JIHĀD IN ISLAM

by

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Dedicated to the loving memory of my beloved parents
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CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS iii

INTRODUCTION iv

CHAPTER ONE: JIHĀD IN THE QUR’ĀN, HADĪTH AND FIQH LITERATURE 1

1.1 Definitions of the Term Jihād 2

1.2 The Qur’ān Encourages Jihād 5

1.3 The Infidels, the Hypocrites and Jihād 7

1.4 Jihād in Hadīth Literature 9

1.5 Jihād in Fiqh Literature 12

1.6 The Khawārij and Jihād 20

1.7 The Shi‘ah and Jihād 21

CHAPTER TWO: CATEGORIES OF JIHĀD 25

2.1 Jihād bi al-Sayf or Qitāl fī Sabīl Allāh 27

2.2 Jihād bi al-Māl 39

2.3 Jihād bi al-Nafs 44

2.4 Jihād bi al-‘Ilm 56

CHAPTER THREE: JIHĀD IN WESTERN LITERATURE AND REASONS FOR THE DISTORTION OF THE CONCEPT OF JIHĀD 60

3.1 Jihād As Depicted in Western Literature 61
3.2 The Message of *Jihād* in the Makkan and Madīnan Revelations

3.3 The Expansion of Islam

CHAPTER FOUR: *JIHĀD IN CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM SOCIETY*

4.1. *Jihād* in the Late Nineteenth Century

4.2 *Jihād* in the Twentieth Century

4.2.1 Afghanistan

4.2.2 The 1979 Revolution in Iran

4.2.3 The Crisis in the Gulf

4.2.4 Bosnia

4.3 Qadianism

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

4.5 *Jihād* and *Tasawwuf*

CONCLUSION

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

BIBLIOGRAPHY
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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 *Hadīth* 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 *qītāl* (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 *qītāl 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-nafs*. 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, *Ahādīth* (sing. *Ḥadīth* 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 orientalists 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 Nadvi's *Sirāt 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."

"And I have not created jinns and men except that they worship Me."

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.

1. Al-Qur‘ān, 2:21
2. Al-Qur‘ān, 51:56
One ought to note that worship cannot be confined merely to the fundamentals of Islam, viz. the *shahādah*, *salāh*, *zakāh*, *sawm* and *hajj*, 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 *Qurʾān* 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 *jahada* means primarily "to strive" or "striving" or "to exert oneself to the utmost".

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Striving can take many forms and the word has been used widely in the Qur’an, Hadīth1 and Fiqh2 literature. Jihad may be synonymous with fighting if it is used in the sense of physical combat as expressed in the following Hadīth:

"There is no hijrah3 after the Conquest (of Makkah) but jihad and good intention."

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

1. Hadīth (pl. Ahādīth) 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.
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.\textsuperscript{1} It also mentions the meaning of \textit{majāhada} (also derived from the verb \textit{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 \textit{jāhada} came to be used by Muslims to signify generally "he fought, warred or waged war."\textsuperscript{2} Thus \textit{jihād}, a derivative of the verb \textit{jāhada}, means primarily all forms of striving. In the strict terminology of the Islamic Shari‘ah, when the word \textit{jihād} is used with the suffix \textit{fi 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.\textsuperscript{3} In Islamic literature, the term \textit{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 \textit{jihād} but not the only aspect as it is commonly understood. Where the \textit{Qur'ān} likes to indicate the aspect of fighting in the path of God, it uses the term \textit{qītal fi sabīl Allāh}. Thus \textit{qītal}, that is, fighting, is an aspect of \textit{jihād}, as explained above.

The word \textit{jihād} in particular is found only four times in the \textit{Qur'ān}. Altogether, derivatives of the verb \textit{jāhada} and \textit{j-h-d} appear forty two times.\textsuperscript{4} \textit{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

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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 quʿād which means "sitting". The Qurʾān condemns quʿād 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-qāʿidūn) 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..."¹

"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-qāʿidūn).²

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.³

1.2. The Qurʾān Encourages Jihād

Words which pertain to jihād or derivatives of the verb jāhada appear in different passages
of the Qurʾān. 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 Qurʾān:

1. Al-Qurʾān, 4:95.
"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."\(^1\)

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.\(^2\) The encouragement to strive are exemplified in that the Almighty promises to punish those who show hypocrisy and neglect where jihād is concerned.\(^3\). The fact that a Muslim’s eternal salvation depends on jihād\(^4\) and that health and status are no excuses for neglecting the duty of engaging in jihād\(^5\) 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.

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1.3. The Infidels, the Hypocrites and Jihad

"O Prophet, strive against the infidels and the hypocrites and be firm against them."

The exegetists of the Qur'an substantiate the commandment given to the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) in the above verse by citing a number of Ahadith which are relevant. There is one Hadith mentioned in the Tafsir of Ibn Kathir reported on the authority of 'Ali ibn Abi Talib, 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.2 'Abd Allah ibn 'Abbas, 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.3

Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, another exegetist, maintains that there is no clear proof that jihad 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 Hadith which states that jihad can sometimes be with the hand, sometimes with the tongue and if that was not possible, the mujahid should display his dislike for such an act on his face or the least would be to feel negative about it in his heart.

Other Ahadith quoted in his work explain that jihād against the hypocrites means to enforce the rules of the Shari'ah upon them. Let us consider the following:

1. "Do not obey the disbelievers and strive with it (the Qur'an) a mighty striving." The reference here is to make an effort of propagating Islam by means of explaining and spreading the teachings of the Qur'an.

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..."

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.

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

1.4. Jihād in Ḥadīth 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 jihād, then it is qualified by al-māl or al-nafs.

Ḥadīth 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 Ḥadīth literature, together with verses of the Qurʾān, that the Muslim jurists based their juridical opinions. A famous Ḥadīth 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. (aghzū) 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..."!

Another Ḥadīth 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:

"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 and if they accept, accept it from them and restrain yourself. If they refuse, seek help from Allāh and fight them..." 

Another Ḥadīth mentions that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) found no deed equal to jihād and in another Ḥadīth the mujāhid is described as one who continuously fasts and prays. 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.


encouragement to participate in jiḥād is also mentioned: "Jannah (Paradise) is under the shade of the sword" and that "Jiḥād is a door from the doors of jannah." 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 jiḥād against infidelity otherwise one should at least have intentions for jiḥād because a person is rewarded equally for good intention. Another Hadīth quoted by many scholars sums up the real purpose of jiḥād: "Whoever fights so that the word of Allāh becomes respected, he is in the path of Allāh."

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."_

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However, one also finds that in Ḥadīth literature, jihād is not always confined to qīṭāl 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.1 This means, that Ḥadīth literature, of which a great deal is confined to qīṭāl as a form of jihād, does not always confine itself to qīṭāl which can be gauged from the Ḥadīth which is found in Mishkāt al-Masābīh.

1.5. Jihād in Fiqh Literature

Muslim jurists have used the term jihād in the sense of qīṭāl. This is not difficult to understand as the early jurists, in particular, worked in the light of the Qurʾān and Ahādīth 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 qīṭāl as a form of jihād. Also, the jurists restricted themselves to qīṭāl 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 Ḥadīth.

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

*Al-siyar* is a plural of "*ṣīrah*" which means "path" or "way". However, the plural "*siyar*" means "campaigns".¹ This is why one would find the sections on *jiḥād* in the works of some of the jurists entitled *Kitāb al-Siyar* or *Kitāb al-Jiḥād*. For example, *al-Sarakhsi*, the author of *Kitāb al-Mabsūt*, states that the section on *qiṭāl* 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 *jiḥād* in the works of the jurists is confined to *jiḥād bi al-sayf*.

All the jurists concur that *jiḥād* is *fard* in view of its importance being stressed in the *Qur’ān* and *Hadith*.² The scholars of the Hanafī School of Islamic jurisprudence aver that *jiḥād* is *fard al-kifāyah*.³ If the Islamic state is in danger, then *jiḥād* becomes *fard al-‘ayn* on every

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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.\textsuperscript{1} Al-Sarakhsi, states that \textit{jihad} is \textit{fard al-kifayah}. 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.\textsuperscript{2} This means that the obligation of \textit{jihad}, if executed by some of the Muslims, then the rest of the Muslims would absolve the rest of the community from upholding it. Hence, \textit{jihad} is \textit{fard al-kifayah}. He also states that if \textit{jihad} was \textit{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 \textit{jihad} would be diffused since the real object of \textit{jihad} was to uphold peace.\textsuperscript{3} Imām al-Shāfi‘ī (767 C.E.- 820 C.E.) states that \textit{jihad} is \textit{fard al-kifayah} if:

1. There are Muslims (already engaged in \textit{jihad}) to prevent the enemy from invading the Muslim territories.
2. There are enough people waging \textit{jihad} thereby absolving the rest of the community of the obligation of \textit{jihad}.
3. Those engaged in \textit{jihad} wage \textit{jihad} (fight) with such might that the non-Muslims accept Islam.\textsuperscript{4}

\textsuperscript{1} Zayn al-Dīn ibn Nujaym, \textit{Bahr al-Rā’iq}, Pakistan, Maktab al-Majīdiyyah, Vol. 5, pp. 70-71.
\textsuperscript{2} \textit{Kitāb al-Mabsūṭ}, op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{3} \textit{ibid}, op.cit., Vol. 5, p. 3.
The above views are supported in *Mughnî al-Muhtâj* which also mentions that *jihâd* is *fard al-kifâyah* if the Muslims are in their own country. The view in *Mughnî al-Muhtâj* 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 Allâh with their wealth and their lives. Allâh has granted a grade (higher) to those who strive with their wealth and their lives than those who sit (at home). And Allâh has promised good unto all. But those who strive He has distinguished above those who sit (at home) by a special reward."  

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.).

Muhammad ibn Qudâmah,(d. 620 A.H.) a scholar of the *Hanbalî fiqh,* and Ibn Rushd, (1126-1198) a scholar of the *Mâlikî fiqh,* are also of the view that *jihâd* is *fard al-kifâyah.* Ibn Qudâmah states three forms of battle engagements:

1. When Muslims confront the enemy, they are exhorted not to flee from such a confrontation thus making this form of jihad, 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 Allah much, perchance you may be successful."

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.

In Bidayat al-Mujtahid, it is stated that those scholars who opine that jihad 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 Allah knows and you do not know."

1. Al-Qur’an, 8:45.


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)."

and

"And Allāh has promised good unto all."

This verse means that Allāh has favoured both parties, that is, the *mujāhidūn* and the *qa‘īdūn*. 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*. 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)"

2. ibid, 9:122.
"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."

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 Hadīth 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.

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

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.¹

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.²

Ibn Qudāmah mentions that the obligation of jihād rests with the individual even if the imām is a sinner.³ A similar view is mentioned by Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaşṣās (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‘āwiyyah.⁴

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

². Al-Sarakhsī, op. cit., Vol. 5, pp. 3-4.
especially since this form of jihad was directly involved with the lives of human beings and thus laid down stringent rules for it, whereas jihad bi al-māl and jihad bi al-nafs did not require to be governed by such rules.

1.6 The Khawārij and Jihad

The Khawārij (singular Khārīj) were those men who deserted the camp of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib, the fourth Caliph of Islam, during the Battle of Siffin in 659 C.E. They refused to accept the decision made by the chosen arbiters; Abū Musā al-Ash'ārī on behalf of ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib and ‘Amr ibn al-‘Āṣ on behalf of Mu‘āwiya 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."

Since they deserted, they earned the name Khawārij, the singular Khārīj 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".  


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. 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.*"

1.7 The *Shī‘ah* and *Jihād*

The *Shī‘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. After the death of ‘Alī, the *Shī‘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.


2. *ibid*, p. 68.

Jihād forms an important component of Shi‘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.¹ Studies reveal that there exists controversy amongst Shi‘ite scholars as regards seeking permission from the imām for jihād.² The Shi‘ite scholars agree, however, that permission from the imām is not necessary if jihād is executed to invite non-Muslims to Islam.³ They also state that jihād could be executed at any time and any place except in the precincts of the Ka‘bah in Makkah.⁴

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.⁵

2. The imām’s ability to declare jihād is a condition of his leadership and the basis of the imām’s legitimacy.⁶

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2. ibid, p. 263.
3. ibid, p. 263.
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.¹

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.² 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.³

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 *Hadīth* 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.

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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\(^1\) and that Muslims should place their complete trust in Allāh.\(^2\) 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.\(^3\)

\(\footnotesize{1.\text{ Al-Qur’ān, 2:20; 2:109; 3:165; 59:6.}}\)

\(\footnotesize{2.\text{ Al-Qur’ān, 3:159-160.}}\)

\(\footnotesize{3.\text{ Kitāb al-Mabsūt, op. cit., Vol. 5, p. 3.}}\)
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 *jahada* referred to fighting or killing, then the Qur’ān would not have differentiated in the use of the words *jihād*, *qītal* and *ḥarb* (war or warfare).¹

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 *jahada* 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":

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¹ *Sirat 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...".¹

2. "Those who believe in Allāh and the Last Day do not ask you for exemption from striving with their wealth and their lives..."²

3. "But the Apostle and those who believe with him strive hard with their wealth and their lives..."³

4. "Verily those are believers in Allāh and His Messenger then did not doubt and strove with their wealth and their lives..."⁴

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 fi 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-Qurʾān, 8:72.
2. Al-Qurʾān, 9:44.
2.1 Jihād bi al-Sayf or Qiāl 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." 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. 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


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." 1

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

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. 3 However, with the command to preach Islam and the Oneness of Allāh openly, 4 the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) preached Islam to his closest family members, emphasizing the

1. Al-Qur’ān, 61:4
Oneness of Allah. Thus the preaching of Islam and the declaration of the Oneness of Allah 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. Muslims who migrated to Abysinnia were welcomed by al-Ashamah ibn Abjar, 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. 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. This included an agreement with the Jews which

1. Abyssinia is present-day Ethiopia.
guaranteed religious freedom and mutual assistance.¹ 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.² 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 Muhammad (s.a.w.s.) resulted in the break-up of families.

4. When the Quraysh heard that Muhammad (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.

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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 idolatory 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-Harb and Bay’at al-Nisā’.

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..."²


2. Al-Qur’ân, 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 Madīnah, 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."¹

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

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."

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."

1. Al-Qurʾān, 2:216.
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. 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. Muhammad 'Ali al-Sabuni, a contemporary Qur'anic 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 Allah, since Allah 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 Allah's guidance.

Thus according to al-Sabuni, 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.


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..."¹

were the first verses revealed in connection with warfare.²

In the Jāhiliyyah (pre-Islamic) period, fighting during certain months of the year was forbidden. However, when ‘Amr ibn al-Ḩadramī was killed in a skirmish,³ (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 Mosque⁴ and to drive out its members.

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.\textsuperscript{1}

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."\textsuperscript{2}

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

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\textsuperscript{1} Al-Qur'ān, 2:217.

\textsuperscript{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. The reason for warfare in Islam is again made distinct when the Qurʾān 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."

Jihād bi al-Sayf, as has been mentioned above, occupies an important position in Hadīth literature and as an example the following Hadīth 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 salāh (prayer) continuously and fast continuously?" The man replied: "Who can do this?" Another Hadīth mentions that the man replied: "I cannot do this." According to this Hadīth, the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) likened the one in jihād to one who devoted himself to continuous prayer and fasting which in tum indicates the status of jihād.

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2. Al-Qurʾān, 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 *Hadīth* literature, *jihād bi al-sayf* has also been described as the best of deeds.\(^1\)

Permission to engage in *jihād bi al-sayf* is given in both the *Qurʿān* and *Hadīth* 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."\(^2\)

"And do not let the hatred of a people to let you not act equitably. Be just, that is nearer to observance of duty."\(^3\)

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

"Fight in the name of Allah and in the way of Allah. Fight against those who disbelieve in Allah. Fight (ughzā). 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..."\(^4\)

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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 jihad 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 jihad 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 unguided 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.

The Qur‘ān and Hadīth are replete with encouragement for jihad bi al-māl and one often encounters words such as zakāh, sadaqah, and infaq 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 salāh (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". Sadaqah is a gift to the poor for the sake of Allāh while infaq means spending.
"Those who believe in the Unseen and establish prayer and spend from what We have provided them..."¹

The following Qur'anic 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."²

Since the main subject matter of the Qur'an is man, charity becomes a theme in the Qur'an which actually means showing benevolence to man. In encouraging man to spend, the Qur'an also reminds him that his material possessions in reality belong to Allâh. Since Allâh 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..."³

1. Al-Qur'ân, 2:3.
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."1

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...."2

In the above verses, one can easily note the significance of jihad bi al-mal and also, that he who engages in jihad bi al-mal 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 jihad bi al-sayf whereas those amongst Muslims who possess wealth and are able to spend thereof must make an effort in executing jihad bi al-mal to promote the furtherance of Islam. However, since it

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..."¹

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..."²

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-previliged 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.

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 Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān and Hadīth 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 Qurʾān and Hadīth. 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 Qurʾān and Hadīth. 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
Hadith literature and duly impressed upon in the Qur'an.

There is a Hadith 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 jihad to a greater jihad because the greater jihad is to fight against one's carnal self (nafs)." ¹

There are also other Ahadith pertaining to jihad bi al-nafs such as the one already mentioned in chapter one wherein the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) stated that the mujahid is one who strives with regard to himself and the muhajir is one who migrates from major and minor sins.²

In the Qur'anic 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."³


"And whoever strives, strives for himself..."¹

The Qurʾān 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 Ibrāhīm..."²

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 Qurʾān and Sunnah and ‘ibādah enshrined in the Qurʾān 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 Qurʾān 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.³ This perseverance for

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the sake of Allah has been accorded the status of jihad al-akbar or the greater jihad which is built on the example of Prophet Ibrāhīm (peace be upon him).¹

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

Apart from īmān, that is firm belief in Allah 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).⁵ 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."⁶

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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."¹

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

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

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dictates of God. This state is called *ihsan*¹ which marks the ultimate stage in achieving perfection of faith.² A famous *Hadith* mentions that one day the Arch-angel Jibrā'il (A.S.) appeared in the shape of a man, approached the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) who was sitting with the Companions (Ashāb). 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 Allah, 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 Allah alone and do not associate partners with Him, to establish prayer, to execute *zakāh* and to observe fast in the *ast in month of Ramadān."³ The third question was: What is *ihsān"?". The Prophet (s.a.w.s.) replied: "To worship Allah as if you see Him, and if you cannot see Him, verily He sees you..."⁴ However, the state of *ihsān* can only be reached, as mentioned earlier, by spiritual toiling and bearing difficulty. This toiling to ward off evil and base temptations is

1. *Ihsān* is referred to as *Tasawwuf* (mysticism) by some scholars. *Tasawwuf* is derived from the verb *Tasawwafa* which means "he became a sūfī (mystic)", "he devoted himself to religious exercises" or "he applied himself to devotion", Arabic-English Lexicon, op. cit., p. 1748.


3. *Ramadān* is the ninth month of the Islamic calendar during which Muslims observe fast.

called sulūk and the person involved in such a task is called a salik. Thus the path which the salik treads in order to reach the state of iḥsān is jihād bi al-nafs.

The Qurʾān mentions al-nafs al-ammaarah and al-nafs al-lawwamah. The nafs (man’s spiritual self) is a composition of the heart and soul which in tum 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. Thus al-nafs al-ammaarah 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-lawwamah 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 tarīqān means "he pursued a course of conduct". Arabic-English Lexicon, op.cit., Book 1, p. 1141.
3. Al-Qurʾān, 75:2.
that he still cannot free himself from evil completely and blames his *nafs*. 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."*

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).*"

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The idea of *jihād bi al-nafs* is deeply rooted in the *Qurʾān* and *Sunnah*. The *Qurʾān* also commands man to inculcate *sabr* (patience)\(^1\) and *shukr* (gratefulness)\(^2\) while it exhorts against envy and greed\(^3\) which could lead one to spiritual destruction.

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

> *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.*\(^4\)

Another *Hadīth* also records the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) advising a man against anger.\(^5\) 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):

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"Whoever adopts humility for the sake of Allāh, Allāh elevates him."¹

The importance of jihad bi al-nafs is emphasized in the Qurʾān 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 Allāh², 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 moulds³ 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 Qurʾān 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-Muhāsibī (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-Muhāsibī - one who takes account of himself.

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¹ Sahih Muslim, op. cit., Vol. 8, p. 21.
² Al-Qurʾān, 51:56.
³ Al-Qurʾān, 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 Muhammad ibn Muhammad al-Tusi, better known as al-Ghazali (d. 1111 C.E.).

In Islamic history, it is widely known that the works of al-Ghazali created a great impact on the minds of Muslim as far as *jihād bi al-nafs* was concerned. One such work was *al-Munqidh min al-Dalāl* (Deliverance from Error) which recounted al-Ghazali’s experiences in the field of *jihād bi al-nafs*. 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-nafs*.

*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-nafs* was concerned. Further, the fact that the *Iḥyā’* was divided into two significant parts, namely, *al-munjīyyāt* and *al-muhlikāt*, also encouraged *jihād bi al-nafs*.

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1. *Munjīyyāt* 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 *jihad bi al-sayf* or *jihad bi al-māl* due to prevailing circumstances; *jihad bi al-nafs*, however, though it may be difficult to execute it, does not demand the requisites of *jihad bi al-sayf* or *jihad bi al-māl*.

Furthermore, *jihad bi al-nafs* has been aptly described as the "greater *jihad*" 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 *jihad*. 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 *jihad bi al-nafs* which is a form of spiritual cleansing and character-building programme which prepared Muslims in order to embrace other forms of *jihad* at a later stage. Thus the Hadīth of the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) quoted above from *Kanz al-‘Ummāl* wherein the Companions (R.A.) were commended for their

1. This Hadīth has been cited as weak (*da‘if*) in *al-Isrār al-Marfū‘ah fī al-Akhbār al-Mawdū‘ah*. See Nūr al-Dīn ‘Alī ibn Muhammad ibn Sūlān, *al-Isrār al-Marfū‘ah fī al-Akhbār al-Mawdū‘ah*, Beirut, al-Maktabah al-‘Islāmī, 1986, pp. 211-212. The commentator, Muhammad ibn Luṭfī al-Sabbāgh, states that this Hadīth is not only weak but also appears to be invalid (*bātīl*) because it is belittling the status of *jihad 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 *jihad bi al-nafs* in view of the spiritual sacrifices involved in executing *jihad 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 Ḥadīth 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."¹

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.¹

There is a famous Hadith encouraging learning and teaching of the Qur’ān:

"The best amongst you is he who learns the Qur’ān and teaches it to others."²

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..."³

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.⁴

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¹ Tafsîr al-Mazhari, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 167.
² Sahîh al-Bukhari, op. cit., Vol. 6, p. 108.
Abū Bakr al-Rāzī al-Jaṣṣāṣ has stated that the status of jihad bi al-ʿilm is such that it receives preference to jihad bi al-māl or jihad bi al-nafs. Besides, Islam depends on the propagation of Islam by means of jihad bi al-ʿilm and jihad bi al-Qurʿān.

The Qurʿān 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..."²

Al-Māwardī (d. 450 A.H.), a famous jurist, commenting on the verse above states that "way of your Lord" refers to the Qurʿān while "with wisdom" means with kindness. This verse is thus a direct reference to jihad bi al-ʿilm.

Furthermore, the significance of jihad bi al-ʿilm comes to the fore when one considers that the very first word revealed to the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) was "Read"². It can therefore be stated that seeking knowledge received priority in the directives of the Almighty.

In the Ḥadīth literature we find that the Prophet (s.a.w.s.) stated that the greatest form of jihad is to speak the truth in front of a tyrant ruler.³

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

Another Hadith states the performance of Hajj (pilgrimage) is also a form of jihad considering the great self-sacrifice that is involved in the performance of the Hajj obligation.

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

The following Hadith sums up the position of jihad 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."²

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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 jahada which means to exert oneself, it does not have any affinity with the word qitāl, that is, fighting. However, despite the Muslim scholars endeavors 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 Ahādīth 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 *jihad* come to be used in the exclusive sense of fighting? What were the reasons that led to the distortion of the concept of *jihad*?

3.1 *Jihad* 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."¹

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

Quraysh as a result of the raids against Madīnah.\(^1\) 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..."\(^2\)

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..."\(^3\)

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 of

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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." 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 Qurʾān 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

religious freedom to large Christian groups in greater Syria and Egypt treated as heretics by Byzantine rulers...\textsuperscript{1}

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 \textit{jihād} was not meant to force conversion to Islam, the word \textit{jihād} is nevertheless still defined in his work as "\textit{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 \textit{jihād} which is to free man from injustices perpetrated against him.

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

"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."¹

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."²

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-


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 jihad could not be revived during the Crusades. 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 jihad by the Christians. Thus it was not difficult, at that time, for the spirit of jihad to be rekindled.

Now, let us consider some of the definitions of jihad 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". 2

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." 3

1. Discussed later in the same chapter.


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."¹

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..."²

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

The above definitions are totally alien to 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:

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..." 1

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 religions2 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.

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 *Hadith*: 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 *amār* 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 Allah and fight them...”

The above Hadith 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.

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.

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 Hadith meant to be hostile towards the Muslims and they thus created problems for themselves.\(^1\) 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."\(^2\)

However, it is to be conceded that \textit{jihad 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.\(^3\)

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1. \textit{Islam in Focus}, op.cit., p.150.

2. \textit{ibid.} p. 150.

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 *qīṭāl* 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 *qīṭāl* 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"\(^1\)

refers to a spiritual striving. The words "fi ʾnā" (in Our Cause) refers to striving to assist Islam spiritually.\(^2\)

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."\(^3\)

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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 Makkah 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.¹

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."²

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-Qurtubī, 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.¹

Another verse:

"...So do not follow the unbelievers and strive with it, a mighty striving..."²

The implication of this verse was mentioned in chapter two. However, al-Qurtubī 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.³

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


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 qītal 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..." 1

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 Fākhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī on the above verses have already been mentioned.

AI-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.¹ 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 ḥudūd² be applied to the hypocrites. Imām Ibn al-ʿArabī, 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-līsān³ 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 hadd, 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-līsān 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. 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..."

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..." and "And do not let the hatred of a people let you not act equitably..." 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..."

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1. Al-Qurtubi, op.cit., Vol. 8, p. 204.
The above verse while encouraging a striving of the physical kind, that is, *jhād bi al-sayf*, to combat an evil of a physical nature, is supported by a command to observe the spiritual aspect of *jhād* 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 *jhād* itself - a spiritual *jhād* while the actual fighting formed *jhād bi al-sayf*.

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

### 3.3 The Expansion of Islam

Historical occurrences also enhanced misconceptions of the term *jhād* in circles alien to Islam and the Muslims. There arose the trend that one of the important aspects of *jhād* was *jhād 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 *jhād* 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.

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 jihad 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 jihad.

However, the worst distortions of the term jihad 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 Tabuk 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.

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 Allāh¹. 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 Baghādād 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

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 1096.¹

The Crusade Movement spanned three centuries and was partially successful in its endeavours. Although the reasons for the Crusades were not purely religious,² 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.³ As a result, thousands of Muslims lost their lives.

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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..." 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 savant to re-instate the prestige of Islam. Thus the second Crusades met the likes of Salāh al-Dīn al-Ayyūbī (1137-1193), popularly known in history as Saladin.

It was during the sultanate of Salāh 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 Salāh al-Dīn was at Hittin in 1187 C.E. In the same year, Jerusalem once more came under Muslim rule.²

Another Crusade was launched against the Muslims but the Muslims were able to weather the storm and Islam was saved from complete annihilation. Salāh 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 Salāh 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 Salāh 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 Muhammad al-Fāṭih\(^1\) further served as a death-blow because

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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 Sultan Salīm and Sulaymān.⁠¹ 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 Tāriq 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".⁠²

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

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¹ Hundred Great Muslims, op. cit., pp. 476-480.
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 Hadīth 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.
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', the various religious schools... he had advocated elimination of the Shari'at, the ecclesiastical courts of the Kadis - the exponents of the Islamic Law..."

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; modernization of all aspects of political and social life; 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.

1. singular 'ālim - literally learned man.


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.¹

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-‘Ulām* (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.² 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.³

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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 Sultān Fath ‘Alī Khān, popularly known as Tippu Sultān. 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 Tippu Sultān in 1799. India thus fell into the hands of the British.¹

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 Ahmad Shahīd. Born in 1786, Sayyid Ahmad 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 tasawwuf (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 jihad to rid India of oppression.

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

¹ Hundred Great Muslims, op. cit., pp. 489-497.
According to Muhammad Hedayetullah, the initial *jihād* of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd was *jihād bi al-ʿilm* and *jihād bi al-nafs* 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.¹ He further claims that it was only during the second phase of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd's life that involved *jihād bi al-sayf.*²

As far as *jihād bi al-sayf* was concerned, Sayyid Ahmad 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 British³ 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...."⁴

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.¹

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."²

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 Ahmad Shahīd’s jihād against the Sikhs is clear - the lives of Muslims were in danger and their religious freedom was being suppressed.

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¹ M. Ahmad, pp. 148-151.
Muslims of the North-Western Provinces of India invoked the Almighty for assistance. At the time when Sayyid Ahmad Shahid 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. 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 Ahmad Shahid met his martyrdom at the hands of the Sikhs during this battle. The objectives of *jihād* were made clear by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid. The idea was not personal gain but redemption of the oppressed Muslims. Biographers of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid 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

democratic system introduced in 1964 was a failure.\(^1\) Muḥammad Dāʿūd 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.\(^2\) Soviet influence in Afghanistan increased to such an extent that Dāʿūd Khān himself was alarmed.\(^3\)

Dāʿūd 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 Dāʿūd Khān maintained that the Communist policies adopted by him were in conflict with Islamic teachings. Communists killed Dāʿūd 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 (ʽulamaʼ). So when the religious leaders proclaimed jihād against the Soviets, the Mujāhidūn (also referred to as the Afghan Mujāhidūn) came into existence.\(^4\) The invasion of Afghanistan by the Soviets

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3. *ibid*, p. 5.
increased the rebellion and the *Mujahidūn* forces increased in number. Apart from becoming merely a national freedom movement, the rebellion also became a *jihād*.¹ It must also be noted that the *Mujahidūn* 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 *Sharīa*.[²] However, what is important is that despite internal feuds, the *Mujahidun* were able to withstand Soviet onslaught and genocide which has been compared to the atrocities perpetrated by the Nazis during the Second World War.³

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.⁴

¹ Afghanistan: *The Great Game Revisited*, op. cit., p. 207.
² *ibid*, p. 208
³ *ibid*, p. 8.
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."\(^1\) The spirit of the Afghan jihād has affected Muslims throughout the world and it has played a significant role in re-instating 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

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1730's, Nadir Shah became king and thereafter the Qajar Dynasty ruled up to 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.

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 jihad. 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.¹

Ayatollah Khomeini is known to have encouraged jihad 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."² 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


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."¹

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.²

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.¹

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.²

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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..."¹

It has also been reported that the Secretary of Commerce, Robert Mossbacher said: "Crass or not, its oil that keeps everybody going."² 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.³

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.⁴

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.¹

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".²

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

liberation struggle of the unarmed Palestinians against the mighty Zionist enemy?" Professor Burhān al-Ḍīn Rabbānī, the leader of the Afghan Mujāhidūn at the time, also slammed the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq.

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 jihad 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‘i jihad in that Iraq, a Muslim country, was fighting an invading kafir force


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.¹ 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.²

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 Shī Lanka by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE), better known as the Tamil Tigers.³

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.1 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..."2

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.

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1. *Saddam Husayn and the Crisis in the Gulf*, op. cit., pp. 66-68.
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.¹ The Bosnians have lived under the Byzantines, Croatians, Hungarians, Romans and Serbians. 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 Serbians. Destruction of mosques and homes was not uncommon.²

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When Gavrilo Philip, a Serbian patriot assassinated Francis Ferdinand in Sarajevo thus initiating the First World War, Bosnia became a Yugoslavian republic.

However, the persecution of the Muslims continued up to 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 Croatia nation." Reform was 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. From the information at hand, it seems that the Serbs 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 Serbs while tens of thousands also left 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

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."

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.

4.3 Qadianism

The deplorable and degenerate political and religious conditions of Muslims in India and the efforts by Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and Sultan Fath ‘Ali Khan 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).¹

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 Ahmad Shahid, 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

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¹ Hedayetullah, op. cit., p. 28.
their political interests and create hatred and chaos between the Hindus and Muslims.\(^1\) 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.\(^2\)

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.\(^3\)

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.\(^4\) 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.

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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. Also, he possessed a mentally confused personality. Later, he refused to follow any of the four schools of jurisprudence (Hanafi, Shafi'i, Malik'i or Hanbali). He was greatly influenced by the works of Sayyid Ahmad Khan (d. 1898). Ghulam Ahmad Qadiani also engaged in studying works on comparative religion and following this, he undertook the writing of Barahin-i-Ahmdiyah which received wide popularity. Let us consider some of the aspects of the Barahin as discussed in Qadianism:

1. Ghulam Ahmad challenged the world to produce a parallel to the Barahin 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 ‘Īsā (Jesus) (peace be upon him) and that he was especially appointed to spread the message of God.

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

Muslims believe in.\textsuperscript{1} However, the Mirza's claims reached a climax when he claimed prophethood, a matter that was expressly against the teachings of the Qur'\'an 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 'ulam\'a 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 jih\'ād: "...From now on there shall be no terrestrial jihad (jih\'ād bi al-sayf) and wars shall cease..."\textsuperscript{2}

He also stated that those who engaged in jih\'ād and killed a non-Muslim, such a person would be showing disobedience to All\'ah and the Prophet (s.a.w.s.).\textsuperscript{3} 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."\textsuperscript{4}

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'\'anic teaching: "Muhammad is not the father of any of

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{1} Qadianism - A Critical Study, op. cit., pp. 43-44.
\item \textsuperscript{2} ibid, p. 89.
\item \textsuperscript{3} ibid, pp. 89.
\item \textsuperscript{4} Tabligh-i-Risalat, Vol. 7, p. 17 as quoted in Qadianism, p. 89.
\end{itemize}
your men but (he is) the Apostle of Allāh and the seal of the Prophets and Allāh has full knowledge of all things.\textsuperscript{1}

Muslims firmly believe prophethood has ended with the advent of Prophet Muhammad (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 Muhammad (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.\textsuperscript{2} Mirza Ghulam Ahmad on the other hand, was boastful of his achievements.\textsuperscript{3}

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

\textsuperscript{1} Al-Qur'ān, 33:40.

\textsuperscript{2} Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī, Tārīkh al-Khulafā', Beirut, Dār al-Qalam, 1986, pp. 46,47.

\textsuperscript{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..."¹

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

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 Sultān Fath ʿAlī 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.
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 *Fi Zilāl al-Qurʾān* 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 Qūṭub.

Sayyid Qūṭub’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)..."

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

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the world by releasing him from servitude to other human beings so that they may serve
God." 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" and "struggle for the Cause of God" 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." 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 ..." Mawdūdī also
explained that *jihād* can be executed by means of spending for the Cause of Islam or

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."1

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."2

Abū al-Hasan ‘Alī Nadvī, the present rector of *Dār al-‘Ulām 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


becomes impossible to remain true to God even in one's individual capacity in an ungodly environment."\(^1\)

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."\(^2\) He explains that jihad, 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 of 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 Allah is also a jihad which is a great act of worship.\(^3\)

It can now be stated that jihad has played a most significant role in the writings of scholars of the twentieth century and it is hoped that Muslims would choose jihad 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

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3. ibid, p. 299.
scholars like Abū al-A‘lā Mawdūdī and imprisonment and execution of Sayyid Quṭub. Thus the contributions of these scholars in the field of jihad deserves our sincere recognition and their writings will prove helpful to twentieth century Muslims.

It can be deduced that there is genuine scope for jihad 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 jihad. The writings of the scholars also indicate that there is scope for jihad provided the Muslims engage in jihad for the Pleasure of Allāh only.

We mentioned the case of Sayyid Ahmad Shahīd since his jihad movement was successful and based on Islamic teachings. Sayyid Ahmad 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. His movement was aimed at removing his brethren from un-Islamic beliefs and when it became necessary, he waged jihad bi al-sayf against an enemy that sought the annihilation of Islam. His jihad activities thus proved that if jihad is organised at levels of spirituality, religiosity and sincerity, then Muslims could once again become a force to reckon with. His jihad activities also proved that the potency of Muslims had diminished as far as the theatre of jihad bi al-sayf is concerned for present day Muslims.


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 Ahmad 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."¹

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 concede: "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."¹

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

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

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.¹

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 Ahmad 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 Tasawwuf

The need and importance of jihād, in all its forms, have already been mentioned above. The role of tasawwuf or sufism in re-enforcing the esoteric and exoteric aspects of Islam and Islamic teachings in Muslim communities was also mentioned in Chapter Two. Tasawwuf 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-nafs, other forms
of jihād, including jihād bi al-sayf (qītāl), 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 Madi nah 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
Madi nah 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 qītāl 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 qītāl fi sabīl 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 qītāl fi sabīl Allāh(fighting in the
way of Allāh). In spite of sufι pacifism in certain sufi orders and sufι 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 *Fulāni jihād* of Shaykh ‘Uthmān ibn Muḥammad Fādi (‘Uthmān Dān Fodio, died 1817) of Nigeria, who was a sufi shaykh (spiritual leader) of the Qādirīyyah 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.¹

2. The *al-Murābiṭūn* (1056-1147) of North Africa. They were called *al-Murābiṭūn* because the soldiers issued forth from fortresses (singular *ribāt*) in the defence of Islam. The *al-Murābiṭūn* under Yūsuf ibn Ṭashufīn 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.*²

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3. Sayyid Ahmad Shahid mentioned in Chapter Four was also a sufi. He formed the \textit{Tariqah Muhammadiyyah} and his practice of sufism eventually culminated in \textit{qatāl fī sabīl Allāh}. Balakot in the North Western Frontier Province in present-day Pakistan stands as an important landmark of the active resistance of Sayyid Ahmad Shahid and his followers in 1831.

4. Noteworthy is also the \textit{jihād} movement of Muhammad Ahmad, known as Muhammad al-Mahdi of Sudan (1844-1881), against the British occupation. Muhammad Ahmad was a sufi of the Samāniyyah Order who envisaged the establishment of the Islamic state and the restoration of Islamic teachings found in the \textit{Qur'an} and \textit{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 successful in routing the British in Sudan and establishing his state on Islamic principles.\footnote{Winston Churchill, the British prime minister of the time, is reported to have remarked about al-Mahdi and his followers that the jubbah-clad dervishes shook the foundations of the British empire.}

5. It will not be out of place to mention the name of the sufi Shaykh Yusuf of Makasar (d. 1699) who fought against Dutch colonisation of the kingdom of Bantam, where he was stationed at the time in the court of the Sultan 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 1694.1

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 jihad movements inspired first by the Naqshbandi sufi leader, Shaykh Mansur (d. 1789) and later by Shaykh Shamil (d. 1859) and his descendants.2


The jihād movement of Amīr ‘Abd al-Qādir (d. 1883) and then later by ‘Abd al-Karīm of the Rif fame in Morocco-Algeria is another example of sufi-inspired jihād.¹

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 qītal fi sabīl Allāh, if necessary, was never abandoned totally.

CONCLUSION

Islam is a way of life enshrined in the Qur'ān and Hadīth. Since a Muslim submits to his Lord by means of these teachings found in the Qur'ān and Hadīth, 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 Hadīth 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..."  

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 jihād. 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 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 cliche "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

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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 *Mujāhidūn* of the future.

It was also proven that the Afghan *Mujāhidūn* 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 that the Afghans.

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

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

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