

7.

(THE REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLE)

Apart from affairs of property, Islam does not recognize any principle of inheritance, nor any power with absolute prerogative. To recognize the absolute power of Allah means an absolute denial of any other almighty power (Qu'ran, 7/3, 12/40). "Any submission of a creature which includes a lack of submission to the Creator is forbidden" (Muhammad, peace be upon him). In the history of the first, and perhaps so far the only authentic Islamic order - at the time of the first four Caliphs - three key aspects of the republican principle of government may be seen: (1) an elective head of state, (2) the responsibility of the head of state towards the people and (3) the obligation of both to work on public affairs and social matters. The latter is explicitly supported by the Qu'ran (3/159, 42/38). The first four rulers in Islamic history were neither kings or emperors. They were chosen by the people. The inherited caliphate was an abandonment of the electoral principle, a clearly defined Islamic political institution.

8.

(THERE IS NO GOD BUT THE ONE GOD)

Insofar as we consider the establishment of an Islamic order an incontrovertible and invincible aim, the more assuredly do we reject the immunity of public personalities, regardless of their

merits or the positions they may occupy. The Islamic order in this sense is a synthesis of absolute authority (related to the programme) and absolute democracy (related to the person).

Islam does not recognize any man as all-seeing, all-knowing, infallible and immortal. Muhammad himself was fallible, and as such was reprimanded (Qu'ran 80/1-12). From this point of view, the Qu'ran as a book is realistic and almost anti-heroic. The adulation accorded to personalities, as frequent these days as in the past, both East and West, is absolutely foreign to Islam as it represents a type of idolatry (Qu'ran, 9/31). The true gauge of each man's value is his personal life and the ratio between what he contributes to the community and what he receives from it. All glory and thanks are due only to God, and the true merit of man can only be judged by Him.

9.

(UPBRINGING)

As religion is the basis of the Islamic society, upbringing is not only one of its functions, but the state of its existence. This is above all a religious and moral upbringing through the family and then through all stages of schooling.

The special task of the Islamic order is to fight for the successful elimination of all forms of anti-upbringing. Islam forbids, and the Islamic order will take specific measures to eliminate:

- all forms of alcoholization of the people
- public and secret prostitution
- pornography of the spoken word, in pictures, on film and television
- casinos, night clubs, dance halls and all other forms of entertainment incompatible with the moral tenets of Islam.

10.

(EDUCATION)

An important part of this type of integrated upbringing is the schooling of the new generation, the instilling of habits of work and training. Along with unity, education is the second most decisive factor for the faster emancipation of the Muslim world from its present inferior position. The Muslim countries do not have sufficient capital. This being so, they should invest what they have in that most profitable of all investments: education.

There can be no true independence without the ability to apply and use the advance of science while continuing to promote it. When it first made an appearance, Islam studied and amassed without prejudice the collective knowledge left behind by earlier civilizations. We do not know why the Islam of our day should behave differently towards the processes of Euro-American civilization with which it shares such a long border.

This is not a question, then, of whether or not we want to accept science and technology - as we shall have to accept them.

if we wish to survive - but whether we shall do so creatively or mechanically, with dignity or with inferiority. The question in this inevitable development is rather if we will lose or keep our individuality, our culture and our values.

In the light of these facts, we can with certainty say that education in the present-day Muslim world is the institution most in need of urgent and radical, qualitative and quantitative change. Qualitative - for education to be set free of spiritual, and sometimes material dependence on strangers and that it may begin to serve for the upbringing of Muslims as people and members of the Islamic community. Quantitative - to remove chronic shortages in this respect, and in the shortest possible time to create conditions where schooling and training will be within the reach of all young people and all strata of the population. In the initial stages, the mosque can again serve as a school. If our educational programmes do not fail, there is no field in which we can be defeated.

11.

(FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE)

The upbringing of the people, and particularly means of mass influence - the press, radio, television and film - should be in the hands of people whose Islamic moral and intellectual authority is indisputable. The media should not be allowed - as so often happens - to fall into the hands of perverted and degenerate

people who then transmit the aimlessness and emptiness of their own lives to others. What are we to expect if mosque and TV transmitter aim contradictory messages at the people?

This, however, does not at all mean that a spiritual dictatorship can be created out of the Islamic order, where only the powers-that-be would proclaim truths to a drab, mass-produced younger generation. It only means that there are some elementary standpoints and basic rules of behaviour, which must be respected in all circumstances. Because of the proclaimed principle of freedom of religion (Qu'ran, 2/266), Islam expressly forbids any physical or psychological enforcement in questions of faith and conscience. Furthermore, the principle of *ijma* (consensus) renders this unnecessary. ("My people cannot agree in error" - Muhammad, peace be upon him). However puritanical Islam may be from the moral aspect, its openness to nature and joy makes it free-thinking, as all its history bears witness. As it recognizes God, but no dogma or hierarchy, Islam cannot turn into a dictatorship and any form of inquisition or spiritual terror is thereby done away with.

The Islamic rebirth cannot begin without a religious revolution, but it cannot be successfully continued and completed without a political one.

Our road does not begin by winning power, but people.

12.

(ISLAM AND INDEPENDENCE)

There is no Islamic order without independence and freedom, and vice versa: there is no independence or freedom without Islam. The latter has a double sense: first, independence is real and lasting only as the result of winning spiritual and ideological independence and if it is a sign that a people has found itself, discovered its internal strength, without which the independence it has gained cannot be meaningful or longlasting. In the affirmation of Islamic thought in practical life, each Muslim people experiences this identification with the self, a spiritual emancipation, as a condition of social and political liberation.

Secondly, the real support which a Muslim people gives to the regime in power is in direct proportion to the Islamic character of that power. the further the regime is from Islam, the less support it will receive. Un-Islamic regimes remain almost totally deprived of this support and therefore have to seek it, willy-nilly, from foreigners. The dependence into which they sink is a direct consequence of their non-Islamic orientation.

These facts determine the character of the Islamic order as a democracy, not a democracy in form, but as reality, as a consensus of opinion. This kind of democracy exists only where the government turns ideas and action into what the people feel, where it acts as a direct expression of their will. The establishment of an Islamic order is in fact a supreme act of democracy, because

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it means the realization of the deepest inclinations of the Muslim peoples and the ordinary man. One thing is certain: regardless of what some of the wealthy and the intelligentsia may want, the ordinary man wants Islam and life in his own Islamic community. Democracy here does not come from principles and proclamations, but from facts. The Islamic order does not use force simply because there is no need for it. On the other hand, the un-Islamic order, sensing the constant resistance and hostility of the people, finds a solution in having recourse to force. Its transformation into a dictatorship is more or less the rule, an unavoidable evil.

13.

(WORK AND STRUGGLE)

The Islamic society must take upon itself the task of mobilizing both human and natural resources and pass measures which will encourage work and activity. The survival, power or weakness of an Islamic society is subject to the same laws of work and struggle as any other community and enjoys no God-given privileges in this respect (Qu'ran, 5/57).

Two things must be eliminated from the psychology of our public opinion: belief in miracles and expectancy of help from others.

There are no miracles, save those brought about by people, through work and knowledge. There is no *mahdi who will rid us of

*mahdi: religious leader, messiah (translator's note)

our enemies, banish misery and sow enlightenment and prosperity as if by magic. *Mahdi* is the word for our own laziness, or rather for the false hope which grows out of a sense of helplessness in a situation when the magnitude of the difficulties and problems are out of all proportion to the means of fighting them at our disposal.

Relying on the help of others is another form of superstition. We have gained the habit of searching for and finding either unselfish friends or sworn enemies among certain non-Islamic countries, and calling this foreign policy. When we realize that there are neither real friends nor real enemies, when we begin to blame ourselves more and the "cunning plans of our foes" less for our problems, the signs will be that we have begun to mature and that a new age, more free of disappointment and misfortune, is at hand. In any case, even if there were people prepared to give aid without seeking disproportionate political and material favours in return, this would not change our position. Wealth cannot be imported into a country. It must be earned within it on the basis of work and effort. What we wish to accomplish we must do alone. No one can - or wants to - do it for us.

This foundation for this programme of work and activity can be the source of supreme encouragement. The natural wealth and prospects of the Islamic world are enormous. Only one part of it - Indonesia - is the third wealthiest compact territory in the world, after the USA and the USSR. The Islamic world taken as a whole occupies first place in this regard.

By announcing a rebirth, we are not announcing an age of peace and security, but one of unrest and trial. There are too many things crying out to be destroyed. These will not be days of prosperity but of self-respect. A people which is asleep can be awakened only by blows. Whoever wishes our community well will not try to spare it struggle, danger and misfortune. On the contrary, he will do his best to ensure that that community begins to use its own forces, test all the possibilities and take risks as soon as possible - in a word, not to sleep but to live. Only an alert and active community can find itself and its own road.

14.

(WOMAN AND THE FAMILY)

The position of woman in Muslim society must be changed everywhere in keeping with her task as mother and natural educator of the younger generation. An uneducated, neglected and unhappy mother cannot raise sons and daughters capable of instigating and leading the rebirth of the Muslim peoples. Islam must take the initiative of recognizing motherhood as a social function. Harems must be abolished. No one has the right to refer to Islam as a reason to keep women disenfranchised; abuse of this kind must be brought to an end.

Such attitudes do not represent a Western feminism, which has displayed a tendency to impose the measures, whims and mastery of a depraved element among the female sex. Neither is this equality in the European sense. It is an underlining of the equal values

of men and women, together with the underlining of the differences between them, which should be preserved. The principle of equal values is a direct result of the rules on equal religious and moral duties explicitly referred to in several places in the Qu'ran (particularly Ayet 33/55).

Civilization has made of woman either an object for use or one demanding servitude, but it has taken away her individuality, which alone may cause her to be valued and respected. By neglecting motherhood, it has deprived woman of her most basic and irreplaceable function.

In these times, when the family is in serious crisis and its values are being questioned, Islam reaffirms its allegiance to this form of human life. By contributing to the security of the family nest and excluding external and internal factors which destroy it (alcohol, immorality, irresponsibility), Islam protects in a practical way the real interests of the normal, healthy woman. Instead of an abstract equality, it ensures women love, marriage and children, with all that these three things mean to a woman.

Family and marriage law, as formulated in the early centuries of Islam, needs to be re-examined in conformity with present-day requirements and the point reached in the human and social consciousness. The tendency should be to curb polygamy as much as possible so as to eventually eliminate it completely from practical life, while restricting divorce and working towards the more efficient protection of women and children in both cases.

15.

(THE END DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE MEANS)

In the struggle for the Islamic order, all means are permissible except one - crime. No one has the right to defile the good name of Islam or the struggle by the uncontrolled and superfluous use of force. The Islamic community should once more confirm that justice is one of its keystones. The Qu'ran does not command us to love our enemies, but it categorically tells us to be just and to forgive (Qu'ran, 4/135 and 16/126). The use of force must comply with this principle.

Formula: the aim justifies the means has become the cause of numberless crimes. A noble aim cannot command unworthy means; on the other hand, the use of unworthy means may diminish and compromise any aim. As our moral strength increases, the need for force declines; when it comes to taking sides, this is the weapon of the weak. What cannot be accomplished by force may be achieved through generosity, consistency and a courageous bearing (Qu'ran, 16/125, 26/34-35).

16.

(MINORITIES)

The Islamic order can only be established in countries where Muslims represent the majority of the population. If this is not the case, the Islamic order is reduced to mere power (as the other element - an Islamic society - is missing) and may turn to

violence.

The non-Muslim minorities within an Islamic state, on condition they are loyal, enjoy religious freedom and all protection.

Muslim minorities within a non-Islamic community, provided they are guaranteed freedom to practise their religion, to live and develop normally, are loyal and must fulfil all their commitments to that community, except those which harm Islam and Muslims.

The position of Muslim minorities in non-Islamic communities will always in reality depend on the strength of the international Islamic community and the esteem in which it is held.

17.

(RELATIONS WITH OTHER COMMUNITIES)

Relations between the Islamic and other communities throughout the world are based on the principles of: 1. Freedom of religion (Qu'ran 2/256); 2. Strength and a decisive and active defence (Qu'ran, 8/61-62, 42/39-42, 2/190-192); 3. A ban on wars of aggression and crime (Qu'ran, 2/190-192, 42/42); 4. Mutual coop-
eration and acquaintanceship among nations (Qu'ran, 49/13); 5. Respect for obligations and agreements undertaken (Qu'ran, 94) and 6. Mutuality and reciprocity (Qu'ran, 9/8).

III

P R E S E N T - D A Y P R O B L E M S O F T H E
I S L A M I C O R D E R

THE ISLAMIC RENAISSANCE - RELIGIOUS OR POLITICAL REVOLUTION?

The Islamic order is a conjunction of faith with the social and political system. Does the road to it lead via religious renewal or political revolution?

The answer to this question is that Islamic rebirth cannot begin without religious revolution, but it cannot be successfully continued and completed without a political one.

This answer, which defines Islamic renaissance as a twofold revolution - moral and social, but where religious renewal has a clear priority - follows from the principles and nature of Islam, not from the dismal facts characteristic of the Muslim world today.

These facts speak of the seriousness of the moral state of the Muslim world, of depravity, the rule of corruption and superstition, indolence and hypocrisy, the reign of un-Islamic customs and habits, a callous materialism and a disturbing absence of enthusiasm and hope. Can any kind of social or political reformation be directly initiated in circumstances such as these?

Each nation, before being called upon to play its part in history, has had to live through a period of internal purging and the practical acceptance of certain fundamental moral principles. All power in the world starts out as moral firmness. Every defeat

begins as moral failure. All that is desired to be accomplished must first be accomplished in the souls of men.

What does religious renewal mean as a prerequisite for the Islamic order? Above all, it means two things: a new consciousness and new will.

Religious renewal is a clear awareness of the real purpose of life, why we live and for what we should live. Is that purpose a personal or a common standard, the glory and greatness of my race or nation, the affirmation of my own personality or the rule of God's law on earth? In our case, religious renewal means in practice the "Islamization" of people who call themselves Muslims, or whom others usually call by that name. The starting point of this "Islamization" is a firm belief in God and the strict and genuine observance of Islamic religious and moral norms on the part of Muslims.

The other component is a readiness to carry out the imperatives imposed by awareness of the goal. Religious renewal is therefore a quality of moral involvement and enthusiasm, a psychosis of the power of mind over matter, a state of live, practical idealism in which ordinary people become capable of extraordinary feats of courage and sacrifice. It is a new quality of faith and will in which everyday measures of the possible cease to have value and in which the individual and the entire group rise to a high degree of sacrifice for their ideal.

Without this new state of spirit and feeling it is impossible to accomplish any real change in the present-day Muslim world.

When considering these matters, the dilemma inevitably arises - albeit only for a moment - that a shorter way to the Islamic order would be by taking power, which would then create the appropriate institutions and carry out a systematic religious, moral and cultural education of the people, as a prerequisite for building an Islamic society.

This is mere temptation. History does not relate any true revolution which came from power. All began with education and meant in essence a moral summons.

Besides, the formula which confides the establishment of the Islamic order to some power or other does not answer the question as to whence that power came. Who is to set it up and implement it, and of what kind of people will it and its institutions consist? Who will ultimately check the behaviour of that power itself and how can it be prevented from turning monstrous and self-serving instead of serving those in whose name it was instituted?

It is feasible to exchange one group in power for another, and this is an everyday occurrence. The tyranny of the one can be traded for the tyranny of another, the owners of the wealth of this world are interchangeable. It is possible to change the names, flags, anthems and slogans for the sake of which all this is done. But it is not possible by this means to come one step closer to an Islamic order, as a new experience of the world and a different relationship between man and himself, others and the world.

The idea of constantly calling on some power or other for help has its roots in the natural tendency of man to avoid the initial and hardest phase of the *jihad* - the struggle against oneself. It is hard to bring up people, and even harder oneself. By definition, religious renewal means beginning with the self, with one's own life. In contrast, violence and force always have someone else in mind. That is what makes the idea so seductive.

Any movement, therefore, which has the Islamic order as its main objective, must above all be a moral movement. It must arouse people in the moral sense and represent a moral function, which uplifts and makes people better. This is the difference between an Islamic movement and a political party, which may represent a unity of thought and interest, but does not include an ethical standard or involve people morally.

The priority given to religious renewal has, *inter alia*, obvious support in Islamic sources.

First, the Qu'ran says that interior rebirth is a prerequisite of any change or improvement in the state of a people (Qu'ran 13/12).

Second, this rule was confirmed in practice in early Islam and the struggle of Muhammad, peace be upon him, to set up the first Islamic order in history. This is indicated by the fact that the Qu'ran in the first thirteen years discussed and emphasized only questions of belief and responsibility. During this time it did not begin to consider any social or political problem or to formulate any kind of social law founded on Islam.

We expect three more important things from religious renewal:

1. Only religious renewal can create the determination that the provisions of the Qu'ran, particularly those aimed against the more deep-rooted social ills or which are embarrassing for the wielders of power and wealth, must be applied unhesitatingly and uncompromisingly. Religious renewal means that they will be carried out without violence or hatred, as all, or a huge majority of the reborn society, will understand and welcome them as the implementation of God's commandments and in the cause of justice.

2. The Islamic renaissance cannot be imagined without people prepared for enormous personal and material sacrifice, with a high degree of mutual trust and loyal cooperation. What is it that can ensure that effort, self-sacrifice and casualties on one side will not be used in order to bring about the domination and ambition of another? What can prevent a recurrence of the tragedy of moral failure, so frequent in recent Islamic history? Every order, including the Islamic one, will always resemble more closely the people who establish it rather than the principles they proclaim.

3. Because of its colossal backwardness, the Islamic world will have to accept a very fast tempo of education and industrialization. Accelerated development is always accompanied by symptoms such as: despotism, corruption, destruction of the family, the quick and unwarranted attainment of riches, the coming to the forefront of resourceful and unscrupulous individuals, fast urbanization and a breaking with tradition, the vulgarization of social relations, the spread of alcoholism, drugs and

prostitution. The dam against this flood of anti-culture and primitivism can only be constructed from a pure, strong faith in God and the practice of religious commandments by all classes of people. Only religion can ensure that civilization does not destroy the culture. Sheer material and technical progress, as some cases have clearly demonstrated, can veer into an open return to barbarianism.

ISLAMIC GOVERNANCE

Stressing the priority of the religious and moral renewal does not mean - nor can it be interpreted to mean - that the Islamic order can be brought about without Islamic governance. This means only that our way does not start by taking power, but by winning people, and that Islamic rebirth is first a revolution in education, and only then in politics.

We must therefore be first preachers and then soldiers. Our weapons are personal example, the book, the word. When is force to be joined to these?

The choice of this moment is always a tangible one and depends on a series of factors. There is, however, a general rule: the Islamic movement should and can start to take over power as soon as it is morally and numerically strong enough to be able to overturn not only the existing non-Islamic government, but also to build up a new Islamic one. This differentiation is important, because overturning and building do not require an equal degree of psychological and material readiness.

To act prematurely in this regard is just as dangerous as to delay.

To take power due to a fortunate set of circumstances, without sufficient moral and psychological preparation or the essential minimum of staunch and well-trained personnel, means causing another *coup d'etat*, and not an Islamic revolution. (The *coup d'etat* is a continuation of the un-Islamic policy on the part of another group of people or in the name of other principles). To delay in taking power means to deprive the Islamic movement of a powerful means of attaining its aims while offering the un-Islamic authorities the possibility of dealing a blow to the movement and dispersing its personnel. Recent history provides sufficient tragic and instructive examples of the latter.

We shall ignore the "realism" which regulates the Muslim peoples to an inferior position and leaves no room for any hope.

History is not only the story of constant change, but of the uninterrupted actualization of the impossible and the unexpected.

PAKISTAN - AN ISLAMIC REPUBLIC

When speaking of Islamic governance, the example of Pakistan, today the only declared Islamic republic, cannot be omitted.

We applaud Pakistan, regardless of certain failings and difficulties, because it is the outcome of this desire to

establish an Islamic order and because those who conceived and brought it about were clearly led by an Islamic idea.

Pakistan is the dress rehearsal for the introduction of an Islamic order under modern conditions and at present rates of development. Islamic protagonists should learn what should and should not be done from the example of Pakistan.

The negative experience of Pakistan - and negative experiences are always more important -- can be summed up in two points:

1. Insufficient unity and structure of the organizing forces who put Iqbal's idea of Pakistan into effect. Soon after the birth of Pakistan, it was obvious that the Muslim League had gathered together a hodgepodge of different elements, without any unified ideas on crucial questions such as the ordering of state and society. From this point of view, the League was hardly more than the average political party. Faced with the great dilemma of Pakistan, it was unable to maintain unity.

2. A formalistic and dogmatic approach to the implementation of Islamic assumptions in practice in Pakistan. Scholars and jurists, instead of turning to the burning question of education, exhausted their energies to the point of division on questions of how rigidly Sharia criminal and marriage law should be applied. While endless discussions were held as to whether a thief should have his hand cut off or simply be sent to prison, an identifiable form of stealing - corruption - became rampant and led to the crisis which shook the foundations of the state of Pakistan.

The lessons from twenty years of Pakistan's existence are

clear:

Firstly, the struggle for an Islamic order and a thorough reconstruction of Muslim society can be led only by tried and true individuals at the head of a resolute and homogeneous organization. This need not be any kind of political party from the arsenals of western democracy, but rather a movement founded on Islamic ideology, requiring unmistakeable moral and ideological criteria from its membership.

Secondly, the struggle for the Islamic order today is for the essentials of Islam, which means ensuring the religious and moral education of the people along with the basic elements of social justice. Form at the present moment is of secondary importance.

Thirdly, the function of the Islamic republic is not primarily to declare equality among men and the brotherhood of all Muslims, but to fight for the implementation of these high-minded principles. Awakened Islam, wherever it may be, should grasp the flag of a juster social order and make it clear that the struggle begins with war on ignorance, injustice and poverty, a war which knows neither compromise nor withdrawal. Should it fail to do so, the flag will be taken by demagogues and false saviours of society, in order to bring about their hypocritical objectives.

These lessons have a bitter taste. We still believe in Pakistan and its mission in the service of international Islam. There is no Muslim heart which will not bound at the mention of something as dear to us as Pakistan, even if this love, like any other, knows fear and trembling. Pakistan is our great hope.

full of trials and temptations.

PANISLAMISM AND NATIONALISM

In one of the arguments for an Islamic order of today, we said that the tendency to gather together all Muslims and Muslim communities in the world was a natural function of the Islamic order. As things stand today, it means a struggle to create a great Islamic federation from Morocco to Indonesia, from tropical Africa to Central Asia.

We know well that mention of this vision annoys a certain type of person in our midst - people who call and consider themselves realists. All the more reason to emphasize this aim loudly and clearly. We prefer to ignore this "realism" which condemns Muslim peoples to a permanently inferior position, leaving no room for endeavour or hope. Its source is in cowardice and respect for the mighty of this world. The masters, it says, should remain masters, and the vassals, vassals. History, as we have said, however, is not only the story of constant change, but of the continuous achievement of the impossible and the unexpected. Almost everything which goes to make up the contemporary world looked impossible fifty years ago.

Obviously there are two kinds of realism: ours and that of the weak and cowardly. We think that there is nothing more natural or real than the requirement that Muslims should unite in various ways in order to solve their common problems and gradually approach the creation of certain supranational structures -

economic, cultural and political - in order to achieve coordination and mutual action in certain important fields. This idea seems unreal to our "realists" (read: weaklings). They sanction the status quo, which to our understanding of realism, is a glaring example of the unnatural and absurd. We find it, for instance, absolutely unacceptable and unreal that in this day and age of concentration and association, one people - Arabs - should be broken up into thirteen units of state; that the Muslim states stand on opposite sides on a number of significant international questions; that Muslim Egypt is unconcerned about the sufferings of Muslims in Ethiopia or Kashmir; that at the height of the confrontation of the Arab countries with Israel, Muslim Persia maintained friendly relations with the aggressor, etc. etc. If anything is unreal, then it is not the unity of Muslims, but its absence - the state of division and discord, in fact, we find today.

There is no historical objective - unless one that is in contradiction to natural or historical facts - which people cannot bring about through joint will and effort. The utopia in which they believe and for which they strive ceases to be utopia. Our weaklings, on the other hand, can neither believe nor work - the explanation for their degrading "realism". When they say that Muslim unity is a dream which will never come true, they are only expressing the helplessness they themselves feel. The impossibility is not in the real world, but in their hearts. The idea of the unification of all Muslims is not someone's invention, nor

the vain wish of any reformer or ideologist. It is embedded in the Qu'ran under the well-known axiom: "Muslims are brothers", and has been preserved and renewed in men's minds by Islam through the common fast, the pilgrimage to Mecca and the Kaa'ba as a unique spiritual shrine, thus creating a constant, identical feeling of belonging and communality throughout the Muslim world. Anyone who has ever gone down among the ordinary people following a disaster in a faraway Muslim country will see for himself just how strong this feeling of sympathy and solidarity is.

How is it, then, that this "folk pan-Islamism", undoubtedly present in the shape of strong feelings of the masses, does not have much effect on the everyday life and practical policy of the Muslim countries? Why does it remain as just a feeling, never rising to real awareness of a common destiny? How to explain the fact that although news of the sufferings of Muslims in Palestine or the Crimea, in Sinkiang, Kashmir or Ethiopia arouse feelings of dejection and unanimous condemnation everywhere, at the same time action is either lacking or is not at all in proportion to the feelings which exist.

The answer to this lies in a fact which contradicts the feelings of ordinary people: deliberate action by leading circles, trained in the West or under Western influence, has been not pan-Islamic but nationalist. The instinct and consciousness of the Muslim peoples have been divided and opposed. In this state of affairs, any significant action would be and will remain impossible.

Contemporary pan-Islamism is therefore primarily an endeavour to attune consciousness and feelings, in order for us to desire what we are and to reject what we are not.

This situation determines the character and fate of nationalism in the contemporary Muslim world.

Everywhere in the world nationalism has occurred in the shape of a widespread movement of the people, the affirmation of their inclinations (music, folklore and particularly language). The Muslim countries, however, usually evince a stunted form of this, or even a kind of non-national or a-national nationalism. The explanation should be sought on the one hand in the fact that the general feeling has absorbed pan-Islamism, and on the other that nationalism here is conceived as a substitute for Islam and as such has always represented an anti-Islamic movement. Finding itself in natural conflict with the people's past and traditions - which are always and only Islamic - nationalist movements in a number of Muslim countries actually carry on a kind of de-nationalization, very similar to their colonialist predecessors. The position of the Arab language, for instance, in some Arab countries - at least as far as the attitude of the nationalist administration is concerned - is not much better than at the time of the Anglo-French occupation. If anything is done in this respect, it lack enthusiasm, or it is the work of forces which have yet to be born. (By comparison, the Jews successfully introduced an almost forgotten language - Hebrew - into Israel). The reason for this attitude towards Arabic is simple: as the

language of the Qu'ran and Islamic civilization, it is more the instrument of Islamic than Arabic, pan-Arabic or other generalized nationalist feeling. The protagonists of nationalism have correctly assessed (or intuited) this and found an unprecedented solution: they and their administrations speak the language of the previous occupiers(!) In the Muslim world there is no patriotism without Islam.

These conclusions confirm in their own way that nationalist ideas in the Muslim world are of un-Islamic origin. This is most apparent in the Middle East, where the pioneers of nationalism are Syrian intellectuals and Christian Lebanese, educated at the American Institute (primarily the Syrian Protestant College) and at the University of St. Joseph in Beirut. An examination of the spiritual and historical roots of Attaturk's movement in Turkey, Sukarno's *pancha sila** in Indonesia, the Baath party in some Arab countries (particularly some of its off-shoots) and a whole series of nationalist and "revolutionary" groups throughout the Muslim world, confirm this conclusion. Pan-Islamism has always sprung from the very heart of the Muslim people, while nationalism has always been imported goods.

The Muslim peoples, therefore, have no "gift" for nationalism. Should we shed tears over this?

Even if we were to ignore for a moment the salient truth that the principle of a spiritual community is superior to that of a nation, we would have to, in view of the moment at which this message is being written, advise our peoples not to try to

**pancha sila*: five basic principles (translator's note)

attain this "ability". Even nations who have lived for centuries in national communities will be required in future to gradually adapt to new forms of common life, on a broader communal base. Farsighted people in France and Germany are today advising their fellow-citizens to feel a little less French or German, and a little more European. The creation of the European Economic Community - although this claim may seem unacceptable at first sight - is the most constructive event in twentieth-century European history. This supra-national structure is the first real victory of the European peoples over nationalism. Nationalism has become a luxury, too expensive for small nations, or even for medium-sized or large ones.

The modern world is facing development which in a certain way bears no comparison with the past. With its incredibly expensive programmes of education, research, business, defence and so on, this development demands a hitherto unknown and unguessed at concentration of people and resources, and objectively speaking, offers a chance only to the great nations, or to be more precise, to leagues of nations. Two unions presently rule the world - the American and the Soviet - while a third is on the way - the European Union. A community which cannot gather together a population of 200 million and earn 200 billion dollars in GNP - and these figures show signs of growing - cannot keep in step and will have to make do with an inferior position. It will not only not govern others but will be unable to govern itself. The rate of development ceases to be a deciding factor. Its place has been

taken by these absolute figures. China's development is far below that of France or England, but thanks to an enormous concentration of people and resources, evidences a certain superiority in the current race. This situation means a chance for the Muslim world, undeveloped but large.

There is one more thing which urgently calls for concerted effort on the part of the Muslim countries.

The economic and cultural backwardness of the Muslim countries is deteriorating from day to day due to a sudden growth in their populations. Two Muslim countries - Egypt and Pakistan - currently have the highest birthrate in the world. According to some estimates, 20 million Muslims come into the world each year. If growth continues at the present rate, the Muslim world will double within its present borders by the end of the century. Can we welcome, feed, school and employ the millions still waiting to be born? This dramatic demographic development, if unaccompanied by equally swift economic and social progress, is full of potential dangers and uncertainties. Over the past twenty years, this "demographic inflation" has mainly absorbed any growth in production, so that GNP in the majority of Muslim countries is less today than two decades ago. This burst of population, instead of being a factor of power in a united Muslim world, has become a source of crisis and despair for the disparate Muslim countries.

It is clear that the Muslim countries cannot deal singly with this problem. We can face this situation and simultaneously

compensate for the lost years of backwardness and stagnation only through a new quality - unity. What the Arabs, Turks, Persians or Pakistanis cannot solve on their own, Muslims can, in one, joint, coordinated effort.

Each Muslim country can construct its own freedom and prosperity only if by doing so it also constructs the freedom and prosperity of all Muslims. Wealthy Kuwait and Libya cannot survive as islands of prosperity in a sea of misery. If they do not evince Islamic solidarity and a desire to assist neighbouring Muslim countries, if they are led by selfishness, will this not direct these countries towards similar behaviour? And this would lead to the hatred and chaos so desired by their enemies. By carrying out their Islamic duty, the wealthy Muslim countries are acting in their own greatest interest.

The alternative facing every Muslim country is clear: either to unite with other Muslim countries, thus ensuring survival, progress and the strength to face any temptation, or to lag behind more and more with every passing day, eventually falling into a state of dependence on wealthy foreigners. The current historic moment give unity a new dimension: it is no longer just a fine idea on the part of idealists and visionaries; unity has become essential, a necessity, the law of survival and a condition for self-respect in the world of today. Those who for whatever reason or motive support the present factionalism, are to all intents and purposes on the side of the enemy.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM

For reasons of space, it is not possible here to explain the attitude of Islam towards all major doctrines and systems outside its own sphere. It is, however, necessary to explain its attitude towards the two major religions: Christianity and Judaism, and two ruling world systems: capitalism and socialism.

As far as Christianity is concerned, we differentiate between Christ's teaching and the church. The former we regard as the pronouncement of God, deformed on some points, and the latter as an organization, which with its inevitable hierarchy, politics, wealth and interests, has become not only non-Islamic, but anti-Christian. Anyone who needs to define his attitude towards Christianity should be asked to specify whether he means Christ's teaching or the Inquisition. The church in its history has always swung between these two poles. The more the church is the expression and interpreter of the ethical teaching of the Gospels, the further it is from the Inquisition, and thus closer to Islam. We applaud the new tendencies in the church declared by the last Vatican Council, because we consider that to a certain extent they come closer to the original tenets of Christianity. If Christians so wish, the future may offer an example of understanding and cooperation between two great religions for the well-being of people and mankind, just as the past has been the battlefield of their senseless intolerance and strife.

The Islamic attitude towards Judaism is based on a similar principle. We have lived together with the Jews for centuries,

even building a common culture, so that in some cases we cannot with certainty say what in that culture is Islamic and what Judaic.

However, under the leadership of the Zionists, the Jews in Palestine initiated action which is as inhuman and ruthless as it is shortsighted and audacious. This policy takes only a momentary and temporary state of relations into account, losing sight of the constant factors and the general balance of power between Jews and Muslims in the world. In Palestine it throws the gauntlet down to the whole Muslim world. Jerusalem is not only a question for the Palestinians, or even for Arabs. It is a question for all the Muslim peoples. To keep Jerusalem, the Jews would have to conquer Islam and Muslims, and that - thank God - lies beyond their power.

We would like to differentiate between Jews and Zionists, if the Jews themselves summon up the strength to make this difference. We hope that the military victories which they have chalked up against the divided Arab regimes (not against the Arabs and not against Muslims), will not totally darken their understanding and that they will start to eliminate the confrontation which they themselves created, in order to clear the way to a common life on Palestinian soil. If, however, they continue along the road of pride, which at the moment seems more likely, there is only one solution for the Islamic movement and all Muslims in the world: to continue the struggle, to widen and lengthen it day by day, year by year, whatever the sacrifice or however long it may take, until they are forced to return every inch of confiscated

land. Any bargaining or compromise which might set at risk the elementary rights of our brothers in Palestine is treachery, which could destroy the moral system on which our world rests.

These opinions are not the reflection of any new policy of Islam towards Christians and Jews, dictated by a transitory set of circumstances. They are only a practical conclusion drawn from Islamic principles on the recognition of Christianity and Judaism and taken almost word for word from the Qu'ran (Qu'ran 29/45, 2/136, 5/47-49).

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

What are the structural forms and political shapes in which the Islamic rebirth of our day is to manifest itself? Are any of the forms of organization and society, characteristic of Western civilization - representative democracy, capitalism, socialism - good for Islamic society too, and will our society be inevitably obliged to proceed through these and similar forms?

Over the past two centuries, the idea has taken firm hold that every country must eventually turn towards representative democracy. Recent developments, particularly in the inter-war period, have proved the opposite in some cases and shown that classical democracy is not an unavoidable stage in the evolution of the social and political community. Similarly, there are those today who attempt to prove that socialism is the essential direction in which human society is moving, whether it likes it or

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not. Contemporary developments in the so-called capitalist countries in Europe and America, however, quite adamantly deny this prophecy of historic necessity and point to unexpected aspects of development. On the other side of the world, in Japan, a leap has been made straight from a feudal economy into what would in Europe be called a higher form of capitalist monopoly. The patterns people set in order to systematize historical development have turned out to be very relative, and if any rules exist for the development of society, they are obviously not of the kind described by European thought of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This imaginary determinism acted to suppress the conscience of the previous generations; besides this, it was exploited as a powerful psychological means of spreading ideas. In effect, the system influences the state of a country only to the extent to which it instigates or directly organizes work, which is the real source of all wealth.

Freed from the psychosis of historical necessity and thanks to the middle ground which Islam occupies, we can without prejudice consider the good and bad sides of the existing systems, no longer as capitalism and socialism, but as certain practices of contemporary societies.

Capitalism and socialism in their pure forms no longer exist. The speed of development after World War II left them far behind. Only a fossilized Marxist political economy, which is becoming less a science and increasingly the handmaid of policy, continues.

to repeat the original statement, as if nothing had occurred in the world over the past fifty years. Judging by many significant symptoms, the classic standards of what is capitalist and what socialist will soon be totally inadequate to denote economic and social phenomena in the immediate future.

If we accordingly refuse to be led by slogans and terminology and take only the facts we see in the world about us into account, we must admit the extraordinary evolution of the capitalist world over the past thirty years: its dynamism, its ability to set science and the economy in motion, while ensuring a high degree of political freedom and legal security. On the other hand, we cannot ignore the achievements of the socialist system either, particularly in mobilizing material resources, in education and in eliminating traditional forms of poverty.

In the same way, we cannot lose sight of the dark and unacceptable side of their progress and the deep crises which occasionally convulse both systems.

The pragmatic openness of Islam towards solving questions of world organization gives it the advantage of being able to study without prejudice the positive and negative experiences of others, above all the USA, USSR and Japan. These three countries represent, in principle and practice, three very different approaches to solving elementary questions of prosperity and power.

The development of capitalism in the past thirty years has demonstrated the error inherent in some of the basic assumptions

of Marxism. Here we would mention three:

1. The contradiction between productive forces and production relations has not shown itself to be inevitable in capitalism. Capitalism has not only overcome the contradiction, but has enabled a hitherto unheard of development and take-off of production, knowledge and labour productivity;
2. The working class in leading capitalist countries has not opted for a revolution;
3. The relationship between being and consciousness, "base" and "superstructure" is not what Marx claimed it would be. We have capitalism in Sweden and capitalism in Argentina. The differences in the base in these countries are differences of degree; the differences in their superstructures (forms of political power, laws, religion, ruling philosophy, art and so on) are differences in essence.

Development in the world, then, has not followed the path mapped out for it by Marx. The advanced countries retained capitalism while continuing to develop it, while socialism came to power in a number of underdeveloped countries, which from the point of view of Marxism, is an inexplicable anomaly.

How should we interpret the interest evinced by the underdeveloped countries for certain forms of socialist economy?

In the first place, this has shown itself to be useful when organizing an extensive economy, appropriate to countries which have no starting point, in that they have neither capital, expertise, work routines or much else; secondly, more backward

environments adapt more easily to the various types of restriction (a lesser degree of personal freedom, centralism, strong government etc.) which always accompany certain types of socialism;

thirdly, although outclassed as a science, socialism has survived as a myth and an adventure. This very important aspect of socialism more than explains its greatly growing influence in Catholic and Latin countries in comparison with Protestant and Germanic ones.

In contrast, the pragmatic spirit of capitalism is more suited to the rationalism of a developed society. It has been proved that developed forms of capitalist economy function successfully in a society with democratic forms of government, an advanced level of culture and a high degree of personal and political freedom. In conditions such as these, some of the more inhuman aspects of capitalist economy can actually be considerably neutralized without any major impairment of its efficiency.

So the imaginary inevitability of this system or that comes to nothing. What is, in fact, inevitable is the continuous mobility of the economy, based on the continued advance of science and technology. The perfecting of the work process and its tools is, it seems, the only activity in which people "must" engage in this domain.

Accordingly, neither Islam nor the world at large is faced with the dilemma of capitalism or socialism, as any such dilemma is imaginary and artificial. There is, however, the question of choosing and constantly working to perfect a system of relations

between property and production, which will be efficient and in harmony with the Islamic understanding of social justice; which will stimulate work and activity in the best possible way and solve the problems posed by the inevitable development of production and technology.

C O N C L U S I O N

These are some of the main ideas and essential dilemmas of the Islamic rebirth, which is taking increasing hold of people's minds as a general transformation of the Muslim peoples - moral, cultural and political. In the midst of all the defeat and disappointment, the Islamic rebirth is a name to inspire hope and a way out for an extensive region of the world.

No Muslim for whom adherence to Islam is not sheer coincidence, but rather a programme and a duty, can reject this vision, but many in their indecision will enquire: where are the forces which will make it come true?

To answer this unavoidable question, we point to the new Islamic generation who will soon come of age. This generation of one hundred million boys and girls, born into Islam, growing up in the bitterness of defeat and humiliation, united in a new Islamic patriotism, who will refuse to live on old fame and alien help and who will gather around aims which mean truth, life and dignity - bear within them the strength to bring about this impossible undertaking and to confront every trial.

This generation could not have appeared before. The epoch of illusion and error had to be lived through to the end, in order to show the powerlessness of false gods, of various fathers of the homeland and saviours of society, kings and *mahdis*, for them to beat us on Sinai, endanger Indonesia, unsettle Pakistan, talk much of freedom, prosperity and progress while creating only tyranny, poverty and corruption - all this was necessary in order for us to arrive at a time of sobriety, for a generation to be born to whom it is clear that all this was but aimless wandering and that there is only one way out for the Islamic world: to turn to its own spiritual and material sources, which means Islam and Muslims.

The Islamic world today is an extraordinary patchwork of peoples, races, laws and influences, but there is one thing which is met in every corner of that world with the same respect and loyalty: the Qu'ran, one feeling which is the same in Java, India, Algeria or Nigeria: the feeling of belonging to the general Islamic community. These two loyalties in the elementary feelings of millions of ordinary people hold reserves of quiet energy and represent something which is the same throughout the Muslim world today. Because of them the Muslim world is even now an emotional community of international dimensions, perhaps the only multinational emotional (but not organized) community in the world.

As an integral part of these feelings and the result of the long influence of Islamic ethics, we constantly meet, in the form of folk wisdom, with vital concepts of human equality, social

justice, tolerance and *merhama** towards all life forms. These facts do not of themselves mean a better and more humane world, but they do mean the promise of one.

These feelings indicate that the Muslim world is alive, for where there is love and fellow-feeling, there is not death but life. The Islamic world is not a desert; it is virgin soil awaiting the ploughman's hand. Thanks to these facts, our task becomes real and possible. It consists of turning these feelings, now only potential forces, into active ones. Loyalty to the Qu'ran should grow into determination to apply it; the Islamic community of emotions should turn into an organized, aware community, and folk humanism into clear ideas, which will become the moral and social character of future laws and institutions.

Who will carry out this transformation, and how shall it be done?

Every action taken in relation to events is social action. Every successful struggle can only be a joint, organized struggle. The younger generation will be able to carry out its task of transformation only if its inclinations and idealism are poured into an organized movement, in which the enthusiasm and personal value of the individual will be correlated with methods of joint, coordinated action. The creation of this movement with a single basic aim and programme is an irrevocable condition and starting point for rebirth in every Muslim country.

**merhama*: mercy (translator's note)

This movement will gather together what is built, raise the unbuilt, elevate and call on people, define aims and find a way to attain them. It will introduce life, thought and action everywhere. It will become the conscience and will of a world awakening out of a long, deep sleep.

In sending this message to all Muslims throughout the world, we wish clearly to state that there is no promised land, no miracle-workers or *mahdis*. There is only the way of work, struggle and sacrifice.

In times of trial let us always have in mind two things: behind us stands God's blessing and the consent of our people.