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THE ISLAMIC DECLARATION

of Alija Izetbegović
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ISLAM AS POLITICS

The Islamic Declaration by Alija Izetbegovic (born 1925), the Bosnian Moslem politician and a statesman since 1990, is one of a series of radical Islamic policy documents. Such documents have frequently appeared in the Islamic world over the past few decades. The text was written in 1970 and was not made available to the public at large. It was illegally duplicated and circulated among Moslems, to serve as an ideological road sign, a manual and a practical instruction for the Islamic propagandist - political and organizational work of adversaries of the secular, non-Islamic order. Some confusion regarding the actual nature of the Islamic Declaration arose because of the rightful denouncing of the legal and moral foundation for the political trial in 1983. A trial brought by the communist authorities in Sarajevo against the author of the declaration along with a group of like-minded people for allegedly "associating for the purpose of hostile activity and jeopardising the constitutional order", as well as "acting from the standpoint of Islamic fundamentalism and Moslem nationalism." The accused at the Sarajevo trial were, with good reason, publicly rehabilitated after the communists had renounced power. The trial itself was assessed as "Stalinist and framed" and the result was the publication of the Islamic Declaration (Sarajevo 1990.). Due to the complete rehabilitation of Alija Izetbegovic and his group, and even more to the apologetic action of the media from the moment when the Democratic Action Party (SDA), headed by A. Izetbegovic and led by his like minded colleagues, won a convincing majority of Moslem votes at the first multi-party election in Bosnia-Herzegovina (in November, 1990), the real nature and meaning of the Islamic Declaration became blurred and extremely relativistic. Special care was taken along these lines to divert the attention of the western audience which, as is well known, does not have much sympathy for Islamic radicalism. These endeavours appear to have been successful.

The Islamic Declaration represents an articulation of the political essence of the general fundamentalist outlook of the world, which has been vigorously elaborated by Alija Izetbegovic in his book ISLAM BETWEEN EAST AND WEST. This comprehensive "praising of Islam", completed in 1980, was first published in English in the USA (1984), in Turkish in Istanbul (1987), and eventually in Serbian, in Belgrade (1988). In his accompanying text, the Turkish editor also mentions the Islamic Declaration, denoting it as a "call to Moslems of the world to wake up and stand upright in order to carry out their predetermined historic task". This is exactly what the Islamic Declaration stands for. Since its author is a man who firmly believes that "there are only three integral outlooks on the world and there can be no more than three: religious, materialist, and Islamic", claiming that "Islam is more than a religion" (cf. Islam Between East and West, Belgrade, 1988, p.7). It is clear that the Moslems' holy task is first to implement the Islamic attitude to the world at home, and subsequently, by accomplishing this goal, bring happiness to the entire world as well. "No East, no West, Islam is the best" - is the Khomeini-like and succinct message contained in the writings of Alija Izetbegovic. Translated into the political and pragmatic language of the Islamic Declaration, this implies the reislamization and decolonization of those self-same Moslems who have gone astray, with the subsequent creation and gradual expansion of the Islamic state until a utopian quantum takes place.



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The tenets highlighted in the Islamic Declaration have never been renounced by its author. In defending himself from the accusation that he intends to carry out his part of the "historic task he is predetermined for" in Bosnia-Herzegovina, he only maintained that his call was addressed to all Moslems of the world, that it was drawn up in general terms, that there was no mention of Bosnia-Herzegovina in the text, and that it was only permitted to think about the establishment of an Islamic legal order in states where Moslems make up an absolute majority. This is all true. Nevertheless, if the call has been addressed to all Moslems, it applies ipso facto to Yugoslav Moslems as well. Therefore, in the not too distant future it can also touch upon Bosnia-Herzegovina, where according to the 1991 census (in terms of ethnical breakdown) Moslems account for 43.7 % of the population, and in comparison with the Serbs (31.3 %) and Croats (17.3 %) have a considerably higher birth rate. At a time when the republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina is acquiring international recognition, while Alija Izetbegovic as its Moslem leader, in pursuance of his own intentions is managing to gain the support of the most influential international powers (which in his manifesto are otherwise called "powerful forces of the pagan world"), it would be irresponsible to read the Islamic Declaration as some kind of irrelevant fantastic parapolitical fiction.

Alija Izetbegović was born on August 8, 1925 in BOSANSKI ŠAMAC.
He is a retired lawyer.

In 1948 the Sarajevo Military Court sentenced him to 3 years of imprisonment with hard labour, and 2 years of loss of political and civil rights.

As of 24 March 1983, Izetbegović has been in detention, having been sentenced to 14 years of imprisonment.

ISLAMIC DECLARATION

A Programme of the Islamization of Moslems and Moslem Peoples

OUR GOAL: Islamization of Moslems

OUR MOTTO: Believe and Fight

BISMILLAHIRRAHMANIRRAHIM!

(In the name of the Almighty Merciful Benefactor)

The Declaration that we are presenting to the public today is no reading matter intended to prove to foreigners or skeptics the superiority of Islam over one or another system, one or another group of ideas.

It is addressed to Moslems who know where they belong and who clearly feel in their hearts which side they are on. For them, this Declaration is an invitation to draw the necessary conclusions on what this love and belonging commit them to.

The entire Moslem world is undergoing ferment and change. Whatever this world turns out to be after the first wave of changes, one thing is certain: it will no longer be the world we know from the first half of this century. The era of passivity and inertia is definitely behind us.

Everybody, especially powerful foreigners from the East and the West, is seeking to turn this time of change and flux to their advantage. Rather than send armies, they are now injecting their ideas and capital, and by this new form of influence, striving to achieve the same goal again: to ensure their presence and keep Moslem Nations spiritually weak and materially and politically dependent.

China, Russia and Western countries are quarrelling over which one of them will have patronage over which part of the

Moslem world. Their quarrel is futile. The Islamic world does not belong to them, but to the Moslem peoples.

For, a world with a population of 700 million, vast natural resources, a geographical position of the utmost importance, a world with a colossal legacy of cultural and political traditions, and which is the champion of the living Islamic thought, cannot remain a hireling for long. There is no force under the sun which could prevent the new Moslem generation from putting an end to this unnatural situation.

In this conviction, we are announcing to friends and foes that the Moslems have decided to take the fate of the Islamic world in their own hands, and to organize that world as they wish.

In this respect, the Declaration does not contain ideas that could be considered completely new. Rather, it is a synthesis of ideas ever more frequently voiced in various quarters, which are more or less of the same general importance in all the parts of the Moslem world. What is, however, novel is that it demands that ideas and plans be translated into organized action to give them practical effect.

The struggle for new goals did not start today. On the contrary, in its history, this struggle has already recorded results and written pages of suffering and immolation. Still, those were personal sacrifices of outstanding individuals or courageous small groups, clashing with the mighty powers of Godless ignorance (jahiliyet). The magnitude of the problems and difficulties, however, requires the organized action of millions.

We dedicate our message to the memory of our brothers who have laid their lives for Islam.

Sarajevo, 1970
Jumadel-ula, 1390

Do we want the Moslem nations to break out of the circle they are in, and leave behind dependence, backwardness and poverty;

Do we want them to march staunchly again along the path of dignity and enlightenment and become masters of their own fate;

Do we want founts of courage, genius and virtue to gush forth powerfully again;

If we do, let us clearly chart the road leading to that:

The realization of Islam in all fields of personal life, in the family and society, through the restoration of Islamic religious thought and the creation of an integrated Islamic community from Morocco to Indonesia.

Improbable and distant as this goal may seem, it is realistic, because it is the only goal in the realm of the possible. And conversely, any non-Islamic programme can be seemingly at hand and close to our goal, but for the Islamic world it would be mere utopia, being as it is in the realm of the impossible.

History unequivocally demonstrates that Islam is the only idea capable of exciting the imagination of the Moslem peoples and ensuring the necessary measure of discipline, inspiration and energy. No other ideal, foreign to Islam, has ever had a significant effect, either in the field of culture, or in state affairs. In point of fact, all that is great and noteworthy in the history of the Moslem peoples has been created under Islamic symbols. Just a few thousand of true Islamic fighters forced England to withdraw from the Suez in the early fifties, while the united armies of the Arab nationalist regimes are losing the battle with Israel for the third time. As an Islamic country, Turkey ruled the world. Plagiarizing Europe,

Turkey is a third-rate country, like hundreds of others in the world.

Once a nation, or an individual embrace Islam, they cannot live or die for any other ideal. It is inconceivable for a Moslem to sacrifice himself for any emperor or ruler, whatever his name might be, or for the glory of some nation, party or anything similar, because his strongest Islamic instinct recognizes in this a kind of godlessness and idolatry. A Moslem can die only with the name of Allah and in the glory of Islam, or - run from the battlefield.

Therefore, periods of passivity and stagnation actually testify to the absence of an Islamic alternative or of readiness of Moslems to climb this steep path. They are the negative aspect of the spiritual monopoly of Islam over the Islamic world.

Accepting this state of affairs as an expression of God's will, we asseverate that the Islamic world cannot be restored without and against Islam. Islam and its views on man's role in the world, the purpose of human life and the relationship between man and God and man and man, remain a durable and irreplaceable ethical, philosophical, ideological and political basis of any genuine action aimed at revival and the improvement of the lot of the Moslem peoples.

So obviously, there are two options: either a move towards Islamic revival, or passivity and stagnation. For the Moslem peoples, there is no third option.

THE BACKWARDNESS OF MOSLEM NATIONS

CONSERVATIVES AND MODERNISTS,

The idea of Islamic revival, with its perception of the ability of Islam not only to cultivate man, but also to organise the world, shall always have its opponents in two kinds of people: conservatives, who want old ways, and modernists, who want imported ways. The former are dragging Islam back into the past, the latter are preparing for it a foreign future.

Regardless of the great differences which divide them, these two categories of people have something in common: both see in Islam only a religion, understanding this term only in its European sense. A certain lack of sensitivity to the finer points of language and logic, and more than that, lack of understanding of the essence of Islam and its role in history and in the world, make them translate the Islamic din as "religion", which, for one reason, is totally wrong.

Albeit a repetition and a confirmation of fundamental truths about the origin and mission of man, the approach of Islam is in one respect totally new: it is new in its demand for the uniting of religion and science, ethics and politics, ideal and interest. Recognising the existence of two worlds, the natural and the internal, Islam teaches that it is man who is a bridge over the abyss separating the two worlds. Outside this unity, religion begins to drag into backwardness (rejection of all active life), and science - into atheism.

Proceeding from the approach that Islam is just a religion, conservatives arrive at the conclusion that Islam should not, and atheists - that it cannot organise the outside world. The practical outcome is the same.

The principal, though not the only vehicle of the conservative approach in the Moslem world today is the class of hodjas and sheiks, who have, despite the clear positions on the non-existence of clergy in Islam, organised themselves as a caste unto itself, which arrogated to itself a monopoly over the interpretation of Islam and placed itself in the position of mediator between the Koran and the people. As clergymen, they are theologians, and as theologians, they are inevitably dogmatics and, since faith has been given once and for all, it has been interpreted, in their view, once and for all, and it is best to leave everything as it was given and defined more than a thousand years ago. Following this inevitable logic of dogmatics, theologians become bitter foes of anything that is new. Further development of the shariat as a law in terms of applying the principles of the Koran to the ever new situations brought about by the progress of the world is labelled as attack on the integrity of the faith. Perhaps there is an element of love for Islam in this, but it is a pathological love of narrow-minded and backward people, whose deadly embrace almost stifled the still living Islamic thought.

Nonetheless, it would be a mistake to think that, in the hands of theologians, Islam remained a closed book. Ever more impervious to science, and ever more inclined to mysticism, theology allowed many irrational things, totally alien to Islam, and even obvious myths, to be written into that book. Anyone who is familiar with the nature of theology will easily comprehend why it was unable to resist the temptation of mythology and why it even found in it a certain enrichment of religious thought. The monotheism of Koran, the purest and the most perfect in the history of religious teachings, was gradually compromised, and there appeared in practice a disgusting trade in faith. Those who called themselves interpreters and guardians of faith turned it into a profession, a very convenient and lucrative at that, and without much remorse accepted a state of affairs in which its messages were not obeyed at all.

Theologians thus became wrong people in the wrong place. And now, when the Moslem world is manifesting all the signs of awakening, this caste is becoming an embodiment of all that is macabre and sclerotic in that world. It has proven to be totally incapable of taking any constructive step in order for the Islamic world to face the hardships which oppress it.

As for the so-called progressives, westerners, modernists and whatever else they call themselves, everywhere in the Moslem world, they are a real plague, because they are rather numerous and influential, especially in government, education and public affairs in general. Believing that hodjas and conservatives are Islam, and persuading others to believe the same, modernists indiscriminately oppose all that Islam stands for. You will easily recognise these self-styled reformists in modern Moslem countries by the pride they usually take in things they should be ashamed of, and their feeling of shame for things they should feel proud of. They are mainly "daddy's sons" who go to school in Europe and come back home with a feeling of deep inferiority to the wealthy West and pronounced superiority over the poor and backward environment in which they were born. Without Islamic upbringing and with no spiritual and moral bond with the people, they quickly lose even elementary standards and imagine that, by doing away with the local traditions, customs and convictions, and introducing foreign ones, they would overnight create on that soil America, for which they feel excessive admiration. Instead of the standard of living, they bring with them a cult of that standard; instead of developing the potentials of that world, they develop desires, and thus pave the way for corruption, primitivism and moral chaos. They cannot see that the power of the Western world lies not in its way of life, but in its way of work; that this power is not in the fashion, the atheism, the nightclubs, the loose young generation, but in the outstanding diligence, persistence, knowledge and responsibility of its people.

The trouble, therefore, is not that our westerners have used imported patterns, but that they did not know how to use

them properly, or rather, that, in doing so, they had not developed a strong enough sense for what is good. Rather than importing the useful product, they imported the harmful, stifling waste of a civilisational process.

Among the requisites of doubtful value which our westerner takes home with him are usually various "revolutionary" ideas, reform programmes and similar "salvation doctrines" which "resolve all problems". Among these reforms, there are instances of amazing shortsightedness and improvisation. Thus, for example, Mustafa Kemal, who was evidently a better military leader than a cultural reformer, and whose merits for Turkey should be cut down to size, prohibits by one of his reforms the wearing of the fez. It transpired very soon that a changed shape of hat cannot change that which is in people's minds or ways, and even less that which constitutes their real position, so that all the problems of the Turks, those of yesterday who wore the fez or those of today, wearing hats, remain unchanged.

For more than a century now, many nations outside the western civilisation, have been facing the problem of which attitude to take towards that civilisation. Finding oneself face to face with it, should one assume the attitude of absolute rejection, cautious adjustment or accept indiscriminately all the aspects of that civilisation? The tragedy or triumph of many nations was decided by their answer to this crucial question.

There are reforms which radiate the wisdom of one nation, and others, which mean betrayal of oneself. The example of Japan and Turkey remains in this regard a classic of modern history.

At the turn of this century, these two countries presented a picture of very similar, "comparable" states. Both were old empires, each with its own physiognomy and place in the world. Both were at approximately the same level of development and both had a glorious past, which could mean both a great

privilege and great burden. In other words, both had approximately the same chance of success in the future.

Both countries have since undergone the well-known reforms. In order to continue living its own life, rather than anyone else's, Japan tried to integrate tradition with progress. Turkey's modernists chose for it a different path. Today, Turkey is a third-rate country, while Japan has risen to the top of world nations.

The difference between the philosophies of Japanese and Turkish reformers is perhaps nowhere as clear as in the example of script.

While Turkey abolished the Arabic script which, by its simplicity, with only 28 characters, ranks among the most perfect and most widely used world alphabets, Japan rejected the demand of its "romai" to introduce the latin alphabet. It retained its complicated script which, after the reform, in addition to 46 characters, also includes 880 Chinese ideograms. Today, there is no illiteracy in Japan, whereas in Turkey - forty years after the introduction of the Latin alphabet - half of the population is illiterate, a result which should make even the blind see the light.

And that is not all. It soon transpired that it was not just a question of script as a mere instrument of recording. The real reasons, and therefore also the consequences, are much more profound and significant. The essence of the entire human civilisation and progress lies in perpetuation, not in destruction or negation. The script is the way in which a nation "remembers" and endures in history. With the abolishment of the Arabic script, all the treasure of the past, as preserved in the written word, was mainly lost for Turkey and, with this one stroke, it reduced itself almost to the level of barbarism. With a series of "parallel" reforms, the new generation of Turks found itself without spiritual foothold, in a kind of spiritual vacuum. Turkey

lost its "remembrance", its past. Who could have possibly needed that?

The partisans of modernism in the Islamic world were not, therefore, the kind of wise men from the ranks of the people who were able to achieve old ideals and values in the changed circumstances and in new ways. They rose against the values themselves and, often with the coldest cynicism and amazing shortsightedness, trampled what was sacred to the people and destroyed real life in order to plant in its place an imitation of life. As a result of this rampage, ersatz nations have developed or are about to develop in Turkey and elsewhere: spiritually confused countries without a face of their own and without a feeling for their own road in life. Everything in them is unauthentic and artificial, lacking real enthusiasm and strength, like the fake brilliance of their europeanised cities.

Can a country which does not know its identity and roots have a clear vision of where it is headed and what it should strive for?

The example of some of Kemal's reforms may seem drastic, but these reforms nevertheless represent a pattern of every approach of the westerners to the problems of the Islamic world and the way in which they intend to "correct" it. It is always an alienation, a flight from real problems, from relentless hard work on true moral and educational advancement of the people, and orientation towards outside, superficial things.

What was the meaning of independence of a Moslem country in which the administration of public affairs came into the hands of this kind of people? How did they use that freedom?

By embracing foreign ideological models and seeking political support abroad, in the West or in the East - makes no difference, each of those countries gave its consent voluntarily, through the mouths of its new administrators, to renewed

enslavement. There emerged a kind of spiritual and material dependence, whose substance is: a foreign philosophy, a foreign way of life, foreign assistance, foreign capital, foreign support. Such countries have acquired formal independence, but not real freedom, because each freedom is primarily spiritual liberty. The independence of a nation which had not first of all won this spiritual freedom will soon be reduced to the anthem and the flag - too little for real independence.

The struggle for genuine independence of Moslem nations must therefore start again everywhere.

THE CAUSES OF IMPOTENCE

These two types of people -the conservatives and the modernists, are the key to understanding the current situation of the Moslem peoples. Nevertheless, they are not its true and ultimate cause. In further analysis, both situations are only the expression and manifestation of a deeper cause: the degradation or rejection of Islamic thought.

The history of Islam is not only, in fact not even in its greater part, the history of the progressive realization of Islam in real life. It is just as much an account of the misunderstanding, neglect, non-observance and abuse of this thought. Therefore the history of every Moslem nation is at the same time both a chronology of brilliant achievements and victories and of sad delusions and defeats. All our successes and failures, both political and moral, are in effect only a reflection of our acceptance of Islam and its application in life. The weakening of the influence of Islam in the practical life of the people was always attended by the degradation of people and social and political institutions.

The entire history of Islam, from the very beginning to date, developed under the inexorable effects of this coincidence. This "parallelism" in a way reflects the unchangeable destiny of Moslem nations and a law of Islamic history.

Two characteristic events in the history of Islam - one from the time of its ascent, the other from the period of its decadence, clearly illustrate the operation of this law.

Mohammed (God bless and keep him) died in 632 and less than a hundred years after that the spiritual and political rule of Islam covered a vast area from the Atlantic Ocean to the river Indus and to China and from the Lake of Aral to the lower cataracts of the Nile. Syria was conquered in 634, Damascus fell

in 635, Ctesifon in 637, India and Egypt were reached in 641, Carthage in 647, Samarkand in 676, Spain in 710. The Moslems were at Constantinople in 717 and in Southern France in 720. As of the year 700 there already existed mosques in Shantung and Islam reached Java around the year 630.

This unique expansion unparalleled by any either before or after, created room for the development of Islamic civilization in three cultural circles: in Spain, in the Middle East and in India, which cover a period of nearly a thousand years in history.

What do the Moslems mean in the world of today?

We could also formulate this question in another way: How much Moslem are we?

The answers to these questions are inter-related.

We are enslaved: at one moment in 1919 there was not a single independent Moslem country, a situation registered never before or after.

We are uneducated: in no Moslem country did literacy between the two world wars exceed 50%. Pakistan had a 75 % illiteracy rate, Algeria 60 % and Nigeria as much as 90% when they gained independence. (In contrast to that in Islamic Spain in the 10th and 11th centuries - according to Draper - there was no illiteracy).

We are poor: national per capita income is: \$ 220 in Iran, \$240 in Turkey, \$ 250 in Malaysia, \$ 90 in Pakistan, \$ 85 in Afghanistan, \$ 70 in Indonesia, as compared to \$ 3.000 in the U.S.A. (1966 figures). The industrial sector accounts from 10-20 % of the national income of most Moslem countries. Calorie intake in the daily diet is 2.000 on the average as compared to 3.000 - 3.500 in the countries of Western Europe.

We are a divided community: Instead of being a society without poverty and without luxury, Moslem society has become its very opposite. Contrary to the order in the Koran " ... that these riches (goods) shall not remain in the hands of the rich among you" (the Koran 39/7), riches gradually became amassed in the hands of a limited few. Before the 1958 agricultural reform in Iraq, of the 22 million dunum of arable land around 18 million dunum or 82 % were held by wealthy landowners. At the same time there were 1.4 million landless peasants.

That is the situation which some aptly called " the night of Islam". Actually, that night began with dusk setting in in our hearts. Everything that has happened to us or is happening to us today is only an echo and a repetition of what has happened in us ourselves. (The Koran 13/12).

For, as Moslems, we cannot be subjugated, uneducated, discordant. We can be all of that but only as apostates from Islam. All our defeats, from the first one at Uhud to this last one at Sinai, invariably corroborate that this is true.

The phenomenon of abandonment of Islam most often manifested as the suppression of Islamic thought from the realm of active and vigilant life to the realm of transience and passivity can be most clearly followed precisely on the example of the Koran as the central fact of Islamic ideology and practice.

We should note that every rise of the Islamic peoples, every period of dignity, started by the affirmation of the Koran. The expansion of early Islam the wondrous evolution of which has already been mentioned and which had over the course of two generations brought Islam to the shores of the Atlantic in the West and the outskirts of China in the East is not the only example but it is the most glorious one. All major developments in the course of Islamic history assert this law of parallelism.

What was the position of the Koran at the time preceding the era of stagnation and recession?

Loyalty to this book did not cease but it lost its active and retained an irrational, mystical nature. The Koran lost the authority of law and gained "sanctity" as an object. In studying and interpreting it, wisdom gave way to logomachy, essence to form, and great thoughts to the skill of recitation. Under the constant influence of theological formalism the Koran was read less and less and "learned" (recited) more and more, with decrees on struggle, integrity and personal and material sacrifice, unpalatable and unpleasant to our inertia, dissolving and disappearing in the mellifluous sound of the learned text of the Koran. This unnatural situation gradually came to be accepted as normal as it suited the increasingly numerous body of Moslems who could neither wean themselves away from the Koran nor find the strength to rebuild their lives according to its requirements. In this fact lies the psychological explanation of the phenomenon of the excessive reciting of the Koran. The Koran is recited, interpreted and then recited, studied and again recited. They repeat a thousand times a single of its sentences so as not to have to apply it a single time. They developed an extensive and meticulous science on how the Koran is pronounced, to escape the question of how to translate it into practice. Finally, they turned the Koran into mere sound without intelligible sense and content.

The entire reality of the Moslem world, with its discrepancy between word and deed; with its debauchery, filth, injustice and cowardice; with its monumental but empty mosques; with its large white turbans without ideals and courage; with a hypocritical Islamic phrase and religious pose; with this faith without faith, is only the external expression of this fundamental contradiction in which the Koran found itself and in which zealous devotion to this book became gradually combined with absolute disregard of its principles in practice.

In fact, this situation with the Koran accounts for the first and foremost true cause of the retrogression and impotence of the Moslem nations. Another such cause, of universal significance, is schooling i.e. the educational system in the broadest meaning of the word.

For centuries our nations have practically had no educated people. Instead, they have two other, equally undesirable categories: the uneducated and the miseducated. Not in a single Moslem country do we have a schooling system which would be sufficiently developed and at the same time responsive to the moral concepts of Islam and the needs of the people. Our rulers have either neglected or left to foreigners this most sensitive institution of any society. Schools, funded and manned by foreigners and therefore also bringing foreign programs and ideologies failed to edify Moslems or even nationalists. In them, our future intellectuals are instilled the "virtues" of obedience, subservience and admiration for the power and wealth of foreigners; in them foreign educators create an intelligentsia with a vassal mentality which will stand them in very good stead in the future as it will both feel and behave as a true alien in its own country. It would indeed be very enlightening to find out the number of schools and colleges held, directly or indirectly, by foreigners, and then to ponder the reasons for this exceptional munificence. The curricula of these institutions need to be scrutinized in depth, both in terms of what they contain and in terms of what they do not contain. It would then become quite clear that the issue is not at all whether our intelligentsia wants and wishes to find a path to its own people, to its true aspirations and interests, but whether it, such as it is, can identify that path at all. It is a question of the system of values and ideals which has been imposed on it and of the psychological gap which has been created. Iron chains are no longer needed to keep our peoples in subjugation. Equally powerful are the silken threads of this alien "enlightenment" which paralyses the will and the consciousness of the educated strata of a nation. As long as the schooling system is such, foreign rulers

and their vassals in Moslem countries need not fear for their positions. Instead of being a source of rebellion and resistance against them, such a schooling system is their most faithful ally.

This tragic gap between the intelligentsia and the people which is one of the bleakest features of our overall position, is being deepened from the other side as well. Sensing the alien and non-Islamic nature of the school being offered to them the people instinctively reject it, consequently both sides drawing even farther apart. As a result, the absurd accusation is construed about the Moslem community's disinclination towards school and education. In point of fact, it is quite clear that this is not rejection of school as such, but rejection of foreign school, one which has lost all spiritual connexion with Islam and the people.

THE INDIFFERENCE OF THE MOSLEM MASSES

The putsch perpetrated by the modernists in many Moslem countries was, as a rule, anti-religiously oriented and carried out under the slogan of the secularization of political and social life. In this respect, it resembled the struggle between the awakened national state and the church in Europe on the threshold of the New Age.

But, what could have meant lawfulness and progress for the West, constituted in the Islamic world an unnatural process which could not bring about any constructive change. Here, secularism and nationalism had no positive content and were in fact just a negation of something else. Foreign in their origin and content, they were wholly an expression of the spiritual poverty which obtained. They practically marked the last act of the drama of the Moslem world. According to the situation which ensued, we could name this act a "dual absurdity". What is it about?

Revival is always the result of creative contact, sympathy or internal accord between the conscious, leading elements of a society and the broad strata of the people. The leading group is the will and thought, and the people are the heart and blood of any profound movement. Without the participation or at least the consent of the man in the street, any action will remain superficial and devoid of a genuine striking force. The inertness of the masses can be overcome if it is the consequence only of natural resistance to strain, danger and struggle. It will be impossible to overcome this inertness if it stems from a rejection of the very ideal of the struggle because that ideal is contrary to the innermost will and sentiments of the masses.

It is precisely the latter that we have been witnessing in a less or more pronounced form in all Moslem countries in which the modernists are seeking to implement their programs. They flatter and they threaten, they plead and coerce, they organize and reorganize, they change names and persons, but they encounter persistent rejection and indifference on the part of the ordinary people who make up the greatest part of the nation. Habib Bourgiba - mentioned here just as an example and as being representative of a widespread tendency - wears a European suit, speaks French at home, isolates Tunisia not only from the Islamic but also from the Arab world, restricts religious instruction, calls for abandoning the Ramadan fast, "because fasting reduces labour productivity", and drinks orange juice in public so as to set a good example, and then, at the end of the day, is surprised at the passivity and lack of support on the part of the Tunisian masses for his "learned" reforms. Modernists would not be what they are if they did not exhibit this type of blindness.

Moslem nations will never embrace anything which is explicitly contrary to Islam because Islam to them is not only an idea and a law; Islam has become love and feeling. Whosoever should rise against Islam shall reap nothing but hatred and resistance.

By their action the modernists have engendered a state of inner conflict and confusion in which any program, Islamic or foreign, becomes impracticable. The masses want Islamic action but cannot undertake it without their intelligentsia. The alienated intelligentsia imposes its program, but fails to recruit sufficient numbers willing to give their blood, sweat and enthusiasm for that paper ideal. The result is the mutual offsetting of forces, a state of impuissance and paralysis.

There is an order, a dynamics, a prosperity, a progress, which can be built on this soil and in this region, but it is not the order, progress, and prosperity of Europe and America. The indifference of the Moslem masses is not indifference in general. It is the way in which the people's Islam defended itself against external, foreign assaults. Wherever there was even the slightest prospect for Islamic struggle, the ordinary man offered evidence of his willingness to fight, endure and suffer. This was demonstrated by the example of Turkey in the liberation struggle against the Greeks after the defeat in WW I, the heroic resistance in Libya against Italian occupation and the recent examples of struggle against the English in the Suez zone, the war for the liberation of Algeria, for the preservation of Indonesia, and for Islamic influence in Pakistan. Whenever it was necessary to rally the masses, Islamic slogans were resorted to, at least temporarily, and insincerely. Where there is Islam there is no indifference.

The unmistakable sentiments of the Moslem masses need an idea to guide them and spur them to action. But that cannot be just any idea. It has to be an idea which corresponds to these profound feelings, and thus, can only be the Islamic idea.

There are no prospects whatsoever for the Moslem masses and their present intellectual and political leadership to be able to come to agreement by either one of them rejecting their ideals, irrespective of how long this state of indecision and expectation could last. There is only way out: the creation and rallying of a new intelligentsia which thinks and feels Islam. This intelligentsia would then fly the flag of the Islamic order and together with the Moslem masses initiate action for its realization.

II. THE ISLAMIC ORDER

RELIGION AND LAW

The Islamic order - what does this expression mean translated into the language in which our generation thinks, speaks and feels?

The shortest definition of the Islamic order defines it as the unity of religion and law, of upbringing and force, of ideals and interests, of the spiritual community and the state, of free will and coercion.

As a synthesis of these components, the Islamic order rests on two basic assumptions: an Islamic society and Islamic rule. The first is the content and the second the form of the Islamic order. Islamic society without Islamic rule is incomplete and impotent; and Islamic rule without Islamic society is either utopia or violence.

A Moslem as a rule does not exist as an individual entity. If he wants to live and survive as a Moslem, he must create a milieu, a community, an order. He must change the world or else undergo change himself. History knows no genuine Islamic movement that was not a political movement at the same time. The reason for that is that Islam is a religion but at the same time also a philosophy, an ethic, an order of things, a style, an atmosphere - in a nutshell, a way of life. One cannot believe in the way of Islam and act, work, have fun, rule in a non-Islamic way. This incongruity will result in either hypocrisy (worshipping God in the mosque, cheating on Him outside it), or create unhappy and conflict-torn people (they can neither relinquish the Koran nor can they find the strength to struggle to change the reality in which they live), or monks and eccentrics of sorts (who withdraw from the world because that world is not Islamic), or, finally, those who faced with such a dilemma abandon Islam and

accept life and the world such as they are, i.e. such as others have made them.

The Islamic order is a state of society free of this conflict and a system of relations in which a Moslem is in perfect harmony with his environment.

To the question : What is a Moslem society, we answer: It is a community composed of Moslems and we believe that this says it all or practically all.

The meaning of this definition is that there does not exist a system of institutions, relations and laws which could be separated from the people who are their subject and for which we could say: that is an Islamic system. No system is Islamic or non-Islamic in itself. Only the people comprising it make it Islamic or non-Islamic.

A European believes that society is regulated by laws. Ever since Plato's "State", through the well-known utopias on the ideal set-up of society, up to the latest of these utopias, Marxism, the European spirit has been seeking a design, a pattern, in which an ideal society would be constructed by merely changing relations among people or groups of people.

That is why the Koran contains relatively few real "laws", and much more "faith" and requests for practical action in accordance with this faith.

A multitude of laws and elaborate legislation are usually a telltale sign that "there is something rotten" in society and that it is necessary to stop adopting laws and start edifying people. When the depravity of the community goes beyond a certain limit, laws become powerless. They come under the control of corrupt administrators of justice or the corrupt community finds ways of either overtly or covertly getting around them.

Wine, gambling and sorcery - three very widespread and deeply rooted vices throughout the Near and Middle East were done away with for a long period of time and on a vast territory by a single ayet of the Koran and with but one explanation: God had prohibited them. As soon as this faith weakened, drunkenness and superstition returned with equal force and the incomparably higher cultural level of the community posed no barrier to them. The American prohibition law proclaimed in the name of the science of the century and implemented by the force of one of the most organized communities in the world, finally had to be revoked in the fourth decade of this century after thirteen years of futile efforts fraught with violence and crime. The attempt to introduce prohibition in the Nordic countries was equally unsuccessful.

This and many similar examples clearly show that society can be improved only in the name of God and by educating Man and we should follow this only road which surely leads to our goal.

While asserting the principle of the spiritual, internal, approach in all of its manifestations, Islam, nevertheless, has gone beyond that. It has sought to wrest away his wherewithal from the hands of the devil. If along the lines man - the world, Islam did not proceed from man, it would not be a religion. But if it were to remain confined to that alone, it would be only a religion and a simple repetition of Jesus's teaching on the ideal and the eternal part of the human being. Through Mohammed (God bless and keep him) and the Koran Islam turned to the real man, to the external world, to nature, to become a teaching on the complete man and total life. Faith was joined by law, upbringing by force. Islam became an order.

ISLAM IS NOT ONLY A RELIGION

At this juncture which marks a crucial turning point in the evolution of religious teachings, Islam differs from all other religions, doctrines and philosophies of life. It features a new vantage point and a specific approach reflecting the totally

original philosophy of Islam. The mainstay of this philosophy is the request simultaneously to live the internal and the external, the moral and the social, the spiritual and the physical life, or more precisely, consciously and willingly to accept these two aspects of life as the human lot, and the purpose of Man's life on Earth. (the Koran, 20/77). In translating this request into the language of everyday life we could say: he who believes that life should be regulated not only by faith and prayer but also by work and science; whose world view not only allows but in fact demands that a temple and a factory stand side by side; he who thinks that people should not only be educated but that their life on Earth should be made easier and improved and that there are no reasons why either of these goals should be forfeited for the other - he belongs to Islam.

Apart from belief in God, this enshrines the principal message of the Koran and in it is the whole of Islam. Everything else is just its elaboration and explanation. This aspect of Islam, in addition to containing the very principle of the Islamic order, as the unity of faith and politics, also leads to other important conclusions the significance of which in terms of principles and practice is enormous.

The first and the most important of these conclusions is definitely the one about the incompatibility of Islam and non-Islamic systems. There can be no peace nor co-existence between the "Islamic faith" and "non-Islamic" social and political institutions. The failure of these institutions to function and the instability of regimes in Moslem countries, manifested in frequent changes and coups de etat are as a rule the consequence of their a priori opposition to Islam as the fundamental and guiding feeling of the people in these countries. Claiming for itself the right to regulate its own world, Islam clearly rules out any right or possibility of action of any foreign ideology on its turf. Namely there is no room for the lay principle and the state should be an expression of the moral concepts of religion and supportive of them.

EVERY EPOCH AND EVERY GENERATION IS DUTY-BOUND TO EMPLOY NEW FORMS AND MEANS TO PUT INTO PRACTICE THE MESSAGES OF ISLAM

THERE EXIST UNCHANGEABLE ISLAMIC PRINCIPLES WHICH DETERMINE RELATIONS AMONG MEN BUT THERE EXIST NO UNCHANGEABLE ISLAMIC ECONOMIC, SOCIAL OR POLITICAL SYSTEMS

This is just the first and most important conclusion derived from an approach to Islam as an integral order. The other three equally important - but less exclusive conclusions are:

Firstly, by the very fact that it has expressed itself in favour of this world, Islam has opted for the best regulated world. Nothing that contributes towards a betterment of the world can be a priori rejected as non-Islamic.

Secondly, openness to nature means openness to science. To be Islamic, any solution has to meet two requirements: it has to be efficient to the maximum, and it has to be humane to the maximum. It, hence, has to be the supreme expression of the coordinated positions of religion and science, and

Thirdly, in pointing to a linkage between religion and science, ethics and politics, the individual and the collective, the spiritual and the material, which are issues underlying the spiritual division of today's world, Islam has reassumed the role of a mediating thought and the Islamic world that of a mediating nation in a divided world. In promising "religion without mysticism and science without atheism", Islam can be of equal interest to all men without any distinction.

THE ISLAMIC ORDER OF OUR TIME - THESES

There exist unchangeable Islamic principles determining relations between man and man and between man and the community, but there exists no unchangeable Islamic economic, social or political system, one which would be given in advance

for all time. Islamic sources contain no description of such a system. The way in which the Moslems will pursue their economic activities, organize their societies and rule in the future, shall, thus, differ from the way in which they pursue their economic activities, organize their societies and rule in the past. Every epoch and every generation is faced with the task of finding new forms and means to give effect to the basic messages of Islam, which are eternal and unchangeable, in a world which is not eternal and which is subject to constant change.

Our generation too must take up this challenge and make this effort.

Aware of all the inevitable imperfections of definitions of this type, and confining ourselves to those principles which we feel are of greater importance at this moment, we shall describe them in the following order.

1.

Man and the Community

Islamic society is an organized community of believers. There is no purely scientific, revolutionary, socialist or any other exclusively external salvation for man and society. Salvation which does not also mean internal conversion, a change of man, his internal renaissance - and without God this is impossible - is false.

Islamic society may not be based upon social or economic interests only nor on any other external, technical factor of association. As a community of believers, it is based on a religious and emotional aspect of affiliation. This element is most clearly visible and enshrined in the Jemaat as the basic unit of Islamic society.

In contrast to a society which is an abstract community featuring external relations among its members the

Jemaat is an internal, concrete community based on spiritual affiliation, where links among people are maintained through direct personal contacts and rapport. It features man vis-a-vis man and not an anonymous member of society vis-a-vis another just as an anonymous member of society. As a factor of identification and familiarization of people the Jemaat contributes to the solidarity and inner harmony of society and helps eliminate the spirit of loneliness and alienation which technology and growing urbanization have brought us.

In addition, the Jemaat also creates a type of public opinion which acts without violence but nevertheless very efficiently against the potential violators of social and moral norms. In the Jemaat no one is alone, in a dual sense: no one is alone in terms of being able to do what one pleases, nor is anyone alone, in terms of being left alone, i.e. without moral and material support. If a Moslem does not feel the presence of others then we have an unsuccessful Moslem society.

Islam wants man to lend his fellow men a hand. Nothing can be said to have really been done until this is achieved. Islam will not settle for the perpetuation of a situation whereby the state will have to intervene by force and defend men from one another. This is a state of affairs that Islam can accept only conditionally and temporarily. Force and law are only instruments of justice. Justice itself either exists in the hearts of men or not at all.

2.

(THE EQUALITY OF PEOPLE)

Two facts of paramount importance - the unity of God and the equality of all men - have been laid down by the Koran in such a clear and explicit way that they allow for only one, literal interpretation: there is no divinity but one God; there is no chosen nation, chosen race or chosen class - all men are equal.

Islam cannot accept the division and grouping of people according to an external, objective criterion such as the class one. For it as a religious-moral movement any distinction between people which does not include moral criteria is unacceptable. People must be distinguished between - if any distinction is to be made - primarily according to what they really are, meaning according to their spiritual and ethical value (the Koran, suras 49/13). All men of integrity, irrespective of how they earn their daily bread, belong to the same community, just as scoundrels and rogues of all hues belong to the same "class", regardless of their political commitments and position in the world of work.

Class division is equally unjust and morally and humanly unacceptable as is the division of and distinction between men on the basis of nationality and race.

3.

(THE BROTHERHOOD OF MOSLEMS)

"Moslems are brothers" (the Koran, 49/10). By this message the Koran has set a goal which being far away can be a source of inspiration for a steady march forward. Vast changes in men and outside them need to be carried out for the distance on the road to the proclaimed fraternity to be shortened.

In this tenet we see a franchise and an obligation for the Islamic community to create appropriate institutions and implement concrete measures for relations between Moslems in real life to increasingly feature elements and characteristics of brotherhood. The number and types of measures, initiatives and laws which true Islamic authorities could adopt invoking the principle of brotherhood of all Moslems are virtually limitless.

Let us mention here great financial and social standing differences and feudalism as the most drastic case. The

relationship between the serf and the feudal lord is not one of brotherhood but one of subjugation and dependence and is, as such, in direct contradiction with the Koran and this principle.

4.

(THE UNITY OF MOSLEMS)

Islam comprises the principle of ummet, i.e. the aspiration for the unification of all Moslems into a single community - religious, cultural and political. Islam is not a nationality but it is the supranationality of this community.

Anything which divides people in this community, whether it be things ideological (sects, mezhebs, political parties and other) or things material (vast differences in financial status, social rank and similar) is contrary to this principle of unity and as such must be countered and eliminated.

Islam is the first and pan-Islamism the second point defining the boundary between Islamic and non-Islamic tendencies in the contemporary Moslem world. A community shall be the more Islamic the more Islam determines its internal and pan-Islamism its external relations. Islam is its ideology and pan-Islamism its politics.

5.

(PROPERTY)

Although Islam recognizes private property, the new Islamic society shall have to state clearly that all major sources of social wealth, in particular natural resources, will have to be community-owned and serve for the good of all its members. Social supervision over the sources of wealth is necessary so as to, on the one hand, prevent individuals from becoming inordinately rich and powerful, and on the other so as to secure a material base

for the execution of development programmes in various fields of life, to be undertaken by the community in keeping with the ever growing role of the organized society in the life of the people. Although on a different basis and differently carried out, the participation of society in dealing with an increasing number of common affairs is equally high in the U.S.A., the Soviet Union or Sweden, demonstrating that this is not a question of the ideological or political approach adopted but rather a necessity which arises from the conditions of life of human communities in the contemporary world.

Private property has been subjected to yet another restriction on the basis of an explicit provision of the Koran - the obligation of its being used for generally beneficial purposes (the Koran 49/34). Thus, in Islam, there is no private property in terms of the concepts of Roman law. In relation to the Roman one, the shariat private property has one right less (ius abutendi - the right of abuse) and one obligation more (the obligation of its use for the common good). For true Islamic authorities, the practical consequences of this difference are far-reaching. On the basis of it and of the cited provision of the Koran all legal and practical measures against various forms of non-use and abuse of private property are legitimate. There shall come a time when doing away with injustice, inequality and especially with luxury and squandering amid poverty, as practices which break up the community and divide people, shall be posed before the Islamic order as a question of its survival and as the touchstone of the true value of the ethical and social attitudes it stands for.

6.

(THE ZEKAT AND INTEREST)

Among the Islamic regulations which have a pronounced social weight, one order and one prohibition hold a special place: the order of the zekat and the prohibition of (the collection of) interest.

We see the zekat as establishing the principle of mutual responsibility and care of people for one another's fate. This principle, once proclaimed, can become the basis for various new forms of care in line with the development, needs and possibilities of society.

In today's Moslem world the zekat is the private affair of every individual and in the current state of social and religious consciousness it is totally lacking. The absence of the zekat is visible everywhere. The zekat is a public legal institution of the Islamic order, whose functioning must be ensured in any way possible, including the use of force.

By prohibiting interest (the Kuran, 278/279) a lasting norm of the public order of the Islamic society has been instituted, forbidding and outlawing any form of rent and all and any forms of parasitic living, i.e. appropriation of goods on the basis of mere property, as a phenomenon contradictory to the moral concepts and precepts upon which the Islamic public order rests.

7.

(THE REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLE)

Except in matters of property, Islam recognizes no principle of inheritance, nor any authority with absolute prerogatives. Recognition of the absolute authority of Allah means absolute non-recognition of any other omnipotent authority (the Koran 7/3, 12/40). " Any submission to a creature which implies insubmission to the Creator is impermissible" (Mohammed, God bless and keep him). In the history of the first and perhaps so far the only authentic Islamic order - the era of the first four caliphs, we can clearly see three essential aspects of the republican principle of power: (1) election of the head of state, (2) accountability of the head of state to the people, and (3) the obligation to jointly deal with general and social affairs. The last one is explicitly stipulated also by the Koran

(3/159,42/38). The first four rulers in Islamic history were no kings - emperors. They were elected by the people. The hereditary caliphate marked the relinquishing of the electoral principle which had asserted itself as a distinct Islamic political institution.

8.

(THERE IS NO GOD BUT ALLAH)

Inasmuch as we deem the realization of the Islamic order an inviolable goal, one that cannot be the object of any outvoting, the more clearly do we reject the inviolability of the individual, irrespective of the latter's merits and social station. In this sense, the Islamic order is a synthesis of absolute authority (in terms of programme) and of absolute democracy (relative to the individual).

In Islam there are no infinitely wise, omniscient, infallible or immortal. Mohammed himself was fallible and was reprimanded as such (the Koran, 80/1-12). In this respect the Koran is a realistic, almost an anti-heroic, book. The phenomenon of the glorification of persons, very frequent in the East as well as in the West, today as in the past, is singularly at variance with Islam also because it is a kind of idolatry (the Koran, 9/31). The measure of the real value of every man is his private life and the ratio between what he gives to the community and what he receives from it. All glory and praise belong to God alone, and God alone can judge the actual merits of men.

9.

(UPBRINGING)

Faith being the pillar of Islamic society, upbringing is not just one of its functions, but makes for its existence. This is primarily religious and moral upbringing in the family, and then through the various stages of schooling.

A special task of the Islamic order is an efficient struggle to eliminate all forms of mismanaged upbringing. Islam forbids, and the Islamic order shall resort to concrete measures to prevent :

- all forms of alcoholic intoxication of the people,
- overt and covert prostitution,
- pornography in word, picture, film and television,
- casinos, night clubs and dancing clubs and other forms of entertainment incongruent with the moral concepts of Islam.

10.

(EDUCATION)

An integral component of this comprehensive upbringing is the schooling of the new generation, the inculcation of work habits and training. In addition to unity, education is the second decisive factor for the fast emancipation of the Moslem world from their current inferior position. Moslem countries do not have enough capital, and that being so, they should invest what they do have in a project which is more profitable than any other: education.

There can be no genuine independence without the capacity to apply and use ourselves the achievements of science and improve them further. Initially, Islam scrutinized and collected without prejudice all the knowledge left by previous civilizations. We see no reason why the Islam of today should have a different approach to the gains of Euro-American civilization to which it is contiguous along so long a line.

Hence, the question is not whether we will or will not accept science and technology - for we will have to accept them if we are to survive - but rather whether we will do this creatively or mechanically, with dignity or with inferiority. The question is thus whether in this inevitable development we will get lost, or whether we will preserve our individuality, our culture and our values.

In view of these facts, we can state with certainty that the schooling system in the contemporary Moslem world is an institution which requires the most urgent and the most radical qualitative and quantitative changes. Qualitative - so that the schooling system might rid itself of its spiritual, and in some cases indeed financial dependence on foreigners and start serving the upbringing of Moslems as men and as members of the Islamic community. Quantitative - so as to eliminate the chronic inadequacy in this respect and create in the shortest time possible the conditions necessary for schooling and training to cover the entire young generation and all the popular strata. In the initial stage, the mosque can again be used as a school. If we do not fail in education programmes, then there is no field in which we could be defeated.

11. ---

(FREEDOM OF CONSCIENCE)

The upbringing of the people, in particular via the mass media - the press, radio, television and film - should be controlled by people of unquestionable Islamic moral intellectual authority. Perverts and degenerates should not be allowed to lay their hands on these media - which is practically the rule - and use them to transmit the senselessness and emptiness of their own lives to others. What can we expect if the people receive one message from the mosque and a totally opposite one from the TV relay?

Nonetheless, this in no way means that the Islamic order can be turned into a state of spiritual dictatorship, where the authorities will proclaim the truths and where a uniformized and impersonal posterity will be bred. This only means that there exist some elementary attitudes and some basic rules of behaviour which will have to be respected at all times. In Islam, in view of the proclaimed principle of freedom of faith (the Koran, 2/266) any coercion, physical or psychological, concerning questions of conscience and choice is expressly impermissible, and in view of the principle of ijma - consensus - in fact unnecessary. ("My people cannot agree in delusion" - Mohammed (God bless and keep him)). However much puritan in morals it may be, Islam is, because of its openness to nature and joy, broad-minded, as testified to by the entire history of Islam. As it recognizes God, but does not recognize any dogma or hierarchy, Islam cannot turn into a dictatorship and in it any form of "inquisition" or spiritual terror has been rendered impossible.

ISLAMIC REVIVAL CANNOT BE INITIATED WITHOUT A RELIGIOUS
REVOLUTION NOR CAN IT BE CONTINUED AND ACHIEVED WITHOUT A
POLITICAL REVOLUTION

OUR ROAD DOES NOT PROCEED FROM THE CONQUERING OF POWER
BUT RATHER FROM THE CONQUERING OF PEOPLE

12.

(ISLAM AND INDEPENDENCE)

There can be no Islamic order without independence and freedom; and vice versa, there can be no independence and freedom without Islam. This last statement has a double meaning: first, independence is genuine and lasting only if it is the result of conquered spiritual, ideological independence, namely, if it is an indication that a nation has found itself, uncovered its inner powers without which it cannot give substance to the acquired independence nor preserve it in the long run. Through the assertion of Islamic thought in every day life, each Moslem people experiences this process of self-identification and its spiritual liberation as a precondition for its social and political liberation.

Second, the actual support rendered by a Moslem people to the regime in power is directly proportional to the Islamic character of that rule. Accordingly, the more removed the regime is from Islam, the lesser the support. The non-Islamic regimes remain almost completely without this support and are therefore compelled - wishing to or not - to seek this support to an ever greater extent from foreigners. The state of dependence they fall into is manifested as a direct consequence of their non-Islamic orientation.

These facts determine the character of the Islamic order as one of democracy, not in the sense of form, but rather of substance, namely democracy as consensus. This form of democracy

exists in those environments in which the authorities transform the feelings of the people into thought and action, where it acts as a direct expression of this will. The establishment of Islamic order is manifested as the supreme act of democracy, since it implies the realization of the inner most aspirations of the Moslem people and ordinary man. One thing is certain: regardless of what one part of the affluent and educated classes wish, ordinary man wants Islam and life in his Islam community. Here democracy is not a consequence of principles and proclamations but of facts. Islamic order does not resort to violence simply because there is no need to do so. Contrarily, a non-Islamic order faced with the constant resistance and hostility of the people, sees as the only solution the use of force. Its transformation into a dictatorship is type of pattern, a fate it cannot avoid.

13.

(WORK AND THE STRUGGLE)

Islamic society must take upon itself the task of mobilizing human and natural resources and, through the measures it brings, of stimulating work and activity. The survival, strength or weakness of Islamic societies is subjected to the same laws of work and struggle as are other communities and in this respect our society enjoys no special privileges before God. (Koran, 5/57).

Two things should be eliminated from the psychology of our public opinion: belief in miracles and reliance on foreign aid.

Miracles do not exist, except those created by individuals through work and knowledge. There is no Mahdi who will miraculously drive away the enemies, abolish poverty and bring enlightenment and prosperity. Mahdi is a name for our laziness, or more precisely for a false hope that rises from our feeling of helplessness in a situation in which the magnitude of the difficulties and problems are in complete disproportion with the possibilities and means of struggle.

Reliance on the help of others is only another form of superstition. We have made it a habit of seeking and finding among some of the non-Islamic countries either selfless friends or sworn enemies, and of calling that our foreign policy. When we come to understand that actually neither real friends nor real enemies exist and when we begin putting more blame on ourselves and less on "diabolic enemy plans", it will be a sign that we are reaching maturity and that an era with less misfortunes and disappointments is dawning. After all, even if there are those who would be ready to help us without disproportionate political and material reciprocal favours, it would not essentially change our position. Wealth cannot be imported into a country. It must be created in the very country and by one's own efforts. All that we wish to achieve we have to achieve ourselves. No one wants or can do that instead of us.

This programme of work and activity has a foundation that may be a source of great encouragement. The natural resources and possibilities of the Islamic world are colossal. Only one part of that world - Indonesia, represents, after the USA and the Soviet Union, the third richest compact territory in the world. The Islamic world taken as a whole ranks first in this respect.

Announcing a revival, we are not announcing an era of security and tranquility, but rather a period of unrest and challenge. There are far too many things that cry out after their destroyers. Therefore, the days to come will not be days of prosperity but rather those filled with dignity. A people which is asleep can only be awakened by blows. He who wishes our community well should not spare it from efforts, threats and misfortunes. On the contrary, he should do everything possible to stimulate that community to mobilize its powers as soon as possible, to test all its potentials, to take on the risk, in a word - to wake up and start living. Only aroused and active can it find itself and the path it should pursue.

14.

(THE WOMAN AND FAMILY)

The status of women in Moslem society should be transformed everywhere, in line with her duties as a mother and natural educator of children. An uneducated, uncared-for and unhappy mother cannot rear and educate sons and daughters which are capable of initiating and successfully leading the revival of the Moslem people. Islam should launch the initiative for recognizing the social function of motherhood. Harems should be done away with. No one has the right to invoke Islam in order to maintain the rightlessness of women and abuse of this kind should be banished.

Such stands in no way represent any form of Western type feminism which was an attempt to impose the standards, whims and rule of the corrupted strata of the fairer sex on society. It does not imply equality in the European sense of the word. It implies an assertion of the equal value of men and women, together with accentuating their differences, which should be preserved. The principle of equal value is the direct result of equal religious and moral obligations which are explicitly set forth in a number of places in the Koran (in particular Ayet 33/35).

Civilization has made an object out of a woman, an object which is either used, or to which one slaves for, robbing her of her personality, the only thing which is valuable and which can be respected. Disregarding motherhood, it has deprived women of their essential and irreplaceable function.

Nowadays, when the family as such is going through a serious crisis and when its value has been questioned, Islam is reaffirming its devotedness to this form of human existence. Contributing to the security of the family nest, and eliminating external and internal factors which are causing its deterioration

(alcohol, promiscuity, irresponsibility). Islam is actually protecting the ultimate real interest of a healthy and normal woman. Instead of abstract equality it provides woman with love, marriage and children, with everything else that these three things mean to a woman.

Family and marital law, which was established in the first centuries of the existence of Islam shall have to be re-examined, in accordance with the present day needs and level of development of human and social consciousness, with a view to restricting polygamy as far as possible, and gradually uprooting it from everyday life, as well as limiting divorce and ensuring effective material protection of women and children in such cases.

15.

(THE END DOES NOT JUSTIFY THE MEANS)

In the struggle for an Islamic order all means may be used except one - crime. No one has the right to soil the sweet name of Islam and of this struggle with the uncontrolled and unnecessary use of violence. The Islamic community should reassert that justice is one of its founding stones. The Koran does not order us to love our enemy but it does explicitly order us to be just and to forgive (Koran, 4/135 and 15/426). The use of force must be in line with this principle.

The formula that the goal justifies the means has become the cause of numerous criminal acts. A noble goal cannot consecrate unworthy means but the use of unworthy means can deminish and compromise every goal. The morally stronger we are the less we shall need force which is, when speaking of commitments, the tool of the weak rather than of the strong. What force cannot do can be accomplished by generosity, consistency, courage (The Koran, 16/125; 26/34-35).

16.

(MINORITIES)

Islamic order can be achieved only in those countries in which Moslems are the majority. Without this majority, Islamic order is reduced only to authority (since the second element is lacking - Islamic society) and can be transformed into tyranny.

On condition that they are loyal, non-Moslem minorities which create an integral part of an Islamic state, shall enjoy religious freedom and be protected in every way.

Moslem minorities within non-Islamic communities, on condition they are guaranteed religious freedom and normal conditions of life and development, shall be loyal and obliged to carry out all the obligations towards that community with the exception of those that are detrimental to Islam and the Moslems.

The status of Moslem minorities in non-Islamic communities shall actually always be dependent on the strength and reputation of the Islamic world community.

17.

(RELATIONS TOWARDS OTHER COMMUNITIES)

The relationship of the Islamic community towards other communities in the world is based on the following principles: 1. Freedom of religious belief (The Koran, 2/256); 2. Strength and decisive and active defence (The Koran, 8/61-62, 42/39/42, 2/190-191); 3. Prohibition of aggressive war and crime (The Koran, 2/190-192, 42/42); 4. Mutual cooperation and mutual exchange of knowledge among nations (The Koran, 49/13); 5. Honouring of undertaken obligations - contracts (The Koran, 9/4) and 6. Mutuality and reciprocity (The Koran 9/8).

III.

PROBLEMS OF THE ISLAMIC ORDER TODAY

Islamic Revival - a Religious or Political Revolution?

Islamic order implies the congruence of religion and socio-political system. Does the road to it lead through religious revival or political revolution?

The answer to this question is: Islamic revival cannot begin without a religious revolution just as it cannot be successfully lead and completed without a political one.

This answer, which is defined by Islamic revival as a double revolution - moral and social, but which clearly gives priority to religious revival, stems from the principles and nature of Islam, as well as from some dismal facts which characterize the reality of the present day Moslem world.

These facts speak of the grave moral situation in the Moslem world, of the dishonesty of character, rule of corruption and superstition, laziness and hypocrisy, reign of non-Islamic customs and habits, ingrained materialism and disturbing lack of enthusiasm and hope. Can any kind of social and political transformation be initiated in such a situation?

Each nation, before it was called to carry out its role in history, had to go through a period of inner purification and practical acceptance of certain fundamental moral standards. Every form of power in the world begins as moral strength. Every failure is a result of moral fault. Everything that is wished done must first be accomplished in the souls of men.

What does religious revival as a precondition of the Islamic order mean? It means before all two things: a new consciousness and a new will.

Religious revival implies a clear awareness of the real aim in life, of what one lives for and what one should live for. Is this aim a personal or common standard, the glory and greatness of one's race or nation, an affirmation of one's own personality or the rule of God's laws on earth? In our case, religious revival practically means the "Islamization" of those who call themselves Moslems, or those which are called that by others. The starting point of this "Islamization" is ardent faith in God and the genuine practice of Islamic religious and moral standards by the Moslems.

The second component of religious revival is the readiness to carry out the imperative which imposes the awareness of an aim. That is why religious revival is one of the qualities of moral elation and enthusiasm, psychosis of the superiority of spirit over matter, a state of experienced and practical idealism in which ordinary people become capable of exceptional deeds of courage and sacrifice. It is also a new quality of belief and will in which every day standards of what is possible cease to apply and in which the individual and whole entities unexpectedly rise to the level of sacrifice for their ideal.

Without this new state of spirit and feeling it is impossible to achieve any genuine transformation in the present day Moslem world.

In the course of these deliberations, at least for a moment the dilemma will arise of whether the shorter road to Islamic order would lead through the conquering of power, which would then establish the required institutions and initiate the systematic religious, moral and cultural education of the people as a prerequisite for the development of an Islamic society.

This dilemma is only a temptation. History does not know of any genuine revolution which was started by those in power. Every revolution had its origin in education and in its substance implied a moral call.

In addition, the formula according to which the establishment of Islamic order is entrusted to some authority and its institutions does not give an answer to the question where does this authority actually come from. Who will establish it and execute it, and what kind of people will it and its institutions be composed of? Who will, finally, control the behaviour of that very authority and ensure that it will not deteriorate and begin serving itself instead of the goal in the name of which it has been established?

It is possible to change one group in power with another; such things happen every day. It is possible to substitute the tyranny of some by the tyranny of others and substitute names, flags, anthems and slogans in the name of which everything is being done. However, all these things will not mean even a step nearer to Islamic order, as a new concept of the world and changed perception of man towards himself, others and the world in general.

The idea of always calling some force or some authority for help is rooted in the inborn aspiration of man to avoid the first and most difficult phase of the Jihad - the struggle against himself. It is difficult to educate people, and even more so to educate oneself. Religious revival, by its very definition implies the necessity of beginning from oneself, from one's own life. Reversely, force always has someone else in mind. There lies the seductiveness of the idea.

That is why a movement, which has Islamic order for its main goal, must before all be a moral movement. It should stimulate people morally and represent a moral function which elevates people and makes them better human beings. That is the difference between Islamic order and a political party which implies uniformity of thought and interest but does not include ethical standards nor does it morally engage people.

In addition, the view on the priority of religious revival is clearly supported by Islamic sources.

First, the Koran states that inner revival is the precondition of any transformation and improvement of the status of a people. (The Koran, 13/12).

Second, this law is asserted in the practice of early Islam and struggle of Mohammed (God bless and keep him) for establishing the first Islamic order in history. This is demonstrated by the fact that in the first thirteen years the Koran exclusively dwelt upon and highlighted the question of belief and responsibility and that during these thirteen years it did not even begin deliberating on any social or political problem or formulating any law of a society based on Islam.

From religious revival we expect three more important things:

1. Only religious revival can generate the decisiveness to apply without wavering or compromise the provisions of the Koran, particularly those which are directed against deeply-rooted social vices, wealth or else which are disagreeable to those in power. Through religious revival they can be implemented without violence and hatred, since everyone, or at least a vast majority of those from a revived society will understand them and accept them as the materialization of God's provisions and as a matter of justice.

2. Islamic revival cannot be conceived, not only without individuals prepared for enormous personal and material sacrifices, but without a high level of mutual confidence and loyal cooperation. What can ensure that the efforts, self-denial and sacrifices of one group are not used to achieve power and the ambitions of another? What can prevent the repetition of the tragedy of moral failure, so frequent in newer Islamic history?

Every order, including the Islamic one, will always resemble more the people who are its creators than the principles they proclaim.

3. Due to its extreme backwardness, the Islamic world will have to accept a very accelerated pace of education and industrialization. Rapid development is accompanied everywhere by phenomena such as despotism, corruption, family disintegration, rapid and unjustified making of money, promotion of personal resourcefulness and unscrupulousness, rapid urbanization with the breaking away from traditions, vulgarization of social relations, spreading of alcoholism, drug abuse and prostitution. Only pure and ardent faith in God and the practice of religious rules by all strata of the population can be a dam against this flood of coarseness and primitiveness. Only faith can save culture from being ruined by civilization. Bare material and technical progress, as clearly illustrated by some cases, may turn into an outright recurrence of barbarism.

ISLAMIC RULE

Emphasizing as a priority religious and moral revival does not imply - nor can it be interpreted to imply - that Islamic order can be achieved without Islamic rule. This stand only means that our road does not proceed from the conquering of power, but rather from the conquering of people, and that Islamic revival is primarily a revolution in the field of education and only after that in the field of politics.

Therefore, we must be preachers first and then soldiers. Our prime means are personal example, books and words. When will force be added to these means?

The choice of the right moment is always a specific question and depends on a number of factors. Nevertheless, there is a general rule: Islamic order should and can approach the overtaking of rule as soon as it is morally and numerically strong enough not only to overthrow the non-Islamic rule but develop new

Islamic rule. This differentiation is important, since destruction and development do not require an equal level of psychological and material readiness.

To act prematurely is equally dangerous as to be late in taking the required action.

The conquering of power on the basis of a favourable concurrence of events, without sufficient moral and psychological preparedness and without the required minimum of competent and developed personnel implies the realization of another coup and not an Islamic revolution (and a coup is a continuation of non-Islamic politics by other groups of people or on behalf of other principles). To be late in the overtaking of power means to deny oneself a very powerful means for achieving the aims of Islamic order and to give non-Islamic rule an opportunity to strike a blow to the movement and disperse its activists. For the latter case, recent history gives sufficient tragic and illustrative examples.

WE ARE IGNORING THE "REALISM" WHICH CONDEMNIS THE MOSLEM NATIONS
TO AN INFERIOR POSITION AND LEAVES NO SPACE FOR HOPE

HISTORY IS NOT ONLY A STORY OF CONSTANT CHANGES BUT ALSO OF THE
CONTINUAL REALIZATION OF THE IMPOSSIBLE AND UNEXPECTED

Pakistan - An Islamic Republic

When speaking of Islamic rule, the example of Pakistan as the only declared Islamic republic cannot be avoided.

We salute Pakistan, regardless of certain failures and difficulties, since it is the fruit of aspirations for the establishment of Islamic rule and since those who have envisaged it as well as those who have realized it were lead by a clear Islamic idea.

Pakistan is a dress rehearsal for the introduction of Islamic order in modern day conditions and at the present level of development. On the example of Pakistan the protagonists of Islam should and can learn what should and what should not be done.

Pakistan's negative experience - and negative experiences - are always of greater relevance - can be summarized by the following two factors:

1. Unsufficient unity and development of the basic organized force which embodied Iqbal's conception of Pakistan. Soon after Pakistan was created, it came to the clear that the Moslem League gathered very unequal elements who did not have uniform views on fundamental issues of social order and state organization. In that respect the League was little more than a political party of the traditional type and in view of the great dilemmas Pakistan was faced with it could not maintain its unity.

2. The formal and dogmatic approach to the implementation of Islamic tenets in Pakistan's practice. Instead of turning their attention to the urgent issues of education the thinkers and lawyers of Pakistan exhausted their energy and finally split in their views in respect to questions such as the more or less strict application of the Sheriat criminal and marital laws. While they lead endless debates on whether a thief should have his arm cut off or simply be sent to jail, a specific form of theft - corruption reached unprecedented proportions and brought about a crisis which shook the very foundations of Pakistan as a state.

The lessons learned from the twenty-year old existence of Pakistan as a state are obvious and include:

First, the struggle for Islamic order and the fundamental reconstruction of Moslem society can successfully be waged only by battle-tested and hardened individuals affiliated in a powerful and coherent organization. This organization is not any

political party from the arsenal of Western democracy; it is a movement based on Islam ideology and with clear moral and ideological criteria of affiliation;

Second, the struggle for Islamic order is in the present-day world a struggle to achieve the substance of Islam, meaning the provision of religious and moral education of the people in everyday life and of the basic elements of social justice. In this stage, form is of secondary importance; and

3. Third, the function of the Islamic republic is not primarily to proclaim equality among people and brotherhood of all the Moslems, but rather to struggle to achieve some of these noble principle in practice. In every environment, aroused Islam should take the banner of the struggle for a more equitable social order in its own hands and point out clearly that the struggle for Islam also means the initiation of the war against ignorance, injustice and poverty, a war in which there will be no compromise or retreat. If this is not done, this banner will be taken over by demagogues and false saviors of society in order to achieve their hypocritical goals.

These lessons have a bitter taste. Nevertheless we still believe in Pakistan and its mission in the service of world Islam. There is no Moslem heart that will not skip a beat when something so dear as Pakistan is mentioned, although this love as any other knows for its fears and anxieties. Pakistan is our great hope, filled with temptations.

PANISLAMISM AND NATIONALISM

In one of our theses on the present-day Islamic order we pointed out that the natural role of the Islamic order was to bring together all Moslems and all Moslem communities worldwide. Under the present circumstances, this aspiration means a struggle to create a large Islamic federation stretching from Morocco to Indonesia, and from tropical Africa to Central Asia.

We are fully aware that by mentioning the above vision we are likely to upset the kind of people around us who call or regard themselves as realists but that is one reason more for us to accentuate our goal even more clearly and strongly. We ignore this "realism" which condemns Moslem peoples to a lastingly inferior position leaves no room for any endeavour or hope. This realism which stems from faint-heartedness and respect for the powerful in the world, means that masters will remain masters and hired hands - hired hands. However, history is not only an account of continuous change but also of the repeated realisation of the impossible and the unexpected. Almost everything making up our present-day realities seemed impossible 50 years ago.

There are obviously two realisms: ours and that of our faint-hearted fellow men and weaklings. We feel there is nothing more natural and therefore more realistic than the request for the Moslems to forge different forms of unity in order to resolve common problems and gradually proceed to establish different supranational structures - economic, cultural and political - for coordinated and concerted action in some relevant areas. Our "realists" (that is to say: weaklings) consider this idea unrealistic. They sanction the status quo which is, in our perception of realism, an example of something blatantly unnatural and even absurd. For instance, in our view it is absolutely unacceptable and unrealistic that at the present time of concentration and association, a people - the Arabs - should live split up in thirteen state communities; that the opinions of the Moslem countries should be divided on scores of relevant global

issues; that Moslem Egypt should not be concerned for the Moslems perishing in Ethiopia or in Kashmir; that during the most severe confrontation between the Arab countries and Israel Moslem Persia should maintain friendly relations with the aggressor, and so on. Hence, if there is something that is not realistic, it is not the unity of the Moslems but rather the absence of that unity, precisely the present state of disunity and discord.

There is no historic objective - except if it is at variance with natural and historic facts - which people could not reach if they are all willing to work together. A Utopia in which one believes and for which one works, ceases to be a Utopia. And our weaklings can neither believe, nor do they want to work, and this is where the explanation for their degrading "realism" is to be found. When they say that Moslem unity is an unrealisable dream, they in effect only express the impotence that they themselves feel. That inability does not exist in the world but in their hearts.

The idea of all-Moslem unity is no-one's invention, nor an ardent desire of this or that reformer or ideologist. It was established by the Koran itself with the well-known slogan "Moslems are brothers", and Islam has fostered and renewed this idea incessantly in the minds of the people through common fasting, pilgrimage to Mecca and the kaaba as a common spiritual shrine, creating thereby a permanent and identical feeling of belonging and togetherness throughout the Moslem world. Anyone talking to the common folk after a disaster which hit a remote Moslem people could see for himself the intensity of their feelings of compassion and solidarity.

How can it be then that this "folk pan-Islamism," undoubtedly present in the form of strong feelings of the masses, does not have much impact on the actual life and practical politics of the Moslem countries? Why does it remain only in the sphere of feelings and is not upgraded to the level of a true awareness of a common destiny? How can one explain the fact that

news on the sufferings of Moslems, those in Palestine or those in the Crimea, Sinkyang, Kashmir, Ethiopia give rise everywhere to a feeling of despondence and unanimous condemnation, and at the same time no action is taken at all or if taken is in complete disharmony with the feelings?

The reply to this question is to be found in the fact that the conscious action taken by the leading circles educated in the West or under Western influence was, unlike the feeling of the common folk, not pan-Islamic but nationalistic. The instinct and the conscience of the Moslem peoples were divided and at odds. And in this state any major action was and will remain unfeasible.

Contemporary pan-Islamism is therefore first and foremost an endeavour to bring consciousness into line with emotions in order for us to aspire to what we are and not to long for what we are not.

This state determines both the nature and the destiny of nationalism in our present-day Moslem world.

While everywhere in the world nationalism had the characteristics of a broad-based national movement as it asserted the people's aspirations (folk music, folklore and particularly language), in the Moslem countries one encounters, as a rule, a stunted form of nationalism or even a kind of nationalism divorced from the people, "anational" nationalism. This is explained on the one hand by the fact that the people's feelings were absorbed by pan-Islamism, and on the other, that the nationalism as conceived here was to replace Islam and as such represented from the very outset an anti-Islamic movement. Being in a natural conflict with the past and with folk traditions - as these traditions are always and only Islamic - nationalistic movements in a number of Moslem countries have been in a position to carry out a kind of denationalisation, very similar to that of their colonial predecessors. The status of the Arabic language,

for instance, in some Arab countries - at least as far as the position of the nationalistic administration is concerned - is not much better than during the time of Anglo-French occupation. If anything is done at all on this score, it is done without genuine enthusiasm or by the forces that have not yet turned renegade (cf. the Jews in Israel have reintroduced the almost forgotten Hebrew language). The reason behind such an attitude to the Arabic language is simple: this language as the language of the Koran and the Islamic civilization, is more of a vehicle of Islamic than of Arabic, panArabic, generally nationalist feelings. Protagonists of nationalism observe correctly this fact (or rather feel it instinctively) and find an unprecedented way out: they and their administrations speak the language of their former occupiers. (!). In the Moslem world, where there is no Islam there is no patriotism either.

These conclusions are corroborated in a specific way by the fact that nationalistic ideas in the Moslem world are non-Islamic also by their origin. This is the most evident in the Middle East where the pioneers of nationalism are Syrian intellectuals and Christian Libyans educated at the American Institute (originally: the Syrian Protestant College) and at the University of St. George in Bairut. This is confirmed by research on the spiritual and historic roots of Kemal's movement in Turkey, Sukharno's "pancha silla" in Indonesia, the Baath party in some Arab countries (particularly of some of its factions) and a whole range of nationalistic and "revolutionary" groups throughout the Moslem world. Pan-Islamism has always sprung from the very heart of the Moslem people, nationalism has always been imported from abroad.

Moslem peoples do not have, therefore, a "knack" for nationalism. Should they feel sorry about it?

Even if we were to ignore for the moment the evident truth that the principle of the spiritual community is superior to that of a nation, we would have to advise our nations given the

moment when we are writing this message, not even to attempt to put the latter into practice. Even the peoples who have lived in national communities for centuries will in the future be required to gradually accustom themselves to new forms of common life making possible association on a broader basis. Far-sighted people in present-day France and Germany advise their fellow-countrymen to feel less as French or German and more as Europeans. The creation of the European Economic Community - although this claim may seem unacceptable at first sight - constitutes the most constructive event in 20th century European history. And the establishment of this supranational structure was the first real victory of the European peoples over nationalism. Nationalism has become a luxury, a thing too expensive for small and even for medium-sized nations.

The present-day world is likely to develop in a way that has no precedent in human history. The unbelievably costly educational, research, economic, defence and other development programs presuppose a so far unheard-of and undreamt-of concentration of labour and resources which objectively means that only the big nations, or more precisely, associations of nations, stand a chance. The world is presently ruled by two unions - the American and the Soviet - while a third, the European which is in the process of constitution, announces its appearance on the scene ever more forcefully. Any community unable to pool a population of 200 million and generate \$ 200 billion in national income - and these figures are showing an upward trend - cannot expect to keep pace with the others in the race and will have to reconcile itself to an inferior position. Such a community can neither aspire to rule others nor even to be a master in its own house. In fact, the rate of development is no longer the decisive factor. It has been replaced by the above absolute orders of magnitude. Judging by its development rate, China is far behind France or England but owing to a large concentration of human and other resources, it is considerably ahead of them in the present race. This situation provides an

opportunity for the Moslem world which is not developed but is certainly large.

There is another point which makes it imperative for the Moslem countries to get together without further delay and to pool their efforts.

The economic and cultural backwardness of the Moslem states is worsening by the day with the sharp rise in their respective populations. Two Moslem countries - Egypt and Pakistan - currently top the list of the countries with the highest birth rates in the world. According to some estimates, 20 million Moslems are born into this world per annum and if the growth continues, at the present pace the population of the Moslem world within its present borders will be doubled before the end of this century. Can we receive, feed, educate and provide jobs for so many millions waiting to be born? This dramatic population growth, if not accompanied with an equally rapid economic and social development will be fraught with potential dangers and uncertainties. Over the past 20 years this "demographic inflation" has been partly offset by a rise in output so that in the majority of Moslem countries the per capita GNP is below that recorded two decades ago. Instead of acting as a factor of power in a unified Moslem world, population growth is becoming the source of crisis and despair for the divided Moslem countries.

It is evident that the Moslem countries are unable to cope with the above problem individually. We can address this situation and make up for the lost decades characterized by our lagging behind and stagnation only by promoting our new quality - unity. What Arabs, Turks, Persians or Pakistanis are unable to resolve on their own all Moslems can resolve together through a concerted and coordinated effort.

Every Moslem country can promote its freedom and well-being only by promoting simultaneously the freedom and well-being of all Moslems. Well-to-do Kuwait and Libya cannot

survive as islands of affluence in an ocean of poverty. If they do not contribute to Islamic solidarity and fail to support neighbouring Moslem states, if they are guided by selfishness, will they not thereby be prompting those countries to adopt a similar attitude? And this would lead to a state of hatred and chaos coveted by their enemies. By doing their Moslem duty, the affluent Moslem countries will accomplish what will also serve their own loftiest interests.

The option before every Moslem country is clear: either to ensure united with other Moslem states, survival, progress and strength to withstand any temptation, or to lag behind increasingly by the day and to have to depend on well-to-do foreigners. The time we are living in gives this unity another dimension: unity is no longer merely the heart's desire of idealists and visionaries; unity has become an indispensable need, the law of survival and a prerequisite of dignity in our present-day world. Those who for any reason and/or out of any motives support the present-day fragmentation are virtually siding with the enemy.

The pan-Islamic instinct of the Moslem masses is in perfect harmony with the imperative of the historic moment. Here too, the modernists are those who are blinded by their nationalism.

CHRISTIANITY AND JUDAISM

Given the space available, it is impossible to elaborate in this paper on the relationship between Islam and all the major doctrines and systems outside its sphere. Nonetheless, it is essential to describe this relationship vis-a-vis the two foremost religions: Christianity and Judaism as well as the two prevailing social systems in the world: capitalism and socialism.

In our attitude to Christianity we make a distinction between the teachings of Jesus Christ and the church. The former is in our view God's revelation, though distorted in

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certain aspects, and the latter an organisation which has with its unavoidable hierarchy, politics, wealth and interests developed into not only an un-Islamic but also an anti-Christian entity. In determining one's attitude to Christianity one requires a definition: is it the teaching of Jesus Christ or is it inquisition? The church has over its history always swayed between these two extremes. The more the church embodies and interprets the ethical teachings of the Gospel, the farther away it is from the inquisition and, by the very nature of things, closer to Islam. We welcome the new trends in the church as proclaimed at the last meeting of the Vatican Council as being somewhat closer to the original Christian doctrine. The Christians willing, the future could serve as an example of understanding and cooperation between two major religions to the benefit of all people and the human kind, as opposed to the past which witnessed their senseless intolerance and frictions.

A similar principle underlies the attitude of Islam to Judaism. We have lived with the Jews for centuries and even created a culture, so that in certain cases a distinction between Islamic and Jewish elements in that culture is impossible to make with certainty.

However, lead by Zionists, Jews had taken action in Palestine, action both inhuman and ruthless and shortsighted and adventuresome. This policy only takes into account the present and temporary state of relations, losing sight of permanent factors and the overall balance of powers between Jews and Moslems worldwide. This policy in Palestine has thrown down the gauntlet to all the Moslems the world over. Jerusalem is not only a Palestinian question, nor solely an Arab question. It is a question of all Moslem nations. To keep Jerusalem, the Jews would have to defeat Islam and Moslems and that is - thank God - beyond their powers.

We would like to make a distinction between the Jews and the Zionists, provided the Jews themselves muster enough

strength to draw that line. Let us hope that the military victories which they chalked up against the squabbling Arab regimes (not against Arabs nor against Moslems) will not blur their senses completely and that they will proceed to put an end to the confrontation which they had caused themselves, in order to provide scope for a life together on the soil of Palestine. If they nevertheless continue along the same road guided by arrogance, which seems more likely under the present circumstances, there will be only one way out of it all for the Islamic movement and all the world's Moslems: to continue the struggle, expand it and prolong it, from day to day, from year to year, regardless of casualties and the time it could take until they are forced to cede every single inch of captured land. Any trade-offs or compromises which might call in question these elementary rights of our brothers in Palestine will be treason which can destroy even the very system of moral values underpinning our world.

The above stands do not reflect any new policy of Islam towards Christians and Jews dictated by force of ephemeral circumstance. They represent in fact only a practical conclusion drawn from the Islamic principle of recognizing Christianity and Judaism and are derived almost literally from the Koran (Koran 29/45, 2/136, 5/47-49).

CAPITALISM AND SOCIALISM

What structural forms and political shape will the Islamic Revival of our time assume and take? Will some forms of state and societal organization, typical of the Western civilization including representative democracy, capitalism and socialism be valid also in the Islamic society and will our society also necessarily have to go through these and other forms?

In the past two centuries the belief that every country will invariably experience a putsch and become a parliamentary democracy has become well established. Recent

developments, particularly between the two World Wars, asserted some contradictory facts and showed that classic democracy was not an inevitable stage in the evolution of social and political communities. By the same token, some people today are trying to prove that socialism is a must and that whether they wish it or not human societies are progressing towards it. However, the present development of the so-called capitalist countries in Europe and America refute quite unequivocally those advocates of historic necessity pointing to some new and unexpected development trends. At the other end of the world, Japan has changed over from a feudal economy directly to what Europe would call a higher form of monopoly capitalism. The schemes designed to provide a more systematic approach to historic developments have proven highly relative and, while in existence, the laws governing social history are evidently not of a nature attributed to them by the European philosophers of the 18th and 19th centuries.

This fictitious determinism has burdened the conscience of past generations, apart from being exploited as a powerful psychological weapon for spreading ideas. In effect, the system influences a situation in a particular country only inasmuch as it more or less successfully promotes or directly organizes work which is the true source of all riches.

Rid of the psychosis of historic necessity and thanks to the medium position occupied by Islam, we can review without prejudice the strong and weak points of the existing systems, no longer in terms of capitalism and socialism, but rather as specific practices employed by contemporary societies in our world of today.

Pure forms of capitalism and socialism no longer exist anywhere in the world. The accelerated development following World War Two left them far behind. It is only the ossified Marxist political economy, which is less and less a science and ever more a servant of politics, that keeps repeating its original maxims as if nothing had happened in the world in the

past 50 years. Judging by many important symptoms, the classical criteria of "capitalist" and "socialist" will soon become absolutely inappropriate to depict economic and social events in the development stage that we are about to enter.

We should not be misled by slogans and names and, taking into consideration only the facts as we perceive them, we must recognize the outstanding evolution of the capitalist world in the past thirty years, its dynamism, capability to set economy and science in motion and to ensure a high level of political freedoms and legal safety, and, at the same time, we cannot ignore the achievements of the socialist system, particularly in mobilizing material resources in the area of education and in eliminating the traditional forms of poverty.

On the other hand, we cannot lose sight of the dark and unacceptable aspect of their progress nor of the deep crises gripping occasionally both of these systems.

The pragmatic openness of Islam in addressing the issue of the set-up of the world now give it an advantage in that the positive and negative experiences of others, particularly the US, USSR and Japan can be studied and made use of without any prejudice. These three countries in principle and in practice stand for three different approaches in dealing with the basic problems of wellbeing and power.

The development of capitalism in the past 30 years has shown some of the basic premises of Marxism to be incorrect. Let us here mention only three :

1. The contradiction between production forces and production relations has not proven to be necessary in capitalism. Capitalism has not only overcome this contradiction, but also made possible an unprecedented rate of development and an upswing in production, science and labour productivity.

2. The working class of the major capitalist countries has not taken the revolutionary road.

3. The relationship between being and consciousness, the "base" and the "superstructure" is not what Marx claimed it to be. There is capitalism in Sweden and capitalism in Argentina. The differences of base in these two countries are differences in level (both are capitalist); differences between their superstructures (forms of political administration, laws, religion, ruling philosophy, arts and the like) are differences in substance.

All this goes to show that the world has not developed along the lines marked out by Marx. The progressive countries have retained and further promoted capitalism whereas socialism has gained the upper hand in scores of underdeveloped countries, an inexplicable anomaly from the Marxist point of view.

What can account for the interest demonstrated by underdeveloped countries in particular forms of a socialist economy?

To start with, this form of economic activity is proving more useful in organizing an extensive economy, the invariable option of countries without any basis in terms of capital, qualified labour force, developed working habits.

Second, a more backward community reconciles itself more easily to different restrictions including limited individual freedoms, centralism, strong authority and so on which are features of certain types of socialism.

Third, although it has been transcended as a science, socialism lives as a myth and as an adventure. This very important aspect of socialism does not explain its much stronger appeal to the Catholic and Latin countries than to the protestant and Germanic ones.

Rather, the pragmatic spirit of capitalism is better suited to the rationalism of a developed society. Experience shows that developed forms of capitalist economy tend to operate successfully in societies with a democratic form of government, a highly cultured population and a high level of individual and political freedoms. Against this background, some inhuman aspects of the capitalist economy are possible to offset even to a substantial degree without causing any significant drop in its efficiency.

The alleged inevitability of this or that system hence holds no water. What is truly inevitable is the steady development of the economy based on the continued progress of science and technology. To improve implements and promote the process of work further seems to be the sole activity in this domain which people still "must" do.

Consequently, just like the world at large, Islam is faced not with the quandary : capitalism or socialism? - such a dilemma would be fictitious and artificial - but with the question of selecting and continuously improving a system of relations between property and production as will stimulate labour and operations efficiently, in keeping with the Islamic understanding of social justice and to the best of everyone's abilities, and cope with the problems arising from the inevitable development of production processes and technology.

CONCLUSION

These are some of the principal ideas and relevant dilemmas of the Islamic Revival which is being increasingly perceived as a general transformation of the Moslem nations in moral, cultural and political terms. Against the backdrop of all the defeats and disappointments, Islamic Revival stands for hope and salvation of a considerable part of our planet.

Any Moslem who considers that he is not a follower by mere chance but because he sees in Islam a program and a commitment will be unable to dismiss this vision, but many will wonder perplexed: where are the powers to put that vision into practice?

In reply to this unavoidable question, let us point to a new Islamic generation growing up now. This generation of 100 million boys and girls, born into Islam, raised to face the rancour of defeat and humiliation, united in a new Islamic patriotism, that will refuse to rest on past laurels and cling to foreign aid and instead rally around the goals standing for truth, life and dignity - has the strength needed to pursue this impossible undertaking and face up to any challenge.

This generation could not have appeared earlier. It was necessary for the epoch of illusions and delusions to play itself out, for the impotence to be exposed of false gods, various fathers of the homeland and saviours of society, kings and mehdis, for us to suffer a defeat at the Mount of Sinai, for them to bring peril to Indonesia, shake Pakistan, talk a great deal about freedom, prosperity and progress and in reality bring along only tyranny, poverty and corruption; all this was necessary before the time of sobering-up could come and before a generation could be born to realize that all had been nothing but a search in vain and that there is only one way out for the Moslem world: to revert to our own spiritual and material sources, meaning Islam and our fellow Moslems.

The present-day Islamic world comprises an outstanding motley of nations, races, laws and influences. However, there is one thing that any part of that world looks upon with equal respect and loyalty - the Koran. There is one feeling that is shared by those on Java, in India, Algeria or Nigeria - a feeling that they belong to one common Islamic community. These two allegiances in the elementary feelings of millions of common

people are a fount of latent energy and constitute what is the same and equal throughout the present-day Moslem world. Judging thereby, the Moslem world is even now a true emotional community of global proportions, maybe the sole multinational emotional (but not yet organized) community in the world.

As a result of these feelings and the long-standing influence of Islamic ethics, the folklore of the entire world vividly features concepts of human equality, social justice, forbearance and mezhmet towards every single form of life. These facts do not mean by themselves a better and more humane world, but do promise one such better and more humane world.

The feelings referred to above go to show that the Moslem world is alive because where there is love and compassion there is no place for death but for life. The Islamic world is not a desert; it is an unploughed land awaiting its ploughmen.

It is thanks to these facts that our mission becomes realistic and possible. Our mission is to turn the feelings which are now potential forces, into active forces. Loyalty to the Koran should develop into a resolve to apply it; the emotional Islamic community should be transformed into an organized, conscious community, and folk humanism into clear-cut ideas which will imbue future laws and institutions with moral and social substance.

Who will carry out this transformation and how?

Any action designed to shape developments constitutes social action. To be successful, a struggle has to be common and organized. The young generation will be able to carry out its task of transformation only if its aspirations and idealism assume the shape of an organized movement in which enthusiasm and individual virtues will go hand in hand with methods of coordinated and concerted action-taking. The establishment of this movement with a sole basic objective and

program has proven an indispensable precondition and a starting point for the revival of any Moslem country.

This movement will rally the qualified, educate the unqualified, bring up and call on, define the objectives and find ways to attain them. It will bring life, thought and action wherever it takes root. It will become the conscience and the willpower of a world awoken after a long and deep sleep.

Addressing this message to all the Moslems the world over, we point out clearly that there is no promised land, nor any magicians nor mehdīs. There is only one path, the path of work, struggle and sacrifice.

In times of temptation let us always have in mind two things: we have behind us God's blessings and the consent of our people.

THE END