* throughout India. After his pilgrimage (*hajj*), he set about preparing himself for *jihād*. It was not long before that Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd had thousands of followers who were prepared to sacrifice their lives for the Cause of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. *Hundred Great Muslims*, op. cit., pp. 489-497.

2. Abū al-Ḥasan ‘Alī Nadvi, *Islam and the World*, Lucknow, Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1980, pp. 163-164.

According to Muhammad Hedayetullah, the initial *jihād* of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd was *jihād bi al-‘ilm* and *jihād bi al-naḥs* by means of which he wished to eradicate innovations and innovative practices in the religious lives of the Muslims in India and to rekindle in them a zeal for the pristine teachings of Islam.<sup>1</sup> He further claims that it was only during the second phase of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd’s life that involved *jihād bi al-sayf*.<sup>2</sup>

As far as *jihād bi al-sayf* was concerned, Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd focussed his attention to the North-Western portion of India. It was here that the Sikhs were harassing the Muslims. The Sikhs had concluded a treaty of perpetual friendship with the British<sup>3</sup> who were the arch-enemies of Islam and the Muslims. This can be deduced from the following statement made by Major F.J. Harriot, in the trial of Bahādur Shāh Zafar, the last Mughal emperor: "The known restless spirit of Mohammedan fanaticism has been known the first aggressor, the vindictive intolerance of that peculiar faith has been struggling for mastery, seditious conspiracy has been it means.. Thus the bitter zeal of Mohammedanism meets us everywhere...."<sup>4</sup>

- 
1. Muhammad Hedayetullah, *Sayyid Aḥmad*, Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1970, pp. 122- 127.
  2. *ibid*, pp. 122-127.
  3. Mohiuddin Ahmad, *Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd - His Life and Mission*, Lucknow, Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1975, p. 121.
  4. "Proceedings from the Trial of Muḥammad Bahādur Shāh", pp. 158-159 as quoted in *M. Ahmad*, op. cit., p. 122.

It has already been mentioned that India consisted of Muslim principalities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The North-Western part of India had a concentration of Muslims from Afghanistan and it was here that they were being harassed by the Sikhs under the leadership of Ranjith Singh. Ranjith Singh exploited the anarchy that prevailed amongst the Muslims and he began capturing the Muslim principalities there. He expanded to the East and West and Sikh rule dominated the region. The plight of the Muslims was both pathetic and tragic.<sup>1</sup>

It has thus been recorded: "The calamity that has befallen the Muslims of this country, the way they are put to the sword, humbled and insulted, their places of worship desecrated and despoiled are not unknown...Numberless women and children in the Punjab, caught in the whirlpool of the pagan's tyranny, recite these words of God with tears in their eyes: "*O Lord, bring us forth from out of this town of which people are oppressors. Give us from Thy Presence some protecting friend, give us from Thy Presence some defender.*"<sup>2</sup>

This shows the terrible conditions undergone by Muslims in that area and it means that the Muslims awaited someone to free them from the shackles of oppression. The reason for Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd's *jihād* against the Sikhs is clear - the lives of Muslims were in danger and their religious freedom was being suppressed.

---

1. *M. Ahmad*, pp. 148-151.

2. *al-Qur'ān*, 4:57; *Sīrat Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd*, Vol. 1, p. 397 as quoted in *M. Ahmad*, p.151.

Muslims of the North-Western Provinces of India invoked the Almighty for assistance. At the time when Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd had rallied his troops and was moving his army of Muslims towards the Frontier, the leader of the Sikh army was Budh Singh Sindhanwalia. When the Muslims neared the battleground, an ultimatum in accordance with the Islamic Law was sent to Budh Singh.<sup>1</sup> The ultimatum was ignored and the Muslims engaged in several battles against the Sikhs. However, certain Muslim clans betrayed the Muslim army which ended in defeat of the Muslims at Balakot in 1831. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd met his martyrdom at the hands of the Sikhs during this battle. The objectives of *jihād* were made clear by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd. The idea was not personal gain but redemption of the oppressed Muslims. Biographers of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd have aptly recorded that his *jihād* against the Sikhs was because of the threat that arose from the Sikhs. Besides, the intervention of the British was also a strong point that encouraged *jihād* against the Sikhs.

## **4.2 *Jihād* in the Twentieth Century**

### **4.2.1 Afghanistan**

Islam was introduced to Afghanistan around 600 C.E. but it became the dominant religion around 800 C.E. Afghanistan was conquered by the Mughals and by the Timurids under Timur Lang. It was in 1747 that the Kingdom of Afghanistan came into being under Ahmad Shah Durrani. In 1953, Muhammad Da'ud Khan took control of the government and became Afghanistan's first prime minister. He resigned in 1963 and the implementation of the

---

1. *M. Ahmad*, op. cit., p. 166.



democratic system introduced in 1964 was a failure.<sup>1</sup> Muḥammad Dā'ūd Khān regained power and established strong ties with the Soviet Union. However, he had only turned to the Soviet Union for military aid when the United Nations refused to supply his country with arms and ammunition. It was only discovered later that the Soviet Union had only supplied the arms and aided him otherwise only to make Afghanistan economically dependent on the Soviet Union.<sup>2</sup> Soviet influence in Afghanistan increased to such an extent that Dā'ūd Khān himself was alarmed.<sup>3</sup>

Dā'ūd Khān is recorded to be a ruler who challenged Islamic teachings and this became one of the main reasons for the opposition he received from the anti-Communist Muslims in Afghanistan. Those who opposed Dā'ūd Khān maintained that the Communist policies adopted by him were in conflict with Islamic teachings. Communists killed Dā'ūd Khān in 1978 and in 1979 the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan.

Honour and dignity means a lot to the Afghans and they were prepared to retaliate against the Soviets. The Afghans have a deep respect for their religious leaders ('*ulamā*'). So when the religious leaders proclaimed *jihād* against the Soviets, the *Mujāhidūn* (also referred to as the Afghan *Mujāhidūn*) came into existence.<sup>4</sup> The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviets

---

1. Louis Dupreez, Afghanistan in *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 87.

2. M. Siddiq Noorzoy, *Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited*, edited by R. Klass, New York, Freedom House, 1978, pp. 77-78.

3. *ibid*, p. 5.

4. *Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited*, op. cit., p. 207.

increased the rebellion and the *Mujāhidūn* forces increased in number. Apart from becoming merely a national freedom movement, the rebellion also became a *jihād*.<sup>1</sup> It must also be noted that the *Mujāhidūn* forces earned the respect of the Muslim World (who had initially paid little attention to the crisis) because the *Mujāhidūn* adhered strictly to Islamic ideologies and the *Shari'ah*.<sup>2</sup> However, what is important is that despite internal feuds, the *Mujāhidun* were able to withstand Soviet onslaught and genocide which has been compared to the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis during the Second World War.<sup>3</sup>

The administration of the *Mujāhidūn* forces and their struggle against a Superpower with superiority military equipment received the genuine attention of the world at large. The *Mujāhidūn* set an excellent example for Muslims as far as *jihād bi al-sayf* is concerned since their efforts proved to be for the cause of Islam and for the defense of the lives and property of Muslims as had been the case during the era of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). It was perhaps due to their sincerity and firm beliefs in *Allāh*'s help that resulted in the withdrawal of the Soviets from Afghanistan. There are several incidents recorded of Divine intervention in the struggle against the Soviet Union.<sup>4</sup>

---

1. *Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited*, op. cit., p. 207.

2. *ibid*, p. 208

3. *ibid*, p. 8.

4. Āftāb Ḥasan, *Jihād Kāmyābī Kā Rāstā* in *ṣadā-e-Mujāhid*, edited by M.M. Azhar, Islāmabad, March/April 1994, Vol. 5, p. 54; Mawlānā Nūr Muḥammad, *Jihād-e-Afghānistān Main Imdād al-Raḥmān* in *al-Irshād*, edited by Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Ādil Khān, Pakistan, June/July 1990, Vol. 19, pp. 21,22.

The Afghan *Mujāhidūn* must be commended for their efforts in re-instating the dignity and prestige enjoyed by the Muslims in Afghanistan. They must also be commended for their undaunting courage in the wake of Soviet onslaughts which were launched against them without concern for loss of life or faith.

Also, it must be recorded that *jihād* in Afghanistan "transformed the traditional liberal Islam of Afghanistan into a militant and dynamic political ideology."<sup>1</sup> The spirit of the Afghan *jihād* has affected Muslims throughout the world and it has played a significant role in reinstating the position of *jihād* for Islam in the twentieth century.

It can be gauged from the above that the *Mujāhidūn* paved the way for other Muslims in other lands to strive for the sake of the truth and to uphold Islam. It also taught the Muslims to struggle for the sake of *Allāh* against oppression of all kinds.

#### 4.2.2 The 1979 Revolution in Iran

The history of Iran dates back to 600 C.E. when Muslims first conquered the land. By 900 C.E., it was already a great centre of the arts and learning. Thereafter, Iran was ruled by the Turks and in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Iran came under Safavid rule. During the

---

1. *Afghanistan :The Great Game Revisited*, op. cit., p. 292; Amer Obeid, "'Sin" of a Superpower" in *The Muslim World League Journal*, edited by Hashim Mahdi, Makkah, Press and Publications Department, Muslim World League, Jan/Feb. 1989, Vol. 16, Nos. 5 and 6, p. 6.

1730's, Nadir Shah became king and thereafter the Qajar Dynasty ruled upto 1925. In 1925, the Qajars were overthrown by Reza Khan who became Shah of Iran. His family name was changed to Pahlavi.

Iran played a significant role in the first and second world wars. When the British wished to transport arms via Iran to the Soviet Union, Reza Shah refused. This resulted in the invasion of Iran by British and Soviet troops in 1941. Reza Shah was overthrown and his son Muhammad Reza was installed in Reza Shah's place as Shah of Iran.

Muhammad Reza signed a treaty which allowed the Soviet Union use of the Trans-Iranian Railway. The presence of foreign troops were not acceptable to the Iranians and they demanded that the oil industry be placed under government ownership. In 1963, Muhammad Reza introduced his "White Revolution" which aimed at reducing the influence of Islam and in turn increase western influence.

Such moves made by the Shah received criticism from the Iranian Muslims, especially from Ayatollah Khomeini (d. 1989), a religious teacher. For his activities against the Shah, Khomeini was sent into exile. While in exile, Khomeini and other organisations worked to overthrow Muhammad Reza. The result was unrest all over Iran which eventually led to the Shah's exile.

In 1979, Khomeini entered Iran and established the Islamic Republic of Iran.<sup>1</sup> Ayatollah

---

1. 'Ali Banu 'Azizi, "Iran" in *World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit., Vol. 10, pp. 321-323.

Khomeini is famous in world religio-political circles for his reform movements. With the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran, religious reform became a significant feature. He was widely supported for his efforts in bringing about social and political reforms. The struggle against the Pahlavi Regime was seen as *jihād*. Greater support for the Iranian Revolution was evident when a war broke out between Iran and Iraq - a conflict alleged to be instigated by the United States of America.<sup>1</sup>

Ayatollah Khomeini is known to have encouraged *jihād* in his speeches and writings which have greatly influenced Muslims, especially students, throughout the world. In one of his lectures, he stated: "Those who engaged in Islam in the first age of Islam advanced and pushed forward without any regard for themselves or their desires, for they had earlier waged a jihad against themselves. Without the inner jihad, the outer jihad is impossible. Jihad is inconceivable unless a person turns his back on his own desires and the world."<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, the influence the declarations and writings of Khomeini have had on Muslims, can be gauged from the following: "The Islamic revolution as Imam Khomeini taught his disciples paves the way for an ultimate global revolution. It will finally give the hammer of

---

1. *Views on war*, edited by the Ministry of Islamic Guidance, Teheran, Council for the Celebration of the Third Anniversary of the Victory of Iran, 1982, pp. 20-21.

2. Ruhullah Musawwi Khomeini, *Islam and Revolution*, translated and anotated by Hamid Algar, Berkeley, Mizan Press, 1981, pp. 387-388.

revolution to its true owner.... Today, friend and foe alike, confess that the Islamic revolution is the only viable substitute for all the "isms" of the West."<sup>1</sup>

Although the Iranian Revolution may have been modelled on the patterns of revolutions in Europe, it must be conceded that the revolution in Iran did create a considerable impact on the lives of Muslims. The revolution against an unjust and corrupt regime must be seen as a *jihād*. The revolution in Iran with the advent of Ayatullah Khomeini must also be seen as a *jihād* since the revolution was aimed at removing people from oppression of the Pahlavi government which sought to destroy Islam and Islamic influence.

#### 4.2.3 The Crisis in the Gulf

In August 1990, Saddam Husayn, the ruler of Iraq, invaded Kuwait, a neighbouring country. The rest of the world reacted with mixed feelings and criticisms were thus for and against the invasion. Let us consider some of the reasons for the invasion:

1. Kuwait is an extremely rich oil-producing country. The price and sales of oil concerned Saddam Husayn.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Hedayat Golpaygani, "Islamic Revolution: the Start of the Way" in *Echo of Islam*, edited by S. Majidi, Iran, Islamic Thought Foundation, February 1993, No. 104, p. 21.
  2. Khalid al-Maeena, "Those who talk of Holy War" in *The Muslim World League Journal*, edited by Sayyid Hasan Mutahar, op. cit., July/August 1990, Vol. 18, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 21.

2. There was also a quarrel as regards the oil-fields which Saddam Husayn believed rightly belonged to Iraq.
3. Iraq had suffered huge debts as a result of its eight year war with Iran. The war debt had to be paid from some source.
4. Iraq is virtually landlocked and owns only twenty nine kilometres of shore-lines. Kuwait refused to cede or lease to Iraq, Bubiyan Island which blocks Iraq's shorelines .
5. Iraq has also claimed that Kuwait was originally part of Iraq during Ottoman rule which meant that Kuwait rightfully belonged to Iraq.<sup>1</sup>

It is further alleged that the Iraqis were determined to see the breakdown of negotiations between Iraq and Kuwait. There is sufficient evidence that pillage and plunder was the result of the invasion of Kuwait. Thousands had to flee their country and thousands lost their lives. The invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Husayn drew comparison with Hitler who had occupied territories in spite of having concluded a treaty with the Allies in 1930's. The comparison was of-course exaggerated but George Bush, the then president of the United States of America, treated the matter seriously. America's involvement in the Gulf Crisis was clear; economic factors.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. Lisa Beyer, "Iraq's Power Grab" in *Time International*, edited by Jason McManus, Amsterdam, Time Life International, August 1990, Vol. 136, No. 7, pp. 12-13.
  2. "The Case for and Against War", special report in *Newsweek*, edited by R.M. Smith, Washington, Newsweek Incorporated, October 1990, No. 44, p. 11; "An Islamic Peace Mission", editorial in *Impact International*, edited by Ahmad 'Irfan, op. cit., October 1990, Vol. 20, p. 5.

The oil supply on which America depended was now in jeopardy. George Bush had the following to say: "We need the oil. Its nice to talk about standing for freedom, but Kuwait and Saudi Arabia are not exactly democracies and if their principle export were oranges, a mid-level State Department official would have issued a statement..."<sup>1</sup>

It has also been reported that the Secretary of Commerce, Robert Mossbacher said: "Crass or not, its oil that keeps everybody going."<sup>2</sup> Thus, the crisis in the Gulf was an opportunity for America, the world's largest debtor nation to relieve itself of some of that debt. America needed a base from which to defend its oil supply and this came from the Saudi Arabians who were prepared to provide the hospitality.<sup>3</sup>

By mid-September 1990, Saddam Husayn was surrounded by armies who were enraged and prepared to get rid of him. The situation worsened and at one time it was feared that Saddam Husayn would resort to chemical warfare.<sup>4</sup>

---

1. Michael Kramer, "Read my ships" in *Time International*, op. cit., August 1990, Vol. 136, No. 8, p. 11.

2. J.Miller and L.Myroie, *Saddam Husayn and the Crisis in the Gulf*, New York, Times Books, 1990, p. 217.

3. *ibid*, p. 217.

4. S.W. Cloud, "Gathering Storm" in *Time International*, op. cit., September 1990, Vol.136, No. 36, pp. 12-15.



Around the December of 1990, Saddam Husayn was given an ultimatum by the United Nations to withdraw from Kuwait. The deadline was 15 January 1991. Saddam Husayn refused to give in and the ultimatum was ignored. Iraq was thus involved with the Allied forces with America at the helm of affairs. By February 1991, Saddam Husayn was defeated, and he had already agreed to withdraw his troops and accept the post-war conditions set out by the Allies.<sup>1</sup>

However, the intervention of the United States of America received the attention of almost the entire Muslim World. There were some that clearly disagreed with the invasion of Kuwait and some even saw Saddam as the "monster" of the Middle East. They could not forgive the massacre, plunder and pillage wrought at the hands of the Iraqis. The World Assembly of Muslim Youth, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, slammed the invasion of Kuwait as un-Islamic, as Saddam Husayn, above all else, committed a crime unacceptable to International Codes of Conduct and opposed "Arab identity".<sup>2</sup>

Speakers at the Muslim World League Conference held on 10 September 1990 questioned :  
"Why were the Iraqi forces not in the occupied territories of Palestine, helping in the

---

1. George J. Church, "Marching to a conclusion" in *Time International*, op. cit., March 1991, Vol. 137, No. 9, pp. 9-15.

2. "Wamy raps Saddam's actions as un-Islamic", editorial in *The Muslim World League Journal* op. cit., August 1990, Vol. 18, Nos 1 and 2, p. 10.

liberation struggle of the unarmed Palestinians against the mighty Zionist enemy?"<sup>1</sup> Professor Burhān al-Dīn Rabbānī, the leader of the Afghan *Mujāhidūn* at the time, also slammed the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq.<sup>2</sup>

The above statements clearly show that these personalities and organisations were against the invasion. The justification of these claims come to the fore when one considers the aftermath of the battle; Islam does not condone such acts which go against the grain of its unalloyed teachings.

There were also those Muslims who prayed for the success of the Iraqis and strongly criticized the presence of American troops on Saudi soil. The battle was seen as *jihād* since Iraq faced a primarily non-Muslim enemy:

"The war in Iraq, even if it was not a classic was for the Din, it is conceded, nevertheless, it was a valid Shar'ī jihad in that Iraq, a Muslim country, was fighting an invading kafir force

---

1. Muhammad Nasir, "Muslim World League Conference on Gulf Situation" in *The World Muslim League Journal*, op. cit., Vol. 18, Nos 1, 2, p. 11.

2. "Rabbani deplores invasion, demands Iraqi pullout", editorial in *The Muslim World League Journal*, op. cit., Vol. 18, Nos. 1 and 2, p. 15.

bent on killing its people and destroying its land. A war in defense of life, blood, honour and property of Muslims is a jihad decreed obligatory by the Shari'ah."<sup>1</sup> This article by the *Majlis al-'Ulamā'* also argued that while it was permissible to seek assistance from non-Muslims in *jihād*, in the case of Iraq such permissibility falls away since two Muslim nations were at war. It has also been stated that the Allied forces in the Gulf had in fact sought the annihilation of the progress of Islam.<sup>2</sup>

Some Muslims also felt that the war could not be called a *jihād* because the war was not being fought on the basis of Islam but for pure materialistic ends. Some argued since so many Muslims including the '*ulamā'* supported Saddam Husayn , why did the same reaction not arise during the conflict between the Muslims and Hindus in India. It was also argued that the conflict in India was a *jihād* since it was there that the faith and lives of Muslims was in danger. The same could be said of the plight of the Muslims in Kashmir or the massacre of the Muslims of Shri Lanka by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), better known as the Tamil Tigers.<sup>3</sup>

- 
1. "It is Jihad" in *Impact International*, edited by Ahmad Irfan, op. cit., September 1990, Vol. 20, p. 7; "The Iraqi War and the Shari'ah", editorial in *al-Haq*, edited by Majlis al-'Ulama' of South Africa, Port Elizabeth, Majlis al-'Ulama', April 1991, p. 10.
  2. "War or No Peace", editorial in *Impact International*, edited by A. Irfan, op. cit., October 1990, Vol. 20, p. 8.
  3. Mushtaq Parker, "Sri Lankan Muslims Appeal for Help" in *The Muslim World league Journal*, op. cit., Vol. 18, Nos 1 and 2, pp. 36-37; Ruqayya Razzaq Kiyani, *Kashmūr Jal Raha He* in *Ṣadā-e-Mujāhid*, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 34.

The arguments above indicate that a controversy did exist as to whether the Crisis in the Gulf could be regarded as a *jihād* or not. It may be stated here that the Crisis in the Gulf definitely led to a misunderstanding of *jihād* though it was not a contributory factor in the distortion of the concept of *jihād*.

Just as America was not in the battle because Kuwait grew oranges, Iraq did not invade Kuwait for Islamic reasons. Material gain was the motive and according to our definitions and understanding of the purpose of *jihād* mentioned in the foregoing pages, the moves made by Saddam Husayn were contrary to the teachings of Islamic *jihād*.

To the West against Saddam Husayn, it could be said that the processes of nationalism and imperialism produced the likes of Saddam Husayn.<sup>1</sup> To the Muslims it must be said that though the Crisis in the Gulf was not ideally a *jihād* in the true sense of the word, handing over a Muslim to non-Muslims would be contrary to Islamic teachings if we took into consideration the message of the verses: "*The Believers are Brothers...*"<sup>2</sup>

The defeat of Saddam Husayn may have been a matter of joy for the West but what are the realities of the aftermath of the Crisis -pain, suffering and sickness in Iraq must be given consideration.

---

1. *Saddam Husayn and the Crisis in the Gulf*, op. cit., pp. 66-68.

2. *Al-Qur'ān*, 49:10; *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*, op. cit., Vol. 28, p. 128; Abū Ja'far Muhammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, *Jāmi' al-Bayān li Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, Dār al-Fikr, 1984, Vol. 13, p. 130.

#### 4.2.4 Bosnia

Bosnia is a historical and common name for Bosnia and Hercegovina, one of the six republics of Yugoslavia. Bosnia is surrounded by other republics, namely, Croatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Montenegro and Slovenia. Bosnia is also bordered by means of the Adriatic Sea and has deposits of zinc, iron and steel. Leather and textiles also form part of her products.<sup>1</sup> The Bosnians have lived under the Byzantines, Croats, Hungarians, Romans and Serbs. Around 1400, Bosnia came under Ottoman hegemony. Forty percent of the population of Bosnia are Muslims.

In the wars during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Islam was already firmly established in Bosnia. It was initially during this period that the genocide of Muslims had begun. Those who sought protection from the Austrian government had to accept Christianity. In 1878, Bosnia and Hercegovina were under Austro-Hungarian domination which caused a violent armed resistance by Bosnian Muslims. A thorough "cleansing of the nation from the Turks" was organised by the Serbs. Destruction of mosques and homes was not uncommon.<sup>2</sup>

---

1. Alvin Z. Rubenstein, "Bosnia and Hercegovina" in *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op.cit., Vol. 2, pp. 401-402.

2. Vladimir Dedijer and Antun Miletic, "Sources and Beginnings of the Genocide against Bosnian Muslims and The Genocide till the Nineteenth Century" in *The Genocide Against Muslims 1941-1945*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost, 1990, Supplements 3 and 4.

When Gavrilo Philip, a Serbian patriot assassinated Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo thus initiating the First World War, Bosnia became a Yugoslavian republic.<sup>1</sup> However, the persecution of the Muslims continued upto the Second World War. Instructions were given by the military commander in 1941 for "the creation of the immediate common border between Serbia and Montenegro, as well as Slovenia and Serbia by cleaning Sanjak of the Muslim population and Bosnia of the Muslim Croation nation..."<sup>2</sup> Reforms were introduced to frustrate and impoverish the Muslims with the specific goal of making the Muslims a minority. During the Second World War, as many as a hundred thousand Muslims were murdered and no consideration to women, children and the old was given. The slaughters were preceded by molestation, rapes and disfigurements while the property and animals of the Muslims were not spared.<sup>3</sup> From the information at hand, it seems that the Serbians have two things in mind:

1. To create a greater state at the expense of a smaller.
2. To wreak vengeance on those thousands of Slavs who accepted Islam centuries earlier.

The brutalities against the Muslims in Bosnia before the Second World War were hidden but the situation took a serious turn when Serbian forces once more initiated aggression against Bosnia. During the periods 1991-1994, thousands of Muslims in Bosnia once again lost their lives in the "ethnic cleansing" process perpetrated by the Serbians while thousands also left their homes and migrated. Plunder, pillage, gang-rapes of women, slaughter of children are repetitions of the long, bloody history of the genocide. The atrocities against Bosnian Muslims

---

1. Alvin J. Rubinstein, "Bosnia" in *The World Book Encyclopedia*, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 402.

2. *The Genocide Against Muslims*, op. cit., Supplement 4.

3. *ibid*, op. cit., Supplements 7, 9 and 10.

that are daily occurrences leave no doubt in one's mind that the holocaust during Hitler's time are comparatively trivial. It may be stated here that very little efforts were made by Muslims in other countries despite the evident carnage the likes of which the world had never known since the Crusades. It was only around December 1993 that the United Nations considered the matter and sanctions were imposed on the Serbians. Since the intervention of the United States, the actions taken against the Serbians have had a positive effect on the Serbians. The situation is such that the Bosnian government must either accept the conditions made by the United Nations or "*face a truly genocidal situation.*"<sup>1</sup>

\* However, the attitude of the Muslim World was even more surprising. Whereas the Gulf Crisis drew attention of several states against or for Iraq, the circumstances in Bosnia have not had a similar effect. It is here that Muslims should show concern since the case of Bosnia is a case of threat of the lives and property of Muslims and the complete annihilation of Islam. Besides, Bosnia has boasted Islam for centuries and forces alien to Islam are bent on the complete destruction of Islam and Islamic values. Thus, the Bosnians are clearly involved in *jihād*.

- 
1. Ahmad Irfan, "New Threats of "Spring Cleansing" in *Impact International*, edited by A. Irfan, op. cit., February 1994, Vol. 24, No. 2, p. 7; Abdullah Sheik Muhammad, "Bosnia: The Beginning of the End" in *The Muslim World League Journal*, op. cit., Vol. 21, Nos. 2 and 3, pp. 5-7.

### 4.3 Qadianism

The deplorable and degenerate political and religious conditions of Muslims in India and the efforts by Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd and Sulṭān Faṭḥ ‘Alī Khān to save Islam and the Muslims from the attacks of the British-Hindu alliance have already been mentioned. It has also to be observed that the late nineteenth century in India was also a period of intellectual crisis for the Muslims as a result of several factors:

1. There was political and religious tension between the Hindus and Muslims due to the conversion of Hindus to Islam because of the influences of Tasawwuf (Sufism).<sup>1</sup>
2. It was also a period when Muslim theologians and non-Muslim (mainly Christians) engaged in heated religious debates. Although the ‘*ulamā*’ reportedly emerged victorious, the strained relationships amongst the religious groups were evident.
3. As mentioned in our discussion of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd, the Muslims in the Northwest region of the Subcontinent lived under the domination of the Sikhs who oppressed them and restricted any kind of religious or political activity by Muslims.
4. The presence of the British in India at the time is also significant. The British advocated such educational institutions that would create scepticism and confusion in the minds of Muslims. They also intended dissuading Muslims from any Islamically orientated educational pursuits. The British encouraged debates between the Christians missionaries and the ‘*ulamā*’ and found it expedient to encourage religious conflict which would serve

---

1. *Hedayetullah*, op. cit., p. 28.



their political interests and create hatred and chaos between the Hindus and Muslims.<sup>1</sup> As mentioned above, the British had joined forces with the Hindus to bring under their supremacy the Muslims in India. This means that Muslims in India suffered where their religio-political affairs mattered.<sup>2</sup>

5. Sufism also played an important role in the intellectual crisis suffered by Muslims in India.

Sufism had lost its spiritual vitality and there appeared pretenders who displayed spiritual excellence and claimed to possess insight in matters Divine. As a result of confusion from external matters (the declining political and religious affairs of Muslims), Muslims became dependent on the sufis and claimants to Divine insight and knowledge were revered.<sup>3</sup>

Apart from the above, Muslims had sunk into a general abyss of innovations and un-Islamic practices drawn from Hindu and Christian traditions. Islamic education was almost non-existent and according to dreams and prophecies mentioned at various religious gatherings of the mystics, people awaited a savant. The spiritual condition of the Muslims was at such an ebb that they were prepared to accept any new movement, irrespective of the nature of the movement.<sup>4</sup> The Muslims in India were aware of their down-trodden situation and sought to grab hold of whatever was offered to them. It was during this period of intellectual doom amongst the Muslims of India that Mirza Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani made his appearance.

---

1. Abu al-Hasan 'Ali Nadvi, *Qadianism - A Critical Study*, Lucknow, Academy of Islamic Research and Publications, 1974, p. 25.

2. *Hundred Great Muslims*, op. cit., p. 489.

3. *Qadianism - A Critical Study*, op. cit., p. 25.

4. *ibid*, pp. 2-3.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad was born in 1839 or 1840 at Qadian and he died in 1908. He studied several Islamic books under various tutors and was a highly ambitious person.<sup>1</sup> Also, he possessed a mentally confused personality. Later, he refused to follow any of the four schools of jurisprudence (*Hanafī*, *Shāfi'ī*, *Mālikī* or *Hanbalī*). He was greatly influenced by the works of Sayyid Ahmad Khān (d. 1898).<sup>2</sup> Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani also engaged in studying works on comparative religion and following this, he undertook the writing of *Barāhīn-i-Aḥmadiyyah* which received wide popularity. Let us consider some of the aspects of the *Barāhīn* as discussed in *Qadianism*:

1. Ghulam Ahmad challenged the world to produce a parallel to the *Barāhīn* and also for the non-Muslims to supply proofs for their religious beliefs.
2. He openly praised the British government in India who he claimed were benevolent to the Muslims in India.
3. He stressed the impermissibility of *jihād*.
4. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad claimed that he received Divine inspiration and communication.
5. He bore resemblance to *ʿĪsā* (Jesus) (peace be upon him) and that he was especially appointed to spread the message of God.<sup>3</sup>

The works and teachings of Ghulam Ahmad received widespread popularity and fame and later, he even claimed that he was Prophet *ʿĪsā* (peace be upon him) in whose return all

---

1. *Qadianism - A Critical Study*, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

2. *ibid*, p. 21.

3. *ibid*, p. 26-34.

Muslims believe in.<sup>1</sup> However, the Mirza's claims reached a climax when he claimed prophethood, a matter that was expressly against the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and the basic beliefs of Muslims. He further claimed that he was a recipient of Divine revelation and that it was obligatory for Muslims to follow his teachings and beliefs. The claims made by the Mirza and his teachings and later the beliefs of the followers of the Mirza received strong opposition from the '*ulamā*' and all Muslims. Conflicts between the Qadianis (the followers of Ghulam Ahmad Mirza) and Muslims still exist and some of these conflicts have ended in litigation. However, relevant to our study are the claims made by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad as regards *jihād*: "...From now on there shall be no terrestrial jihad (*jihād bi al-sayf*) and wars shall cease..."<sup>2</sup>

He also stated that those who engaged in *jihād* and killed a non-Muslim, such a person would be showing disobedience to *Allāh* and the Prophet (s.a.w.s.).<sup>3</sup> He also stated: "I believe that as my followers increase the believers in the doctrine of jihad will decrease. For, accepting me to be the messiah and Mahdi itself means rejection of the doctrine of jihad."<sup>4</sup>

Here, the following observations can be made: It must firstly be mentioned that the claims made by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad are refuted by Muslims because he claimed prophethood which is against the immutable *Qur'ānic* teaching: "*Muḥammad is not the father of any of*

---

1. *Qadianism - A Critical Study*, op. cit., pp. 43-44.

2. *ibid*, p. 89.

3. *ibid*, pp. 89.

3. *Tabligh-i-Risalat*, Vol. 7, p. 17 as quoted in *Qadianism*, p. 89.

*your men but (he is) the Apostle of Allāh and the seal of the Prophets and Allāh has full knowledge of all things."*<sup>1</sup>

Muslims firmly believe prophethood has ended with the advent of Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.s.) and this belief is precarious where *īmān* (faith) is concerned. Secondly, Muslims also take exception to criticisms against Prophet 'Īsā (peace be upon him) who is lauded in the *Qur'ān* and holds a high position in the long chain of prophets (peace be upon all of them) who emblazoned the world from time to time before the Prophet (s.a.w.s.).

Islam has known great leaders and soldiers since the time of Prophet Muḥammad (s.a.w.s.) who drew inspiration from the teachings of the *Qur'ān* and the teachings of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). The Companions of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.), for example, and other statesmen and military leaders of Islam, fought for the Cause of Islam. Wealth, social status and even life meant nothing where the defense and upholding of Islam was concerned.<sup>2</sup> Mirza Ghulam Ahmad on the other hand, was boastful of his achievements.<sup>3</sup>

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad must also be seen as a tool of the British who were, as mentioned earlier, bent on destroying Islam and Islamic teachings. He praised the British government and commanded the Muslims to be obedient to them: "The greater part of my life has been

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 33:40.

2. Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'*, Beirut, Dār al-Qalam, 1986, pp. 46,47.

3. *Qadianism*, op.cit., pp. 30-31.

spent defending and supporting the British government, And I have written so many books regarding the prohibition of jihad and obedience to the British..."<sup>1</sup>

He wrote several books refuting *jihād* against the British who he considered were a blessing to the Muslims.<sup>2</sup> Besides, it also known that Ghulam Ahmad Mirza had come from a family that openly supported the British government.<sup>3</sup>

Bearing these facts in mind, it is not surprising that the Mirza would criticize *jihād*, the effects of which served well the British cause. Mirza Ghulam criticized an aspect of Islam which the British were trying to diminutise - if the Muslims were re-imbued with the zeal for *jihād*, then the political and religious intentions of the British in India would be in jeopardy. The result would be another uprising as during the time of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd and Sulṭān Faṭḥ 'Alī Khān , both who strove to rid India of British hegemony and imperialism. Thus Qadianism which emerged in the late nineteenth century and which affected the religious lives of Muslims, must be seen as a movement, if not orchestrated by the British but definitely supported by them, that was an effort to minimise or even destroy a teaching of Islam - *jihād* - amongst Muslims who wished to re-instate the position of *jihād* in India.

#### **4.4 *Jihād* in the Writings of Selected Twentieth Century Muslims**

On the basis of the fact that *jihād* can be executed in various ways, research has shown that

---

1. *Tiryaq al-Qulub*, p.15 as quoted in *Qadianism*, op. cit., p. 86.

2. *Qadianism - A Critical Study* , p. 87.

3. *ibid*, pp. 6-7.

though the Muslims may not have been involved in *jihād bi al-sayf*, they have been active as far as *jihād bi al-qalam* (*jihād* by means of writings) is concerned. Thus, *jihād* has been actively participated in, in the form of writings to re-awaken *jihād* in all its forms. Scholars who strove in this regard are mentioned below.

Sayyid Qutub (d. 1966) is the author of many works including the voluminous *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān* quoted in chapter one of this thesis. He was an active member of the *Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* of Egypt, originally founded by Ḥasan al-Banna to promote Islamic revival. However, the teachings of the *Ikhwān* and its activities came into direct conflict with the Egyptian government which eventually led to the execution of Sayyid Qutub.

Sayyid Qutub's works depict the confusion in the mind of Muslims as regards *jihād*. He maintains that *jihād* is not an instrument to effect conversion to Islam but by means of *jihād* Muslims should eradicate oppression of all kinds so that only the sovereignty of *Allāh* prevails. He stresses that *jihād* has no relationship with defensive warfare: "The cause of Islamic jihad has no relation to modern warfare, either in its causes or in the way it is conducted. The cause of Islamic jihad should be sought in the very nature of Islam and its role in the world, in its high principles, which have been given to it by God and for the implementation of which God appointed the Prophet (s.a.w.s)..."<sup>1</sup>

He further states: "The jihad of Islam is to secure complete freedom for every man throughout

---

1. Sayyid Qutub, *Milestones*, Kuwait, International Federation of Student Organisations, n.d. p. 80.

the world by releasing him from servitude to other human beings so that they may serve God..."<sup>1</sup> From the writings of Sayyid Qutub, one gathers that his writings were not only confined to *jihād bi al-sayf* but all aspects of *jihād*.

Abū al-A‘lā Mawdūdī has defined *jihād* as "to exert one's utmost endeavour in promoting a cause"<sup>2</sup> and "struggle for the Cause of God"<sup>3</sup> and "it strictly implies that when a person or group arises to carry out a revolution in the system of life to establish a new system in conformity with the ideology of Islam, he or she should keep no selfish motives in mind while offering sacrifices and executing acts of devotion for the Cause...The objectives of the struggle should be completely free from the taint of selfish motives like gaining wealth or goods, fame and applause, personal glory or elevation."<sup>4</sup>

Mawdūdī has also stated that *jihād* is both offensive and defensive. It is offensive because Muslims attack the ideology opposing Islam and it is defensive because "the Muslim party is constrained to capture state power in order to arrest principles of Islam ..."<sup>5</sup> Mawdūdī also explained that *jihād* can be executed by means of spending for the Cause of Islam or

---

1. *Milestones*, op. cit., p. 88.

2. Abū al-A‘lā Mawdūdī, *Jihad in Islam*, Malaysia, International Islamic Federation of Students Organisations, 1981, p. 5.

3. *ibid*, p. 7.

4. *ibid*, op.cit., p. 8.

5. *ibid*, p. 26.

exerting oneself mentally and physically and that *jihād* is a duty obligatory upon Muslims just as prayer and fasting are compulsory acts of devotion to God. He vehemently adds: "One who shirks it is a sinner. His very claim to being a Muslim is doubtful. He is plainly a hypocrite who fails in the test of sincerity and all his 'ibadah and prayers are a sham, a worthless hollow show of devotion."<sup>1</sup>

Maryam Jameelah (b. 1934) has stated that "Jihad demands that every Muslim fully dedicate his life in the service of Allah, establish righteousness and vanquish evil from without and from within and be ready to make any sacrifice towards that end..<sup>2</sup>

Abū al-Hasan 'Alī Nadwī, the present rector of *Dār al-'Ulūm Nadwah al-'Ulamā'* in Lucknow, whose works have been quoted above, states that *jihād* in Islamic terminology means to strive to one's utmost for what to one is the noblest object on earth which is the Pleasure of God. In order to attain this objective, he claims, striving against one's carnal desires is necessary to rid oneself of all those things that lay claim to spiritual allegiance. He further states: "...against all those whims and desires that may try to lure him away from the fold of goodness and piety. When this has been attained, it becomes his moral responsibility to exert himself for the betterment of his fellow-beings and the establishment of Divine sovereignty over the world around him. It is a privilege as well as a necessity for it often

---

1. Abū al-A'ālā Mawdūdī, *Towards Understanding Islam*, Lebanon, Holy Qur'an Publishing House, 1980, p. 141.

2. Maryam Jameelah, *Islam Face to Face with the Current Crisis*, Lahore, Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Sons, 1979, p. 41.



becomes impossible to remain true to God even in one's individual capacity in an ungodly environment."<sup>1</sup>

Sayyid Sulaymān Nadvī (d. 1953) states that "Jihad is often linked to killing and fighting (as in warfare) but nothing can be more far from the truth."<sup>2</sup> He explains that *jihād*, a derivative of the root *jahd*, deals with upholding the truth and the preservation of the truth and in achieving these aims, to undergo every sacrifice and effort, be it spiritual or material or even to the extent of losing one's family or friends or life. He further states that to strive against the opponents of the truth, to foil their plans and to put a stop to their attacks even if it means sacrificing one's family and friends or simply being militarily prepared to engage in warfare to uphold the truth for the sake of *Allāh* is also a *jihād* which is a great act of worship.<sup>3</sup>

It can now be stated that *jihād* has played a most significant role in the writings of scholars of the twentieth century and it is hoped that Muslims would choose *jihād* to once again achieve the prestige that Islam occupied in earlier times.

It was perhaps due to the fact that the writings of these scholars would have a tremendous effect on the minds of twentieth century Muslims that resulted in the imprisonment of

---

1. *Islam and the World*, op. cit., p. 92.

2. *Sīrat al-Nabī*, op. cit., p. 299.

3. *ibid*, p. 299.

scholars like Abū al-A‘lā Mawdūdī and imprisonment and execution of Sayyid Qutub.<sup>1</sup> Thus the contributions of these scholars in the field of *jihād* deserves our sincere recognition and their writings will prove helpful to twentieth century Muslims.

It can be deduced that there is genuine scope for *jihād* in the twentieth century. From the examples of Afghanistan, Iran and Bosnia above, it has also been noted that the Muslims have not lost the will to engage in *jihād*. The writings of the scholars also indicate that there is scope for *jihād* provided the Muslims engage in *jihād* for the Pleasure of *Allāh* only.

We mentioned the case of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd since his *jihād* movement was successful and based on Islamic teachings. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd was himself a man of physique, proficient in wrestling, archery and swimming. He had attained spiritual development under those teachers whose modes of life were based on piety. He had acted according to the teachings of the *Qur’ān* which exhorted the Believers to prepare themselves to the utmost in order to strive against the unbelievers.<sup>2</sup> His movement was aimed at removing his brethren from un-Islamic beliefs and when it became necessary, he waged *jihād bi al-sayf* against an enemy that sought the annihilation of Islam. His *jihād* activities thus proved that if *jihād* is organised at levels of spirituality, religiosity and sincerity, then Muslims could once again become a force to reckon with. His *jihād* activities also proved that the potency of Muslims had diminished as far as the theatre of *jihād bi al-sayf* is concerned for present day Muslims.

---

1. See Jamilah Kolocotronis, *Islamic Jihad - an historical perspective*, Indianapolis, American Trust Publications, 1990, pp. 104-105.

2. *Al-Qur’ān*, 8:60.

His *jihād* activities also proved that at a time when moral, spiritual and religious decadence had manifested itself among the Muslims in India, the Muslims still rallied to his call in their thousands. In this regard, the following quotation is necessary: "...when Sayyid Sahib (Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd) launched the jihad, it called forth a marvellous response from the rank and file of the Muslim population. The ploughman forsook his plough, the merchant his shop, the servant his master, the nobleman his castle and the theologian his pulpit and they all rose like one man in the defense of God's word."<sup>1</sup>

Despite the fact that the teachings of Islam as propounded by the Shi'ites may not be as easily accepted by religious scholars, the 1979 revolution in Iran must at least be seen as a great contemporary achievement if not a *jihād* since the Muslims were successful in not only reestablishing Islamic values and ideals there but they also carved a niche in Islamic annals by humiliating the forces that worked against Islam. Nikki R. Keddie, quoted in the foregoing pages concedes: "However wrong and self-defeating have been many of the methods and policies in Iran since that Revolution, one may understand the Iranian's widespread desire to demonstrate their release from foreign control and foreign ways and to build up an economy, society and culture that are independent or freely interdependent, rather than subordinate to Western powers."<sup>1</sup>

The Iran-Iraq war must be seen as it was: an effort to by alien forces to divide the Muslims. The role of the Afghan *Mujāhidūn* at a crucial time and their success in vanquishing a

---

1. *Islam and the World*, op. cit., p. 165.

2. *Roots of Revolution*, op. cit., p. 276.

Superpower must be seen as a formidable effort. The case of Afghanistan must also be viewed as a precedent for other Muslim nations to follow. Their undaunting courage and their firm faith and sincerity had Muslims from all over the world attracted to their ultimate objective, that is to fight first for the sake of Islam.<sup>1</sup>

The Bosnian Crisis marks a pathetic epoch. It proves that at a time of genuine need, the Muslim World had become impotent in the face of annihilation of an entire Muslim community. Muslim rulers could not enlist the support of each other and project a united front against the enemy. The mobilisation of a force as was in the case of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd was not accomplished.

While Saddam Husayn may be criticised for his invasion of Kuwait and the destruction wrought there at the hands of the Iraqis, the Muslims were once again divided on an issue pertinent to all Muslims.

Thus, *jihād* can be an effective instrument of revolution provided that that revolution affects the hearts and minds of Muslims first and only then will *jihād* be meaningful to Muslims.

#### **4.5. *Jihād* and *Taṣawwuf***

The need and importance of *jihād*, in all its forms, have already been mentioned above. The role of *taṣawwuf* or sufism in re-enforcing the esoteric and exoteric aspects of Islam and Islamic teachings in Muslim communities was also mentioned in Chapter Two. *Taṣawwuf* in fact entails an attainment of God-consciousness and proximity to God by following God's injunctions and the *Sunnah* (practices of the Prophet s.a.w.s.). Although the path treaded in pursuit of attaining the above goals was by and large through *jihād bi al-naḥs*, other forms

of *jihād*, including *jihād bi al-sayf (qitāl)*, *jihād bi al-nafs* and *jihād bi al-māl*

were not abandoned.

The early history of Islam, referred to in Chapter Two, indicated that the period in Makkah before the *hijrah*, could be described as the period *jihād bi al-nafs* while it may be stated that the financial contributions made towards the furtherance of the cause of Islam was *jihād bi al-māl*. But when the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) and his Companions (r.a.) migrated to Madīnah in 622 C.E., they faced armed hostility and military onslaught of the Makkans. Consequently, Muslims were permitted at this juncture to defend themselves and the Islamic territory of Madīnah on the battlefields. The *Qur'ānic* verses 22:39-40 permitted the Muslims for the first time to fight back and thus, the third major form of *jihād* by way of *qitāl* was introduced. Soon series of similar verses such as 2:190 were revealed in order to impress upon the community to defend the territory militarily if and when required to do so. This form of *jihād (bi al-sayf or qitāl fī sabī l Allāh)*

was and still is a response tied up with special circumstances and occasions. But on the other hand, *jihād* with oneself (*al-nafs*) and wealth (*al-māl*) is a continuous process.

Although the emphasis of sufi orders was more on *jihād bi al-nafs*, there was always nevertheless an active sufism which involved or demanded the defence of Islam, Islamic values and Islamic territories through *jihād bi al-sayf or qitāl fī sabī l Allāh* (fighting in the way of *Allāh*). In spite of sufi pacifism in certain sufi orders and sufi practices the fact remains that the spirit of active *jihād* in the face of opposition and hostility was never

discarded and abandoned by the sufis and sufi movements. The *jihād* movements of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the various parts of the world prove the point. The following examples will suffice to illustrate the point:

1. The *Fulānī jihād* of Shaykh ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Fūdī (‘Uthmān Dān Fodio, died 1817) of Nigeria, who was a sufi shaykh (spiritual leader) of the *Qādiriyyah* Order. Shaykh ‘Uthmān initiated his movement by teaching and preaching Islam and eradicating the innovations practiced by the people of his time. He also taught his large number of followers the precepts of sufism and also inspired *jihād bi al-sayf*. The *jihād* movement was initiated in 1804 which culminated eventually in the establishment of the Islamic state of Sokoto in Nigeria.<sup>1</sup>
2. The *al-Murābiṭūn* (1056-1147) of North Africa. They were called *al-Murābiṭūn* because the soldiers issued forth from fortresses (singular *ribāṭ*) in the defence of Islam. The *al-Murābiṭūn* under Yūsuf ibn Tāshufī n played a significant role in defending the frontiers of Islam at a time when the Christian inspired forces threatened the heavily divided Muslims of Spain. Interesting is that the French word *marabout* meaning "holy man" or "local saint", is derived from *murābiṭ*.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. A.R. Doi, "Shehu ‘Uthmān Dan Fodio" in *al-‘ilm*, edited by S.S. Nadvi, Durban, University of Durban-Westville, 1983, Vol.3, pp.39-44.
  2. C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1967, Vol.5, pp.28-29.

3. Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd mentioned in Chapter Four was also a sufi. He formed the *Tarīqah Muḥammadiyyah* and his practice of sufism eventually culminated in *qitāl fi sabīl Allāh*. Balakot in the North Western Frontier Province in present-day Pakistan stands as an important landmark of the active resistance of Sayyid Aḥmad Shahīd and his followers in 1831.
4. Noteworthy is also the *jihād* movement of Muḥammad Aḥmad, known as Muḥammad al-Mahdī of Sudan (1844-1881), against the British occupation. Muḥammad Aḥmad was a sufi of the Samāniyyah Order who envisaged the establishment of the Islamic state and the restoration of Islamic teachings found in the *Qur'an* and *Sunnah* of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). His movement was inspired by his own sufi teachings and he wanted not merely the revival of Islam but also a recapitulation of the order of the followers of the time of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.). He fortified himself in Kordofan from where attacks were launched against British military invasion and occupation. In spite of traditional weaponry, he and his followers were succesful in routing the British in Sudan and stablishing his state on Islamic principles.<sup>1</sup> Winston Churchill, the British prime minister of the time, is reported to have remarked about al-Mahdī and his followers that the jubbah-clad dervishes shook the foundations of the British empire.

---

1. P.M. Holt, "al-Mahdiyyah" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, edited by C.E. Bosworth et al, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1986, Vol.5, p. 1249.

5. It will not be out of place to mention the name of the sufi Shaykh Yūsuf of Makāsar (d. 1699) who fought against Dutch colonisation of the kingdom of Bantam, where he was stationed at the time in the court of the Sultān as a teacher. As a result of his resistance activities against the newly established Dutch government in the East Indies, he was exiled to the Cape in 1694.<sup>1</sup>
6. It has also been stated that many uprisings that were aimed at combatting onslaughts against Islam have their roots in sufi movements, even in places like Bosnia and Chechnia, once the land of many dervishes. The present spirited active resistance by the Muslims in Chechnia has its roots in the *jihād* movements inspired first by the Naqshbandī sufi leader, Shaykh Maṣṣūr (d. 1789) and later by Shaykh Shāmīl (d. 1859) and his descendants.<sup>2</sup>

- 
1. S.E. Dangor, *Shaykh Yūsuf of Makāsar*, Durban, Iqra Publishers, 1994, pp. 27-29; p. 35.
  2. Sayyid Ridwan Ali Nadvi, "Chechnia" in *Ta'mīr Hayāt*, Nadwat al-'Ulama', Lucknow, February/March 1995, Vol. 32, No. 908, pp.28-34.



7. The *jihād* movement of Amīr ‘Abd al-Qādir (d. 1883) and then later by ‘Abd al-Karīm of the Rīf fame in Morocco-Algeria is another example of sufi-inspired *jihād*.<sup>1</sup>

*Taṣawwuf* has been blamed for encouraging pacifism. This is not entirely true. The fact remains as explained in the previous pages that the aspect of *jihād* by means of *qitāl fi sabīl Allāh*, if necessary, was never abandoned totally.

---

1. P.H. De Cosse-Brissac, "‘Abd al-Qādir ibn Muḥyi al-Dīn" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1960, Vol.1, pp.67,68.

## CONCLUSION

Islam is a way of life enshrined in the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*. Since a Muslim submits to his Lord by means of these teachings found in the *Qur'ān* and *Ḥadīth*, he invariably finds himself in *jihād* (struggle for the overcoming of evils in all forms) for the Pleasure of his Lord. Thus every facet of a Muslim's life involves *jihād*, in the wider sense, in one way or another.

From the very fact that the word *jihād* is repeatedly commanded in the *Qur'ān*, it can be safely said that *jihād* occupies a significant position in Islam and in the life of a Muslim. However, the *Qur'ān* uses the word *jihād* in a wider sense than is generally understood. *Jihād* means to strive but in Islam, *jihād* meant a striving for the Cause of *Allāh* and this is how it is depicted in the *Qur'ān*. The *Qur'ān* refers to the various forms of *jihād*, for example, *jihad bi al-sayf*, *jihad bi al-māl* or *jihād bi al-nafs*.

In *Ḥadīth* literature, the word *jihād* is used in the physical and spiritual sense of striving whereas *Fiqh* literature has been confined to *jihād bi al-sayf*. This is so because *jihād bi al-sayf* is directly related to human life and laws had to be formulated to govern conditions pertaining to the taking of life and the setting of limitations on those who waged *jihād bi al-sayf*. On the basis of the above sources, it was pointed out that *jihād* does not mean "holy war", "fighting" or "war."

Since *jihād* means striving, one could strive in various ways for the Pleasure of *Allāh*. The *Qur'ānic* verse:

*"Not equal are those who sit (al-qā'idūn) from among the Believers and receive no hurt and those who strive (al-mujāhidūn) in the path of Allāh with their wealth and their lives...."*<sup>1</sup>

bears testimony to the fact that the Almighty was pleased even with those who did not issue forth in the battlefield since they could have engaged in some other form of *jihād*. This verse is another pointer to the fact that *jihād* does not necessarily pertain to warfare.

In assessing the definitions of *jihād* in Western literature, it was found that inspite of several authentic sources available, prejudices still abound. It would seem that the Western scholars purposely avoided these sources to have a stronger case and more ammunition to attack Islam and Islamic teachings. However, apart from original sources, historical events proved that the term *jihād* came to be defined as "holy war" by European scholars and their Western counterparts as a result of the encounters of Islam and Christianity on the battlefield wherein the Muslims scored victory after victory or in the case of defeat of Muslims, the complete destruction of Islam and Muslims was not possible. The encounters on the battlefield and the expansion of Islam upto the Ottoman period also led to the distortion of the concept of *jihad*. It must be mentioned that the Western scholars and Orientalists have not succeeded in supplying a correct definition of *jihād* as enshrined in the original sources. Since their definitions of *jihād* are circumstantial, it would be worthwhile for these scholars and scholars

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 4:95.

of the future to also interpret definitions of *jihād* according to circumstantial evidence as recorded by Muslims. The Muslims fully understood that they were commanded to invite to Islam with wisdom and beautiful preaching<sup>1</sup> but due consideration must be given to the fact that prevailing conditions of those centuries did not afford the Muslims the opportunity to execute these commands peacefully because of the hostilities from the enemy lines. It may well be asked if these scholars ever considered that the vanquished non-Muslims preferred Muslim domination to the conditions before the Muslim invasion.

It is also a ridiculous notion that the aims of *jihād* were purely economic since there is no evidence that riches from conquered territories were used in the Peninsula itself for the purposes of economic advancement. There is also insufficient evidence that the cause of Muslim establishment after Muslim conquests was because of the wealth in the conquered territories. It must also be stated that if this were the case, then it does not mean that Islam sanctioned such activities for Muslims are commanded to strive for the Pleasure of Allah.

It was pointed out that it was the Crusades that were engaged in a holy war which amongst other reasons, for the purpose of regaining territories lost to Muslims. There is also sufficient evidence, as was noted from the foregoing pages that the Crusades launched their battles for material gain. The Muslims of the same era fought to defend their lives and were massacred in the process. Thus, the cliché "holy war" becomes more applicable to the Crusades than to Islam and Muslims. However, there comes a time when one has to defend himself and the state ideology by even going to war. War is nevertheless the last resort and ought to be

---

1. *Al-Qur'ān*, 16:125.

defensive in nature. After all one cannot be expected to turn the other cheek in all circumstances.

The role of Muslim scholars in encouraging *jihād* and their strife against corruption and ungodliness must be taken in a serious light since they have defined *jihād* as a struggle against all forms of evil, be it spiritual or physical. Their works will always be a source of inspiration for the *Mujāhidīn* of the future.

It was also proven that the Afghan *Mujāhidīn* were involved in a genuine *jihād* for their struggle against a power that threatened their lives and property which is sufficient reason for the declaration of and waging of *jihād*. The same could be said of the Bosnian Muslims who had undergone conditions similar and sometimes worse than the Afghans.

Example

① It was noted that Muslims were divided on the issue of the Gulf Crisis. While some saw Saddām Ḥusayn as a perpetrator of evil by invading Kuwait, others viewed the intervention of the United States of America and Saddām Ḥusayn's conflict with the United States a *jihad* in view of Saddām Ḥusayn's enemy being non-Muslim.

② It has to be conceded that the Iranian Revolution, initiated in 1979, which resembled European revolutions, was a form of *jihād*, in the physical and spiritual sense. Thus *jihād* is an important and significant aspect of Islam as depicted in the *Qur'ān*, *Ḥadīth* and *Fiqh* literature. *Jihād* means a striving for the Pleasure of *Allāh* and from the sources studied, it is clear that *jihād* has no relation to warfare or fighting as far as the pure meaning of the word is concerned. Muslims have been commanded with *jihād* since the revelation began in

the Cave of Hira and *jihād* took on new meanings with further revelation of verses of the *Qur'ān*. Since Islam and the teachings of the *Qur'ān* are for every age and era, *jihād* will always occupy a unique position in the life of a Muslim. Also, since the eventual aim of *jihād* is to remove all forms of ungodliness and to restore harmony and subservience to God only, Muslims will have to engage in *jihād* to achieve these objectives.

# TRANSLITERATION SYSTEM - ARABIC to ENGLISH

m	م	t	ط	d	د	ظ	ا
n	ن	z	ظ	dh	ذ	ظ	ا
h	ه	e	ع	r	ر	b	ب
w	و	gh	غ	z	ز	t	ت
y	ي	f	ف	s	س	th	ث
		q	ق	sh	ش	j	ج
		k	ك	s	ص	h	ح
		l	ل	d	ض	kh	خ

## V O W E L S

<u>Long:</u>	<u>Doubled:</u>	<u>Diphthongs:</u>	<u>Short:</u>
or <u>ā</u>	īyy (final form ī)	au or aw	a
ū	uww (final form ū)	ai or ay	u
i			i

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### ARABIC SOURCES

1. 'Abd al-Bāqī, Muḥammad Fu'ād. *Al-Mu'jam al-Mufahras li Alfāz al-Qur'ān al-Karīm*. Beirut. Dār al-Ihyā' al-Turāth. n.d.
2. Al-Alūsī, Abū al-Thanā' Mahmūd Shihāb al-Dīn. *Rūḥ al-Ma'ānī*. Makkah. Dār al-Bāz. Vol. 13. n.d. (15 Vols).
3. Al-Baghdādī, Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Khatīb. *Tārīkh Baghdād*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabī. n.d. (14 Vols).
4. Al-Bayḥaqī, Abū Bakr ibn Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī. *Al-Sunan al-Kubrā*. Hyderabad. Da'irah al-Ma'rifah al-'Uthmāniyyah. 1930. Vol. 9. (10 Vols).
5. Al-Bukhārī, Muḥammad ibn Ismā'īl. *Al-Jami' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Beirut. Dār al-'Arabiyyah. n.d. (8 Vols.).
6. Al-Bustānī, Batras. *Kitāb Dā'irah al-Ma'ārif*. Beirut. Dār al-Ma'rifah. n.d. (11 Vols).
7. Al-Ghazālī, Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad. *Ihyā' 'Ulūm al-Dīn*. Beirut. Dār al-Qalam. n.d. (5 Vols).
8. Al-Jassās, Abū Bakr al-Rāzī. *Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*. Beirut. Dār al-Kitāb al-'Arabiyyah. Vol.3. 1914. (4 Vols).
9. Al-Jawziyyah, Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Qayyim. *Zād al-Ma'ād fī Hady Khayr al-'Ibād*. Cairo. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī. Vol. 1. 1950. (2 Vols).



10. Al-Manāwī, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf. *Fayḍ al-Qadīr Sharḥ Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr*. Beirut. Dār al-Ma'rifah. Vol. 2. n.d. (6 Vols).
11. Al-Māwardī, 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥabīb. *Kitāb al-Aḥkām al-Sulṭāniyyah wa al-Wilāyah al-Dīniyyah*. Kuwait. Maktabah Dār ibn Qutaybah. 1989.
12. Al-Nawawī, Abū Zakariyyā Yaḥyā ibn Sharaf. *Mughnī al-Muḥtāj*. Makkah. Al-Maktabah al-Fayṣaliyyah. Vol.4. n.d. (4 Vols).
13. al-Qushayri, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj. *al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. n.d. (4 Vols).
14. Al-Qurtubī, 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Anṣārī. *al-Jāmi' al-Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah. 1952. (10 Vols).
15. Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn. *Al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr*. Beirut. Dār al-Ihyā' al-Turāth. n.d. (16 Vols).
16. Al-Ṣābūnī, Muḥammad 'Alī. *Rawā'i' al-Bayān Tafsīr Aḥkām al-Qur'ān*. Damascus. Maktabah al-Ghazālī. Vol. 1. n.d. (2 Vols).
17. Al-Shāfi'ī, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs. *Kitāb al-Umm*. Bombay. Tujjār al-Kutub. Vol.4. n.d. (7 Vols).
18. Al-Shahrastānī, Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Karīm. *Al-Milal wa al-Niḥal*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-'Ilmiyyah. Vol. 1. 1990. (3 Vols).
19. Al-Sijistānī, Abū Dā'ūd ibn al-Ash'ath. *Kitāb al-Sunan*. Beirut. Maktabah al-'Aṣriyyah. Vol. 3. n.d. (4 Vols).
20. Al-Sarakhsī, Shams al-Dīn. *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*. Beirut. Dār al-Ma'rifah. Vol. 5. 1985. (15 Vols).
21. Al-Ṭabarī, Abū Ja'far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr. *Jāmi' al-Bayān li Tafsīr al-Qur'ān*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. Vol.13. 1984. (15 Vols).

22. \_\_\_\_\_ *Tārīkh al-Rusul al-Mulūk*. Egypt. Dār al-Ma'ārif. Vol. 1. 1961. (11 Vols).
23. \_\_\_\_\_ *Tārīkh al-Umam wa al-Mulūk*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. Vol.1. n.d (13 Vols.).
24. Al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn 'Īsā. *Sunan al-Tirmidhī*. Beirut. Maktabah al-Fayṣaliyyah. Vol. 4. n.d. (7 Vols).
25. Al-Wāqidī, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar. *Kitāb al-Maghāzī*. London. Oxford University Press. Vol. 1. 1966. (3 Vols).
26. Al-Zabīdī, Muḥammad al-Murtadā al-Husaynī. *Tāj al-'Arūs*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. n.d. 10 Vols).
27. Al-Zuhaylī, Wahbah. *Al-Fiqh al-Islāmī wa Adillatuh*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. 1983. (8 Vols).
28. Ibn Anas, Mālik. *Kitāb al-Muwatta'*. Beirut. Dār al-'Āfāq al-Jadīdah. 1981.
29. Ibn Ḥajar, Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Asqalānī, *Fath al-Bārī*, Beirut, Dār al-Ihyā' al-Turāth, Vol. 6, 1985. (7 Vols).
30. \_\_\_\_\_ *Al-Isābah fī Tamayz al-Ṣaḥābah*. Beirut. Dār al-Ihyā'. Vol. 1. 1902. (9 Vols).
31. Ibn Ḥusām al-Dīn, 'Alā al-Dīn 'Alī. *Kanz al-'Ummāl*. Hyderabad. Ma'ārif al-'Uthmāniyyah. Vol.4. 1953. (10 Vols).
32. Ibn Hishām, 'Abd al-Mālik. *Al-Sīrat al-Nabawiyyah*. Cairo. Muṣṭafā al-Bābī al-Ḥalabī. Vols. 1 and 2. n.d. (2 Vols).
33. Ibn Kathīr, Abū al-Fidā' Ismā'īl. *Al-Bidāyat wa al-Nihāyah*. Beirut. Maktabah al-Ma'ārif. Vol. 1. 1990. (15 Vols).
34. \_\_\_\_\_ *Tafsīr al-Qur'ān al-'Azīm*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. Vols. 1-4. n.d. (4 Vols).

35. Ibn Manẓur, Muḥammad ibn Mukarram. *Lisān al-‘Arab*. Qum (Iran). Adab al-Hawzah. n.d. (16 Vols).
36. Ibn Nujaym, Zayn al-Dīn. *Baḥr al-Rā’iq*. Lahore. Maṭba‘ah al-‘Arabiyyah. Vol.5. n.d. (8 Vols).
37. Ibn Qudāmah, ‘Abd Allāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad. *Al-Mughnī li ibn Qudāmah*. Riyāḍ. Maktabah al-Riyāḍ. Vol.8. n.d. (9 Vols).
38. Ibn Rushd, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad. *Bidāyat al-Mujtahid wa Nihāyat al-Muqtaṣid*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. Vols. 1 and 2. n.d. (2 Vols).
39. Ibn Sa‘d, Muḥammad. *Kitāb Ṭabaqāt al-Kabīr*. Leiden. E.J. Brill. Vol. 1. 1917. (8 Vols.).
40. Ibn Sultān, Nūr al-Dīn ibn ‘Alī. *Al-Isrār al-Marfū‘ah fī al-Akḥbār al-Mawḍū‘ah*. Beirut. al-Maktabah al-Islām. 1986.
41. Ibn Taymiyyah, Taqī al-Dīn. *Majmū‘ah Fatāwā ibn Taymiyyah*. Beirut. Dār al-Fikr. n.d. (5 Vols).
42. \_\_\_\_\_ *Al-Siyāsiyyah al-Shar‘iyyah*. Beirut. Dār al-Kutub al-‘Arabiyyah. n.d.
43. Maghniyyah, Muḥammad Jawād. *Fiqh al-Imām Ja‘far al-Ṣādiq*. Beirut. Dār al-‘Ilm. 1965.
44. Pānīpatī, Thanā’ Allāh. *Tafsīr al-Mazharī*. Quettah. Baluchistan Book Depot. Vol.7. 1983. (10 Vols).
45. Qutub, Sayyid. *Fī Zilāl al-Qur’ān*. Beirut. Dār al-Shurūq. Vol.6. n.d. (6 Vols).
46. Sa‘īd, Muḥammad Ra’fat. *Jund Allāh fī Ma‘ārik Ramaḍān*. Riyāḍ. al-Taw‘iyyah al-Islamiyyah. 1985.

## ENGLISH SOURCES

1. *The Holy Qur'ān*. Trans. and commentary by Abdullah Yusuf Ali. Lahore. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. 1983.
2. 'Abdalati, Hammudah. *Islam in Focus*. Damascus. Holy Qur'an Publishing House. 1977.
3. Alasse, Cyril. *The Concise Dictionary of Islam*. London. Stacey International. 1989.
4. Ahmad, Jamil. *Hundred Great Muslims*. Lahore. Ferozesons Ltd. 1977.
5. Ahmad, Mohiuddin. *Sayyid Ahmad Shahid*. Lucknow. Academy of Islamic Research and Publications. 1975.
6. Burns, E.M. *Western Civilizations*. New York. W.W. Norton and Co. Vol.1. 1973.
7. Burns, R.I. *Islam Under the Crusaders*. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1973.
8. Dangor, S.E. *A Critical Biography of Shaykh Yūsuf*. Durban. Masters Thesis in Islamic Studies. University of Durban-Westville. 1981
9. Daniel, Norman. *Islam and the West*. Edinburgh. Edinburgh University Press. 1980.
10. Djait, Hichem. *Europe and Islam*. London. University of California Press. 1985.
11. Donner, F.M. *The Early Islamic Conquests*. Princeton. Princeton University Press. 1981.
12. Gibb, H.A.R. *Mohammedanism - an Historical Survey*. London. Oxford University Press. 1969.
13. Hedayetulah, Muhammad. *Sayyid Ahmad*. Lahore. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. 1970.
14. Hitti, P.K. *History of the Arabs*. London. McMillan Press Ltd. 1980.
15. Hughes, T.P. *Dictionary of Islam*. New Delhi. Cosmo Publications. 1978.
16. Ibn Shaddād, Bahā' al-Dīn Abū al-Mahāsīn. *Saladin*. Pakistan. Islamic Book Service. 1976.

17. Jafri, S.H.M. *The Origins and Early Development of Shi'a Islam*. London. Longmans. 1979.
18. Jameelah, Maryam. *Islam Face to Face with the Current Crisis*. Lahore. Muhammad Yusuf Khan and Sons. 1979.
19. Kani, A.M. *The Intellectual Origin of Islamic Jihad in Nigeria*. London. al-Hoda. 1988.
20. Keddie, N.R. *Roots of Revolution*. New York. Vail-Balloy Press. 1981.
21. Khadduri, M. *War and Peace in the Law of Islam*. Baltimore. John Hopkins Press. 1955.
22. Khomeini, Ruhullah Musawwi. *Islam and Revolution*. trans. and anotated by H. Algar. Berkeley. Mizan Press. 1981.
23. Kolocotronis, J. *Islamic Jihad - an Historical Perspective*. Indianapolis. American Trust Publications. 1990.
24. Lane, Edward William. *Arabic-English Lexicon*. New York. Frederick Unger Publishing. 1955. (8 Vols.).
25. Mawdudi, Abu al-'Alā. *Jihad in Islam*. Malaysia. International Islamic Federation of Students Organisation. 1981.
26. \_\_\_\_\_ *Towards Understanding Islam*. Lebanon. Holy Qur'an Publishing House. 1980.
27. Miller J and Mylroie L. *Saddam Hussein and the Crisis in the Gulf*. New York. Times Books. 1990.
28. Miller, William. *The Ottoman Empire and its Successors 1801-1927*. London. Frank Cass and Co. 1966.
29. Nadvi, Sayyid Abu al-Hasan 'Ali. *Islam and the World*. Lucknow. Academy of Islamic Research and Publications. 1980.

30. \_\_\_\_\_ *Qadianism -a Critical Study*. Lucknow. Academy of Islamic Research and Publications. 1974.
31. \_\_\_\_\_ *Saviours of the Islamic Spirit*. Lucknow. Academy of Islamic Research and Publications. 1971. (2 Vols.).
32. Nu'mani, M.M. *Islamic Faith and Practice*. Academy of Islamic Research and Publications. 1969.
33. \_\_\_\_\_ *Khomeini, Iranian Revolution and the Shi'ite Faith*. Johannesburg. Jami'at al-'Ulama' (Transvaal and Natal). 1986.
34. Qureshi, M.M. *Landmarks of Jihad*. Lahore. Sh. Muhammad Ashraf. 1971.
35. Qutub, Sayyid. *Milestones*. Kuwait. International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations. n.d.
36. \_\_\_\_\_ *The Religion of Islam*. Delhi. Markaz Maktabah Islami. 1974.
37. Rahman, F. *Major Themes of the Qur'an*. Chicago. Bibliotheca Islamica. 1980.
38. Shaw, S.J. and Shaw E.K. *History of the Ottoman Empire and Modern Turkey*. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. Vol.2. 1977.
39. Sulayman, Ibrahim. *The Jihad of 'Uthman Dan Fodio*. London. Mansell Publishing Ltd. 1986.
40. Watt, W.M. *What is Islam*. London. Longmans. 1968.
41. *Distributive Justice and Need Fulfilment in an Islamic Economy*. edited Munawwar Iqbal. Leicester. The Islamic Foundation. 1988.
42. *Religion and Politics in Iran*. edited by N.R. Keddie. New Haven. Yale University Press. 1983.
43. *Collins English Dictionary*. edited by P.Hanks. Glasgow. 1986.

44. *The Cambridge History of Islam*. edited by P.Holt. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press. Vols. 1 and 2. 1985.
45. *Expectations of the Millenium*. edited by Sayyid Hossein Nasr et al. Albany, New York Press. 1989.
46. *The Ahmadiyyah Movement*. edited by S. Muhammad Tufayl. Lahore. Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Isha'at Islam. 1973.
47. *Views on War*. edited by Ministry of Islamic Guidance. Tehran. Council for Celebrations of the Victory of the Islamic Revolution. 1982.
48. *Afghanistan: The Great Game Revisited*. edited R. Klass. New York. Freedom House. 1987.
49. *The Islamic Impulse*. edited by B.F. Stowasser. Kent. Croom Helm. 1987.
50. *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*. edited by H.T. Zurndorfer. Leiden. E.J. Brill. October 1991.

## URDU SOURCES

1. Nadvi, Syed Abu'l Hasan 'Alī. *Qādiāniyāt - Muṭāli'ah wa Jā'izah*. Karachi. Majlis Nashriyyat-e-Islām. n.d.
2. Nadvi, Sayyid Sulaymān. *Sīrat al-Nabī*. Delhi. Dār al-Muṣannifīn. Vol. 5. 1975. (7 Vols.).
3. Nu'mānī, Shiblī. *Al-Ghazālī*. Ā'zamgarh. Ma'ārif Press. 1956.

## ARTICLES

1. 'Abdullahi, Sheikh Muhammad. "Bosnia: The Beginning of the End" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited by A.S. Muhammad. Makkah. Press and Publications Dept. Muslim World League. Vol. 21. August/September 1993.
2. al-Maeena, K. "Those Who Talk of Holy War" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited S.H. Mutahar. Makkah. Press and Publications. Muslim World League. Vol.18. July/August 1990.
3. Bosworth, C.E. "Jihad" in *The Encyclopaedia Americana*. edited by Grolier Incorporated. Connecticut. Grolier Enterprises. Vol. 16. 1980. (30 Vols).
4. Banuazizi, 'Ali. "Iran" in *World Book Encyclopedia*. edited by R.O. Zeleny et al. Chicago. World Book Incorporated. Vol. 10. 1985. (22 Vols).
5. Beyer, L. "Iraq's Power Grab" in *Time International*., edited by J. McManus. Amsterdam. Time Life International. Vol. 136. No. 7. August 1990.
6. Church, G.C. "Marching to a Conclusion" in *Time International*. edited by J.McManus. Time Life International. Vol. 137. No. 9. March 1991.
7. Cloud, S.J. "Gathering Storm" in *Time International*. edited by J.McManus. Amsterdam. Time Life International. Vol. 136. September 1990.
8. Doi, A.R. " Shehu 'Uthmān Dān Fodio" in *al-'ilm*. edited by S.S. Nadvi. Durban. University of Durban-Westville.1983. Vol.3.
9. Doi, A.R. "Political Role of Islam in West Africa with Special Reference to 'Uthmān Dān Fodio" in *al-'ilm*. edited by S.S.Nadvi. Durban. University of Durban-Westville. 1984.Vol.4.



10. Dedijer V and Miletic A. "Sources and beginnings of the Genocide against Bosnian Muslims and the Genocide Till the Nineteenth Century" in *The Genocide Against Muslims 1941-1945*. Sarajevo. 1990.
11. Dupreez, L. "Afghanistan" in *World Book Encyclopedia*. edited by R.O. Zeleny et al. Chicago. World Book Incorporated. Vol. 1. 1985.
12. Funk, P. "It Pays to Enrich Your Wordpower" in *Reader's Digest*. edited by W. Morgenrood. Cape Town. Reader's Digest Association. Vol. 145. No. 867. June 1994.
13. Golpaygani, H. "Islamic Revolution: The Start of the Way" in *Echo of Islam*. edited by S. Majidi. Iran. Islamic Thought Foundation. No. 104. February 1993.
14. Hasan, A. "*Jihād Kāmyābī Kā Rāsta*" in *Ṣadā-e-Mujāhid*. edited by M.M. Azhar. Islāmābād. Vol. 5. March/April 1994.
15. Holt, P.M. "al-Mahdiyyah" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. edited by C.E. Bosworth et al. Leiden. E.J. Brill. 1986. (5 Vols.).
16. 'Irfan. A. "Muslim Society, Secular Constitution" in *Impact International*. edited by A. 'Irfan. London. News and Media Ltd. Vol. 24. No. 6. July 1994.
17. 'Irfan, A. "New Threats of "Spring Cleansing"" in *Impact International*. edited by A. 'Irfan. London. News and Media Ltd. Vol. 24. February 1994.
18. "And Quiet Flows the Bosnian Blood" - editorial- in *Impact International*. edited A. 'Irfan. London. News and Media Ltd. Vol. 23. May/June. 1993.
19. "It is "Jihad"" - editorial - in *Impact International*. edited by A. 'Irfan. London. News and Media Ltd. Vol. 20. September 1990.
20. Kamrany, N.M. "Sovienization of Muslim Afghanistan" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited by Hasan al-'Abdul. Makkah. Press and Publications Dept. Muslim World League. Vol. 11. February/March 1984.

21. Kiyani, R.R. "*Kashmīr Jal Rahā He*" in *Ṣadā-e-Mujāhid*. edited by M.M. Azhar. Islāmābād. Vol. 5. March/April 1994.
22. Kramer, M. "Read My Ships" in *Time International*. edited by J. McManus. Amsterdam. Time Life International. Vol. 136. No. 8. August 1990.
23. Lyon, B. "Crusades" in *World Book Encyclopedia*. edited by R.O. Zeleny et al. Chicago. World Book Incorporated. Vol. 4. 1985.
24. Nasir, M. "Muslim World League Conference on Gulf Situation" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited by S.H. Mutahar. Makkah. Press and Publications Dept. Muslim World League. Vol. 18. August 1990.
25. Nūr, Muḥammad. "*Jihād-e-Afghānistān Mein Imdād al-Raḥmān*" in *al-Irshād*. edited by Mawlānā Muḥammad ‘Ādil Khān. Pakistan. Vol. 19. June/July 1990.
26. Obeid, A. ""Sin" of a Superpower" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited by H.Mahdi. Makkah. Press and Publications Dept. Muslim World League. Vol. 16. January/February 1989.
27. Parker, M. "Sri Lankan Muslims Appeal for Help" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited S.H. Mutahar. Makkah. Press and Publications Dept. Muslim World League. Vol.18. August 1990.
28. Rubinstein, A.Z. "Bosnia and Hercegovina" in *World Book Encyclopedia*. edited by R.O. Zeleny et al. Chicago. World Book Incorporated. Vol. 2. 1985.
29. Tyan, E. "Jihad" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*. edited by E. von Donzel, Leiden. E.J. Brill. 1965.
30. Zaydi, Nayyar. "War or No Peace" in *Impact International*. edited by A. ‘Irfan. London. News and Media Ltd. Vol. 20. October 1990.

31. "The Root of Muslim Rage" - editorial - in *Impact International*. edited by A.‘Irfan.  
London. News and Media Ltd. Vol. 20. September 1990.
32. "Rabbani Deplores Invasion, Demands Iraqi Pullout" in *The Muslim World League Journal*. edited by S.H. Mutahar. Makkah. Press and Publications Dept. Muslim World League, Vol. 18. August 1990.
33. "The Iraqi War and the Shari‘ah" in *al-Haq*. edited by Majlis al-‘Ulama’ of South Africa. Port Elizabeth. Majlis al-‘Ulama’. April 1991.
34. Waldman, M.R. " The Fulani Jihad - a reassessment" in *al-‘ilm*. edited by S.S. Nadvi.  
Durban. University of Durban-Westville. 1984. Vol.4.
35. Yver, "Abd al-Kadir" in *First Encyclopaedia of Islam*. edited by T.W. Arnold *et al*.  
Leiden. E.J. Brill. 1987. (9 Vols.).
36. Nadvi, S. R. A., "Chechnia" in *Ta‘mīr Hayāt*, Lucknow, Nadwat al-  
‘Ulama’, Feb/March 1995, Vol. 32, No. 908, pp. 28-34.
37. De Cosse-Brissac, P.H., "'Abd al-Qadir" in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*,  
Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1960, Vol. 1, pp. 67,68.