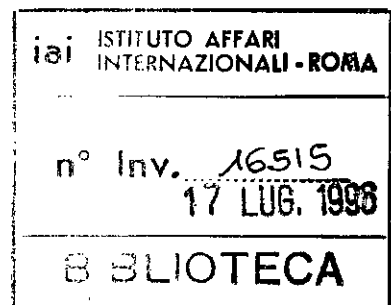


EURO-ISLAM CONFERENCE, 2.
AL al-Bayt University
Mafrq (Giordania), 10-13/VI/1996

- a. Lista dei partecipanti
1. "The second Euro-Islam Conference" (raccolta dei documenti e degli abstract)
 2. "How best to improve the image of Islam?"/ Smail Balic
 3. "Dialogue and relations among religions"/ Huseyin Atay
 4. "The West and Muslim contributions to the world civilisations"/ Alexander Fodor
 5. "The Muslim-Christian dialogue"/ Alexander Khatchatrian
 6. "Some difficulties concerning the need for mutual respect"/ Jan Myrdal
 7. "Les antécédentes islamiques de la renaissance occidentale"/ Ehsan Naraghi



Return to
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We need your home addresses to be able to send you the final documentation of the Euro-Islam Conference and to be able to contact you in the future. The address list will also be distributed to all the participants to help mutual contacts. Please control your address, correct it and leave it with the secretariat.

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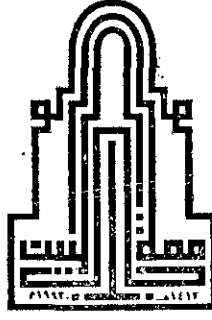
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AL al-Bayt University

The Second Euro-Islam Conference

24-27 Muharram 1417 A.H. / 10-13 June 1996 A.D.

AL al-Bayt University
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جميع الحقوق محفوظة: لا يجوز إعادة الطباعة أو النسخ أو الاقتباس من هذه الأوراق إلا بعد الموافقة الخطية من رئاسة الجامعة بذلك.

**MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO WESTERN / EUROPEAN
CIVILIZATION :
WAYS AND MEANS OF ACQUAINTING EUROPEANS WITH
THIS LEGACY.**

Wadi' Z. Haddad

Abstract of Paper

To embark on our task of acquainting Westerners, and particularly Europeans, with Muslim contributions to their civilization, we need to be clear about two things : the purpose of such an endeavor and the type of audience or audiences to be addressed. Furthermore, in planning a strategy for action, serious thought must be given to the obstacles to be overcome.

One obstacle is due to the historical interactions and encounters between Muslims and the West, which though led the West to benefit from Muslim contributions, left deep scars on both sides. Westerners, for the most part, have deep-rooted fear of Muslims, a fear that has led to hatred which disallowed them to acknowledge any beneficial contributions to their society.

A second obstacle is that western historians (with a few exceptions, e.g. Toynbee) have been parochial in their presentation of their history. For an example, the Renaissance and later the enlightenment emerge as a leap in civilization without significant analysis of the antecedents of the development of thought or its sources.

Hence, to begin the attempt of acquainting westerners with Muslim contributions, efforts must be directed at changing attitudes and overcoming, at least, the two obstacles of fear or the perception of Muslim threat, and the inclination towards presenting a self-centered, provincial history. On the other hand, one observes that some western scholars begin to credit the acquisition of Muslim learning in the emergence of Western Renaissance, and more Western scholars writing after World War II were inclined to acknowledge the link. Furthermore, there has been recently a movement among Western historians calling for a global history that delineates the interactions with other cultures in the same historical context - a concept to be espoused and encouraged.

The recent openness to Interfaith dialogue and to cultural pluralism lead me to suggest that the university departments, such as faculties of

Middle East Studies, Centers for Christian-Muslim Understanding, and Departments of Islamic Studies, are the first channels that should be utilized in this endeavor (acquainting the West with Muslim contribution). These faculties and their graduate students could be encouraged, through endowment of university positions and study grants to students, to pursue subjects that enhance the goal of this endeavor. This could be strengthened by establishing a program of exchanging faculty and students between Western and Arab World Universities. This endeavor would serve to enlighten academic person and the intelligencia.

Moreover, it is this cadre of scholars who, I suggest, can provide in addition to the scholarly findings, material which is appropriate for use by the media (films, videos, newspaper, articles, etc.) . This serves to sensitize and inform another segment of society, namely : the public.

Furthermore, University and college professors specialized in Islamic Studies and / or Muslim civilization would serve, as has happened in the US context, to evaluate and correct misinformation and stereotypes of Muslims and their civilization embodied in current books, and slowly begin to write textbooks by objective scholars for use by Middle and Secondary school students. This would contribute to the formation of a generation free of erroneous information and prejudice.

This endeavor will need patience, good will, and sufficient funds to carry out the program.

EUROPE AND THE ARAB/MOSLEM WORLD
BRIDGING THE HOSTILITY GAP
SARI NUSSEIBEH

This presentation will attempt to investigate some of the salient points of friction in the conceptual model each side has of the other, with a view to determining effective procedures for minimizing their significance in the overall picture. It will also attempt to investigate the effective means of fostering the development of positive images

The main argument will therefore first attempt to:

- (a) distinguish between objective and subjective elements of friction,
- (b) explore means of transforming objective elements of friction into accepted differences,
- (c) define means of adjusting misconceptions on the subjective level, and
- (d) define means of reducing genuine subjective points of friction into accepted differences.

This part of the argument will therefore be a damage containment part. The second part of the argument will address possible avenues of constructing favorable images.

The reasoning applied in the argument will be of a universal character, that is it will be of a kind that can be applied to any two conceptual models with points of friction, thus reinforcing the underlying assumption that the gap in question is not unique, or therefore, especially inscrutable.

Nonetheless, while the argument-form will be of a general character, obviously the argument-content will draw specifically on the Europe-Christian/Arab-Moslem example.

A DIALOGUE OF RELIGIONS OR PEOPLE?

Abdol Majid Al-Khoei

There is a clear need to review some of our assumptions that are implied in the general theme of Dialogue. Most people share their understanding of Dialogue in its broad terms but there are clear differences in opinion when we tackle specific themes.

In particular, there are important differences in our dealings with the theme of 'Dialogue of Religions' in comparison to 'Dialogue of States' or 'Peoples'.

Religions are established on a set of given assumptions, some of which clearly discredit other religions. To judge other religions seems to be a necessary statement of faith to establish legitimacy of one religion over another, and without which the religion itself would lose its *raison d'être*.

Does this mean that our attempted dialogue is a superficial attempt or a useless exercise?

Whilst recognizing the differences between religions, some argue that Dialogue can still be established on those things religions have in common, such as their belief in one God and their shared values. All religions share the sanctuary of human life and the Abrahamic religions, in particular, share in great detail many other aspects of faith.

Since Dialogue is between people, some emphasize that it should be between the followers of religions rather than between the religions themselves. The real emphasis should therefore be primarily concerned with the overlapping interests in communal life. The world has become a global village and driving force towards Dialogue is found in the mutual needs of people on one hand, and their need to avoid conflict on the other. Different communities can be brought together on their shared desire for preserving peace and human dignity.

The diversity of backgrounds, interests, opinions and positions among communities is an inevitable human phenomenon. Differences are found not only between Muslims, Christians and others, but also within each separate community.

**ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY; FROM CONFRONTATION TO
COOPERATION
(THE EXAMPLE OF CZARIST RUSSIA)**

*Dr. Said Kiamiley
Moscow Institute
Of Islamic Civilization
(Summary)*

The experience of the Russian Empire, some of which rather essential to our mind and very instructive features unjustly has been deliberately or unintentionally forgotten, displays an attempt of building a rather harmonious relationship between the Christians and the Muslims. Of course the social and religious structure of the Czarist State was not perfect, but its legacy should be considered in any case for the better comprehension of our present times.

The beginning of the relations between Islam and Christianity in the Moscovian State, the predecessor of the Russian Empire, was unfortunately hostile. After the subordination of the Khanates of Kazan and Astrakhan in the middle of the XVI century the dominant frames of mind and aspirations of Russian authorities (mostly and first of all - the local ones) consisted in the rather obvious eagerness of turning the Muslims into the Christians. That is why a considerable damage was inflicted upon the Muslim culture. Such a policy continued until the seventies of the XVIII century under the Empress Catherine II, due to pragmatic, as well as romantic motives.

At that time the first Administrative Board of the Muslims was established (which still is being kept as the principal model of a Muslim Administrative institution in the countries of the Commonwealth of the Independent States in the post-Soviet geopolitical space). The mullahs were included in the structure of the general governmental service and the Muslim aristocracy was granted the status of the Russian nobility.

Later similar systems were also organized in the Caucasus and Central Asia, but of course having local peculiarities. The Government was promoting the Hadj and materially supporting the mosques and Muslim educational establishments.

A policy like that differs considerably from the present-day position of the young political democracy at the Russian Federation, which, let us say, due to the lack of socio-political experience makes a swing towards only one confession, though legally the Russian state is lay one. Anyway the Muslims of Russia supported the Czar during the World War I, and many of them bravely fought in the ranks of the Russian Army during the World War II.

Surely, which is deplorable, the Czarist government committed wrong doing against the Muslims, and the greatest of them is the Caucasian war, but even this disastrous action did not bear an anti-Muslim character on the part of Russia: Islam has really become a considerable and rather important part of the all-Russian culture, influencing different branches of creativity in the Empire of Russia as a whole. Due to this fact this State became one of the most authoritative world's centers of Islamic studies, as there appeared deep-rooted scientific schools in St. Petersburg, Kazan, Kharkov, Moscow and other cities.

There is a hope that a newly organized in Moscow (after the dissolution of the former USSR) the Institute of Islamic Civilization (IIC), would be able to continue such a fallible tradition of Islamic studies, as well as of the propagation of the values of the Muslim culture in the very important field for now-day Russia - the field of broad and positive Enlightenment the domestic population regardless of its confessional or national adherence - as well as in the domain of restoring and further strengthening the ties and contacts between scholars from the former USSR and their colleagues abroad.

IIC has proved such an ability through its recent initiatives on organizing some of international academic gatherings of Russian and CIS scholars which have been successfully held in Moscow (1992, 1995) under the aegis of UNESCO, ISESCO, Russian Academy of Sciences and in cooperation with a number of domestic and foreign scientific and cultural organization.

WESTERN MEDIA COVERAGE OF ISLAM COVERAGE OF ISLAM IN THE WESTERN MEDIA HAS OFTEN BEEN CONTROVERSIAL.

Yousif A. Abualqassim al-Khooi

In general, the media in the West is not confident with its ability to deal with Islamic/Muslim issues. This paper argues that there are a number of historical, political, cultural and religious reasons for this. Often, sheer ignorance towards Muslim issues has been a significant cause of negative coverage of Islam in the Western media. Stories relating to Islam are usually based on the premise that what is being reported is inherently alien, both in culture and dogma.

This has often given rise to cultural, religious and racial bias against Muslims and Islam. Is this just a question of misunderstanding, or could there be more sinister reasons behind this attitude? Perhaps more importantly, how do such attitudes augur for the future? As a case study, the coverage of the Oklahoma City bombing will be dealt with in detail.

This paper will also cover the issue of women, terrorism, the use of terminology and ask why prejudice in this sphere persists, and also why some Muslim stories can make for good television.

The paper will also discuss how negative attitudes, perpetuated by the media in the West, can be countered. The newly emerging Muslim communities in the West can play an important role in participating in the mainstream media and forming pressure groups. Programme-makers/editors in the West need to increase their general awareness of Islamic issues. One solution is for a complete reassessment of existing prejudices by building lines of communication with the Muslim media and understanding the many hues and colours that operate in that sphere of influence, for instance, a regard for Muslim sentiments on lines similar to those engendered by the media towards the Jewish community (sensitivity towards anti-semitic programmes, articles, etc) may be a constructive base upon which to build a more balanced and responsible approach.

ARE THE NEW EURO- MEDITERRANEAN AGREEMENTS USEFUL TOOLS?

Marianne Laanatza

ABSTRACT

The new Euro -Mediterranean agreements are presented as a new platform for cooperation and Liberalization between Europe and the Middle East, regions dominated by Christian Values and Islamic Values respectively. The platform shall also function as a forum for exchange of thoughts and ideas. If these targets are to be reached the Euro-Mediterranean dialogue will get more tangible contents.

The possibilities to implement the above mentioned ambitions are examined in the paper. Are really the formulas given in the agreements open - minded, flexible and democratic?

'THE PLACE AND THE ROLE OF RELIGIONS IN THE EUROPEAN UNION POLITICS '

Dr. Tuomo Melasuo

ABSTRACT

European Union is a result of a long and slow development started in the 1950's. Since the fall of the Berlin Wall and the joining of the new Nordic member countries in the Mid-1990's the EU has started a new phase in its development. The aim of this contribution is to study how the attitudes of the EU towards the religions is developing in the 1990's.

The EU is a secular State run organization. Officially the churches and the religions do not have any singular or particular role in the EU. Still in the beginning the Roman Catholic countries were in majority, and the questions of religions were no issue in the EU political debate. Now the situation is changing. The new members, the Nordic countries and Austria are strengthening the Protestant and Lutheran aspects. The developments in former eastern Europe, including the war in ex-Yugoslavia, are making Orthodox Christian church more present in the EU political debate.

And Islam, with the emigration and the growing-up of the 'second generation' is also much more visible in Europe than before. EU tries to be more active in the Mediterranean scene and in the Middle East, especially in the peace process, than before.

Does all this mean that EU is taking a more explicit position towards religion than before? Is it stressing the organization's character of secularism and laicity? Or does the EU try to develop a more comprehensive attitudes towards the religions by taking into the consideration the cultural specificities of each religious community? Will the EU develop a common stand towards the place and the role of religions within it or does it leave each member State to handle it with their own singular tradition? What kind of importance does the traditional European and hopefully, tolerant approach towards religions have? Or is the EU's religion policies determined by day to day political campaigns in and outside the European Union?

These are some of the questions this communication aims to deal with. They have a signification on how the schools teach about Islam, how the mass media approaches Islam and what will be the dialogue of religions.

ISLAM AND THE UNIVERSAL ORDER

**DR. SAMI M. ANGAWI
AMAR CENTER FOR ARCHITECTURAL STUDIES
JEDDAH, SAUDI ARABIA**

In this age, we are witnessing a beginning of a revolution in communication and expansion of knowledge in scientific discovery about ourselves and the universe. The ideas presented in the full text of this paper are an attempt to open channels of fruitful mutual dialogue and build cultural bridges between human societies and nations living on earth. It is hoped that through these dialogues peoples will develop a better understanding of each other and will have an opportunity to discuss and exchange their views and beliefs. A new type of relationship based on respect, open minds and frankness should be born, in complete harmony and conformity with the universal order set by the ONE God when He created the universe.

All elements and components existing in this universe operate and function according to this Godly order. Mankind, being one of the creations existing in the universe and part of the natural order, perform their living functions according to its system. Our human relationships should also be organized within this order so that we may advance harmoniously and peacefully in equilibrium into the future reaching new horizons of prosperity.

A common and serious drawback in the relationships between human communities is the existence of dangerous areas of conceptual misunderstandings resulting from ignorance of each other's culture. It is through direct frank open-minded discussions, fruitful face-to-face dialogues and awareness educational programs presented within an atmosphere of mutual respect that better understanding can survive and flourish.

Creating the conditions for a constructive Dialogue: Lessons for the Future

Dr. Peter Wallenstein

Believing in God, the creator of the universe, the relationship between the created mankind and their Creator has been specified by him through religion delivered by consecutive prophets and messengers starting from Adam, the father of all mankind, to Abraham, the father of all prophets, then Isaac, Jacob, Moses, Mohammed and others. They all delivered one and the same message coming from ONE GOD to all mankind. No differences exist among these messages as they were originally delivered. Muslims recognize this basic essential fact and their faith is nullified if they do not believe in all prophets and messengers who preceede Mohammed. In fact, Islam is the religion of Abraham, and many of the religious practices performed by Muslim, especially in the annual pilgrimage to Makkah, trace back to Abraham as the first house of worship. Muslims in every place all over the world face towards the Kaabah in their daily prayers, and those visiting the Holy Mosque in Maakah express their respect by circling around the Kaabah seven times. This ritual is known as circumambulation or Tawaf, in Arabic.

If the relationships among all human communities and nations are re- shaped in accordance with the Godly universal order set by the ONE Creator, and are allowed to develop within an atmosphere of mutual understanding, respect and frankness, all barriers of fear leading to struggles and wars will disappear and a new era progress and prosperity for all mankind will emerge.

Is this an impossible objective to achieve? It may be difficult in the beginning but with sincerity, dedication, patience and strong faith, it can be realized. Several approaches, ways and means leading to this goal will be discussed in more detail in the full text paper and viewed in the slide presentation.

MUSLIM COUNTRIES & THE WEST

Summary

Dr Laith Kubba

Islam & the West, a theme debated publicly in articles and conferences, implies serious misconceptions about the nature of Islam, as it confuses Islam with a geographical region and it reasserts the misconception that Islam is limited to the heritage of Muslims. Islam is neither the exclusive property of Muslims, nor should it be presented as a threatening weapon of angry nations against the western powers. Muslims believe Islam is needed by humankind in both western and eastern societies, and it should not be manipulated for narrow political agendas nor should it be an additional weapon in national struggles.

There are past, present and possible future conflicts as the majority of Muslim countries continue to challenge western supremacy and influence. These conflicts are of a complex history and have a political and economic nature which normally occurs within Muslim countries, as well as conflicts with non Muslim countries.

The mass media of both Muslim countries and that of Europe & America are playing an important role in shaping up the debate and often, the media plays into the hands of radical groups of both sides. Statements by Islamists and Westerns are used to project Islam whole is projected to the Muslims as being the symbol of immorality and the mother of all illnesses.

One specific issue of dialogue is the debate on modernization and the cultural interaction between the nations of the world. For many years this has been debated on moral and traditional grounds where the main concern was about the preservation of culture and identity without addressing the real issue of problems related to the inevitable integration of the human experiences. Substantial development programmes can not take place in abstract and there will always be real interaction with the developing world. No one yet has called for the Muslim nations to opt out of the world system since one fifth of the world population are Muslims who are in desperate need to bring their countries in line with the rest of the developing world.

The political agenda of the debate is also having a direct and strong impact on the Muslims living in non Muslim countries. The majority

distance themselves from the confrontational agenda which is promoted by radical parties, as this fuels racism against Muslims. Calls for hate and antagonism towards the western countries are perceived by the majority of Muslim communities as suicidal, illogical and incompatible with their future.

There are many other factors that can be critical in the rise or decline of civilizations and hence there will always be the need for a healthier and broader integration with the world. What is needed is a Prologue of people at all levels and not simply a dialogue of two abstract Ideals. It is often said that democracies do not go to war and it can also be claimed that civilizations always cooperate and seldom clash.

Alexander Khatchatrian
(Summary)

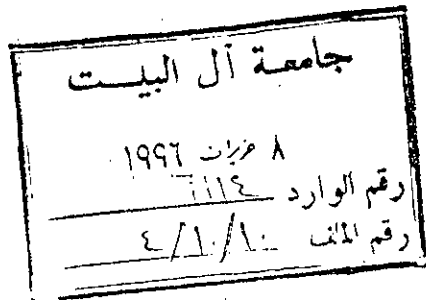
Among the world religions Christianity and Islam are the most conspicuous from the point of view of both their ethical-moral concepts and number of their followers. Besides, these two religions are, without doubt, the closest to each other among the religious ideologies of the world. Notwithstanding a series of outward differences between them, the fundamental concepts, confessional perceptions and credo of Christian and Muslim ideological substratum are almost the same, at least, they are very similar (e.g. Monotheism-touhid, etc.).

Nevertheless, there is a considerable amount of prejudices in the West towards the Muslim world and Islam as a whole which impede the better understanding of Islamic traditions and culture of the East having even an obvious impact on political interrelations between Christian and Muslim countries.

The main task of mass media and intellectual circles of both sides, I see in singling out and due representation of common features of both ideologies Muslim and Christian, in tracing parallel topological tendencies in religious and cultural traditions of both areas and giving a comprehensive history of the humanistic traditions of Islam and Arab World. All prejudices and hostilities between human beings are conditioned with ignorance. The main role of intelligentsia and, first of all academics and journalists is to show clearly that religious, confessional, ideological and racial differences are indeed a God grace but not a plague for humanity. We must be guided by principle "Unity in diversity". Most of the hot areas of contemporary World (e.g. Yugoslavia, Armenia and Azerbaijan, etc.), conflict situations arisen in various parts of the globe, I am sure, in their roots conceal incomprehension of opposite side, its inner essence, moral and ethical strivings.

I think, for the better understanding of the stereotype images of Arab World and their comparative investigation in close genetic and typological correlation with the Christian concepts of moral, democracy and justice, we have to appeal in the first place, to the sacred literature - Holy Qur'an and Euangelium and Bible, etc. I do not mean the exegetic interpretation of these religious texts, or their pure academic scrutiny, but to attempt to reveal the universal human concepts hidden in these monuments.

For the working out of a real programme of East - West confidence & reciprocal approachment, there is a good example - the Oriental Christians (Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, etc.) living during the centuries, in close contact with Muslim peoples, within the Muslim cultural and religious environment. They have preserved a long and standing tradition of mutual tolerance and understanding.



ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM AND PLURALISM

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Islamic fundamentalism is seen by a majority of Western media and scholars along with a majority of their Middle Eastern counterparts as exclusivist by its nature and definition. Some fundamentalist groups are indeed exclusivist and adhere to radical programs and revolutions. Major fundamentalist groups are however inclusivist and pluralistic. Fundamentalism is an umbrella term for a wide range of opinions ranging from a high level of pluralism to extreme radicalism. This paper argues that state inclusive and exclusive policies in the Middle East prompt radical and moderate fundamentalist responses.

This paper shows why fundamentalist theoreticians develop either a pluralistic ideology or radical one. It begins by briefly contextualizing the general academic discussions on pluralism and radicalism in the West, using the USA as an example, and the Arab world, using Egypt as an example. Then the body of paper explains the theoretical origins and development of pluralism and radicalism. The paper ends with outlining the prospects of fundamentalism and pluralism.

I. The World between Inclusion and Exclusion

In *New Perspective Quarterly*, Islam is dealt with sensationally, when it is asked who wants to travel "From Beirut to Sarajevo. . ." to fight "Against Cultural Terrorism" or to witness "Galileo Meets Allah."¹ However, the editor of the journal says that Islam remains monotheistic and will inevitably be faced with a host of challenges that will pit "the word" not only against the mere language of Western literature, like Salman Rushdie's novel, but also against non-dogmatic and free style tolerance of Europe and America. He asks, "Will Islam turn toward pluralism and the West back toward faith?"²

In his "The Islamic-Confucian Connection" as well as his more celebrated article "The Clash of Civilizations" Huntington argues that "the cultural division of Europe among Western Christianity, Orthodox Christianity and Islam has re-emerged."³ Disregarding any diversity in historical and modern Islam, Huntington proclaims that Islam "is a militant religion in which there is no distinction between what is religious and what is secular. The idea of "render unto Caesar's what is Caesar's, render

¹*New Perspective Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 2, Spring 1994, pp. 20-37. The complete titles of the articles are:

-From Beirut to Sarajevo: Can Tolerance be Born of Cruelty? By Kanan Makiya

-Laughing at God in North Africa, by Hahar Ben Jelloun

-When Galileo Meets Allah, Farida Faouzia Charfi

-Justice is the Strife by Tariq Aanuri

-Against Cultural Terrorism, by Naguib Mahfouz.

²*Ibid.*, p. 3. The editor is Nathan Gardels.

³"The Islamic-Confucian Connection," *Ibid.*, p. 19. See also, "The Clash of Civilizations", *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 3, Summer 1993, pp. 22-49. For similar attitudes see "Will Democracy Survive in Egypt? *Reader's Digest* (Canadian Edition), Dec. 1987, Vol. 131, No. 788, p. 149 and "The Arab World where Troubles for the US Never End," *US News and World Report*, Feb. 6, 1984, Vol. 96, p. 24.

unto God what is God's" is totally antithetical to Islam. This theocratic proclivity makes it extraordinarily difficult for Islamic societies to accommodate non-Muslims. It makes it very difficult for Muslims to easily fit into societies where the majority is non-Muslims." ⁴

Along the same line, Judith Miller advocates a non-democratic exclusivist attitude towards the Muslim world since Islam is incompatible with the values of pluralism, democracy and human rights. This means that Western policy-makers should not support democratic elections since they might bring about radical Islamic fundamentalists to government. She exhorts the American administration and others to reject any sort of conciliation with or inclusion of radical political Islam. ⁵

While the above-mentioned attitude seems to be the dominant view towards the Islamic world, there is another emerging attitude that is more objective and accommodating in its analysis of the fundamentalismt phenomena. Augustus R. Norton, for instance, argue in his "Inclusion Can Deflate Islamic Populism" that democracy and Islam are not incompatible, for the people are calling for political participation. While skeptics deny the usefulness of democracy for the people, because the regimes are inefficient and suffer from legitimacy claims and the fundamentalist political movements are anti-Western, anti-Israeli and anti-democratic, Norton pins down the claims against the

⁴ Ibid., p. 21.

⁵ Judith Miller, "The Challenge of Radical Islam," *Foreign Affairs*, Vol. 72, No. 2, 1993, pp. 54-55 and see the complete article, pp. 43-55. In the same vein see, Bernard Lewis "Islam and Liberal Democracy," *The Atlantic Monthly*, February 1993, pp. 89-98. This article is used by Miller to support his argument.

skeptics by saying that "to argue that popular political players are irremediably intransigent and therefore unmoved by tenets in the real world is at best naive, and, at worst, racist."⁶

William Zartman argues that the two currents of political Islam and democracy are not necessarily incompatible. The Qur'an might be interpreted to support different political behaviors. A synthesis might emerge between Islam and democracy where constitutional checks can be employed. He suggests five measures to democratize and make sure that democracy will triumph, including "to practice the forms of democracy whenever scheduled, let the most popular win, and let them learn democracy on the job."⁷ Again, in "Democratization and Islam," John Esposito and James Piscatori argue that the process of liberalization and democratization in the Muslim world requires, as happened in the West, a process of reinterpretation of the divine texts. While Islam lends itself to different interpretations, some important fundamentalist thinkers have already started the process of accommodating Islam with democracy and liberalism⁸ --itself an inclusionary process.

While the aforementioned scholars are aware of a new fundamentalist tendency to include some principles of Western civilization, namely, liberalism and democratization, it is also clear that there is the influential tendency among Western politicians

⁶ "Inclusion Can Deflate Islamic Populism," *Ibid.*, p. 50.

⁷ William Zartman, "Democracy and Islam: The Cultural Dialectic," *ANNALS, AAPSS*, 524, November, 1992, p.191.

⁸ John Esposito and James Piscatori, "Democratization and Islam," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 45, No. 3, Summer 1991, p. 434. Along the same line of arguments, see Gudrun Kramer, "Islamist Democracy," *Middle East Report*, Number 183, Vol. 23, No. 4, July-August, pp. 2-8.

and scholars alike to reject the Islamization of democracy and liberalism. The dominant tendency, which fears ascendancy of fundamentalism through democracy, supports authoritarian regimes for the sake of maintaining a non-existent democracy.

The argument against the fundamentalists outlined above has been implemented in the Middle East. For instance, the moderate Muslim Brethren in Egypt are not legally allowed to form a party, although allowed to participate informally for a short period by the regime. While the regime is incapable any more of relying on repression, the Egyptian government has decided to intellectually counterattack the current tide of political Islam by having the General Egyptian Institute for Books publish a series of books under the general title "confrontation" (*al-Muwajahah*). The series focuses on republishing books of Egyptian scholars and intellectuals that have in common the goal of refuting the doctrines of radical groups by using the moderate religious and political thought that spread in Egypt in late 19th and early 20th centuries such as Jamal al-Din al-'Afghani, Muhammad 'Abduh, 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq, Taha Hussein, 'Abbas al-'Aqqad and others.⁹

This "intellectual" governmental activity is only a belated and subsidiary supplement to the doctrine of confronting the fundamentalists, i.e., "security confrontation" doctrine. The

⁹ *Al-Hayat*, 24 April, 1993, p. 19. Some of the Books that have been resurrected include *Freedom of Thought* by Salame Musa, *Islam and the Fundamentals of Government* by 'Ali 'Abd al-Razzaq, *the Future of Culture in Egypt* by Taha Hussein, and *The Liberation of Woman* by Qasim Amin, and *The Nature of Tyranny* by 'Abd al-Rahaman al-Kawakibi and many others, including briefs for modernist political thinkers such as 'Abduh and al-'Afghani. See also on the war of ideas and political control, Alexander Flores' article "secularism, Integralism and Political Islam," in *Middle East Report*, No. 183, July-August, 1993, pp. 35-38.

solution, to be developed through reinforcing security apparatuses, comes first and foremost, followed, secondly, by a religious confrontation that should be launched by religious officialdom, and, surprisingly and thirdly, by the legislative which must produce a state-of-the-art law against terrorism.¹⁰

The most prestigious religious center, the Azhar, plays with the tacit approval of the government, the role of a modern "court of Inquisition." Naguib Mahfouz, a Noble Prize winner, has announced his readiness to rescind his book, *Awlad Haritna* (The Children of our Neighborhood) if the Azhar convinces him that it contains some blasphemous remarks against Islam. Although Ri'af al-Sa'id, a secular leftist intellectual, condemns the fundamentalists for the banning of the book-- in fact it was banned 33 years ago by the Azhar under 'Abd al-Nasir Presidency-- he asks the government to face "the terrorists" not only by security measures but also by curbing their media. As an "enlightened thinker"-- a term used by Sa'id to describe himself and his intellectual colleagues-- he calls for the suppression of whatever media freedom left to Islamic thinkers because radicalism starts initially as an idea.¹¹ The case of associate Professor at Cairo University Nasir Hamid Abu Zayd was brought to a "secular" and not fundamentalist court in Egypt shows how the government fights not only intellectual "terrors" of fundamentalism but also those of modernism. The charge focused

¹⁰*Al-Safir*, 2 April, 1993, p. 8.

¹¹ For details on this issue see *Al-Safir*, 10 June 1993, p. 1 & *Al-Safir*, 16 June, 1993, pp. 1 & 10. On the views of the Mufti of Egypt on violence, see *Al-Wasat*, 11 November, No. 94, 1993, pp. 29-21.

around his books which showed "animosity to the texts of the Qur'an and the Sunnah," non-belief" and recanting Islam.¹²

While the government uses its legal apparatus to exclude major modernist figures and trends, it uses it as well to exclude fundamentalism, moderate and radical. The Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Sha'b*, published an article on capital punishment and stated that the Egyptian government has moved from civil and penal law to emergency laws that allow the employment of the "iron fist" for the containment of the fundamentalists. Such a policy has resulted during Mubarak Presidency in the political execution of over 50 individuals, almost more than the executions that took place in a century and under different regimes.¹³

When the Egyptian government wanted to conduct a national dialogue, it basically launched it with itself. Thus, twenty six of the forty individuals who were "appointed" by President Mubarak as a preparatory committee to set the agenda for the conference on political dialogue were from the ruling party, *al-Hizb al-watani*. Worse than this, two hundred thirty seven of the two hundred seventy nine of conferees were from the ruling party; major political blocs were excluded. Though one might understand the exclusion of the radical groups that rejected "inclusionary" policies, one cannot really understand the government exclusionary policies towards the Muslim Brotherhood, which has exhibited both intellectually and politically inclusionary tendencies by accepting pluralism and

¹² *Al-Safir*, 10 July 1993, p. 10.

¹³ Ibid. On the latest figures, see *Al-Wasat*, 25 July 1994, pp. 4-5. All sentences are not given by the regular courts. 56 of the 58 death sentences are taken by martial courts; the other two by the higher courts of national security (emergency court).

democracy as well as the legitimacy of the regime. The Muslim Brotherhood has been trying to be included in the much publicized national dialogue for 1994. While the government refused the official representation of Muslim Brotherhood in that dialogue, the Brotherhood is trying to be included through its unofficial representatives in professional unions such as the lawyers, the medical doctors, the engineers. The Muslim Brotherhood's view on the dialogue can be represented by what Ahmad Sayf al-Islam Hasan al-Banna, the general secretary of the Lawyers' Union and the son of Hasan al-Banna, says about the organization's willingness to participate in the political dialogue if the government includes them. Later on the government rejected their participation and pressured political parties to disassociate themselves from the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood's view is that though excluded as a political party, it can still be included as a representative of civil society. Instead the government now has included the Brotherhood in sweeping security measures that resulted earlier in the death of a pro-Ikhwan lawyer while under arrest. This act produced a strike of the Lawyers' Union and direct confrontation with the security forces in 1994; the consequences of this act are still unfolding.¹⁴

Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, the spokesman for the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, said in an interview that the exclusion of the Muslim Brotherhood from the dialogue along with independent fundamentalist thinkers such as Muhammad al-Ghazali was an

¹⁴ *Al-Hayat*, 4 February, 1994, p. 7. See also the five long and diversified articles and dialogues that *Al-Hayat* has serialized, from August 2-August 5 under the title "Civil Society in Egypt and the Arab World. On interest in democracy in the Arab world and the resistance of the governments to such a society, see for instance, *Al-Hayat*, August 4, 1993, p. 19, and 25 September 25, 1993, 14 & 17.

example of the exclusion of those who did not adopt or conform to governmental views. While the government permits some thinkers to attack religion, it does not allow responding to the slanderers. He characterized the cause for violence in Egypt as being the result of the government's policies; for when the individual "finds no door open, he will destroy the wall [to get out of prison]. The one who thinks of destroying the wall is the prisoner. But those who find the door open but try to break the wall are very rare." In other words, being excluded from peaceful participation in the political and public affairs, some groups are turned into radicals, because of "the closed-door policy." He expresses the Brethren's opinion that they feel oppressed because of the governmental prohibition of holding public meetings, an act which is considered by the government as a mutiny against the state.¹⁵

II. Radical and Pluralist fundamentalist Discourses

A. Moderate Discourses

Hasan al-Bannna developed the political discourse of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Banna. He sets up the possibility of a pluralistic interpretation of the doctrine divine governance or *hakimiyyah*. While it has been used at times historically and now to exclude whatever is considered un-Islamic, al-Banna makes it a source of both legitimacy and compromise. Taking account of the circumstances of Egyptian society in the first half of this century, and given the relative freedom that Egyptians had therein, the question of forceful seizure of power was not on the agenda of the Brotherhood. Though interested in the Islamization

¹⁵ *Al-Shu'lah*, No. 26, March 1993, p. 38 & see pp. 39-40.

of government, state, and society, al-Banna aimed essentially to be included in the then existing political order and competed as well with other political parties.

Al-Banna himself ran twice for elections along with his party, the Brotherhood. Some of the Brotherhood's founding members were simultaneously members of other political parties; and the same applies to contemporary Brethren. The peaceful involvement of the Muslim Brotherhood in the political life of Egypt cannot be denied. It was involved in the struggle of the Azhar during the twenties and thirties and it has sided the with the King against the government. Al-Banna during that period cooperated at times with Isma'il Sidqi, the on and off prime minister, and involved himself in teaching and lecturing. The Brotherhood built its headquarters from voluntary donations, then it built a mosque and schools for boys and girls. In 1946, the government provided financial aids and free books and stationery to the Brotherhood schools, then the Ministry of Education paid all its educational and administrative expenses. Al-Banna established as well holding companies for schools, and this became a success since most of the Brotherhood's membership was composed of middle class professionals and businessmen. Only a year after the establishment of the Brotherhood in Cairo, it had 50 branches all over Egypt. Concerned with the spread of missionary schools in Egypt, the Brotherhood called on King Faruq to subject this activity to governmental supervision. But after a meeting with a father in the church, al-Banna wrote on the necessity that men of religion should unite against atheism. During the same year, the Brotherhood decided to set up a press and publish a

weekly, *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. Other civil institutions were set.¹⁶

During 1948, the membership of its scouts reached over 40,000 and spread all over Egypt and worked to eliminate illiteracy, cholera and malaria epidemics. In 1948, the Brotherhood had set up 500 branches for social services and established as well medical clinics and hospitals and treated about 51,000 patients. Again, al-Banna set up a woman organization in the forties whose membership in 1948 reached 5000. It played a central role during what is referred to as *al-mihna al-'ula* (first ordeal) 1948-50 when it cared for the family of the thousands of Brethren who were jailed. The active membership of the Brotherhood was around half a million, and the supporters, another half, and had by the time of its dissolution, one thousand branches in Egypt.¹⁷

In politics, the Brotherhood did not originally resort to violence but played the game as long as it was allowed, and then played with violence when it became the name of the game. Not only did the Brotherhood establish secret apparatuses, but that was a common denominator with other parties as well as the state which used political assassination to resolve many problems. This

¹⁶ Rifa'at al-Sa'id, *Hasan al-Banna, Mu'assis Harakat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimin* (Beirut: Dar al-Tali'ah, 4th ed., 1986), pp. 93-94, 99-100 & 112-16. On the active involvement of al-Banna and his organization in civil society and their cooperation with other civil segments, see, for instance, Ishaq Musa al-Husseini, *Moslem Brethren* (Beirut: Khayat's College Book, 1956), Richard Mitchell, *The Society of Muslim Brothers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), and Charles Adams, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt* (N.Y.: Russell and Russell, 1986). See also the views of 'Umar al-Tilmisani in Rifa'at Sayyid Ahmad, *Al-Nabiy al-Musallah: Al-Rafidun* (London: Riad al-Rayyis Books Ltd., 1991), pp. 199-200. On al-Banna's ideology, see Ahmad Moussalli, "Hasan al-Banna's Islamist Discourse on Constitutional Rule and Islamic State," *Journal of Islamic Studies*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1993, pp. 161-174.

¹⁷ Said, *Hasan al-Banna*, pp. 101-107, 112, 117 & 122-124.

violence manifested itself against the Brethren in jailing thousands of them as well as dissolving the organization and liquidating its assets and in assassinating al-Banna.

Before that, the Brotherhood played by the rules. More importantly, the Brotherhood has always accepted the legitimacy of the existing regime, and al-Banna described King Faruq as the legitimate ruler. Al-Banna developed his organization into a political party with a specific political agenda in order to compete with other parties that were corrupt in his opinion. In 1942, al-Banna along with other Brethren ran for elections, but the then prime minister persuaded him to withdraw. He was supposed instead to receive more freedom for his organization and a promise from the government to shut down liquor stores and prohibit prostitution. But later that year, Premier al-Nahhas closed down all of the Brotherhood branches, except the Headquarters. Again in 1945, al-Banna and five other Brothers ran for elections, but lost. The Brotherhood competed with the Wafd and the communists and others. Al-Banna became a powerful player; for instance, he was called to the Palace in 1946 for consultation on the appointment of a new prime minister. At the time the Brotherhood was especially encouraged in order to stand against the communists and the *Wafd*. Again, his condemnation of Egyptian parties was based not on religion but on their widespread corruption and the collaboration with the British. His denunciation of Egyptian pre-Nasir parliamentary experience was therefore a rejection of the Egyptian party life and not of the principle of constitutional life and multi-party politics. He

expressed his belief that Egypt's constitutional life had failed and was in need of reorientation.¹⁸

During the seventies the Brethren have been used by Sadat in order to add legitimacy to his government, though still not allowed to form their own political party. They broke with him over his trip to Jerusalem in 1977 and the Camp David agreement and its aftermath.¹⁹ Their protest led to the imprisonment of hundreds of Brethren in addition to the radical groups--discussed below. But the Muslim Brethren have not officially sanctioned or used violence to achieve any political or religious objective. Since 1984, the Brotherhood in Egypt and elsewhere, and similar movements like al-Nahdah in Tunisia and the Islamic Salvation Front, have been trying to be included in the political process and have been involved in setting up civil institutions. Because in Jordan the Brotherhood has functioned since the fifties as a political party, some of its members became well placed in the government and the parliament.

For the Brotherhood, the *hakimiyyah* has become a doctrinal organizing principle of government and a symbol of political Islam, all the while allowing pluralistic interpretation. Al-Banna's emphasis on the proper grounding of political ideology does not exclude individual and collective social and political

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 129, 132-39 & 169-179. Banna, *Majmu'at Rasa'il al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna* (Beirut: Dar al-Qur'an al-Karim, 1984) (hereafter cited as *Rasa'il al-Imam*), pp. 48 & 56-60; Banna, *Majmu'ah*, pp. 14, 169, 309, 331-322 & 335-337; Banna, *Kalimat Khalidah* (Beirut: n.p., 1972), p. 45.

¹⁹ Henry Munson, *Islam and Revolution in the Middle East* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), pp. 78-79. See also Dilip Hiro, *The Rise of Islamic Fundamentalism* (New York: Routledge, 1989), pp. 69-72.

reformulations of Islamic political doctrines in accordance with modern society's needs, aspirations, and beliefs.²⁰

While Islam contains basic legal substance, its denotations and connotations can not be restricted to or derived from past historical conditions only. More importantly, al-Banna attempts to show that Islam must account for and deal with modernity as a worldview, not only as a law. Both the law and worldview must deal with the real world, not in abstract terms, but essentially in practical terms and therefore must take into account and include other interpretations, political ideologies and philosophies. Because Islam is both religion and society and a mosque and a state, it must deal effectively with religion and the world by the inclusion of diverse substantive and methodological pluralistic interpretations, while maintaining the basic doctrines of religion.²¹

Because the *shari'ah* is viewed as a social norm, al-Banna frees its application from past specific methods and links its good practice to the maintenance of freedom and popular authority over the government, and the delineation of the authorities of the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. Western constitutional forms of governments do not contradict Islam if grounded in both constitutionality of Islamic law and objectivity. Constitutional rule is turned into *shura* or consultation by a subtle reinterpretation in

²⁰Hasan al-Banna, *Din wa-Siyasah* (Beirut: Maktabat Huttin, 1970), pp. 40-45; and Banna, *Majmu'at Rasa'il al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna* (Beirut: Al-Mu'assasah al-Islamiyyah, 4th. ed. 1984) (hereafter cited as *Majmu'at Rasa'il*), pp. 161-165. On al-Banna's biography, see, for instance, *Memoirs of Hasan al-Banna Shaheed* translated by M. N. Shaikh (Karachi: International Islamic Publishers, 1981), and Rif'at al-Sa'id, *Hasan al-Banna, Mu'assis Harakat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin*.

²¹ Banna, *Majmu'at Rasa'il*, p. 165, Banna, *Majmu'ah Rasa'il al-Imam al-Shahid Hasan al-Banna* (Beirut: Dar al-Qalam, n.d.) (hereafter cited as *Majmu'ah*), pp. 304 & 343-47; and Banna, *Din wa-Siyasah*, pp. 57-59.

light of modernity and in a spirit not contradictory to the Qur'an. *Shura* as the basic principle of government and the exercise of power of society becomes inclusionary by definition and employed to empower the people to set the course of its political actions and ideology. If the ultimate source of the legitimacy of *shura* is the people, its representation cannot be restricted to one party that may represent only a fraction of the people. Continuous ratification by the community is required because governance is a contract between the ruled and the ruler.²² Al-Banna's theoretical acceptance of political pluralistic and inclusionary interpretations implants the future seeds for further acceptance of the Muslim Brotherhood of political pluralism, not withstanding its link to *tawhid* and its political connotation, unity. This acceptance does not exclude even the existence of many states. Party politics and political systems developed along basic systematic differences, such as those that exist between Marxism and Islam, do not preclude for al-Banna acceptance of substantial differences in ideologies, policies and programs. For an Islamic state does exclude parties that contradict the oneness of God.²³

Again, al-Banna's systems includes different social and religious groups such the Christians and Jews who along with the Muslims are united by interest, human good, and belief in God and

²² Banna, *Majmu'at Rasa'il*, pp. 160-161 & 317-318; and Banna, *Al-Imam Yatahadath ila Shabab al-'Alam al-Islami* (Beirut: Dar al-Qalam, 1974), p. 99; and, Banna, *Majmu'ah*, pp. 99 & 332-337.

²³ Al-Banna, *Majmu'at Rasa'il*, pp. 95-96, 165-167, 317, 320-323, 325 & 328-330; al-Banna, *Minbar al-Jum'ah* (Alexandria: Dar al-Da'wah, 1978), pp. 78-79 & 136; al-Banna, *Al-Da'wah*, No. 7, 1979, p. 9. On centrality of this demand, the Islamic state, in the fundamentalist thought, see Bruce Larwrence, *Defenders of God: The Revolt against the Modern Age* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1989), pp. 187-226.

the holy books. Where religion is acknowledged as an essential component of the state, political conflicts ought not to be turned into religious wars, and must be resolved by dialogue. Individuals enjoy as well religious, civil, political, social, and economic equal rights and duties. This principle of individual involvement, to enjoin the good and forbid evil, is the origin of pluralism leading to setting up political parties or social organizations.²⁴

Muhammad S. Al-'Awwa, a prominent Egyptian member of the Brotherhood, follows in al-Banna's footsteps. He argues that while Islamic political institutions were historically despotic, this despotism is not due to the nature of Islam that advocates the legitimacy of religious and political freedom. However, the alternative to despotism is not exclusive, unpopular imposed restructured state institutions. For al-'Awwa, if pluralism views all sorts of differences as natural then Islam is far superior than Western pluralism in its acceptance of pluralistic identity.²⁵

Al-'Awwa develops al-Banna's rationalization for freedom, the choice of the ruler by the people through *shura*, as being equal

²⁴ Al-Banna, *Al-Salam fi al-Islam* (Beirut: Manshurat al-'Asr al-Hadith, 1971), pp. 27-29. On his acceptance of pluralism, see Abd al-Khabir Mahmud 'Ata, "Al-Harakah al-Islamiyyah wa Qadiyat al-Ta'addudiyyah," *Al-Majallat al-'Arabiyyah li al-'Ulum al-Siyasiyyah*, Nos. 5 & 6, April, 1992, pp. 115-116; on al-Banna's own declaration of accepting equal rights and pluralism, see *Al-Islam aw al-Salam*, p. 37 and *passim*. For similar views in Jordan, see Taqiy al-Din al-Nabahani, *Al-Nabahani, Al-Takaful al-Hizbi* (Jerusalem: n.p., 2nd ed., 1953), pp. 23-57 and *Nizam al-Hukm* (Jerusalem: Matba'at al-Thiryan, 1952), pp. 56-59.

²⁵ Muhammad S. al-'Awwa, *Al-Hayat*, August 3, 1993, p. 19. See also 'Awwa, "Al-Ta'addudiyyah min Manzur Islami," *Minbar al-Hiwar*, Vol. 6, No. 20, Winter 1991, pp. 132-136. On the Islamic movement in Egypt, see Muhammad A. Khalafallah's article in *Al-Harakah al-Islamiyyah fi al-Watan al-'Arabi*, pp. 37 and *passim*. See also Rislan Sharaf al-Din, "Al-Din wa al-'Ahzab al-Siyasiyyah al-Diniyyah," *Al-Din fi al-Mujtama' al-'Arabi* (Beirut: Center for the Studies of Arab Unity, 1990), p. 180 and *passim*.

to direct and free election, and, political freedom becomes a derivative of religious freedom.²⁶

B. Radical Discourses

Radical Islamic fundamentalism builds its system on radical exclusion of what it perceives as non-Islamic, included is pluralism and democracy. The central discourse that most radical fundamentalist follow is that of Sayyid Qutb--and to a lesser extent of Abu al-'Ala al-Mawdudi. If one studies the thought of Sayyid Qutb, the founder of radicalism in the Arab world, one can understand, and not necessarily approve of, why these groups have become radical and uncompromising. Sayyid Qutb was transformed under 'Abd Al-Nasir's regime from a very liberal writer in Egypt to the most radical fundamentalist thinker in the Arab world. His imprisonment and ferocious torture are reified into a radical political theology of violence and isolation. May be, this was his psychological compensation for the violence of the regime.

Qutb, born to a middle class family, received, like al-Banna, his B.A. from Dar al-'Ulum. Then he worked in teaching and journalism and was associated with Taha Hussein and 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad and other liberal thinkers. Since he started

²⁶ 'Awwa, "Al-Ta'addudiyyah," pp. 133-136 & 152-153 and 'Awwa, *Fi al-Nizam al-Siyasi*, p. 77. For a summary of the historical acceptance of pluralism by the scholars such as Ibn Taymiyyah and authoritative exegesis of the Qur'an such as *Tafsir al-Jilalayn*, see pp. 136-152. On an independent source for the views of the scholars who accepted people's choice as the legitimate means of government, see *Abu Bakr al-Jassas, Dirasa fi Fikratihi: Bab al-Ijtihad*, edited and introduced by Zuhayr Kibi (Beirut: Dar al-Muntakhab, 1993), pp. 29-41; on those who rejected it such as the generality of Shiites, see 75-86. On the relationship between actual politics and the development of religion and *ijtihad*, see Isma'il, *Sociologia*, pp. 139-138.

writing in journals and magazines, he showed a general tendency to be in opposition to the government and critical of the state of affairs in Egypt. He was very daring in his opposition to the government and in his 'radical liberalism' manifesting in writing free love stories and calling for nudity. His earlier writings showed existential, skeptic and liberal bents. Because of his opposition to the government he was first sent away to the countryside; and the two journals he became their editor-in-chief, *al-'Alam al- 'Arabi* and *al-Fikr al-Jadid*, were closed down. Then in 1948 he was sent by the Ministry of Education to the United States of America to continue his studies on education.²⁷

His first book that adopted fundamentalism as a way of life along with a political agenda, *Al-'Adalah al-'Ijtima'iyyah fi al-Islam* (Social Justice in Islam), which appeared while he was still in the United States, was far removed from radicalism and closer to al-Banna's discourse. His stay in the United State, 1948-51, made him review his previous attitude and adoption of Westernization. His dislike of the materialism and racism and the pro-Zionist feelings of the West that he personally experienced in the United States seems to be the beginning of his alienation from the Western culture and the return to the roots of the culture that he was brought into. Upon his return to Egypt, that is after the death of Hasan al-Banna and the First Ordeal of the Brotherhood mentioned-above, he joined the Brotherhood and became very active in its intellectual and publishing activities and wrote numerous books on "Islam as the solution." However, until that

²⁷ Ahmad Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1992), pp. 19-24 and *passim*.

to direct and free election, and, political freedom becomes a derivative of religious freedom.²⁶

B. Radical Discourses

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²⁷ Ahmad Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb* (Beirut: American University of Beirut, 1992), pp. 19-24 and *passim*.

point no radicalism and violence were involved. His priority was to rewrite a modern understanding of Islam and the solutions that Islam provides to the basic political, economic, social and individual problems of Egypt, the Arab world and the Islamic world.²⁸

In 1953 Qutb was appointed editor-in-chief of the weekly *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun* which was banned along with the dissolution of the Brotherhood in 1954 after the fall-out between the Brethren and the Free Officers' regimes. He was put in jail then released. In fact, the Brotherhood in general, and Qutb in particular, were instrumental to the Officers in paving the way for the Revolution of 1952. But the Brotherhood refused to accept the absolute power of the Officers and called for a referendum that would show the kind of constitution that the people want. Furthermore, it supported General Najib against Colonel 'Abd al-Nasir. After major disagreements between the Brotherhood and 'Abd al-Nasir, the Muslim Brethren were accused of cooperating with the communists to overthrow the government. Their Movement was again in 1954 dissolved and many Brethren were jailed, including Qutb. He was released that year and arrested again after the *Manḥshiyyah* incident where an attempt was made on 'Abd al-Nasir's life, and Qutb and others were accused of being from the secret military section. In 1955, Qutb, who was sentenced to 15 years in prison, along with thousands of the Brethren and their supporters were subjected to ferocious torture that left unhealed scars up till today.

²⁸ Ibid., pp. 24-30. See also Sayyid Qutb, *Nahwa Mujtama' Islami* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 5th ed., 1982), pp. 11-12, *Al-Mustaqbal li Hadha al-Din* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 1965), pp. 71-90, *Al-Islam wa Mushkilat al-Hadarah* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 8th ed., 1983), pp. 77-78 & 83-87.

In this context, he moved to radical fundamentalism and exclusiveness. His most important books or the gospels of radicalism, *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an*, *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq*, *Hadha al-Din* and *Al-Mustaqbal li Hadha al-Din* and others, were written because of and despite of the torture that he and others tolerated for year after year. Qutb was released in 1966, then arrested with charges to overthrow the government and was executed that year. Again, isolated from the outside world, under daily tantalizing pressures such as witnessing the slaughtering of tens of the Brethren in a jail hospital, Qutb could not but blame those who were free outside the jail but would not defend the unjustly imprisoned and ferociously tortured; they became for him accomplices in the crimes of the regime and therefore, like the regime, infidels.²⁹

In order to tolerate his pain and poor prison conditions, he reified his discourse into an exclusivist discourse so that it was not the state and society that were excluding him, he, as the leader of the believing vanguard, was excluding the individual, society and the state from true religious salvation: The whole world became a target of his condemnation and isolation. The State's vengeful exclusion and repressive intolerance to any sort of even popular opposition was counterbalanced by his desperate spiritual, moral, social and political exclusion and intolerance. This is a clear contextual and historical example of how the parameters of radical fundamentalism developed. From there on and from his cell, he starts developing his exclusivism.

²⁹ Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 31-39. See Mitchell, *The Society of Muslim Brothers*, pp. 103 & 187-189. Badruil Hasan, *Milestones*, (Karachi: International Islamic Publishers, 1981), pp. 7-13 & 30-31; Asaf Hussain, *Islamic Movements in Egypt, Pakistan, and Iran* (Great Britain: Mansell Publishing limited, 1983), pp. 7-11 & 91

He argues that divine governance or *hakimiyyah*, the essential political component of *tawhid*, must be upheld at all times, when forming a virtuous and just society or providing personal or social freedom and under all conditions-- inside the prison or outside of it. Freedom is perceived in a negative way, the people are free insofar as the choice of social and political systems does not violate divine governance and does not hinder religious life. The state is perceived as the moral agent for creating and maintaining morality, both individually and collectively. Because of the divinity of legislation, individuals, societies and states cannot legitimately develop normative rights and duties whether related to political freedom, pluralism, political parties or even personal and social freedom. Universal divine laws as outlined in the Qur'an must be viewed as the bases for all sorts of freedom and relationships. In other words, all people, Muslims and non-Muslims alike, must link their views of life with the Islamic world-view, and Muslim countries and non-Muslim countries must finally submit to the divine laws without exceptions. State and civil institutions and also individuals may only codify legal articles if needs arise.³⁰

Though this perspective postulates communal precedence over state's control, the legitimacy of both is linked to applying divine prescriptions. Again, though obedience to government is neither limitless nor timeless, because its violation of Qur'anic prescriptions nullifies its legitimacy, people should, according to Qutb, disobey and even revolt. Thus while ultimate sovereignty is

³⁰ Qutb, *Hadha al-Din* (Cairo: Maktabat Wahbah, 4th. ed. n.d.), pp. 32 & 123; and Qutb, *Ma'rakat al-Islam wa al-Ra'simaliyyah* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 4th. ed. 1980), pp. 49 & 60.

reserved to God, its human application is a popular right. This leads Qutb to argue that state authority is not based on any divine text, but must be popularly sought. Only free popular consent makes social, political and intellectual institutions legitimate. Adherence to Islamic law must be applied from a popular viewpoint, not by an official interpretation. For it is the people who represent the divine will.³¹ Qutb's view of jurisprudence as a practical discipline severs it from its past golden and theoretical pedestal and links it to contemporary needs. People are then freed to reconstitute modern Islamic political theories and institutions. His rejection of historical normative compendium of Islamic disciplines leads him to uphold people's freedom to restructure their systems and lives.

While Qutb's discourse may allude to some sort of democratic freedom, it however excludes pluralism, free civil society and multi-party systems in particular, or simply liberal democracy. For the basis of freedom, the command to enjoin the good and forbid evil, must be subjected, according to Qutb, to general communal interests such as unity, and to which political, social or personal interests such as elitism and monopoly, must be subjected. Personal freedom tuned to communal interests and united in broad unitary ideological orientations are the source of social peace. A religiously good society cannot rise on

³¹ On the necessity of the choice of people, see *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 7th. ed., 1980), pp. 50 & 71-77; and Qutb *Al-'Adalah al-Ijtima'iyyah fi al-Islam*, Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 7th. ed. 1980), pp. 73 & 107-108, 206-207; Qutb, *Ma'rakat al-Islam wa al-Ra'simaliyyah*, pp. 67, 85 & 75; Qutb, *Fiqh al-Da'wah* (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risalah, 1970), p. 61.

ideologically and religiously conflictual bases, but requires good will, solidarity, security, peace, and equality.³²

For Qutb, self interest weakens communal solidarity, while mutual responsibility (*takaful*) strengthens it. While this responsibility is civil in nature, Qutb turns it into a political responsibility carried out by the state. While the state's actions are of supplementary nature, they ultimately replace as well as exclude the institutions of civil society. Interest groups are allowed only if their objective are broad such as caring for the poor or the sick. Others such as women liberation movements along Western models are not welcomed or included. Because political Western systems to Qutb are false both practically and theoretically, he excludes them and prohibits group formation along Western models. A good society is then composed of groups of close political orientations.³³ Qutb excludes not only the legitimacy of multi-party systems, but also of one-party system and replaces the two with a religious vanguard whose job is salvational in the first place. While minorities are included religiously, they are excluded politically since they are not given any right to form political parties or even a 'vanguard.' All those societies and parties that do not conform to such an understanding are described as *jahili* or paganist.³⁴ Thus, only an Islamic

³² Qutb, *Al-'Adalah*, pp. 66-68 & 111; and Qutb, *Al-Salam al-'Alami wa al-Islam* (Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 7th. ed., 1983), pp., 102-118.

³³ Qutb, *Fi al-Tarikh, Fikrah wa Minhaj* (Cairo: Dar al-Shuruq, 1974), pp. 23-36 & 76; Qutb, *Al-'Adalah*, pp. 35, 59, 73-80, 86 113 & 119; and, Qutb, *Fi Zilal*, Vol. 2, p. 689. On his view on women and family structure, see Qutb, *Fi Zilal*, Vol. 1, Part 1, p. 235, Part 2, p. 234, Part 4, 587; Qutb, *Al-'Adalah*, pp. 60-65.

³⁴ Qutb, *Hadha al-Din*, pp. 11 & 91; Qutb, *Ma'alim*, pp. 64-67 & 162-163; Qutb, *Al-'Adalah*, pp. 107, 198, Qutb, *Nahwa Mujtama'*, pp. 62, 92-99, 102-120, 123 & 134, and Qutb, *Al-Salam*, pp. 161-165.

ideology may be represented in a political party (the vanguard or *tali'ah*).

Qutb's implementation of this vanguard program ended in his execution by hanging in 1966. Once out of jail in 1964, he started forming a "party" that adhered to the above-mentioned rationalizations and included the following principles.

- 1- All human societies were far removed from Islamic ethics, system and *shari'ah*. Hence, there was a need to re-educate people in the true essence of Islam.

- 2- Those who responded to this education were to undertake a study of the Islamic movements throughout history in order to set a course of action against Zionism and colonialism.

- 3- No organization was to be set up except after this highly ideological training had been applied.³⁵

Most of the radical fundamentalist groups in the Arab world and specifically in Egypt have been influenced both directly and indirectly by this Qutbian radical exclusivist discourse and by his notions of paganism of the 'other' personally; socially and politically as well as culturally and philosophically. For example, Mustafa Shukri, an inmate with Sayyid Qutb, accepted Qutb's views and established the exclusivist *Jama'at al-Muslimin* (the community of the Muslims), notoriously known as *Al-Takfir wa al-Hijra*, as a fulfillment of the Qutbian vanguard. Shukri denies

³⁵ On these issues and his life, see Muhammad T. Barakat, *Sayyid Qutb: Khulasat Hayatih, Minhajuhuh fi al-Harakah wa al-Naqd al-Muwajah ilayh* (Beirut: Dar al-Da'wah, 1977), p. 19; Salah A. Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb, al-Shahid al-Hay* (Amman: Dar al-Firqan, 1983), pp. 147-149; Qutb, "Limadha 'A'damuni?" *Al-Muslimun*, March, No. 4, pp. 6-9; Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, Chapter One.

the legitimacy of pluralism and calls on people to adhere to only the Qur'an and the sunnah.³⁶

Al-Jama'ah al-Islamiyyah al-Jihadiyyah, a branch of *Tanzim al-Jihad* in upper Egypt, headed by 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahman who is now in jail in the United States, is another example. 'Abd al-Rahman looks even at the Muslim Brotherhood as illegitimate and does not accept pluralism and democracy. Also, in line with Qutb's argument, he describes any system that adopts foreign principles as belonging to *kufr* and the *jahiliyyah* and legalizes its overthrow.³⁷

III. Theoretical Assessment

It is important to draw a distinction between a radical view from a moderate one and to see Islamic "fundamentalisms" within the diverse contexts of the countries in the Islamic world. One should not endow the similarity of the fundamentalist terminology with one exclusive interpretation. Two formulas have been outlined: one which is based on conceptual exclusion and the other on inclusion. Because radical fundamentalism perceived its own real and imagined isolation as a result of social

³⁶ On the prison experience see Rif'at al-Sa'id's article in *Qadayah Fikriyyah: al-Islam al-Siyasi: Al-'Isus al-Fikriyyah wa l-'Ahdaf*, p. 15 and *passim*. See also, Moussalli, *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism*, pp. 34-36. On a first hand and sympathetic account of the torture that Shukri, Qutb and others were subjected to as well as the movement itself see, Muhammad Mahfuz *Alladhina Zulimu* (London: Riad al-Rayyis Books Ltd., 1988), pp. 7-141. On Shukri's thought as put forward in his trial, see Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, Second Document in *Al-Nabiy al-Musalah: Al-Rafidun*, pp. 53-57. This book contains the basic documents, testimonies, trials, etc., written or said by radical fundamentalists.

³⁷ Fifth Document, *Al-Rafidun*, pp. 150 & 160-164; and 'Abd al-Khabir, "Qadiyyat al-Ta'aduddiyah," pp. 118-120. See also Sa'id, *Qadayah Fikriyyah*, pp. 30-31. Sixth Document, *Al-Rafidun*, pp. 165, 169 & 173-174. On the organization itself, see Rif'at Sayyid Ahmad, *Al-Nabiy al-Musallah: Al-Tha'irun* (London: Riad al-Rayyis Books Ltd., 1991), pp. 185-186.

disunity and exploitation, the political violence and illegitimacy of regimes, and personal impiety and corruption, it has transformed; mostly under severe conditions of torture and mishandling, its political discourse into purified theology of politics. Without its political contextualization, Islam cannot, from its point of view, socially and politically survive. The establishment of an Islamic state becomes for radicalism the fulfillment of this divine will, and again individuals and groups are consequently subordinated to the state. The formal legitimacy that the state acquires makes it in fact unaccountable to anyone but God. Thus individual religiosity is transformed into communal public will, itself transformed into state control, both moral and political. Parties, associations and other civil institutions have no intrinsic validity.

The absence of a pluralistic civil society and of democratic institutions are cited by the moderate trend as the real cause for violence. While this trend has for long been excluded from political participation, it still calls for its and others' inclusion into politics and formal institutions. Its involvement in civil society and its call for pluralism are still seen as the road to salvation of the community and individuals. Their inclusionary views do not postulate an eternal and divine enmity between Islam and its institutions and systems, and the West and its institutions and systems. Properly grounded, what is Western becomes indeed Islamic. Conflicts between the East and West are then primarily political and economic. Popular liberating democracy, grounded in Islamic law, is a political bridge between the East and the West. The moderate trend adopts an Islamic interpretation of liberal democracy.

It is very important, therefore, that moderate fundamentalist movements are allowed to participate in the political game and not be excluded. Exclusion of the moderate fundamentalists will increase the appeal of radical fundamentalism. Regimes should open up and democratize the political process. As things are turning now, most of the Islamic regimes are excluding the moderates and are preparing the ground for a radical revolution that will turn moderate Islamic fundamentalism into a radical force that might erupt at any time.

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RETHINKING JIHAD

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Islam is a religion of peace and security, but since jihad is defined as war (qital), it has not only obscured the concept of Jihad but has also painted the picture of Islam as an aggressive and militant civilization. Infact this semantic change, namely limiting the meaning of jihad to war, reflects the early history of Islam when series of wars were continuously imposed on Muslim Ummah. Consequently Islamic political system came to be conceived on a war paradigm. The Muslim jurists divided the whole world into Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb. This division also defined the relationship between Muslims and others as a perpetual war. The finances of Islamic state were also related with wars, as their spoils were declared a major source of revenue. The result of all these developments was that Islamic Law not only defined jihad in terms of qital but also made it a basis of International relations (siyar) between nations. Under these circumstances which continued for centuries , it was natural that jihad and war were regarded as synonymous, and other meanings of jihad were generally forgotten.

In the beginning, we find jihad as one of the fundamental and essential Islamic obligations. In its acquired meaning that we have discussed above, this obligation was reduced to be a "Fard Kifayah" a general duty which was

obligatory for each and every Muslim only under special circumstances. Gradually it was reduced to be a duty for professional soldiers only.

In Islamic history only sufis alluded to the original meanings of Jihad, but they also interiorized it to the extent that it became totally separated from "qital".

In recent history, during their struggle for independence from the colonial rule, Muslim revived the original concept of jihad in the meaning of struggle. However, very soon it became again associated with militancy. Muslims had to invoke again the old paradigm of war and Jihad engulfed in the traditional theological doctrine. The colonial powers spoke about universal human values but used violence to subjugate other nations. Muslim communities as well as Muslim rulers were compelled to invoke Jihad to justify their wars against their enemies .

The semantic context of jihad was also extended to war against modernity, scientific progress, innovations and technology as they were considered to be instruments of the western power and dominance. Although generally suspicious of science and technology, Muslim jurists, however, permitted technological innovations with reference to jihad, with the provision that they were useful to defend against the enemy. Science and technology became, therefore, associated with power and accepted or rejected only in terms of war

utility. This principle of justification was extended even to things and matters which were otherwise prohibited. For instance, music and musical instruments were considered prohibited but they were allowed by Muslim jurists if they promoted war objectives.

Modern technology, therefore, was introduced to Muslim communities in form of weapons. Scientific innovations and social practices were examined from the point of view of war. For instance sports were considered indulgence in pleasure (lahw-o-la'b). They were however allowed as a physical training for war. Woman were not allowed to take any profession going out of their homes but they were allowed to take up war duties, such as nursing.¹

This mode of thinking had a serious impact on Muslim attitude towards science and technology, as well as their ethical standards in dealing with other nations. Relations with others, specially with non-Muslims were not determined on the basis of universal moral principles but on the basis of enmity and war.

The Qur'an does not regard war as a basic and independent principle. It is accepted only as an unavoidable necessity. Islam allows war within the framework of jihad, and only under certain conditions and qualifications.

¹ Jamia al-Azhar, Al-Fatawa al-Islamiyya (Cairo, 1983), vol. 10, p.3464

First of all Islam eliminated the elements of wanton violence by subjecting it to jihad and justice. Islam gave the Idea of a controlled and limited war. It provided that war should be limited to only those persons who were taking part in it. General public and common citizens should not be the target of war. Secondly Islam prohibited violence and aggression. The two principles of "limited warfare" and "non-aggression" were prescribed by Islam to reduce the atrocities of war. In fact, these two principles emphasize the Islamic concept of jihad as a principle of peace and security.

The Prophet (peace be upon him) of Islam is presented in the Qur'an (21: 107) as a Prophet of mercy for the universe. The Prophet did not wage war and never took the path of violence in the early 15 years of his mission even though he and his followers were subjected to humiliation and persecution. He migrated to Medina when he found the persecution by Meccans unbearable. Meccans however did not let him live in peace in Medina. Consequently he was allowed to wage war against his enemies.

To those against whom War is made, permission is given (to fight), because They are wronged; and verily, Allah is Most Powerful For their aid:

(They are) those who have been expelled from their homes . In defiance of right,-(for no cause) except that they say, "Our Lord is Allah". Did not

Allah check one set of people by means of another, there would surely have been pulled down monasteries, churches, synagogues, and mosques, in which the name of Allah is commemorated in abundant measure. Allah will Certainly aid those who aid His (cause); for verily Allah is Full of Strength, Exalted in Might, (Able to enforce His Will).(22: 39-40)

These verses for qital, read with the other relevant verses of the Qur'an, make it clear that qital (war) was only one form of jihad . The original obligation of jihad is defined in the following two verses of the Qur'an.

O Prophet! strive hard against The Unbelievers and the Hypocrites, and be firm against them. Their abode is Hell,- An evil refuge indeed. (9: 73)

Therefore listen not to the Unbelievers, but strive against them with the utmost strenuousness, with the (Qur'an)- (25: 52)

The general context of the Qur'anic verses about jihad tells us that jihad makes it clear that meaning of Jihad are much wider than qital. The above quoted verses oblige Muslims to wage jihad against non-Muslims "with it",. The word "it" means the Qur'an. Most of the translators and commentators have stressed on this meaning. In some modern translations one even finds the verses translated as "Fight

against non-Muslims with the Qur'an". Apparently jihad with Qur'an does not mean war but rather an intellectual debate.

Limiting qital within the frame work of jihad the Qur'an makes it very clear that qital is allowed only in defence and not as an aggression. The following verses of the Qur'an support the point we are making:

Fight In the cause of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress limits; for Allah loveth not transgressors.

And slay them wherever ye catch them, and turn them out from where they have turned you out; For Persecution is worse than slaughter; But fight them not at the sacred Mosque unless they (first) fight you there; but if they fight you, slay them. Such is the reward of those who reject faith. But if they cease, Allah is Oft-Forgiving, Most Merciful.

And fight them until there is no more Persecution, and the religion becomes Allah's But if they cease, let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression.

The prohibited month for the prohibited month. And so for all things prohibited, there is the law of equality, If then any one transgresses the prohibition against you, transgress ye likewise against him. But fear

Allah, and know that Allah is with those who restrain themselves.(2: 190-94)

The term "Aggression" or "crossing the limit" used in the Qur'anic verses cited above may be interpreted to mean to waging war only in defence, or to adhere to the prescribed limits defined in the Sunnah of the Prophet. In his instructions to soldiers, the Prophet emphasized on limiting war to only the participants. According to Abdullah ibn Umar the Prophet prohibited killing of women and children.² The hadith literature under the heading of jihad reports prohibition against killing of children, old people, women, farmers and hermits. There are also instructions against felling of trees and destruction of fields during war.

In the Islamic Law text books the jurists have discussed about such enemy population who are not directly involved in war. These rules are discussed under such technical terms as Ghayr Maqatilin (non-Combatant population) Asif (dependents, employees) and - Hiyad (neutral). The Islamic law does not allow killing them even during the war. These doctrines clearly indicate that Islam gives utmost significance to the doctrine of "limited war".

² Bukhari, Sahih (Bayrut, 1987), vol. 3, p.1098.

Another meaning of "aggression" or "crossing the limit" in Islamic literature refers to the atrocities of war. The Prophet prohibited use of fire as punishment. Several traditions in hadith literature affirm that although some forts and citadels were destroyed yet they were never put on fire to burn any person alive. Bukhari records a tradition narrated by Ikramah ibn Abbas in his Sahih. He reports that Ali punished some apostates by burning them alive. When Ibn Abbas heard it he said I would have not done it because the Prophet used to say, " Do not punish people with the punishment of God"³ Commenting on this hadith the Maliki jurist Ibn al-Arabi adds that these injunctions also include punishment by poison. Because poison is a fire that burns a human body from inside.⁴ These traditions raised for Modern Muslim jurist questions about the legal position of poisonous weapon and fire arms.

The third principle that emerges from the Qur'anic teachings is that war must have a purpose . The objective of war is to establish peace. Hence if enemy, even if by trick offers to surrender Muslims are obliged to make peace, even if they were winning.

³ Ibid

⁴ Ibn al- Arabi, Ahkam al-Qur'an (Cairo, 1958), vol. I, p.113.

But if the enemy incline towards peace, do thou (also) incline towards peace, and trust in Allah: for He is the One that heareth and knoweth (All things).

Should they intend to deceive thee, verily Allah sufficeth thee: He it is that hath strengthened thee with His aid and with (the company of) the Believers.(8:61-62)

We have so far discussed a few verses of the Qur'an and Hadith. They sufficiently explain that use of lethal weapons employed in modern warfare cannot be justified according to Islamic principles of jihad.

Although Muslim jurist have generally sanctioned the use of firearms, but one notices reluctance in their permission in view of their destructive nature.

Shihabuddin Mahmud Alusi (d.1853) Mufti of Baghdad has discussed the legal position of fire arms in Islam but his argument reflects an apologetic manner of reasoning.

"You know that these days an arrow cannot compete with a missile against enemy. They are using cannons and rifles which make arrows useless as a weapon. Since there was no equal competition the Muslim sufferings increased, atrocities grew more and more. Consequently the

standard bearers of deviance and infidelity conquered the whole world. In my opinion therefore, and God knows better the truth, Muslim rulers and defenders of the religion were obliged to compare the merits of the old Muslim weapons. Perhaps these merits also apply to the new weapons because they are also useful in protecting Dar al-Islam like old weapons. Since their firing quality is accepted as a necessary evil. It is hoped that their fire will be means for entering into paradise. However, the Qur'anic verses (Al-Anfal, verse 60) does not apply to these Missiles"⁵

The verse of Surah al-Anfal, to which Alusi refers reads as follows:

"Make ready for them all you can of (armed) force and of horses tethered, that thereby you may dismay the enemy of Allah and your enemy, and others beside them whom you know not" (8:60). This verse has generally referred to justify adoption of science and technology in Muslim societies.

Alusi permitted fire arms reluctantly. He allowed them as an inevitable necessity because otherwise other nations would subjugate Muslims. He however, did not count lethal weapons among those which the Qur'an prescribes Muslims to prepare in surah al-Anfal. Most modern Muslim

⁵ Mahmud Alusi, Ruh al-Ma'ani (Cairo, n.d.), vol. 10: p.25

thinkers have allowed modern weapons or even consider them obligatory for the purpose of war.

Rashid Rida (d.1935) criticizes Alusi and finds his apologetic explanation unnecessary. . According to him modern weapons like guns, rifles and fighter planes were analogues to arrows. Quoting Fakhruddin al-Razi he says that every weapon that ensured supremacy over the enemy was lawful. Rashid Rida wondered why Alusi had to seek help of Ijtihad and Tawil to justify the use of fire arms. He surmised that "probably in Alusi's period some people might have considered use of fire arms prohibited because they were synonymous with punishment by fire that Islam forbids. ⁶

Rashid Rida discusses this aspects further. He argues that undoubtedly Islam is a religion of mercy and forbids punishment by fire. But this prohibition does not apply to fire-arms because Qur'an enjoins to retaliate evil by evil (Shura: 40) and to take revenge against aggression (An-Nahl : 106). If enemy uses fire-arms it becomes obligatory for Muslims to confront it with the same weapons.⁷ Rashid Rida explains that enemy does not deserve justice during the war. It is more than justice to take revenge in the same measure against enemy's aggression. Rashid Rida's argument is not at all different

⁶ Rashid Rida, Al-Manar (Cairo, 1368 H), vol 10. p.71

⁷ Ibid

from the jurists in the medieval period. However, the verses that he has cited in this respect do not support his argument. In these verses revenge is allowed only as a necessary evil or as an allowance, but not in principle. In fact these verses require very clearly to follow universal moral principles. The following is the full context of these two verses.

The recompense for an injury is an injury equal thereto(in degree): but if a person forgives and makes reconciliations, his reward is due from Allah: for (Allah) loveth not those who do Wrong. (42:40)

Any one who, after accepting Faith in Allah, utters unbelief, except under compulsion, his heart remaining firm in Faith but such as open their breast to unbelief,- On them is wrath from Allah, And theirs will be A dreadful

Chastisement.(16: 106)

If we contemplate, these verses do not aim per se at permission of revenge but rather to qualify and limit the revenge by certain restrictions. These verses prescribe truce and patience as far as possible. That is why although Alusi referred to these verses, he excluded fire arms from the meanings of these injunctions. Differing with Alusi, Rashid Rida argues that:

"The Injunctions about preparing weapons add the condition that they frighten the enemy, in fact means to prevent war. The verses ask Muslims to prepare for war so that enemy is prevented from war. This is exactly the same doctrine that modern nations call "Armed Peace". Weakness invites the powerful to attack the weak. In fact however, this doctrine and claim by the colonial nations about it are not true. Even though they claim that preparation for war aims at security for universal peace, we are however, afraid that they mean a limited peace which only concerns European nations and aims only to protect them from the impact of war. This objective however failed during the last world war. This war was the most horrifying in human history. It has surpassed all previous facts and figures about destruction and killings""

Although Rashid Rida was responding to Alusi's comments against the permission of fire arms, yet in fact he admits the horrors of war, destruction of the modern arms, and the failure of 'armed peace' or 'cold war'. It has exposed the hollowness of doctrines that say that war could be prevented by collecting lethal weapons.

Wahbah Zuhayli, a well known modern Muslim jurist, has written a book Athar al-Harb fi'l Fiqh al-Islami on Islamic laws of war. He argues that

⁸ Rashid Rida Al-Manar vol. 10, p.72

Islam regards war as an evil in principle. He explains that Islam permits war against injustice and Kufr. He also argues that majority of Maliki, Hanafi and Hanbali jurists maintain that the cause for the permission for qital is not infidelity but it is high-way robbery, aggression and injustice.⁹ According to Wahbah Zuhayli modern wars cannot be justified according to Islamic concept of jihad.

"Comparing the high Ideals of jihad in Islam with modern wars waged by the non-Muslims aiming at destruction of enemy, killings...subjugating others... at plunder protecting their own economic, political and military interests. modern war in every sense of the word, means humiliation, injustice, barbarism, persecution and ruthlessness. The previous two wars have caused entire mankind to suffer. Now preparation for the third world war are already foretelling most horrible impact of future wars. If this war breaks out it will destroy the entire planet of earth in a way that human beings have not even dreamt of."¹⁰

⁹ Wahbah Zuhayli, Athar al-Harb fi'l Fiqh al-Islami (Damascus , 1962), p.69.

¹⁰ Ibid p.112

Commenting on the above remarks, Zuhayli explains further that war today is completely different from the wars in early days. The scope of future wars will be wider and their targets will be numerous human beings. The doctrine of 'total war' practiced to day has rendered all previous rules and regulations about war useless and all human values meaningless. The use of nuclear weapons which is now a part of the doctrine of total war means unprecedented destruction."¹¹

We have only dwelt on the aspect of the horrors of modern war to argue that this war cannot be considered analogous to the wars allowed under jihad by the Qur'an , Sunnah and Fiqh. It is, therefore, essential for Muslims to begin rethinking jihad in the light of the modern developments of the warfare. Islam had initiated the doctrine of limited warfare. It is again the responsibility of Muslims to take into serious consideration the destructive aspect of warfare and armament and suggest solutions within the conceptual framework of jihad. Jihad should be revived as a doctrine of peace and security against prevailing concept of violence and aggression.

¹¹ Ibid

Reappreciating Muslim approaches towards the world as creation of God

Dr. Petrus Bsteh

Oversimplifying the biblical of issue of creation Illuminism has presented a Divinee Creator who would transfer all his authority and power to man as sovereign master and responsible ruler of all things above, in and under him. Reckless liberalism and totalitarian atheist materialism have led to a barely instrumental and industrial exploitation of human and material resources in the world. By the influence of East-Asian Religions and by seeing the result of such conceptions and practices in the ecological destruction of the earth as living space for all beings, human intelligence and responsibility have been challenged to find their place amongst creatures, respecting their proper dignity and worth.

In fact, biblical theology has a far more complex interpretation of divinee creation. The harsh criticism in context with the attempts of modernity to subjugate, as it were, to the arbitrary will and power of man the dignity and entire realm of things, particularly of all living, met actually its own oversimplifying presuppositions. Let us remember that it was the church which tried to defend a geocentric rather than a heliocentric view in the uprise of modern science(ef., the case of Gallilei) which meant in her language nothing else than anthropocentrism with all the world of life and natural beauty preserved vis a vis a world extraposed to cool calculations and purely scientific methodology. To take up the full meaning of biblical thought the doctrine of creation(protology) follows the expectation of a divinee consumation of creation(eschatology) which was proclaimed by prophets as a topic for the conversation of man in his over present situation. This means also, that as the consumation of creation is absolutely reserved to the merciful God as ultimate judge, so also is its origin: no human imagination is allowed for either and this makes the very contents of the absolute prohibition to present God in pictures. His activities as consumator and creator can but expressed by analogies, parables and symbols.

Nature as nature, body inasfar body was never abstract a topic for biblical exploration and investigation. They were far more seen as means to reveal Gods partnership to mankind. They were in turns interpreted as instruments to praise and glorify the wisdom and power of the Almercifull. So it remained throughout the history of the church- the famous hymn of the sun, as king of all creatures sung by St. Francis of Assisi is purely mystical and never yields to romantic naturalism. Faithful tradition kept what vulgarising emancipation had lost.

Islamic faith underlines the beauty and meaningfulness of creation reflecting the wisdom and power of God. Never should human skills or arts dare to present God the creator and consumator of the universe. This is why no presentation of living entites is allowed to come near to places of worship. No decorations, nor ornaments may show living things for fear, they might tempt man to be distracted from adoring the sole living God. With a very

profound naiveness early Muslims started to observe, use and enjoy nature admiring God in his creation under, on and above this earth. They did not hesitate to integrate the achievements of natural sciences, industrial skills and human arts from sources they could find when invading the civilisations and cultures of the countries around. With all the rich results of Hellenistic, Iranian and Indian discoveries and values they also tried to integrate their theoretical presuppositions and methods. So medicine, architecture, mathematics were highly cultivated in early muslim cultures. Admirable technical skills were introduced to irrigate the fields, to develop their cities and to raise their life standards. This also helped to sustain and proliferate their religion. Aristotelism a scientific and metaphysical method found its way in practically all fields. It also gave rise to higher schools in which sacred jurisprudence and coranic texts were studied and taught beside these sciences. The influence of Islamic achievements in practically all major fields did not fail to exercise its vigour on modern Europe. The foundation of universities was occasioned by institutions of Muslim learning and spread all over the occident very fast. The methods of Aristotelsim gained ground likewise in almost all the fields: Not only in theology, but also in natural sciences a method of purely objective observation gained ground. It was not any more analogy and symbolism which occupied the citizens(students!) of the new urban foundations, but the strict law of uncovering the ever next reasons of beings and events. Whereas the bare belief in God of Muslims kept clear from mysticism sciences and their systems, Christians on the contrary used their natural insights with mystical thrive. Albert the Great was such a mystic who is counted as one of the first systematic scientist in the west. From this moment onward the rational scenery of ecclesial faith fell apart and became more and more resistant, if not obstructive, to any integration into symbolism and analogy of faith. Partly the occidental church herself gave reason for ever deeper a gap by defining ecclesial constitutions(canonical law) and visions of things on their own in contrast to the world. We know the deplorable drifting apart of the two entities church and secular state.

Islam kept its own visions and skills rather in context with arts as special gifts of God and not at a service of independent realities. Medicine, mathematics, architecture remained integrated in faith and in the service of religion. Thereby scientific methods as autonomous dynamisms were in danger to be overwhelmed by supervising religious authorities. Meanwhile products as invented and traded by purely western secular states were used to promote the cause of Islamic religion and institutions.

It seems as if there emerged a providential possibility for the two religions to complement to each other to overcome their own crisis with regard to modernity, and to what has been termed as the "clash of civilisations". Christianity gave room to scientific pluralism focusing on proper methodology for the ever next reason to solve a problem or question prescinding from the ultimate for fear of introducing unjustified, incredible and even blasphemous anthropomorphies. This methodological abstention must not be confounded with an atheistic interpretation of a respective discipline; moreover ethical values, religious background and motivaton for disciplinary efficiency, interdisciplinary responsibility and religious accountability must excercise concrete influence in all the proceedings of modern

men. Pluralism will remain the only justifiable realism with regard to the world of today. On the other side the everpresent conscience of Muslims of the divine providence, intervention and order in creation must refrain from thinking, that the interpretation and application of the will and laws of God is of divine infallibility. All human instance particularly the religious ones must be aware of their own defectibility and their frailty: only in fragments and attempts divine wisdom and justice can be applied to concrete situations and matters. This holds for religious pluralism as well as for a professional, social and political one. What is understandable in former circumstances must not equally be valuable for later different spaces and times.

Christians should learn to revere the everpresence of God by abstaining from divinising modernity with its cult of humanism and cursing modernity for its want of overcoming the chaos of morals. They could do so by experiencing Muslim spiritual values and religious attitudes. Muslims should learn the critical discernment in any translation process from divine to human and human to divine: too high is the price of their religious credibility in a free world of plural sciences, system of values and religions competing peacefully, too awful is the danger of misusing the divine revelation for selfish (also religious) purposes. Religions recently have been called 'communities of learning': Christian and Muslim realms meeting could set an example.

The Relationship Between Religions in Albania

Dr.Hysen Cobani

Tirana- Albania

Albania is a small Balkanic country. It has a surface of 28,000 square km and a population of 3.5 million inhabitants within 97% clean. Since 1913, more than 3.5 million other Albanians have remained out of the borders and spread in 4 states: Montenegro, Serbia, Macedonia and Greece. Today they are the only people in Europe who are separated and this is no coincidence.

The Albanian people are one of the oldest in Europe. Due to the geographical position of its territory between East & West, they inherit a great richness in the field of belief. This comes as consequence of the Roman, Slavic and Osman invasions.

The Albanians are one of the first people in Europe who embraced the Christian belief. The cult object of the first and second century after Christ and especially the Codice of Berat written in gold which belong to the fifth and sixth century testify it. Today they are preserved as one of the most valuable inheritances of our national culture. But as consequence historical, economical and psychological factors, today Albania has the religions structure that follows:

70- 75% Moslems (Sunni & Shite)
10- 15% Orthodox
8- 10% Catholic

The Albanians out of the statual borders are 90% Moslems and 8 - 10% Catholic. This structure brings two characteristics which attract attention:

1. It is not similar to that of the neighboring countries who are 100% Christians even though they submitted to the same invasion, the Osman one.
2. How could the Albanians preserve an understanding between religions to be taken as example, by fully avoiding interligions crisis or wars, even small ones, while other European countries are still suffering because of these wars and rivalries between different religions, (Bosnia, Northern Ireland etc.).

Naturally the change in Islam makes it special in all our religion inheritance because it took place only between the Albanias comparing to all the other European countries invaded from the Turkish imperatory, Why this exception?

It is known that the Albanians with their National Heroes-athlete of Christ- as the Vatican of that time overnamed him, fought against the Turks for 25 years

protecting themselves and the European culture from this invasion. It is also known that the Albanians became Moslems not during the flourishing of the Osman imperatory but during its decadence in the 17th / 18th century, while Russia with Peter I became a world leading power and pushed the Slavs of South and the Greeks to instrumentalize the orthodox belief in way to assimilate the Albanians. If they were fighting with weapons against the Turks, against this new danger the only way of safeness was to convert to Islam. If at the beginning of the 17 century there were only 12% Moslem Albanians, at the end of this century they have become 75%. The change to Islam seperated the Albanians from church which was under the Slav and Greek influence, interrupted the marriage with them and stopped the assimilation. They found in Islam a belief near their nature, psychology and their national interest. Islam saved them from the assimilation by becoming a basic element of the Albanian nationalism, function which can only be explained this way, not mentioning other factors that we cannot analysis for absence of time.

If the change to Islam makes the special, the excellent understanding between religions is the amazement, the secret of the Albanian psychology. It has astonished many foreign scholars as Celebia, Bayron, Durham etc. because when an Albanian is asked who he is, he never mentions his belief but always answers that he is an Albanian. The Albanians have learned a lot from Christianity and Islam, but overall, that we are all sons of Abraham and that we should believe in the Holy Books. They consider tolerance as the greater inspiration taken from the Holy Qu'ran. This tolerance is multidimensional not only between Albanians of different beliefs but also with other nationalities. There are many historical facts showing this and here we have some examples:

- a. In the national plan- The speech of the head bishop of Albania Kristofer Kisi on the death of the Chairman of the Albanian Islamic Community Haxhi Hafiz Vehbi Dibra (1933), defining him as one of the greatest man of all times in the history of Albania was considered monumental.

Also fantastic is considered the act of Gjergj Fishta- Catholic priest and great poet, who in the case of the celebrations of Easter and Bajram, tied the church and the mosque with a line of electrical lamps.

It is a popular habit that during religious celebrations, the Albanians make visits of congratulations to each other independent from their religious beliefs. Easter is a holiday for the Moslems and Bayram for the Christians.

- b. In the international plan- During the II World War hundreds of families of Jewish origin were accommodated in Albania but not one of them was denounced to the German nazi's while 28,000 Albanians were killed. During the same war thousands of Italian catholic soldiers were trooped in Albania and as the Germans, their former allies were catching and killing them in a massive way, the Albanians took them to

their houses, hid them and when they went out, they were dressed in national Albanian clothes so as not to be distinguished. They protected and fed them as members of their families till the end of the war.

This extraordinary acknowledgment of our people brought the great Albanian scholars Sami Frasheri to formulate, 100 years ago, the first basic principle of the religion politics for the Albanians, principles which have brought our people to a social interreligions understanding which till now has not been broken by any external factor. They are:

- The nation and then the belief.
- The beliefs should be independent from out.
- The beliefs should be independent from the state.
- No violence for converting from one religion to another.
- No one belief should be proclaimed official.

* ** ** ** *

As it is known, after World War II, a communist regime was installed in Albania. For 47 years the religion was fought in all forms and for 25 years it was prohibited by law, proclaiming Albania by constitution as the only atheist country in the world. But the belief in God never vanished. It was the voices of the ezans and the bells of the churches that advertised the democracy. Today the religions beliefs are free and the Albanians enjoy them.

Regardless of these solid foundations inherited from the past, after the fall of the communism there is a stream of missionaries of all beliefs coming and between them exist groups that try to infect us with the bacillus of religious quarrels through economical corruption etc. as if Albania were a country without traditions. These forces, supported also by native unformed elements are presented with four tendencies:

The first tendency is that of conversion from the Moslem belief to the Christian. There are thousands of Albanian emigrates in Greece who change their names because that is one of conditions to be employed. In this campaign are also included well-known people using the excuse that Europe does not want Moslems.

The second tendency is to fractionate the religious beliefs, especially the Christian one in sects and minisects which bring with them quarrels and misunderstanding of the basic doctrine becoming dangerous social nucleus with potential dissolving energy.

The third tendency and the most dangerous is the sawing of religions intolerance accusing the Moslems of Islamic fundamentalism.

The fourth tendency is to transform Albania in to a ground-for useless discussions by publishing and distributing literature containing accusation against one or another religions belief.

Because of this situation we have proposed the following to the Albanian state:

- To compose as soon as possible a law for the religious beliefs where the principles of Sami Frasheri should serve as a base.
- To introduce in the medial schools - changing their basic characters- as obligatory subject" The history of the religious beliefs in Albania". This should be done in way that the new generations learn it from competent professors and teachers and not from the street and unprepared people.
- It should be given as much space as possible by the radio and television to the introduction of the ideas of the Qu'ran and the Bible.
- The state should subventionate the interreligious organizations of a character maybe unique as "The cultural tribune the Nation and Religion" Where clerics and intellectual of the three Albanian religious beliefs take part and as whose representative I am here today.

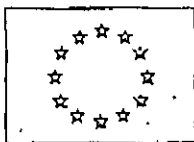
The religious belief should invest for the education of the clerics, in a way to create a staff of honest and cultured preachers in way to give on end forever to the inherited routine, the époque that stinks of peasant mediocrity and that often is source of the contempt of intellectuals towards religious principles.

This is shortly the mosaic of the beliefs and their relationship within our nations. It is old like the songs of the people, like the rising of the sun that with all its cosmic monotony brings something wonderful and unique for the soul of the people everyday, I wish that this understanding between Islam and Christianity in Albania will bring something useful for other people of the Europe and the Islamic World.

Thank You

Prof., Dr. Hysen COBANI

Tirana 1/6/1996



EUROPEAN COMMISSION
FORWARD STUDIES UNIT

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PATHS TOWARDS A DIALOGUE BETWEEN RELIGIONS

Al-al BAYT UNIVERSITY Amman 10-13.6.96.

The author, Mr Marc Luyckx, is a member of the Forward Studies Unit of the European Commission. This memo is based on his own research and he does not speak for the Commission.

1. Intra-cultural dialogue is more important ...and more difficult to solve.

In the summer of 1993 Professor Samuel Huntingtonⁱ published an article entitled "A clash of civilizations", in which he claims: *"The most important conflicts of the future will occur along the cultural fault lines separating civilizations from one another."* His article had the merit of attracting the world's attention to a new problem: the growing importance of culture and religion as factors affecting world politics and security.

Most analysts follow the fashionable trend, which is to surround Islam with a negative image, i.e. "fundamentalism" (or "intégrisme"). This concept, which was originally used as a comparative term, gradually gained wider currency and was assigned specific attributes. Subsequently, it was taken over by certain Islamic thinkers and given a meaning which has thrown up even more barriers against the West (cf. Dr. Prof. Antes, Hanover). From both sides, therefore, there has been a symmetrical reinforcement of the "unfriendly" image.

Other writers, such as James Davison Hunterⁱⁱ, and othersⁱⁱⁱ advance the theory that in the years to come the conflicts within individual religions will be more significant. In the United States conflicts will be not so much between Catholics and Protestants as, for example, between the "liberal-secular" wing (be they Catholics, Protestants, Jews or Muslims) and the advocates of a return to old values and school prayers.

We tend to prefer Hunter's hypothesis. Conflicts will be not so much between different cultures and religions (as suggested by Huntington) as within each culture, i.e. as between different views of the world (cosmologies) and different views of religious and political authority, time, the sacred and the profane, man-woman relations, etc., within each religion.

And so dialogue must be intensified mainly between the interpretations, inside the main religions (intra-cultural dialogue).

2. But the characteristics of the interpretations in conflict are similar in every religion.

What is striking, is that it appears that there is a great similarity between the arguments and the way to see life of Protestant, catholic, Muslim or Jew so called "fundamentalists". They have for example the same approach of women problems, of the divine character of authority, of the State-Church relation, etc... This has been clear at the United Nations

meetings of Cairo and Beijing, on population problems and the status of women. An informal alliance has been forged between certain sectors of the Catholic Church, certain Islamic groups, and some Protestant and even Jewish "fundamentalists". But this is also the case between so called "modern thinkers" in all four religions. There is, for example, a problem-free dialogue between "modern" Islamic theologians and "modern" Christian or Jewish theologians, since they all share the same view of the world. "What is in dispute is not so much religion or culture as the way they are interpreted."

3. We propose the concept of "COSMOLOGY" or "paradigm" as a transversal approach towards religions and religious conflicts.

Our working hypothesis is that religions are like other bodies in society, permeated by change, in the working conditions. When people work mainly in the fields, they have a strong notion of the transcendence of God, source and fundament of all values, for ever. Time and spaces have sacred value. The world is "sacred". Religious authority is the highest one. Truth is not disputable : it comes directly from God. Epistemology is exclusive: "Out of my truth, there is nothing else". I call this cosmology **agrarian**.

But when people work in a factory, the landscape is changing drastically. Time and space are perceived differently : they are "desacralized" and cut in pieces. Authority is given to the "peuple souverain" (French revolution). So the whole society is "desacralised" or "secularised". Modernity has "**disenchanted**" the world. Modern State is secular and there is a separation between secular-public and religious-private. Truth is not disputable. Modernity is a victory against "clericalism and obscurantism" of the Middle Ages. Epistemology is also exclusive. I call this cosmology **modern-industrial**.

But there is a third vision. People who live in the actual information society are not anymore satisfied with the "modern" cosmology, Modernity is in crisis. Women are numerous in this category. They are leading the movement, and do not accept anymore what they call "patriarchal structures", in every culture and religion. People look also for reasons to live, for a deeper sense in their lives than consuming goods. They look, often unconsciously, for a spiritual deepness in their lives.

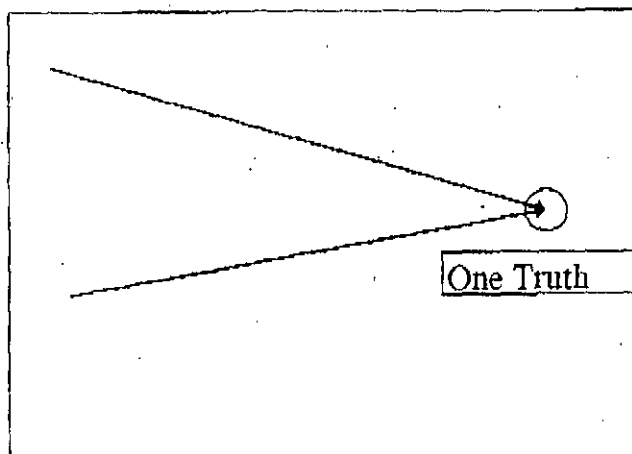
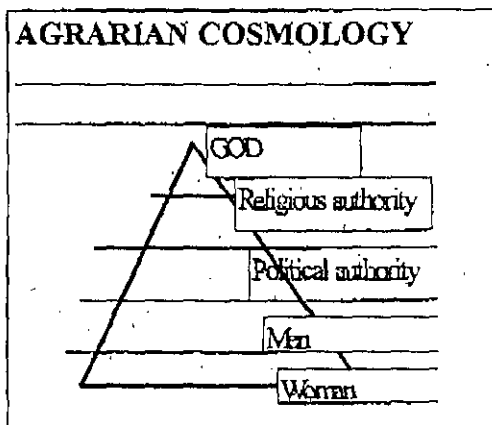
We could go towards a "post-secular" society, and a resacralisation of our civilisations. Or to put it otherwise towards a "**reenchantment of the world**". But "reenchantment is an big challenge and a great danger. Because fascism, nationalism, religious extremism, and crude violence can be false attempts of reenchantment.

4. Description of the three different and equally valid cosmologies

No value judgement can be passed on a cosmology. It is a container, rather than the contents. In order to be as clear as possible let us describe again the three different cosmologies.

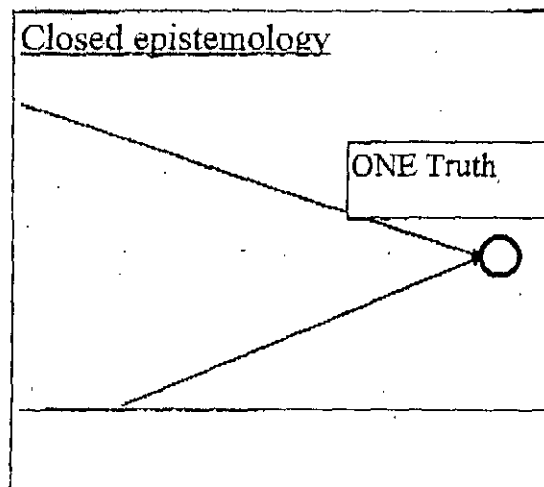
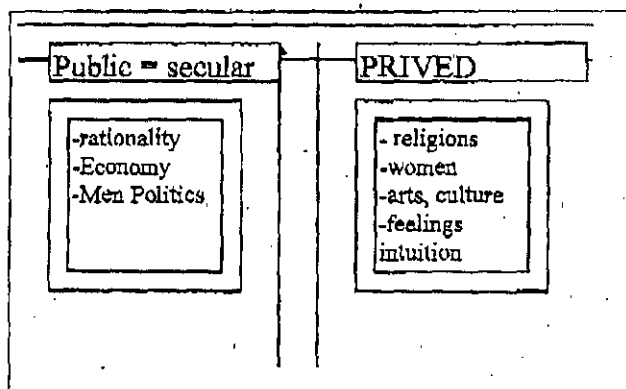
AGRARIAN : is vertical-authoritarian, exclusive . Under God there is a strict hierarchy: religious heads, political authority, men and, lastly, women! But the world is enchanted and everything has its place: the heavens sing to the glory of God. Time, places, events, life and death, a symbolic-religious layer. Life has a meaning, given by the eternal God. "Nihil novi sub sole" (There is nothing new under the sun).

According to this cosmology, there is only one Truth. Other ways of thinking must be subordinated to this one Truth.



INDUSTRIAL -MODERN: with the expansion of scientific knowledge (Newton, Galileo) and the cultural revolution of the Renaissance western civilisation felt the need to rid itself of the oppressive clericalism which was stifling thought (trial of Galileo). The Renaissance used reason to do away with clericalism. It "disenchanted" and secularised the world ("secular" = definable without reference to the existence of a god). It made a salutary distinction between the religious and the profane, which rapidly led to a separation between the serious-rational-masculine-economic-scientific pole and the religion-intuition-aesthetic-feminine pole, which was relegated to the private sphere. Under the industrial cosmology, religions are assigned their place in the private.

INDUSTRIAL MODERN COSMOLOGY



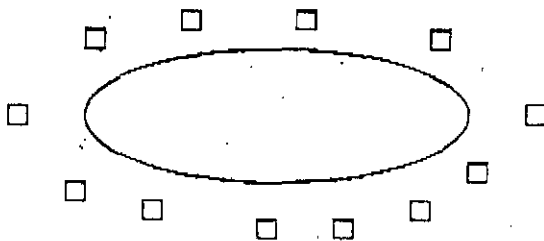
POST-INDUSTRIAL: the working hypothesis (open to debate, of course) is that basic change in the *tools* of production (agricultural, to industrial, and later to information-creativity), transform production *relations*. The White Paper of the European Commission on Growth and employment dec.1994. tells us that because of the changeover from industrial tools to knowledge-related tools we are faced with a major change in society.

In the present crisis, indeed, one of the main developments has been the questioning of the radical separation between religion and politics. Distinctions are still made but there is no longer any opposition between the religious and secular worlds, between ethics and political life or between male and female. Diversity is accepted as a

dynamic state rather than as a transitional phase. Analytical logic, which is linear and "modern", has been called into question by the new complexity and non-linearity and by the possibility of horizontal communication or networking. Although reason is not being discarded, its hegemony (and, in the words of Max Weber, its "disenchanted" function) are on the way out. The quest for meaning is being extended into areas until now reserved for reason. One might therefore be heading towards the "re-enchantment" of the world. The epistemology is actively tolerant. Nobody owns the Truth any more, but it does exist

Post-industrial cosmology : envisages thus a "post-secularised world" in the sense that it is open to the transcendental but opposed to any authoritarian or vertical imposition of religious authority. It acknowledges that it is important for all civilisations to be receptive to that which is alien, whatever form this may take.

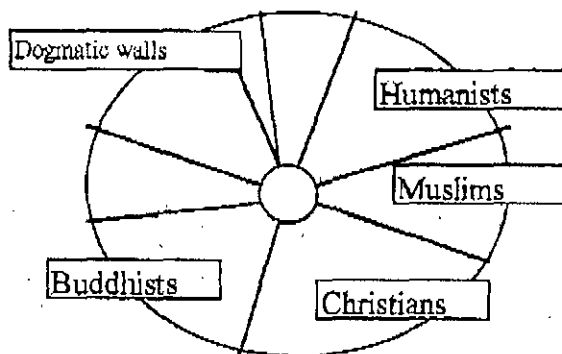
POST INDUSTRIAL COSMOLOGY



- Post -industrial cosmology puts around the same table citizen of the world **WOMEN** and **MEN** to decide about their common future.
- Increasing importance of cultural identities, religions, ethics and spirituality.
- Distinction but Not Separation between Religious and Politics.
- Post-secularised world. Resacralization How?
- Increasing importance of intuition, feelings, art, and Beauty.

Post-industrial epistemology is inclusive: the Truth is at the centre, with each individual converging towards it along his own path and via his own culture.

Nobody owns the Truth. There is active tolerance



- The truth is in the centre **BUT** the Centre is **EMPTY**; Like in the experiences of many mystics in the several religions
- Nobody owns the Truth. No "Gott mit Uns".
- **DOGMATIC** walls become more thin when one goes towards the centre.

5. The worst conflicts are between the two first cosmologies:

5.1. The "moderns" refer to the "agrarians" as "fundamentalists"

The above analysis situates us all in relative terms. Nobody stands in a purely objective or universal context, contrary to certain conceptions of Human Rights. We in the West are also situated in cultural terms. Following the Renaissance and the Enlightenment, we are the ones who invented modernity and built the intellectual and political attitudes which

currently dominate the world and the United Nations. But this view of things is itself cultural. We see the "agrarians" as "fundamentalists" (or "intégristes"), depending on whether our background is Protestant or Catholic. We give them this name because they frighten us and because they are increasingly calling into question our (modern and western) scheme of civilisation.

5.2. The "agrarians" refer to the "moderns" as "decadent atheists"

Until only a few years ago, other cultures had an enormous inferiority complex vis-à-vis the dominant western culture. All was calm and the other cultures were endeavouring to "catch up" with the West.

The "modern" myth of "development", which the Americans invented after the war, was a powerful factor for forty years, but this is no longer the case. The great hopes for development have passed away. Despair now reigns among the silent majority in the Third World, for whom there seems to be no future in modernity. Some of these other cultures are therefore returning to their "agrarian" cultural roots to find a new justification for their existence, since the West can no longer provide them with this. Other intellectuals in other cultures (Asian, Muslim, Africans), are beginning to look closely at what we are unable to see ourselves. What they see is the crisis of modernity now raging in our midst.

From the "agrarian" point of view, modern society has lost its way, its meaning, for it is a society which has been built up without any transcendent authority. Its values have no basis other than reason. This is basically why it is a decadent society. Current events in western society seem to bear out this point of view, since the status of reason is now being redefined. Moreover, world society is being made even more inhuman by the predominance of an excessively rational and materialistic logic.

THUS : As we can see, the positions of the two cosmologies are wide apart and in conflict. The main difficulty resides in organising any dialogue between these two positions, since the epistemologies on both sides are intolerant and exclusive. But the difficulty is worsened because of the invisibility of the conflict.

5.3 Conflicts between cosmologies are invisible: it is like a collision of icebergs

Cosmologies are by nature implicit. As a rule, we do not see the glasses through which we observe reality. The true reasons for intra-cultural conflicts (arising from implicit interpretations of the world) are not therefore openly stated, nor are they consciously explained.

The major difficulty is that neither the "moderns" nor the "agrarians" are aware of the implicit cosmology which underlies their thinking. The fact that conflicts are "underground" simply makes them all the more acute. It is as if two icebergs were colliding without the observer understanding what is happening. It is in fact the submerged parts of the icebergs which collide whilst the parts above water never come into contact.

Moreover, since these cosmologies are not consciously acknowledged, the cause of the conflict cannot be pinpointed and the "agrarian" cosmology of this or that Islamic group is identified with the religion of Islam itself. This is, of course, easier than recognising that the same kind of conflict exists within one's own culture/religion.

6. *Three policy errors.*

6.1. Let us stop telling people to "modernise", otherwise we will provoke religious wars

Politicians are mistaken to tell the agrarian poor, both in the West and in the Third World, to "modernise" instead of saying "let us move together towards a post-industrial society". Without wishing to do so, we are confirming the validity of Huntington's analysis, i.e. the theory that the conflicts of the future will be between cultures or even between religions. We are exacerbating the conflict between the "agrarians" and the "moderns" because, as we have seen, the "agrarians" are increasingly reluctant to undergo modernisation and development, which is interpreted as an attack by the West on Islam or Orthodoxy, for example. We are thus providing all the ingredients for future wars of religion. If we continue to tell the Orthodox, Catholic, Muslim or Jewish "agrarians" that they must "modernise", we will create a conflict, we will receive a negative response because they understand this to mean that they must "secularise", i.e. give up that which constitutes their very essence: the link with their God, the transcendental dimension of life. The only possible response from their point of view is NO. That is why they reject the modern world and turn to what they know, the philosophy of their ancestors.

6.2. Man does not live by bread alone

The second mistake in the Western approach is that it is too materialistic. It is wrong to think that people, even when starving, think of nothing but food. On the contrary, having nothing more to lose (excluded and proletarian), all they have left is their dignity, their cultural identity and their belief in the transcendental. Thus, if our plans for their development and modernisation give them the impression (sometimes rightly) that they must "sell their soul" in order to modernise, we are going to encounter resistance from their leaders, to whom only one path is left open: a return to their "agrarian" values. They are forced into a choice between their soul and modernisation. That is when they return to the church, the temple, the synagogue, the mosque.

6.3. Do not underestimate the importance of women

Those who have most to gain from modernisation are certainly the women: for them, what is at stake is an improvement in their status in relation to men, the enhancement of their rights (e.g. family rights), better relations with the man they love, a place for their children in the society of tomorrow (rather than that of yesterday), relief from domestic drudgery, etc.

But women cannot accept the modern way of life if they must give up their God. The majority will not sell their souls. That would not be a good example for their children. Faced with the choice between modernisation-secularisation (breaking with their background) and a return to the agrarian way of life (stability and symbiosis with their environment), most of them will opt for the latter.

In the dialogue of religions and cultures women can and will play a very important role. A special emphasis must be given to their voices their networks and their theologies.

CONCLUSION :

TOGETHER TOWARDS A NEW POST-SECULARISED SOCIETY ?

Why not speak the truth and tell our partners outside Europe, belonging to the other great cultures of the world: *"We, for our part, are products of a secularised industrial society and we realise that one can no longer discuss political issues without also discussing the questions of meaning, spirituality and cultural identity. We are therefore asking you to join us in a debate concerning the future of our societies. To do so we must set aside our superiority complexes and our "rational" intolerance. We all must also abandon our dream (which is clerical rather than mystic) of imposing our view to the world."*

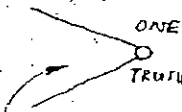
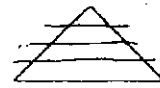
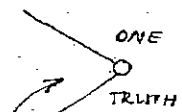

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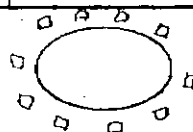
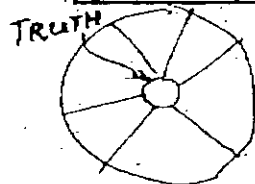
ⁱ Samuel HUNTINGTON : *"A clash of Civilisations ? "* Foreign Affairs, Summer 1993.

ⁱⁱ James Davison HUNTER: *"The culture wars: the struggle to redefine America"*, New York Basic Books, 1991.

ⁱⁱⁱ See for example Richard John NEUHAUS & Michael CROMARTIE *"Piety and politics, Evangelicals and fundamentalists confront the world"*, Washington 1987, Ethics and Politics policy Center, Washington DC. (202) 682.1200.

: RELIGIONS AND CULTURAL CHANGES

PERIOD	WORLD-VIEW	CATHOLICS VATICAN	PROTESTANTS WCC	ORTHODOX CHURCH	ISLAM	ISRAELITES	HUMANISTS
AGRARIAN (PRE-MODERN) 	Unitarian & hierarchical view 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Church dominates society - Natural law - Condemnation of Galileo 		Greek Orthodox church: Reluctance to accept modernity	Golden age of Islam: - Sunnis - Shiites - Condemns atheism & secularization	Halakhah, Talmud, Jews orthodox	
INDUSTRIAL (MODERN) 	Dualist view Rationalism Scientism Marginalization of the spiritual 	VATICAN II (1964): - Reconciliation with modernity and acceptance of the autonomy of science - Galileo rehabilitated 1988	1550: REFORM: - Acceptance of: - modernity - interest-bearing loans - autonomy of modern society - secularization		- European Islamic theologians - Universities in Islamic world.		Aufklärung and Fight against obscurantisms
POST-INDUSTRIAL ("POST-MODERN") RE-ENCHANTMENT	Unitarian, non-hierarchical feminine view, openness to spirituality	- women	WCC: open to change/ re-enchantment - women	- WCC - Father Mar Gregorios - women	Certain criticisms of science and society are post-modern - women	Feminist criticism - women	New Humanist Alliance? - women.



**Relations between the Muslim World and Europe
at Al al-Bayt University, Mafrq, Jordan,
by Professor Dr. Christopher Toll,
Stockholm and Copenhagen**

Your Royal Highness, Mr. President, Ladies and Gentlemen!

Regretting to be unable to attend this conference in person, I am grateful for the opportunity to address you on the important issue of the relations between the Muslim world and Europe. I shall do that, as requested by the organizers, in my personal and in my academic capacity: as president of an international foundation presenting a biennial award for efforts, in the cultural field, to further peace and understanding in conflict areas, and as a scholar interested in Islamic and Arabic culture.

The international Hiroshima Foundation, of which I am the president, presents awards to people, who in a cultural field have made efforts to further peace and understanding in conflict areas.

Among earlier award winners are a Palestinian doctor, who together with Israeli and Palestinian intellectuals has worked for mutual cultural understanding: an Israeli women's peace organization which has worked together with Arab women's organizations for peace in Israel/Palestine, and the late Aziz Nesin and professor Dr. Mohammed Talbi, a Turkish secularized writer and a Tunisian pious and practicing Muslim who have fought for peace, freedom of expression and respect for others and thus have shown that fundamentalism, fanaticism and terrorism are opposed no less in Islamic countries than elsewhere.

Since all efforts towards understanding and respect between people of different cultures are always made by individuals, within organizations or without them, the rewarding of such individuals, encouraging them to continue their efforts and facilitating their work economically, is one way to further mutual cultural and religious understanding. Also the conference in Stockholm last year expressed the wish to fight mutual misconceptions, fanaticism and terrorism.

But although these menaces to mutual understanding and respect are creating headings in the newspapers, I do not think, as a scholar, that they are what separates our cultures, since instances of fanaticism and terrorism can be met with under any culture and are, on the whole, not overwhelmingly numerous. What separates us, in my view, is rather the conception that the western world is on the height of its culture while the Islamic culture had its heydays a long time ago. This conception creates a feeling of superiority in the western world, earlier expressed in colonialism and missionary activities, and today in aid, and a feeling of inferiority in the Muslim world, expressed either in imitating or in rejecting everything European or American.

Let us instead imagine that the western cultural superiority is only apparent, that in reality western culture has also declined, so that culturally Islam and the west are in the same boat and have the same problems to struggle with. This idea could lead to a reduction of the tensions and to an increase of the understanding and the will to cooperate among Europeans and Muslims. This is an alternative to the Huntingtonian prediction of a clash of the two civilizations.

Which were the prerequisites of the rise of Islamic culture?

The Hellenistic culture of the countries surrounding the Arab peninsula has had an immense importance, shown in the influence of the famous schools in Alexandria, Beirut, Antioch and Edessa and the Persian Gondeshapur, in the translations of scholarly work from Greek, Aramaic and Persian into Arabic and in the many Greek, Aramaic and Persian loan-words in the Qur'an and in the pre-Islamic poetry. There was a layer of bilingual people who made administration and scholarly discussions possible. The meeting of the Arabs with Hellenism and the Arabs' obligation to compete culturally with their neighbors was thus one reason for the rise of the Islamic culture.

Another reason was that the Arabs had a language well fitted for cultural and scholarly productions, or which was made to fit by eminent authors and able translators.

But these factors, the Hellenistic culture and the Arabic language, had existed before without any of an Arab culture. What had been added? The religion Islam which put its imprint upon the culture to the extent, that we are used to call it the Islamic culture. The Qur'an encourages curiosity and stresses the importance of the search for knowledge, an importance that it kept in the Muslim community so that the Orientalist Franz Rosenthal is able to speak of a "Knowledge Triumphant" which distinguishes Islam from all other cultures. Another reason for the interest in scholarship was the practical use of sciences such as medicine, astronomy, astrology and alchemy. The usefulness of Nature is taken for granted in the Qur'an and thus, Science became a means to understand and to use Nature.

But the spread of Islam did not only spread Arabic as a language of culture and scholarship and a new mentality on the basis of the Qur'an, with a spirit positive towards innovation. The most important condition of the rise of Islamic culture was the free and common market established by the Arab conquests.

Within a hundred years all frontiers in the Near East and North Africa had been opened for commerce, the high custom wall (12,5%) along the Eastern frontier of the Byzantine empire, with export prohibitions and commerce directed to certain cities, was broken down. The heavy taxes disappeared which had seized the gains in order to finance the wars between Emperor Herakleios and King Khusrov. Now the money remained in the country to support the Arab soldiers and to be reinvested, stimulating the increased productivity, i.e. the building boom caused by the Arab immigration and resulting in the cities Fustat (old Cairo) in Egypt, and Kufa and Basra in Iraq, all three old army camps.

An enormous common market had been created. Not even wars could stop the commerce - safe-conduct was granted the caravans by the fighting armies, e.g. in the war between the Fatimids in Egypt and the Abbasid Caliphs after 969 or in the wars with the Crusaders.

When the frontiers disappeared, old and new goods, old and new technology was spread, and production increased and gave rise to

After a last prosperity under the Buyids (AB. 950-1050) and the Fatimids (969-1171) the Near East came under the Seljuks who introduced taxes and customs. The deterioration of the coins shows that economic conditions had worsened. Despotism confiscated the riches. The introduction of guilds from the 12th century limited free enterprise. The prosperity in Egypt was destroyed in the 15th century by state monopoly, taxes and customs. As Ibn Khaldun had said in the 14th century: when taxes become high and the expected profit is not forthcoming, the mainspring of cultural activity disappears. Another economical factor causing the decline of culture was that riches were tied up in pious foundations, i.e. to protect the heritage of the merchants from confiscation.

An often mentioned cause of decline is the dogmatic influence of religion, badly understood, and the cult of authority within the different sciences which stifled new thinking. This explanation can be combined with an economic one: originality and creativity flourish in a free society, where they are supported by independent people whose income and wealth are the result of creative work. In a society with an extended bureaucracy, as already in the Byzantine Empire, where most people are dependent on the state, private initiative, originality and creativity are stifled. Thus the Byzantine Empire had fallen, and thus also Islamic culture became rigid, adhering to what had once been obtained without power to add anything - with the exception of a few brilliant cultural figures during the following centuries. But they were neglected by their contemporaries and had no followers. Was that so, because they were isolated, because they lacked an opposite party, a patron who could have committed himself to their work, paid for its diffusion and helped to make it famous?

Thus the Islamic culture was born: the meeting with Greeks, Aramaeans, Persians and Indians, with Christianity and Judaism, contributed the matter, which was present already before Islam. Islam contributed the mentality, encouraging creativity and commerce. The Arabic language provided a common cultural language, replacing Greek, Syria and Persian. And a common market and rich patrons provided the necessary economic conditions.

One condition for culture is, of course, the existence of people with a creative imagination and an obstinate curiosity and an energy strong enough to realize what they have visualized and to search for answers to the questions they have put to themselves. But these people do not create in a vacuum: their creativity has to be supported by people who are interested in what the artists, the authors and the scholars bring about, and who are able to pay for the results. The creators of culture have to live someone has to pay them.

But what is needed is not only rich buyers of culture needed are also cultured buyers, who know what they want to have and are competent to judge the value of what the artists produce, to demand something from them, and to stimulate and to encourage them. Nobody is incited to do his best if he is forced to cast his pearls before swine, and criticism has no value if the critic is not competent. The best encouragement for the creator of culture is that a critical patron is willing to pay for the created work in order to live with it.

This is also shown in the cultural history of Europe. Italian and Flemish art was created by artists, but a condition of its creation was that the works were ordered and paid for by rich and cultivated merchants, merchant princes and aristocrats, who knew what they wanted and saw to it that got it, and thus supported, criticized, stimulated and encouraged the artists. The factors behind the fall of the Islamic culture could be summarized thus: the meeting with the Europeans gave no new substance: the mentality was changed towards dogmatism: the disintegration of the caliphate, the introduction of taxes and customs and of guilds and pious foundations prevented riches from coming and remaining in the hands of individuals.

Arabs and other Muslim peoples, while looking back on their rich culture, are painfully aware that it is past, and Orientals and Occidentals alike have the feeling that the western world for a long time has, culturally, been superior. But maybe there is a cultural decline in the Western world too, so that the peoples of the Near East and the peoples of Europe actually are in the same boat, although in the west one is not as aware of the fact. In science and technology the west may still be superior, but it is a superiority

which will soon be caught up with. And science and technology are only part of a culture.

Maybe there is in the west too a certain dogmatism: science ought to be useful, universities are places of education rather than of learning, art ought to serve a purpose, to express a message, the state, not the individual, is to plan and to pay for the culture.

The disintegration of Europe since World War I, the establishment of frontiers, customs and taxes, have radically changed the conditions for the users of culture also in the west. Nationalist, socialist and national socialist dogmatism and terrorism which have overshadowed anything similar in the Islamic world, have afflicted Europe with great catastrophes - the revolutions in France and Russia, several dictatorships and the second World War and has physically and economically eliminated the repository of culture. There are hardly any of the rich and cultured patrons left, who demanded and paid for a culture they themselves wanted to enjoy. The culture has been put in the hands of uneducated politicians and bureaucrats, who do not have its products in their homes and do not pay for them themselves. The citizens, who in the end have to pay for the culture, are not obliged to like it and cannot influence it, if they ever get in touch with it. This means that there are no demands on the artist - he is without any competent opposite party, who can force him to do his utmost and tell him whether he has succeeded or not. He does not live on satisfying high demands but on public assignment and grants distributed by his colleagues, which contributes to nivellation: the generally accepted is what pays, not originality. People with money but without education and taste and the background of a cultured upper class buy art from recognized, preferably dead artists, who do not need the money, which thus does not contribute to culture.

If western culture is thus in decline, Europe and the Near East have a common interest in bringing both our cultures to flourish again. The conditions are perhaps not too bad: we are living in the middle of an immense meeting of cultures, thanks to the increased migration in the world: the fall of dictatorships and political systems could lead to less dogmatism and more independent thinking and an interest in creativity: the

disappearance of frontiers, the establishment of markets and the revival of liberal views could recreate a private economy, which makes it possible for rich and cultured patrons to inspire and encourage a new cultural creativity in Europe and in the Muslim world.

Civilizational Axioms and the Future of Muslim Civilization

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**Prepared for the Conference on *Relations between the Muslim World and Europe*, Al al-Bayt
University, Mafrq, Jordan, June 10-13, 1996**

This article compares the current situation in the Islamic world with the accumulated rules of civilization-making. Although it has a theoretical attribute, the article is also endowed with an applied content. The understanding of cultural parameters, power and wealth in the present world of Islam, on the one hand, and their comparison with the axioms and laws of civilization making on the other, constitute the foci of this article. In other words, the article has a future-oriented outlook, attempting to take into account a particular time juncture in the future and then reflect upon the kind of sequential and backward planning that is needed to reach a civilization that is Muslim in the future. Hence, the main question of this research is put forth in the following manner:

What actions should be realized and planned for and with which sequence so that in the next on or two centuries, the Muslim civilization can become activated?

This main question entails the following assumptions:

1. The emergence of civilization is dependent upon if-then (or conditional) rules. For instance, suitable geography, wealth, access to resources, responsibility, determination, training and strategy constitute the generalities of civilization-making;
2. Civilizations are generally dependent upon the actions of determined human beings with clear and applied worldview and equipped with the instruments of power of their time;
3. Civilization is shaped by collective work and logic, elite consensus and the emergence of social organization;¹
4. Planning for the establishment of a Muslim civilization is now much more difficult since the potential Muslim civilization confronts an institutionalized Western civilization from within and at the global level.

The hypothesis that this research brings forth is: The Muslim civilization becomes realized when Muslim theoreticians derive a suitable theoretical blending of science and Islamic morality and improve it overtime with repeated modeling.

If we delve into this hypothesis, it implicitly raises a methodological issue in civilizational thought. Sensitivity to methods and methodologies in reaching civilization is very fundamental. Due to the non-scientific way of thinking that has been prevalent among Muslims for centuries, they have never become sensitive and responsive to methods, applications and practical ideas. As such, a rhetorical non-applied culture has become institutionalized among them. Civilization and civilization-making are both products, and a product is the result of application, action, method, and in scientific language, a model. This model is not permanent; models must be modified overtime. Some Muslims, Muslims thinkers and those interested in a Muslim civilization have made a mistake of thinking that a social system and civilization is born and created instantaneously. This is while, throughout the history of civilizations, we witness the gradual intellectual growth, sequential thinking, gradual reform and detailed attention to the particulars of social, economic and political thought.

Basically, the creation of a Muslim civilization is itself a relative and gradual process. Thoughts, perceptions and methods are brought forth by human beings who are themselves not perfect and, naturally, must be put to work in a relative manner. The fact that human beings set to do something is itself a relative matter and relativity is automatically related to time, quality, methods and details. Civilizations cannot be built upon aspirations. Ideas must first be solidified and consensus must be reached around them. Ultimately suitable methods will be gradually built and amended.

The second point in relation to the above hypothesis is that without science, the intellectual and value foundations of Islam cannot be realized. The suitable forging of morality and science is given attention for this reason. Religion offers a worldview and science an instrument: science by itself is not immoral and, under conditions in which religion gives it direction, it can be highly useful. No qualitative activity in any arena can bear fruit unless it is equipped with a scientific foundation. This point is itself one of the rules of civilization-making in the present era. The communist experience was dependent upon science and method but was inflexible in understanding human motivations and value

foundations, and this led to its defeat. Religious thought and action that are based on morality require human models to adapt to human existence and activities and offer necessary responses to his many needs as well as the diversity of human strata. As a result, access to contemporary science, which has become a significant component of discussions on development, is not only necessary but paramount in reaching a social system. Of course, in another discussion, we have distinguished the customary rational foundations of development from practical models of development. Our interest is in the understanding and implementing of the rational foundations of development. Social organization, legal system, depoliticization of the decision-making process, tolerance, ability to enforce hierarchy, economic tranquility, dynamic educational system and so on are considered to be among the rational foundations of development.² The wheel of civilization and international processes have become such that the elimination or neglect of these rational foundations is not possible. In our view, so long as the ideas or collections of preferred thoughts by any nation, including Muslims, are not forged with the aforementioned methodologies and rational foundations, they will not go beyond the rhetorical stage and reach the efficient and civilizational stage. The experience of the recent few centuries in the Muslim world clearly manifest this process.

Civilizational Axioms: An Overview

Every activity is in need of a structure of motivation. Who is the motivator for a Muslim civilization? If the Muslim civilization is expected to emerge in the light of the current situation of Muslims and structure of the international system, who will be responsible for civilization-making? When there is talk of the world of Islam, the "applied" aspect of this expression must be clarified. Considering that 78 percent of the Muslims in the world are illiterate, the responsibility for Muslim civilization-making naturally falls into the hands of Muslim intellectual elite who must have consensus of view and method. Civilizations are built by intellectual elite, theoreticians and instrumental elite who have the capacity to lead. Human beings with lofty goals, life

and energy, methodical and processed thinking, confidence in the future, care and delicacy and strategy, can carry out such a formidable task.

Can we even consider the history of Islam, its beginning and the civilization that was established, without the Prophet's character, status and spiritual and intellectual capabilities? The Prophet and the companions that were trained by him, established new thinking and methods for their own time. Islamic thought solicited determined enforcers. Proposing of various social, political and economic rules in keeping up with the resources and methods of the time are reflective of extensive and deep efforts made to create Muslim civilization. From the manner of invocation and worship to raising children, from methods of redistributing income to the manner of approaching friends and enemies, to mechanisms for protecting internal and external interests are all noted in the Prophet's life. The Prophet did not merely offer rhetorical commands; rather he made efforts through a variety of methods in educational, counseling, supervisory spheres and, in this way, a generation was cultivated and a civilization was maintained for long.³

In all civilizations, the importance of human beings and elite is decisive. In the Amenmeht period in Ancient Egypt (around 2644 BC), an administrative system was built that lasted nearly 500 years.⁴ In the Assyrian state, the most complex elite thinking force was spent on military and offensive power and the army constituted the most vital administrative apparatus in the country. The Assyrians believed that government is the nationalization of potential and existing forces. The basis of art of war for the Assyrian states was in rapid attacks and causing divisions in the enemy line.⁵ In addition, given the tense environment of the Assyrian civilization, the Assyrians were very strong in creating psychological warfare and weakening enemy spirit. As such, they naturally perceived the survival of their civilization in the weakening of rivals.⁶

Concerning the role of Cyrus in Ancient Persia, Will Durant says

"Cyrus-the founder of the Achaemenid dynasty-made the Median and Persian soldiers so organized that they turned into an undefeatable army; dominated Sardis and Babylon; and

ended the rulership of Semite tribes over eastern Asia in such a way so that they could not erect a state and government for thousand years; he annexed all the countries that were previously under the domination of Assyria, Babylon, Lydia and minor Asia and from [this collection he created] the largest political organization prior to the Ancient Roman state and one of the best-administered states among all historical periods.”⁷

Naturally, science in its present meaning did not exist in past eras. However, positivist thinking directed governmental and civilizational processes using instruments of the time. Whenever we return to the past, civilization takes an individual dimension while the closer we get to the modern era, civilizations and strong governments are results of organizations, consensus, universities, research centers, innovation of methods, centers for the formation of thoughts, communication and managerial skills. In my view, among the various theories that explain the Western civilization,⁸ the theory that sees the “effective coalition of industrial investment, financial and intellectual elements” as the basis for the formation of Western civilization is the most valid. In this section, we do not intend to examine the positive and negative aspects of the transformations, rather we want to discover commonalities among civilizations. This strata composed of financial, productive, and intellectual elements, decides to create a global industrial empire and; hence, with the establishment of the textile industry in Britain, strengthens the engine for a particular social order through capital accumulation. This solidified strata acquires its economic thinking from Adam Smith and its political thinking from Hobbes. Its social order flourishes with the aid of ideas from Rousseau and Montesquieu. Contact and interaction, common understanding, collective effort and work, construct the largest materialist civilization in history. Under conditions in which speed and communication are considered to be determining factors in international relations, these serious, concerned and determined individuals set on to reach their objectives and create a framework at the global level. Accordingly, so long as Muslim elite think local, act rhetorical, do not understand the sanctity of method and

do not build models for their thoughts, there will be no civilization. Rhetoric is the beginning of every task but its content must be transformed into institutions and models.

Civilization is the result of collective work. As long as Muslim thinkers and Muslim elite do not find common understandings about their status in the world and the global situation, and do not work through intellect and thought and then method and methodology, a Muslim civilization will not emerge naturally and logically on the basis of long-lasting rules of organization and history. Due to their weak position in the past centuries, Muslims instead of basing their work on accumulation of power and extending their economic, political, cultural and spiritual power, have viewed the power of their rivals in a deterministic and conspiratorial manner and such an approach has psychologically led them away from diligence and imbued in them the disposition to maintain the existing situation. Even under current conditions in all Islamic countries, in which some Muslims are seeking to organize religious governments and implement religious commands, few think about enhancing the power of Muslims in all of its dimensions and creating a social order. As soon as Muslims gain political power, they must think about efficient management and the creation of a society based upon justice which itself is in need of theories, consensus, common understandings, material power and resources for the cultivation of educated human beings and self-operating structures. Access to such a situation is not the work of even average individuals; only capable, judicious and select human beings can take on such important civilizational roles.

The result of this first factor in the elaboration of our hypothesis is that civilization-making requires determined individuals who are interested in power in the positive sense of the word, have patience and tolerance, are equipped with sequential thinking and have global perspectives. Given the ethnic and national multiplicity that exists among Muslims, filling the existing gaps and deriving a common civilizational agenda among them, intellectually and organizationally, is a great challenge. Ultimately, this is dependent upon the horizon and complex personality of Muslim thinkers who are intent on civilization-making.

The second factor in the elaboration of our hypothesis relates to the clarity of civilization-making ideas. If contemporary Muslims are merely faced with the rhetoric of religious thoughts, they would surely feel elated, serene and proud. But if the same Muslims enter the arenas of social order, economic needs and political beliefs, they will be faced with widespread contradictions. Basically, under current conditions, the social order of Muslims does not belong to them, and from Morocco to Kazakhstan, serious contradictions exist between the mind sets and realities of the environment in which they live. The permanent and effective resolution of these contradictions is not an easy task. Fundamentally, the extent to which the existing social order in the world of Islam is in harmony with stable religious and Islamic ideas and principles, must become specified. This harmony has not been given attention either by governments or Islamic thinkers. Muslims have generally taken the path of differentiating between their spiritual and material lives. As such, spiritual life originates in Islam while material life is linked to international factors. For civilization-making, on the other hand, the spiritual and material dimensions must grow and develop within a unified framework and encompass the whole of Muslim lives.

Of course, we should not forget that model-building that combines morality and science requires the most complex applied minds. In the today's world of communication, information and technology, it is a great challenge for a social order to interject ethical restraints in trade, industry, politics, citizenship and social responsibility and train individuals in such a way so that they would not step beyond moral limits. In the present international system, there are no ethical limits in politics, economics and use of science and technology. Indeed, if there were such limits, astounding capital accumulation and profits would not have been produced. If the great volume of Islamic teachings are not turned into a model, they will continue to have their rhetorical character as in the past. Speeches and advice cannot construct models and transform commands into consolidated intellectual and practical systems. The task of educated classes is to engage, with determination and scientific perspective, far from political considerations, in intellectual and behavioral model-building. If statesmanship and strategic planning

in a social system become public, they are exposed to public sentiments and perceptions and ultimately strategies cannot be shaped. Statesmanship is the task of the intellectual few. Common people can participate and relay their perspectives to the decision-making apparatus through a party system, organizations, specialized associations and lobby groups. The model-building of the Muslim civilization must be distanced from public sentiments and governmental excitements. It needs to be shaped and directed through debate, discussion, knowledge, depoliticization, reason, logic, sufficient information, and scientific and inductive method.

Every civilization relies on its own particular intellectual instruments. Our understanding of civilization has three elements:

1. A social order which originates from a particular model and cultural system;
2. A political organization which is based on might, knowledge, and efficiency;
3. Variety and continuation of innovations for the maintenance and extension of the civilization.

In the West, such a civilization was created by the owners of wealth and capital. The wealthy in the West directed the type and content of culture and politics and established a social order in conformity with profit making and capital accumulation. Even cultural liberalism and the growth of innovations and artistic creativity on the one hand, and the seriousness of scientific approach, scientific thinking, scientific method, and expansion of the academic and research centers on the other, have been promoted and planned within the context of a social order, directed and managed by the owners of capital and, on the whole, an organized private sector. In the non-scientific civilizations of the past, the center of gravity was constituted by the aristocrats, landowners, military officers and, to a limited extent, men of letters, poets and artists.⁹ By center of gravity, we mean those responsible for the maintenance and expansion of the civilization. Where does the performance, policies and oscillations of a civilization get registered and by whom? In what kind of an institutional setting, issues are debated and discussed and then where are decisions made about their resolution and suitable methods? Every

civilization is in need of committed individuals. Looking at the worldly aspects of issues in civilization-building and the concrete life of mankind, no element has been more decisive and motivating than proprietorship. Every civilization needs a proprietor; a group that is concerned with the maintenance and expansion of that civilization. In the world of Islam, where is the intellectual instrument of a Muslim civilization and who are the people who guide it? Which people, and with what characteristics, are fit to shape the Muslim civilization? What kind of coalition needs to take shape? Where is the geographical center of this potential civilization? Who designs the intellectual and theoretical foundations of this civilization and with what instruments, methods and principles? And to what extent the Muslim civilization wants to be separate and distinct from the international system and to what extent it desires to dissolve in it?

The clear outcome of this discussion is that civilization-making is in need of theory as well as determined and trained elite. Civilization-making is not the result of accidental factors. One of the stable axioms of civilization-building which is very much related to the present situation of Muslims is the principle of peace and stability.¹⁰ Stability makes growth possible. At present, Muslims live in the most crisis-ridden societies of the world and this automatically undermines the necessary incentive and process for creativity, growth, novelty and innovation. Theoretical poverty and socio-political instability have made most Muslim societies weak and hopeless.

A statistical review reveals the position of Muslim countries internationally. There are approximately 992 million Muslims in the world constituting one-fifth of the global population. Sixty-five percent of this population live in Asia, thirty-five percent in the Arab world and ten percent in Africa. There are 44 Islamic countries, among which Indonesia with 180 million people and Qatar with approximately 310,000 people are the most and least populous respectively. The world of Islam holds 42 percent of global oil reserves, 25 percent of natural gas reserves, 40 percent of oil exports and 70 percent of global phosphate. Out of the 14 strategic points in the world, 7 are located in the Muslim world. These are: Strait of Hormuz, Bosphorus Strait, Bab el

Mandeb, Suez Canal, Dardanelles, Malaga and Gibraltar. But in spite of this wealth they live in poverty. Muslims constitute only two percent of scholars and specialists in the world and since the early 1980s have bought more than 60 percent of the weapons sold to the Third World.¹¹

Basically, theories of international relations consider the qualitative aspects of power to be much more important than its quantitative dimensions. Muslims have no difficulties in relation to quantitative dimensions and are easily able and fit for a civilization. But it is in the qualitative dimension of power that Muslims face theoretical poverty. An international relations' scholar has conceptualized perceived power in the following manner.¹²

$$P_p = (C + E + M) \times (S + W)$$

P_p = Perceived Power

C = Critical Mass = (Population and Territory)

E = Economic Capability

M = Military Capability

S = Strategic Purpose

W = Will to pursue National Strategy

As can be seen in the above formula, the aggregation of qualitative indicators are considered distinct from quantitative indicators. Without giving attention to the depth and importance of qualitative indicators, one cannot attain capability, power, might and civilization through quantitative indicators. The clarity of ideas and strategies, equipped with applied thinking, can give direction and purpose to quantitative indicators. What is extremely weak in the world of Islam, and strategy must move in the direction of strengthening it, is the aggregation of second class of the indicators, that is, will, and conceptual and strategic clarity.¹³

CONCLUSION

The emergence of a Muslim civilization is dependent upon serious changes among Muslims, particularly the elite groups. No civilization or even serious change is accidental; rather common, accumulated and the moral nature of Islamic values, historical axioms must consciously be accepted by a people and its elite so that the emergence of a civilization can be made possible. A Muslim civilization is much more difficult and complex than non-religious civilizations since the forging of principles of morality with science and power is in need of deep and multidimensional formulas and models as well as particular training. All civilizations have been formed through resources, capital and quantitative elements on the one hand and training, education, responsibility, determination and strategy on the other. Given the moral nature of Islamic values, civilization-making is much more difficult in an Islamic sense. The movement of history is the result of the spirit, will and ideas of capable individuals. The Muslim civilization is not an exception in this regard. Far-sighted individuals, consolidated elite, theoreticians and scholars are the ones who will make such a civilization flourish with practical ideas and vision. The current situation in the world of Islam on the one hand, and the global socio-political conditions on the other, are considered to be very strong prohibitive factors facing the Muslim civilization.

One very significant factor that Muslim groups need to settle is their approach toward the West. Are confrontation or integration indeed the only choices? But some Muslims need to first understand toward what end do they want to confront the West? Accusing, rejecting or remaining impartial toward the West not only will be considered an obstacle but will also tend toward losing a golden opportunity for self-reflection, reconstruction and self-generation. Although various theories speak of the gradual decline of the Western civilization in the next half a century, but neither Western decline nor its continuation should create doubts in the Muslim's vision of the future. Therefore, the kind of interaction and understanding must be determined with extreme care and dexterity. It is

about three centuries now that Muslims have been confused by the kind of approach they should adopt toward the West and have not been able to establish a dynamic social order on the basis of their own intellectual principles. Speed and communication are in fact against any kind of potential civilization which is determined to compete with the West. The theoretical confusion of the Muslims benefits the West since the latter does not fear the resources and possibilities of the former but is concerned about their organizational power. If the variety of existing Muslim approaches vis-a-vis the West does not lead to uniformity, it is natural that the intellectual common ground for the Muslim civilization, which can constitute the common denominator for all Muslim thinkers, will not be prepared.

The second prohibitive factor is the internal situation of Muslim countries. Political dependence, economic instability, legitimacy crisis, identity crisis, educational crisis, poverty and deprivation create the context for increased dependence of Muslim societies. Civilization-making means elimination of crises, weaknesses and instabilities, and access to national surplus. As long as Muslim societies are static and the present crisis-ridden governments of the Islamic world are unable to reform, impelling them toward action based on theory, enhancement of power and applied thinking, there will be no hope for overcoming the current crises. It is the responsibility of elites to set upon and realize such a great task with applied thinking and incrementalism.

In our view, the most important indicator of a civilization is the existence of harmony and internal congruency between the thoughts and beliefs of a nation, and their social order. This social order is made possible with increasing power and the resolution of conceptual contradictions. Spirituality and ethics on the one hand and power enhancement on the other, must move hand in hand. All ideas and values must be supported and equipped by power so that they can become concrete. The West has used its power in the direction of its civilizational aims; the Muslim civilization can use power to maintain its might but also to extend spirituality. The centralization of theory and method among Muslim elites and those concerned about a Muslim civilization, reduction of internal crises within Islamic countries and

collective resolution of the intensity of confrontation/understanding with the West, can set the stage for a brighter and more powerful future for the Muslims and initiate the process of backward planning for the emergence of a Muslim civilization.

Footnotes:

1. See Mahmood Sarioighalam, "Elite Consensus and Development," in *Journal of Political Economy* (Farsi), April 1994, Nos. 79-80, pp. 10-23.
2. Mahmood Sarioighalam, "Theory of Internal Integration," *Cultural Letter* (Farsi), Vol. 5, No. 13, Spring 1994, pp. 99-110.
3. Mahammad Tabataba'ii, *Meftah al-Mizan* (Arabic), Vol. 2, Tehran: Amir Kabir Publications, 1983, pp. 270-280.
4. Will Durant, *The Story of Civilization*, Vol. 1, New York: Simon and Shuster, 1991, p. 183.
5. Ibid., pp. 317-318.
6. Ibid., p. 319.
7. Ibid., p. 408.
8. Refer to John Kenneth Galbraith, *The New Industrial State*, (Boston: Mifflin Company, 1970); John Kenneth Galbraith, *Economics and the Public Purpose*, (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1973); David Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969); and Joseph Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*, (New York: Simon and Shuster, 1942).
9. Will Durant, op. cit., pp. 152-4, 193-6 and 275-288 and Will Durant, op. cit., Vol. 2., pp. 542-571 and 583-616.
10. See P. O. Kriseller, *The Classics and Renaissance Thought*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1955.
11. See Gerald Blake, *Political Geography of the Middle East and North Africa*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990 and also aggregated statistics from country surveys in *The Middle East and North Africa*, Europa Publications Limited, London, 1995.
12. Ray Cline, *World Power Assessment: A Calculus of Strategic Drift*, Washington D.C.: Georgetown University, The Center for Strategic and International Studies, 1975, p. 11.
13. In this regard, the following book has been written with a methodological Perspective. Ziauddin Sardar, *The Future of Islamic Civilization*, London: Croom Helm, 1979.

How can mutual tolerance and respect be promoted ? A paper presented at the conference on relations between the Muslim world and Europe at Al. al-Bayt University, Mafraq, Jordan, June 10 - 13, 1996 .

Ingmar Karlsson

Racism, intolerance and a narrow nationalism are currently gaining strength through-out Europe, in reaction to a level of immigration which is insignificant compared with what we are likely to encounter in the future. These problems are already so serious that they can only be solved by joint European endeavors and a consistent European immigration and refugee policy. One essential prerequisite for successful integration is that we build up our knowledge of the diversity of Islam and the varied nature of Muslim immigration. Now that the red peril has disappeared, we are often urged to believe that it has been replaced by a green Muslim threat. There is clearly a risk that this image will be exploited to reinforce a feeling of European unity something which is now at a low ebb in all west European states after the euphoric years of the late 1980's. In view of the fact that there are already more than 15 million immigrants with a Muslim background in the European Union - a number acceding that of the Scandinavian members - and that immigration from the Muslim world is going to continue, we must rid ourselves of this false negative scenario as soon as possible a scenario which is often depicted in terms of uniform, fanatical Muslim masses preparing to storm the bastions of the West's welfare system under green banners of Islam, with scimitars in one hand and the Koran in the other .

A policy designed to facilitate the integration of Muslim immigrant groups must be based on the following prerequisites.

- * There are already large Muslim communities in most west - European states. These communities will not only expand but they will also demand greater political influence as increasing numbers of Muslims become naturalized citizen and become enfranchised in their home countries .
- * Muslims are not as easy to integrate and not as willing to allow themselves to be integrated as previous immigrant groups. An Islamic identity encompasses customs and traditions which deviate from those

which are regarded as normal in the societies in which many Muslims are now living. Demands will be made for special rights and for a special status, in addition to the entitlements enjoyed by the native population. In many cases, these demands will not only be difficult to satisfy, but also impossible and this will lead to tension.

* Undesirable and undemocratic political tendencies in their countries of origin may be channelled into their new home countries by Muslim communities. Both the governments of Muslims states and the various sects and organizations will attempt to exploit the immigrants for their own purposes .

In the light of these factors, what is the best way to integrate Muslim immigrants? Although Jews and Christians are accepted as "people as of the book", Islam has always been a dominant and hegemonistic religion in historical terms. In Europe, Muslims must learn to live as a minority and to accept the fundamental pillars of modern European societies, that is to say pluralism and a secular social system characterized by tolerance of people with a different political or religious viewpoint.

The objective must be integration which is as rapid as possible, taking into account and respecting those who, while respecting our values, wish to maintain their own cultural and religious identity. Taking into account special religious features must not, however, extend to excusing pupils from aspects of their education which do not suit their parents. Just as a full education in one's own religion must be regarded as a private matter, immigrants must also take responsibility for home language training - something which is currently hindering integration. Muslims must themselves become active in working for young people, so as to give a generation which has grown up in Europe a cultural background of their own while, at the same time, integrating them socially into their new environment. The Muslim communities must cooperate with each other and avoid fighting out their theological disputes openly on European territory.

As a result, a "domestic" leadership will have to emerge, thus permitting the elimination of the label attached to Islam as an alien and dangerous cult. This domestic leadership will not only consist of Muslims born in Europe, but perhaps also of native converts. Most Muslims consider that they must comply with law and regulations in their new home countries, but this willingness is undermined in many quarters by external appeals by

organizations which prefer a "pure" Islam, without compromise. As a result, we must not tolerate the establishment of parallel political institutions.

Furthermore, we must not be too easy - going in dealing with religious and political fanatics who utilize their exile in Europe for subversive activities directed against their home countries or for internal disputes. Under no circumstances should tolerance be extended to totalitarian views or ideas, while we should demonstrate sympathy for Islam as a religion and ensure that the prerequisites for the exercise of religion are as favorable as possible, we must also demonstrate firmness as regards compliance with our own laws. At the same time, we must beware of regarding all religious expressions as signs of fundamentalism, or unwillingness to adapt and to become integrated into European societies. A process of Islamization amongst immigrants is only dangerous if it comes into conflict with the norms of a pluralistic society and a democratic state. For many immigrants from Muslim countries, religion and a general sense of piety are one way of counteracting the feeling of rootlessness which they experience. Thus, religion may be a by - product of the break with their own cultural background and not necessarily a protest against the new society in which they are living. Hence, greater religiosity is not the same thing as suspicion and intolerance of a secularized European environment but may, instead, create an inner tranquillity which promotes tolerance and hence integration.

Individuals who devote themselves to preaching a doctrine of hatred directed against Europe and against Christianity, and who abuse our pluralistic societies, must be dealt with firmly and rejected. But at the same time, we must not regard radical Muslim groups as an expression of an overall campaign to attack the Western world from within. There is no such plan and, furthermore, there is no Muslim leadership capable of drawing up such a campaign. Antagonism and enmity between different sects are often stronger than hatred of the Western World. Apparently, only 6 percent of the Arabs in France regularly visit a mosque and only a few of the 60 - 70,000 Muslims in Sweden who practice their religion are fundamentalists. As far as the vast majority are concerned, the cultural and identity - supportive aspects of their religion are most important factors.

Only a liberal and tolerant Islam can be integrated into Europe, and such an integration is only possible if it is paralleled by economic and social

integration. If this is to be achieved, those who are willing to become integrated must feel they are welcome and that they belong here. The feeling of "where do I belong?" is one of the primary breeding grounds for fundamentalists who want to create and exploit a spiritual ghetto under the banner "you have no affinities either here or with your corrupt and morally decadent government in your home country - you have to fight against both of them.

If Muslim immigrants are to be able to feel they belong it is essential that:

- * Islam is recognized and regarded as a domestic religion. There is nothing which intrinsically indicates that a Muslim cannot be as good a Swede as a member of the Pentecostal Brethren or an adherent of the Jewish faith, or that mosques cannot be as natural a feature of Swedish cities as churches have always been in Aleppo, Damascus, Mosul or Cairo.

- * Education in the Islamic faith is not only improved, but is made mandatory in our schools. The demonic factor needs to be eliminated on a mutual basis. Ignorance breeds prejudice and hatred. As a result, the media must also rectify the stereotyped and oversimplified view of Islam which is currently conveyed.

- * Society protects everyone who wants to be integrated into European society, but who is under threat and under pressure not only from local extremists and groups which are hostile to immigrants, but also from Muslim extremist groups.

- * Immigrants are given an opportunity to formulate and articulate their views and wishes.

- * We pursue development, cooperation and foreign policies which are designed to reduce the pressure of immigration and to make immigration more manageable in human and political terms.

If immigrants are integrated in this way, the Islamic community in Europe can become a bridge between Europe and immigrants countries of origin. This would enable a fruitful triangular relationship to develop between the Islamic communities, their native countries and their new home countries, since many people living in the Diaspora want to maintain close contacts with their origins.

On the other hand, if integration fails and immigrants with a Muslim background feel that they are subject to religious tutelage, forced into ghettos and socially marginalized, with continuing high rates of unemployment we will have to reckon with the emergence of underground

fundamentalist Koran schools in our immigrant suburbs, with teachers who urge their pupils to fight with all the means at their disposal against what they regard as an oppressive Swedish society .

Instead of a modern, tolerant "Euroislam" we will see a development of "Ghettoislam", supported by fundamentalist forces in the Islamic world. Radical mullahs throughout Western Europe are currently attempting to exploit the psychological, cultural and material problems of Muslim immigrants for their own purposes, and politicians such as Jean - Marie Le Pen, Franz Schonhuber and Jorg Haider are giving them wind in their sails as a result of the polarization which they have advocated in France, Germany and Austria.

If developments move in this direction, we must reckon that militant the Muslim organizations will also endeavor to pursue their struggle with Western world which they regard as the incarnation of all evil - in Europe.

In this case, a " holy war " can become a reality in Western Europe sooner than we suppose, not in the form of a military struggle between the West and the Islamic world or the clash civilizations that Huntington has in mind but as a kind of permanent guerrilla warfare in the ghetto - suburbs of our major cities .

One of the aims of the conference on relations between European and Islamic culture and on the position of Muslims in Europe that was held in Stockholm a year ago was to initiate a discussion on how we with common efforts can prevent this scenario from happening. No task can be more important and we very grateful to Al al - Bayt University for giving us the opportunity to continue and deepen this discussion.

Islam and Democracy - Bridges Between the Civilizations

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Thinking about Islam and Democracy in a Global Context

The point of departure of this presentation is our world's reality of the simultaneity of structural globalization and cultural fragmentation. This simultaneity is the hallmark of our age, in particular of the present crucial historical period at the turn to the new millenium. By the formula employed, I address the fact that our world is shrinking in terms of interaction and mutual awareness through networking on structural grounds, however without an unfolding of a unity of outlooks concerning systems of government and options for the future of humanity. The corollary of this statement is that different civilizations need to establish bridges between them in the pursuit of world peace. My basic contention is that democracy and human rights are the needed bridges.

Some exponents of political Islam argue that "democracy is an import from the West to the world of Islam" and thus dismiss it as one of the so-called "al-hulul al-mustawrada/ imported solutions". In my view, an open-minded interpretation of Islam and of our holy scripture smoothes the way for embracing democracy by our Islamic civilization. In the following presentation I want to elaborate on this approach, and support it both with arguments and evidence.

To state that democracy has Greek origins sounds like the reminiscence of traditional wisdom. To say that Islam and democracy are at odds and to support this statement in referring to the non-Islamic sources of democratic thought sounds like an anti-Islamic prejudice. Not surprisingly, this statement comes from some pivotal exponents of Political Islam. Students of Islamic heritage and history are, however, familiar with the extremely positive attitudes of Muslim philosophers in the classical age of Islam vis-a-vis the Greek legacy.

Aristotle was named by these philosophers the "Mu'allim al-Awwal/ The First Master", whereas the most significant Muslim philosopher, al-Farabi, was ranked as al-Mu'allim al-Thani, only second to Aristotle. In giving the top ranking in Islamic intellectual history to a non-Muslim Muslim thinkers have proven how open-minded and how flexible Islam originally is.¹

In view of this remarkable Islamic historical background it sounds strange to read the following statement by one of the most preeminent exponents in Political Islam, the late Abu al-A'la al-Maududi. In his book "Islam and Modern Civilization" Maududi expresses his conviction this way:

"I tell you, my fellow Muslims, frankly: Democracy is in contradiction with your belief... Islam, in which you believe, ... is utterly different from this dreadful system ... There can be no reconciliation between Islam and democracy, not even in minor issues, because they contradict one another in all terms. Where this

system (of democracy) exists we consider Islam to be absent. When Islam comes to power there is no place for this system".ⁱⁱ

As a liberal Muslim I place my thoughts in the philosophical tradition of classical Islamic rationalism. Within this framework, I am inclined to ask: Is this contended incompatibility of Islam and democracy correct? I then wonder, why are Islam and democracy described as being at odds to such an extent? Given the intellectual openmindedness of Islam as an assumption on which my point of departure is based, the quoted sharp rebuff of democracy in the name of Islam seems to me very questionable.

It is true, in terms of Iman/ belief there exists only one Islam shared by all Muslims. In Islamic history there were, however, many different approaches to understanding Islam and thus varying schools of thought. What school of thought in contemporary Islam is reflected in the quoted statement by Maududi? Clearly Political Islam. There is, however, an alternative, a true synthesis between Islam and democracy that can be presented on Islamic grounds.

At the very outset of this inquiry it is pivotal to make clear the distinction between the interpretation of Islam as a religious belief and Political Islam. To be sure, Islam is also a basis for a variety of local cultures and for one all encompassing civilization around which these cultures rally in terms of worldviews. Now, the contention adverse to democracy, namely that Islam is a specific system of government opposed to democratic rule, is a quite recent one. For instance, the term Nizam Islami/ Islamic system occurs neither in the Qur'an nor in the Hadith/ tradition of the prophet. It follows that this term provided by Political Islam is not an authentic Islamic concept. It is most important to draw a clear distinction between these two totally different understandings of Islam for further advancing the argument that Islam and democracy are not at odds, as suggested by Maududi.

The Grounds of the Inquiry

The reference to compatibility or incompatibility is in each case related to the employed point of departure from which Islam is viewed. The argument that classical Islam was able to embrace Greek philosophy with very few problems smoothes the way for a favorable debate on Islam and democracy. At first glimpse, we may ask whether or not the question can at all be asked in such a general manner.

To begin with: In the world of Islam there exists a great variety of local cultures united by ethical standards related to similar norms and values, as well as by a corresponding worldview. The Islamic unity in terms of Weltanschauung and diversity in terms of local cultures can be addressed as the Islamic civilization. It is true that there are dividing lines between the world's civilizations. Due to their universalisms, the West and the world of Islam clash in particular; the very simple reason for this is that both claim universality for their worldview and the related concept of order. Given, however, that people who belong to divergent civilizations share the very essence of belonging to one humanity, there must be a common core of ethical values that can

unite this very humanity for the sake of peace in our world. In my view, democracy and human rightsⁱⁱⁱ are the core issues in this international morality.

Our present post-Cold War world is characterized by the rise of ethnic nationalisms and religious fundamentalisms in all regions of the world and its major religions.^{iv} The politicization of all religions regrettably does emphasize the dividing lines within humanity.^v The vision of a world in dignity and peace embraces the universality of democracy for the simple reason that democracies do not wage war against one another. Basically, democracies resolve their conflicts peacefully through negotiations. In the light of this argument world peace among divergent civilizations requires this envisaged ethical convergence, which is not tantamount to an overall sweeping universalism. To question universalism and to honor cultural pluralism is not the same as endorsing cultural relativism. There are limits of pluralism due to the fact that neo-absolutisms and relativism^{vi} do clash and endanger world peace. Reversely, a cross-cultural, i.e. universal consent on democracy provides the grounds for world peace. European relativism and fundamentalis neo-absolutisms must clash, whereas an enlightened interpretation of Islam and European modernity could come to terms.^{vii}

Despite given assertions, postmodern politics result in division. Through emphasizing heterogeneity and incommensurability cultural relativism undermines the needed bridges between competing world civilizations. The notion of a united humanity goes beyond relativism in furthering that a shared international morality essentially requires the universality of a shared ethical core. It is a precondition to world peace between civilizations that human rights and democracy are ethically agreed upon and institutionally upheld by all the participating entities. Viewed in this manner, the clash of civilizations seems to be, as the Belgian expert on democracy in Asia, Michele Schmiegelow, rightly argues, "a clash between fundamentalists of all denominations". In clearly and distinctly distinguishing between Islam as a true belief and fundamentalism as a political ideology, we may then ask: Where is the place of Islam in the envisaged synthesis with democracy? I maintain that an openminded interpretation of Islam could lead to embrace democracy full-heartedly.

Between Asalah/Authenticity and Learning From Other Civilizations

Islam has a rich history of its own achievements, as well as of interaction with and learning from other civilizations.^{viii} The hub of the Islamic civilization is located in West Asia, i.e. the region that Europeans ethnocentrically place as the Near and Middle East in their own geopolitics. Islam is also a basic religion in South and Southeast Asia. The secular state of India has hitherto successfully demonstrated that Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus, as well as others can share the secular citizenship of the same state while living peacefully within its territory. India, however, provides a case for illustrating that fundamentalism is today a threat to that peace. The anti-Islamic driven Hindu-Fundamentalism is the source of the threat being a case in point. India is a model for the

peaceful coexistence of people belonging to diverse civilizations under democracy as the common umbrella. But India is also a model for the "coming anarchy"^{ix} in our crisis-ridden world, as recently heralded by Kaplan. Indonesia is a case of another Asian country where an enlightened and tolerant Islam currently seems to embrace democracy, while providing an institutional guarantee of inter-ethnic and religious peace between the existing five divergent religious communities. Given that Indonesia with a population of 193 million constitutes not only the largest Islamic nation in Asia but in the entire world, the Indonesian model could be particularly significant for other Muslims. In this context the question can be asked whether the favorable conditions for democratization in Indonesia can serve as a model that generates demonstrative effects throughout the Islamic civilization, i.e. also for West Asia being the center of the Islamic civilization. It remains to be hoped that the Indonesian model, despite all of its limitations, can affect the experience with democracy in other parts of the Islamic civilization. In this presentation, however, my focus will be on the Arab world as the cultural center of the world of Islam.

The search for an accepted frame of reference compatible with Islamic views is my point of departure. In view of the fact that democracy is a recent addition to the political concept of Islam we need to inquire into the Islamic awareness of this novelty. Muslims have encountered this to them utterly new concept in the context of globalization and through exposure of their own civilization to cultural modernity.^x

Early Arab Muslim liberals were at pains in embracing democracy and in reconciling it with Islam. The first Muslim Imam leading Muslim students going to Europe, Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi, expressed his deep admiration of the French culture of democracy. He was to witness the July revolution in Paris in 1830 and was impressed to see the representatives of the toppled regime being granted basic human rights after their arrest. For Tahtawi this was an evidence - as he says - "for how civilized the French are and how their state is bound to justice".^{xi} Early Muslim modernists and reformists were critical of Europe due to colonial incursion into the abode of Islam. They nevertheless continued their efforts at a reconciliation of Islam and cultural modernity. In the Islamic liberalism of Muhammad Abduh and others in the early twentieth century, democracy was on the top of the agenda of Muslim thinkers. The reasoning of Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad^{xii} served as path-finding.

To date, enlightened Muslims are able to draw on their own history to find a historical record of learning from other civilizations. Islamic rationalism of the medieval period was in fact a synthesis of Greek legacy and the Islamic civilization (see note 1). One has to bear in mind that this Islamic rationalism was one of the major sources of inspiration for the European renaissance being one of the basic pillars of cultural modernity. It can further be argued that this very modernity is the major source of democracy. Again, the Renaissance is among its initial sources and this very same legacy grew from the interaction between Islam and Europe. As the Berkeley scholar Leslie Lipson puts it:

"Aristotle crept back into Europe by the side door. His return was due to the Arabs, who had become acquainted with Greek thinkers... The main source of Europe's inspiration shifted."^{xiii}

An earlier encounter predates the cultural interaction addressed. In the course of the Hellenization of Islam medieval Muslim philosophers adapted rational Greek philosophy and Islamized it in terms of a synthesis.

It is unfortunate that the Greek legacy transmitted to Europe by Muslim philosophers vanished in the world of Islam itself. Some historians refer to this fact to explain the ensuing decline in Islamic civilization.

In modern times early Muslim liberals were at pains to resume the vanished Islamic enlightenment for coming to terms with democracy and to adopt its norms and values in an Islamic context. As the Oxford Muslim scholar Hamid Enayat puts it, their failure was caused not so much "by conceptual incoherence as by absence of specific social and economic formations". In continuing this line of reasoning, Enayat argues, the major internal obstacles are: "educational backwardness, widespread illiteracy, and the prevalence of servile habits of thinking and blind submission to authority." As he continues, there are, however, external obstacles as well. They are related to "the reluctance of the United States and some West European powers to the realities of the post-colonial era".^{xiv} The late Hamid Enayat emphasizes this while acknowledging that the West, despite all its lip service, has not been favorable to the process of democratization in the world of Islam. Enayat passed away and could not observe the West's behavior in the post Gulf War developments to witness a further evidence to his argument.

There are many Islamic countries with a record of democratization in the early postcolonial period. The rise of one-party authoritarian regimes marked the end of democratization. There were some remarkable signs of electoral democratization in Algeria, Jordan, Egypt, and Morocco.^{xv}

Before I move to discussing more closely the available openings for a substantive synthesis of Islam and democracy in a tradition of enlightenment I want to quote some views by representatives of Political Islam. As shown in my introductory remarks, this stream in Islamic civilization argues against democracy. There, I have cited the late Pakistani Abu al-A'la al-Maududi as arguing Islam and democracy were at odds. Another authority is the late Egyptian Sayyid Qutb. He supports the claim of the quoted contradiction and views the contended conflict on a global scale:

"After the end of democracy to the extent of bankruptcy the West has nothing to give to humanity."^{xvi}

In the pursuit of the legacy left by Maududi and Qutb, Yusuf al-Qaradawi is one of the most influential writers of Political Islam in our time. He invented the already quoted formula "al-Hall al-Islami/ The Islamic Solution" versus "al-Hulul al-Mustawrada/ The Imported Solutions". al-Qaradawi places democracy at the top of the "imported solutions" which he dismisses as a "democratic liberalism". al-Qaradawi tells his readers: "Democracy is a Greek term which means the government of the people"

and then continues that “democratic liberalism came into the life of Muslims through the impact of colonialism. It has been the foremost dangerous result in the colonial legacy”.^{xvii} As the reader notices, al-Qaradawi’s dismissal of the Greek legacy deliberately withholds the positive record of Hellenism in the heritage of classical Islam. My consent to a synthesis of Islam and democracy is based on this very record.

The rejection of democracy by representatives of Political Islam is directed toward the idea of popular sovereignty. Are these really authentic Islamic political views? Is it true that Islam and democracy are “in contradiction in all respects”, as Maududi contends? And last but not least: Why cannot contemporary Muslims emulate with their ancestors at the height of classical Islam in learning from others? Islam and Islamic history teach us that there is no contradiction between authenticity and learning from others in the search of cultural patterns in our age of globalization. Our prophet prescribed: “Utlubu al-’Ilm wa lau fi al-sin/ Seek for knowledge even in China”. The prophet knew best that China did not belong to the abode of Islam.

Toward a Synthesis of Islam and Democracy

On an ethical level there are many theoretical affinities between Islam and democracy. On this level I deem it possible to find commonalities between the Islamic civilization and the other civilizations in the pursuit of the needed international morality. I do share the view of the late Oxford Muslim scholar Hamid Enayat that it is “neither... inordinately difficult nor illegitimate to derive a list of democratic rights and liberties” from Islamic sources “given a fair degree of exegetical talent”.^{xviii} Thus the contention just cited, i.e. that Islam and democracy are at odds, does not hold as a firm argument.

Aside of the reference to the holy scripture there are also historical facts that run counter to the ideology of an “Islamic state”, i.e. to the pattern presented by Political Islam as an alternative to the democratic state. Students of Islam who are familiar with Islam Shari’a law know that there are four Islamic traditions related to the Hanafi, Shafi’i, Hanbali, and Maliki legal schools. In their respective traditions of law-making, these Madhahib never attached the implementation of Shari’a to the state. As Hamid Enayat puts it, in Islamic history the Shari’a “was never implemented as an integral system.”^{xix}

The goal of “rethinking Islam” is an adaptation of religious doctrine to changed historical realities. Rethinking Islam involves, as I argue in one of my books, a cultural accommodation to social change, not simply a conformism in a pragmatic manner.^{xx} With regard to democracy, the repeatedly quoted Islamic scholar Hamid Enayat makes the point:

“What is blatantly missing ... is an adaptation of either the ethical and legal precepts of Islam or the attitudes and institutions of traditional society to democracy. This is obviously a much more complex and challenging task than the mere reformulation of democratic principles in Islamic idioms. It is because of this neglect that the hopes of evolving a coherent theory of democracy appropriate to an Islamic context have remained largely unfulfilled.”^{xxi}

In reiterating my conviction that it is not only possible to avoid a conflict between Islam and democracy, but also to develop a synthesis between both of them, I want to come to a close of this presentation in stating that the need of Muslims for a "coherent theory of democracy appropriate to an Islamic context"^{xxii} is not only restricted to the interest of the Islamic civilization. In our contemporary world, as shrinking to a global village, there is an overall need for an ethical core of political values shared by the entire humanity. Democracy is one of the simultaneity of structural globalization and cultural fragmentation. I believe that a true understanding of Islam would enable us to contribute to this goal in the pursuit of world peace.

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- i See the most recent record of this Islamic heritage: The Political Aspects of Islamic Philosophy. Essay in Honor of Mushin Mahde, ed. by Charles E. Butterworth, Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, Cambridge/ MA 1992.
 - ii Abu al-A'la an-Maududi. al-Islam wa al-madaniyya al-haditha (Islam and Modern Civilization), reprint Cairo, no date, pp. 41-42. On these views of Maududi see also Muhammad Dharif, al-Islam al-siyasi fi al-watan al-arabi (Political Islam in the Arab World), Casablanca 1992, pp. 98-99, and Youssef Choueiri, Islamic Fundamentalism, Boston 1990, pp. 93ff.
 - iii See the following contributions to the Arab debate on this subject: Center for Arab Unity Studies, ed., al-Demogratyya wa hugug al-insan, Beirut 1983, idem ed., Azmat al-demogratyya fi al-watan al-Arabi, Beirut 1984 (see my contribution in the latter volume on pp. 73-87). See my later research on this subject: B. Tibi, Democracy and Democratization in Islam- The Quest for Islamic Enlightenment, in: Universitas, vol. 36 (1994), issue 4, pp. 244-254. French version, Democratie et Democratization en Islam, in: Revue Internationale de Politique Comparee, vol. 2, issue 2 (1995). See also B. Tibi, Islamic Law/ Shari'a, Human Rights, Universal Morality and International Relations, in: Human Rights Quarterly, vol. 16, 2 (May 1994), pp. 277-299.
 - iv See Martin Marty/ Scott Appleby, eds. Fundamentalisms Oboorvod, Chicago University Press, Chicago 1991.
B. Tibi, Krieg der Zivilisationen. Politik und Religion zwischen Vernunft und Fundamentalismus, Hamburg 1995.
 - vi See the proceedings of the Erasmus Ascension Symposium, The Limits of Pluralism, Neo-Absolutisms and Relativism, Praemium Erasmianum Foundation, Amsterdam 1994.
 - vii An example for such an interpretation is Fazlur Rahman, Islam and Modernity, Chicago 1982.
 - viii The authoritative history of Islamic civilization is Marshall Hodgson, The Venture of Islam. Conscience and History in a World Civilization, 3 volumes, Chicago 1974.
 - ix Robert Kaplan, The Coming Anarchy, in: The Atlantic Monthly, February 1994.
 - x See Abdulmajid Sharfi, al-Islam wa al-hadatha, Tunis 1991. I use the notion of cultural modernity in line with Jurgen Habermas, The Philosophical Discourse of Modernity, Cambridge/ Ma 1987.
 - xi R. R. al-Tahtawi, Takhlis al-ibriz ila talkhis Paris (1934), new printing Cairo, no date, see the German translation of Tahtawi's Paris diary, ed. by Karl Stowasser, Ein Muslim entdeckt Europa, Munchen 1989, p. 223.

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- xii 'Abbas Mahmud al-'Aqqad, al-demoqratiyya fi al-Islam (Democracy in Islam), Cairo 1952.
- xiii Leslie Lipson, The Ethical Crises of Civilization, London 1993, p. 63.
- xiv Hamid Enayat, Modern Islamic Political Thought, Austin/ Texas, 1982, p. 138f.
- xv See the surveys in Ellis Goldberg et al., eds., Rules and Rights in the Middle East. Democracy, Law and Society, Seattle and London 1993.
- xvi Sayyid Qutb, Ma'alim fi al-tariq (Sings on the Road), 13th legal printing, Cairo 1989, p. 5.
- xvii Yusuf al-Qaradawi, al-hulul al-mustawradah (The Imported Solutions), new printing, Cairo 1980, p. 50f.
- xviii Enayat (note 14), p. 131.
- xix Ibid., p. 126.
- xx B. Tibi, Islam and the Cultural Accommodation of Social Change, Boulder, Col. 1991 (2nd printing).
- xxi Enayat (note 14), p. 135.
- xxii Ibid., p. 135.

ISLAM AND THE WEST - CONFRONTATION OR COOPERATION?

ASGHAR ALI ENGINEER

Islam means establishment of peace on one hand and, surrender to the will of Allah, on the other. Islam, to begin with, was much more than a religion, a social revolution. It created, among its followers, what we call today social consciousness towards the weaker sections of society and sensitised them towards their sufferings. Islam had great liberative impact on marginalised sections of society. The Holy Prophet of Islam was deeply disturbed by the sufferings of weaker sections of Meccan society. On one hand there were powerful and rich merchants who were busy accumulating wealth through international trade and on the other there was acute suffering among the widows, orphans, slaves and poor.

The holy Qur'an sensitised them towards sufferings of these sections of society and exhorted them to take care of the poor and needy, orphans and widows, indebted and slaves. The Qur'an says:

"Hast thou seen him who belies religion?

That is the one who is rough to the orphan,

And urges not the feeding of the needy. (see 107:1-3)

Again condemning the accumulation of wealth it says:

"Woe to every slanderer, defamer!

Who amasses wealth and counts it,

He thinks that his wealth will make him abide.

Nay, he will certainly be hurled into the crushing disaster;

And what will make thee realize what the crushing disaster is?

It is the fire kindled by Allah,

Which rises over the hearts." (Qur'an; 105: 1-7)

The verses quoted above from Holy Qur'an make it very clear that Islam was a social revolution extremely sensitive towards sufferings of weaker sections of society. The accumulation of wealth without improving the lot of the poor and needy comes for condemnation. For example The Allah says in the verse 9:34, "And those who hoard up gold and silver and spend it not in The Allah's way - announce to them a painful chastisement."

The verse on **zakaat** also emphasises distributive justice. The **zakah** needs to be spent on orphans, widows, needy and poor, indebted and manumitting slaves. It is state treasury **bait al-mal** which will collect and distribute among the weaker sections of society. This was the most

modern concept of welfare state. The world took another fourteen hundred years to evolve this concept. For Muslims this was a religious obligation. Had the Muslim states followed these revolutionary teachings of Holy Qur'an they would have avoided many serious economic problems. It is unfortunate that in many Muslim countries too, in imitating the western concept of maximising production and profits, the Qur'an's teachings have often been neglected. Today the UN agencies have developed the concept of human development as real measure of economic development but the Qur'an had emphasised the idea of human development long ago.

The feminist movement now is emphasising the idea of sexual equality. Again, the Qur'an gave a lead in this field also. The Qur'an's intention was to establish sexual equality on human plane. It clearly declared that *wa lahunna mithlul ladhi 'alayhinna* i.e. women have rights similar to those against them (i.e. obligations) in a just manner (2:228). This is a ringing declaration of the equality of sexes more than fourteen hundred years ago. Until then the society had demanded only the duties from women and had not conceded rights to them. The Qur'an was the first revealed book giving them rights equal to their duties. Women were given specific rights in marriage, divorce, inheritance, property rights and maintenance. Her rights have been clearly defined by the Qur'an. They have not been left vague in any manner.

The Qur'an also clearly propounded its doctrine of equality of men and women in the eyes of Allah in the verse 33:35. It says: "Surely the men who submit and women who submit and the believing men and believing women, and the obeying men and obeying women, and the truthful men and truthful women, and the patient men and patient women, and the humble men and humble women, and the charitable men and charitable women, and the fasting men and fasting women, and the men who guard their chastity and women who guard, and the men who remember Allah and women who remember - Allah has prepared for them forgiveness and a mighty reward." There cannot be clearer statement in favour of equality of men and women than the one contained in the above verse.

Islam, as pointed out earlier, is a religion of peace, not of violence and aggression. There is great deal of misunderstanding in this respect, not only among non-Muslims but among Muslims themselves. Jihad is hardly encouragement of aggression. The Jihad only meant fighting for the protection of the rights of the oppressed. Thus says the Qur'an, "Permission (to fight) is given to those on whom war is made, because they are **oppressed**. And surely Allah is Able to assist

them." (22:39) It is clear that permission to make war is given only to those who have been oppressed and are victims of violence. All the statements in the Qur'an regarding **jihad** are of similar nature. "And fight in the way of Allah", says the Qur'an, "against those who fight you but be not aggressive. Surely Allah loves not aggressors." (2:190) Or in verse 9:36 Allah says, "And fight the polytheists all together as they fight you together."

Also, the Qur'an warns the believers not to kill anyone without any reason. Thus it is said in 6:151 "...and kill not the soul which Allah has made sacred except in the course of justice. This He enjoins upon you that you may understand." Thus one cannot take life except when demanded by justice. The western world has grossly misunderstood the very concept of jihad. It has been projected, unfortunately, as fanatical and aggressive war for spreading Islam. Nothing can be further from truth. Jihad, as pointed out above, was allowed, not for spreading religion but for fighting oppression and injustice. No religion can ever be spread through even coercive means, let alone through the war. "Sword in one hand, and the Qur'an, in the other" is a total distortion of Qur'anic teachings. The west deliberately spread such a stereotype about Islam during the days of crusades to give Islam and Muslims a bad name. However, this has stuck and even today a section of people in the west believes this.

Qur'an never upholds the idea of coercive spread of religion. Its seminal statement in this direction is, "Call to the way of thy Lord with wisdom and goodly exhortation, and argue with them in the best manner..." (16:125). The Qur'an also declares unambiguously, "There is no compulsion in religion" (2:256). Not only this, the Qur'an warns against exercising coercion in matters of religion. It says, "And if thy Lord had pleased, all those who are in the earth would have believed, all of them. Wilt thou then force people till they become believers?" (10:99). Thus it is mere unfounded accusation against Qur'an to say it requires Muslims to spread Islam through coercive means. Not only that the Qur'an prohibits the believers from abusing gods of others. Thus, it warns the believers: "And abuse not those whom they call upon besides Allah, lest, exceeding the limits, they abuse Allah through ignorance. Thus, to every people have We made their deeds fair-seeming; then to their Lord is their return so He will inform them of what they did." (6:109)

The Allah does not even approve of aggressively destroying any place of worship. He has charged the people with the duty to protect all places of worship, whichever community it belongs

to. The Qur'an says, "And if Allah did not repel some people by others, cloisters, and churches, and synagogues and mosques in which Allah's name is much remembered, would have been pulled down. And surely Allah will help him who helps Him." (22:40) The Qur'an respects others way of worship too and requires their places of worship to be protected. It will be an un-Islamic act to destroy others places of worship. The Qur'an also makes it clear that "...whoever submits himself entirely to Allah and he is the doer of good (to others), he has his reward from his Lord, and there is no fear for them nor shall they grieve." (2:112)

Islam, it should be noted, was the first religion in the world that required its followers to respect other religions and live in peace with them. Thus the Qur'an declared that "For you is your religion and for me is my religion" (109:6). Islam accepted pluralism without any reservation and required Muslims to live in peace and harmony with other religions. Thus, it says:

"If Allah had pleased He would have made you a single people, but that He might try you in what He gave you. So vie one with another in virtuous deeds. To Allah you will all return, so He will inform you of that wherein you differed." (5:48)

When religious intolerance was the order of the day Islam laid stress on tolerance, mutual harmony and peace. It specially extended hand of peace towards what it calls *ahl al-kitab* (people of the book) and required Muslims to accept the truth of **Torah** and **Bible** and respect them as revealed scriptures. Unfortunately as the Jews of Madina rejected the hand of friendship extended by the Messenger of Allah, the Christians remained friendly. The Qur'an acknowledged this in verse 5:82 The verse reads as under:

"Thou wilt certainly find the most violent of people in enmity against the believers to be the Jews and the idolators; and thou will find the nearest in friendship to the believers to be those who say, We are Christians. that is because there are priests and monks among them and because they are not proud."

However, this does not mean that the Qur'an denounces the Jews in general. This verse has reference only to those Madinese Jews who, in conjunction with the unbelievers of Mecca, conspired against the Prophet (PBUH) and his followers. Otherwise, the Qur'an respects Judaism as much as the Christianity. Thus, the Qur'an says:

"Surely those who believe, and those who are Jews, and the Christians, and the Sabians, whoever believes in Allah and the Last Day and does good, they have their reward with their

Lord, and there is no fear for them, nor shall they grieve." (2:62)

Thus it will be seen that Islam is very rational, liberal and open religion. Even in matters of race, colour and territory it does not consider anyone superior or inferior unlike white racism in the west. The Qur'an says:

"And of His signs is the creation of the heavens and the earth and the diversity of your tongues and colours. Surely there are signs in this for the learned." (30:22)

According to the Qur'an the diversities of colours and languages are the signs of God to be cherished. Thus be it diversity of religion, tongues, race or colour, Qur'an welcomes it and makes them signs of Allah. This the most modern attitude, in fact the post-modernist attitude. The west had all along been a mono-religious, mono-racial society. It is in the post-modern period that it has realised the importance of pluralism. The Asian societies, on the other hand, had always been pluralistic and derived its strength from this pluralism.

Islam AND WEST

The question then arises why west has taken hostile attitude towards Islam. Here I would also like to point out that it would be wrong to think that entire west has been totally hostile towards Islam. In fact the reality is much more complex. There are several trends in the west. There is certainly a trend of hostility in a section of media as also among policy makers, scholars and government bureaucracy. Unfortunately sometime the media in the Islamic world also oversimplifies the western situation and sees nothing but hostility in the western situation. In the west too, there are scholars, sociologists and political scientists who have great regard for Islam.

Robert N. Bellah, a noted sociologist of religion, observes about Islam:

There is no question but that under Muhammad, Arabian society made a remarkable leap forward in social complexity and political capacity. When the structure that took shape under the Prophet was extended by the early caliphs to provide the organizing principle for a world empire, the result is something that for its time and place is remarkably modern. It is modern in the high degree of commitment, involvement, and participation expected from the rank-and-file members of the community. It is modern in the openness of its leadership positions to ability judged on universalistic grounds and symbolized in the attempt to institutionalise a non-hereditary top leadership. Even in the earliest times certain restraints operated to keep the community from wholly exemplifying

these principles. but it did so closely enough to provide a better model for modern national community building than might be imagined. The effort of modern Muslims to depict the early community as a very type of equalitarian participant nationalism is by no means an unhistorical ideological fabrication. In a way the failure of the early community, the relapse into pre-Islamic principles of social organization, is an added proof of the modernity of the early experiment. *It was too modern to succeed. The necessary social infrastructure did not yet exist to sustain it.*" [Robert N. Bellah, ed. *Beyond Belief* (New York, 1976), pp-150-151] (emphasis added)

Similarly **Emile Dermenghem** observes with remarkable clarity:

...and it is up to the living forces of religious thought to provide an *open* and dynamic mystique. The bases for it exist. Islam, which has contributed to the spiritual life of humanity and has enriched its culture, offers permanent values from which all have profited *Intermediate* nation as the Qur'an says, it has its role to play between east and west. If it has, like all religious and moral codes, its "closed " and "static" aspects in Bergsonian sense, it also has what is needed for an *open* religion. (*Mohammad and the Islamic Tradition*, New York, 1981, pp-87).

Also, Ernest Gellner in his *Muslim Society* (Cambridge, 1981, p-7) says candidly:

By various obvious criteria - universalism, scripturalism, spiritual egalitarianism, the extension of full participation in the sacred community not to one, or some, but to *all*, and the rational systematization of social life - Islam is, of the three great monotheisms, the one closest to modernity.

Thus about west also let us not make simplistic judgement. Different sections of western society have reacted differently to the developments in the Islamic world. It should be noted that the prejudices against Islam in western society is more because of political rivalry rather than religious doctrines. In the medieval ages too, because of crusades - which too were political in nature though apparently fought on religious grounds - and power struggle in Spain, the Christian world became prejudicial to Islam. The Muslims and Christians fought against each other in several countries both of east and west. This generated a strong sense of rivalry between the two communities. The legacy of that prejudicial attitude has been revived in our own times because

of some developments in the Islamic world.

It is very important to understand the political developments in the contemporary Islamic world to properly understand and evaluate the western attitude towards Islam and the Islamic world. Apart from the wars fought between Muslims and Christians in the medieval period the nineteenth century developments are also an important determinant of western attitude towards Islam. The western world colonised the Islamic world when it was passing through the period of steep decline. There was stasis in the Islamic society all around. Thus, it could be easily subjugated by the western countries. The western world, owing to capitalist revolution, had acquired more dynamism and the colonies proved quite profitable and the plunder and loot in Asian and African countries further strengthened the capitalist revolution in Europe.

The Muslims felt quite humiliated but could not measure up to the western political domination. The mutual conflicts and western conspiracies kept them divided and some of them even became collaborators of the west. **Jamal al-Din Afghani**, the great thinker and dynamic leaders also became victim of Turkish palace conspiracies and failed to unite the Islamic world against the Eastern domination. The sense of humiliation on the part of Muslims also added to the bitterness towards west. There were some resistance movements in the early twentieth century which made western colonialists think that Muslims are violent and fanatics. In fifties the Algerian liberation movement from French rule further added to this image. It is a universal law that when the oppressors commit violence, it is thought to be necessary and legitimate. But when the oppressed fight for their legitimate rights they are denounced as bloodthirsty monsters, aggressors and fanatics. Some such thing happened with the Muslim freedom fighters also during the twentieth century. As they also used an Islamic ideology and political idiom, Islam also came to be condemned as violent, aggressive and fanatical. The medieval stereotypes about Islam and Muslims were revived.

The developments in the Islamic world in seventies and eighties are also important in this respect. The Middle East was in turmoil during this period. The west wanted to retain its political and military hegemony over this region as it contained large reservoirs of oil so crucial to western economy and the war machine. Israel was considered its military outpost in this region and therefore was backed to the hilt by the USA. The Shah of Iran also became a guardian of the western interests. He was armed to the teeth by America. The Palestinians were also fighting for

their survival. In late seventies the people of Iran rose against USA. The lead was given by **Ayatullah Khomeini**. The Shah was perceived as an agent of American imperialism. The people of Iran rose to a man under the leadership of the Ayatullah. It was an unprecedented uprising of the people of a country against another country that indirectly sought to dominate it.

Naturally the American interests were deeply hurt as the Shah was playing an important role in safeguarding these interests. And, as the Islamic ideology was invoked, to mobilise the people, American media began to conjure up a picture of militant Islam: an Islam that was again on the rise to subdue the unbelievers. One headline of an American paper when Iranian revolution was taking place was "Soldiers of Allah on the March". Islam again became associated with sword and bloodshed. The term **fundamentalism** began to be used. This term, in fact, was first applied to certain American evangelists who believed the words of the Bible to be literally words of God. Thus it could hardly be applied to Islam as it is fundamental belief of Muslims that Qur'an is the word of God. Not only this fundamentalism was applied in pejorative sense. It suggested fanaticism and terrorism.

The western media portrayal of Islam created a strong impression that Islam is militant and fanatical. This projection of Islam was far from objective. In fact all Muslim countries from Indonesia to Saudi Arabia were not united on any political issue. These countries had different interests and their Islamic response was also shaped by their own political situation. Let alone all Islamic countries, even all Arab countries were not united in their approach. Saudis differed from Iraqis and Iraqis from Syrians. The Gulf war of 1990 also divided the Arab countries into two camps. The Salman Rushdie affair also caused division of opinion. Though all Muslims were united in condemning the novel *Satanic Verses* there was no unanimity among them about the *fatwa* issued against Rushdie. However, the *fatwa* was used by the media to project the bloodthirsty image of Islam. It was not made clear that the *fatwa* had no universal support among the Muslims. The Arab countries were not very enthusiastic about it. They maintained their studied distance from it. Even other Muslim countries like Indonesia, Malaysia, Bangla Desh etc. never issued any statement in its support.

It is also important to understand the real significance of the *fatwa* against Rushdie. It was not so much as killing of a person as confronting the west seen by Khomeini and his supporters as denigrating and supplanting Islam and imposing its own cultural imperialism over it. As pointed

out before, Iran was in revolutionary turmoil and was challenging western political hegemony. It was during this period that the novel was published. It was, naturally, seen by Khomeini as a western conspiracy. The novel moreover, was published when Iran was forced to sign the cease-fire treaty with Iraq. Khomeini was really in favour of continuing the war but was forced to agree to the cease-fire. It was humiliating for him and he felt demoralised. The *fatwa* uplifted his spirit and again gave him a cause to fight for. Thus the Khomeini's response was more political than religious. But the western media projected it as a religious response and saw it yet another proof of Islamic fanaticism. The west backed Rushdie on the grounds of human rights to the hilt. And thus the Muslims were seen as violators and the west as supporters of human rights. This polarised situation created further misunderstandings between the two worlds. The *fatwa*, needless to say only furthered the confrontation. Had the fatwa not been issued, it would not have caused so much misunderstanding about Islam and Muslims.

Sometime ago Prof. Huntington proposed in one of his articles that after the collapse of communism, there will be confrontation between western and Islamic civilizations. Perhaps in Huntington's view Islamic civilization was as different from western civilization as communistic one. Or perhaps, west is always in need of some external ideological enemy. For years since the first world war it was communism that was projected as an external enemy and since it was no more, another ideological enemy had to be invented and Prof. Huntington invented one. Whatever it may be Huntington proposition created a controversy and various western and Muslim scholars expressed differing views.

As pointed out at the outset of the paper, all western scholars or bureaucrats were not unanimous in their views. Different academics and bureaucrats took different views. A section of western media is downright hostile to Islam and Muslims. It depicts Islam as fanatical and war monger, militancy being integral to it. Even if an individual Muslim indulges in violence it is projected as inspired by the tenets of Islam. The film media also stereotypes Islam. Recently a film *The Executive Decision* released by Warner Bros. resorted to such a stereotyping about Islam. Protesting against the depiction of Muslims in the film, Dr. Chandra Muzaffar of Malaysia wrote to Warner Brothers:

It is this type of stereotyping that aggravates relations between the Muslim world and the West. One wonders why other communities which have also produced individual

'terrorists' are not stereotyped in similar manner. Has one ever showed a Serb slitting the throat of a Catholic Croat or a Christian Bosniak with the Bible in one hand and a knife in another? Are Irish Catholics *as a community* depicted as a terrorist group in any Warner film simply because there are Irish freedom fighters who have resorted to violence in pursuit of their cherished goal of independence from Britain? How different are Chechen freedom fighters from Irish freedom fighters? (Just Trust Letter written to Warner Bros. on 21 March, 1996)

Here it will be quite interesting to quote observations of Robert Pelletreau, Assistant Secretary of State for near Eastern Affairs, USA in a symposium organised by Middle East Policy Council held on May 26, 1994. Among other things, Mr. Pelletreau said:

In examining the impact of the resurgence of Islam on these issues, I find that reasoned debate and deliberation is often muddled by confusion over terminology.

The term "Islamic fundamentalism" is frequently, and often imprecisely, used to refer to any number of Middle East phenomena, ranging from the Saudi Arabian government, to Muslims seeking to re-interpret their faith in constructive ways, or to simplify their values or purify their lives or to protest corrupt governments or corrupting western influences, across the spectrum to groups that claim religious motives to justify acts of terrorism and violence. It bears being used with requisite caution.

He further said that: "In the United States public concern has been raised by the World Trade Centre bombing, by attacks against foreigners in Egypt and Algeria, and by the rhetoric and actions of Iran and Libya. In our media, references to Islam and Islamic fundamentalism tend to be found most often in reports on political violence, ethnic strife, or acts of terrorism." He further said, "In this context, the image of Islam in the mind of the average newspaper reader is often one of an undifferentiated movement hostile to the west, and ready to use violence and terrorism to achieve its ends." Mr. Pelletreau also said that ".....we view Islam with great respect. Islam is one of history's civilizing movements that have enriched our own culture. In many areas where Islam has taken root the past 1,400 years, the arts and sciences have flourished. The Islamic community consists of nearly a billion adherents, including several million of our fellow citizens (i.e. the U.S. citizens). Any movement that broad with a history that rich cannot be neatly stereotyped."

Among western scholars too, everyone does not agree with what Prof. Huntington has proposed. There are others like Prof. John Esposito who refute the thesis of Huntington. In his paper **"Islam and the West"** presented in Tokyo, Japan in a symposium held on 14-15 December, 1995, He says:

According to many Western commentators, Islam and the West are on a collision course. Islam is a triple threat: political, demographic and religiousocial. For some, the nature of the Islamic threat is intensified by the linkage of the political and the demographic. Much as observers in the past retreated to polemics and stereotypes of Arabs, Turks or Muslims rather than address the specific causes of conflict and confrontation, today, we are witnessing the perpetuation or creation of a new myth. The impending confrontation between Islam and the West is presented as part of a historical pattern of Muslim belligerency and aggression, a historic clash of civilization. Past images of a Christian West turning back the threat of Muslim armies to overrun the West are conjured up and linked to current realities by governments or groups as diverse as those of Turkey and Bosnian Serbs.

Then Prof. Esposito concludes in his paper with the following observations:

Contemporary Islam is more a challenge than a threat. It challenges the West to know and understand the richness and diversity of Islam and the Muslim experience from North Africa to Southeast Asia. Muslim governments are challenged to distinguish between religious extremists and moderates, to be more responsive to popular demands for political liberalization and greater popular participation, to tolerate rather than repress opposition movements and organizations (including Islamic organizations and parties) and build a strong civil societies. At the same time Western powers are challenged to stand by the democratic values they embody and to recognize authentic populist movements and the right of the people to determine the nature of their governments and leadership whether they choose a secular or a more Islamically oriented path.

There are many other scholars like Esposito in the West who will share this perspective. The Islamic world need not be unnecessarily apprehensive of Huntington's perspective. In fact he should not be taken seriously at all. His understanding of Islam and Islamic society is seriously

flawed. What is, however, important for the Islamic world is to liberalise and democratise and enshrine in their constitution the real essence of Islamic values as set out in beginning of this paper. Islamic scholars, specially the `ulama, will also have to engage themselves seriously to de-medievalise Islam. Islam's concern for human fellowship, justice, peace, equality and pluralism will have to be re-emphasised. After all *`adl*, *ihsan*, *rahmah* and *hikmah* (justice, benevolence, compassion and wisdom) are the key words of the Qur'an. These key words are as abiding as our planet.

THE WEST AND ISLAM : FROM CLASH TO COOPERATION

ABDURRAHMAN WAHID

The relationship between the West and Islam has taken the interest of historians as well as scholars from other disciplines. Not only scholars, the so-called "ordinary observers" also wrote and discussed many books, articles and papers on the subject, a few with impartial and objective treatment of the subject, but too many with bias and quite a large number with outright bigotry. From both sides malices and accusations are heaped upon each other, so the whole atmosphere is now so much poisoned at present. The political situation, in which the Arab-Israeli dispute is dragged into that relationship, brings chaos to the already very strained dialogue between the West and Islam in the past one and a half centuries. Instead of sober evaluations of each side's contributions to promote common interests shared by both, we now see terrorism and mutual strength are levelled against each other. In the middle of that all, individuals and groups dedicated to promote peace by creating understanding between the West and Islam are perplexed, if not feeling dejected and disappointed, sometimes even involved in the prolonged desperation.

Historically the West came to know Islam through military and political confrontation, from the battle of frontiers to the decade-long Crusade in the Middle-Ages. But through long cultural encounters both in Spain, Levantines as well as North Africa, a kind of mutually beneficial cooperation between the West, as represented by Christian communities and Kingdoms, and Islam developed throughout the centuries. Education, culture and the continuous search for a common identity resulted in the past, in such great triumphs such as pluralistic nature of the Middle Eastern societies in which manifestation of the Western civilization are incorporated in the common sharing of life by so many different Christian, Islamic and Jewish sects and denominations. They borrow vocabularies and methods of formulating faiths and believes from each other freely, to the point of developing cultural boundaries which overlap each other. The symbolic historical events of the Hagia Sophia being converted from a church into mosque in Byzantium and the Cordoban Mosque into a church in Andalusia proved conclusively that the nature of the relationship between the two camps is ambivalent: competition and cooperation taking turns almost automatically.

The domination of the Moslem World by Western Colonial powers brought unalterable changes in the life of the Moslems everywhere, From the Nigeria in western coast of Africa to the Philippines Island in Southeast Asia. The world of Islam, as described by Arnold J. Toynbee in his famous lectures in the BBC back in the fifties, found its open back and flank attacked by the naval forces of the west coming to the east, i.e. Southeast and South Asia. The feeling of being stabbed in the back produced

pains and sense of humiliation on the part of the Moslems through out the whole spread of their world. In fact, from this acute feeling of humiliation spring philosophies with negative impacts still felt today in the Moslem World by large groups and segments of the society. All kinds of attributions are applied to the west, from systematic eradication of Islamic culture, to being replaced by a secular and materialistic civilization for the Moslem, to an outright campaign to Christianize them, such as the so-called "Christianization of Indonesia in 50 years" programme attributed to the decision of general assembly of the Indonesian Council of Churches back in 1971 which is, of course, false.

The West responds by heaping all kinds of sarcastic comments and denigrating statement on the Moslems, with attributes of fanaticism, fatalism and inability to accept changes, all pointing out to the fossilization of the Islamic society. Hence the need for the "opening-up" of that society, by bringing in the westernization process. This process, in the form of shaping the Islamic society into a modern one by discarding its traditional way of life and adopting "modern outlook" in the form of fundamentally changing the value orientations, world view and attitude of the Moslem, is now being reacted to by the call to retain the dignity of the Moslem from degradation into secularization of their life through rejection of individualism, hedonism and the personal of individual members of society. This call takes the form of partial or total rejection of western way of life, and varying degrees of "Islamization project". This natural and psychologically understandable phenomenon is often at present ridiculed as Islamic fundamentalism. This generalized labeling makes the proponents of different types to call for the "Islamization of life", of course, as bad Moslems, compared to those who adapt themselves in a prominent way to the western way of life. This attitude certainly makes the current status of the West's relationship with Islam more complex. Seen as a whole, the relationship is being dominated not by the spirit of dialogue, in which the participants listen and try to understand each other's problems in a sympathetic way, but by a series of monologue where the participants do not even listen to each other.

At present, this relationship with each other is at a most critical status. The political independence of Moslem countries conceal the fact that they are dependent almost totally on the west, from dividing the physical boundaries between those various countries to mobilizing the international market place to optimize their profits at the expense of the Moslem World. This imbalance in power, however, cannot stand the emergence of the consciousness for independence, or more aptly, distance, from the West in the social life of the Moslems. There is deliberate attitude of manifesting Islamic teachings in the everyday life of the Moslems growing rapidly within the Islamic society throughout the Moslem World, especially among the youth. They developed austere personal morality, which includes wearing beards for the males and "Moslem dress" for the females by hiding all parts of the body under the clothes except for the face and hands. The fact that this attitude is taken by a generation steeped in western education, including Ph.Ds and Masters in math and engineering as well as "soft disciplines" such as economic and social sciences, brings an eerie feeling of

apprehension about the relationship itself. Should a more permanent form of "misunderstanding" between the two civilizations be seen as something evil and avoidable, or should we believe that this kind of misunderstanding is the first part of a multi-stage process of reaching rapprochement between the West and Islam.

The first view, of course, dictates that the unavoidable confrontation between the West and Islam is rather a historical imperative, such as the concept of "class of civilizations" espoused by Samuel P. Huntington in his controversial article several years ago. This view prescribes confrontation between two civilizations with resulting annihilation of the loser such as what happened to communism in the hands of the West. Being seen as to define itself better than communism, the spectre of a clash between two relatively comparable civilizations, without any guarantee that the West could win it, brings much worry and concern to many people in the West. A militancy of varying degrees is now developing among western nations in Europe and America. Prophecies from Dom Sayers seep into mental attitude of quite a large segment of the western civilization which could develop into outright fear of an ensuing hatred against Islam. This, in turn would certainly hamper a mutually beneficial relationship between the two, in the form of increasing living standards, level of education and the mastering of technology needed to develop Moslem countries into modern states and strong nations. The global unsuitability of the political, military and economic balance currently existing among all nations would certainly be aggravated further by the prevalence of this confrontational view.

The second view, which stresses similarities rather than differences between two civilizations, sees the importance of the sharing of the religious background of both sides. The West originated in the two monotheistic traditions of Christianity and Judaism sharing the background of Abrahamic tradition, enabling the three great religions to learn from each other's experiences, both the bitter and the sweeter one, and finding support from each other's faiths and beliefs. The dignity of life for human beings, as a part of Abrahamic teachings of their choice between evil and goodness, enable Moslems, Christians and Jews to regard each other with mutual respect and understanding. The need to adjust the teaching of their respective religions to the ever-changing realities of life, which dictates them all to always redefine from time to time which values to keep and which to be modified by those very changes. Methods and frameworks to deal with these needs should be tested and then implemented, to get the right balance between the need to maintain sacred and the pragmatic need to adjust to reality. The right balance is always respected as the imperative of Islamic Law (Shari'ah) in developing decisions concerning the Religious Law (fiqh) of any events or cases, as evident in the categories of adjustment established by various schools of law in Islam, such as Al-Istihsan in the Hanafite Law School and the Al-Masalih and Al-Masadah among the Safi'te juryconsults (fuqoha) clearly indicates preference methodology for mutual adjustments between the sanctity of Islamic Law itself and the realities of life, which is called the method of Al-Istiqrar. These 12 centuries-long traditions of effort to find similarities instead of differences between sacral imperative

and reality in everyday life shows a certain degree of propensity for accommodation rather than confrontation.

The task of building frameworks for accommodation is not an easy one. It has its own risks and dangers, which could destroy the very essence of Islam, for example rejection of the spirituality lying behind any single sacred believe. Warnings against evasion of the right imperative by finding all kind of reason to lighten that very imperative, which in the science of fiqh is turned as *Hiyal Al-Ahkam*, had been issued by concerned jurists throughout the centuries. Hence the need to find the right balance between the sacred and the profane in Islam. Islamic mysticism (sufism) actually places the psychological function of compensating spirituality and tranquillity in the face of the inability of Moslem for total adherence to the letters of their sacred law. Borrowing from other civilizations the ways and means to reconcile the ideals and realities of their respective faiths would enable the Moslems to undertake a long journey to find that right balance between the sacred and the profane. The centuries long discipline of *usul Al-Fiqh* (Islamic legal value) and *Quwa'id Al-Fiqh* (legal maxims) clearly demonstrates the ability of the Moslems to face this serious challenge to the integrity of their faith. How to operate these frameworks of adjustment between the sacred and the profane in a world where secular values inherent in the concept of the modern nation-state is prevalent constitutes the fundamental task by Moslem intellectual and traditional scholars (*Al-'Ulama*) all together.

That task is complicated further by the existence of the mutually exclusive comparative of the main value system in operation in all Moslems countries at present, if not in the world as a whole. A kind of triangle between the values dictated by national interest of any single Moslem country develop tensions within the Islamic community everywhere. Moslems can never accept the validity of the conversion from Islam to another religion as defined by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, since it touches the domination of centuries-long and dearly held law of apostasy (*Hukum Al-Riddah*), which deems such an act as a capital offense punishable by death, while at the same time national interests of different countries oscillate between those imperatives. Hence the high degree of variety between those countries in treating the case. Absolutely no legal actions by state against the perpetration in Indonesia and capital punishment in Saudi Arabia. This example shows the underlying basic tension between the imperative of those three sources of value systems applied in one way or another in all Moslem countries at present. This fact highly dramatizes the eternal conflict and competing loyalties felt by all Moslems not only in the Moslem World; but even in exile where Moslems live as minorities such as in the United States and western Europe.

The skeletal description of the psychological and theological situations faced by different Moslem countries proves that we Moslems need to rethink about our agenda for social changes very carefully. We have to be able to differentiate between the impact and the reason for all kinds of attitudes and behaviors taking place in the Moslem World today. Extreme militancy of certain groups of Moslem activists, often called Moslem fundamentalist by those many people in the West as well as in the Moslem World,

should not be seen to be separated from its nature of being a reaction against what they believe as gross violation of religious values in the face of encroaching materialistic and hedonistic values without any trace of spirituality from the West into the emergence of the so called "Islamic fundamentalism", but we should instead concentrate on finding ways to alleviate the psychological burden resulting from those competing loyalties and opposing imperatives. The fact that no tradition of strong non governmental organizations (NGO's) in the Middle-East, for example because of the prevalent domination by the government in all aspect of life, creates a vacuum of platforms for responsible alternative voices to the policies of the government. The ensuing result is the lack of dialogue between the state and its citizens, which in Eastern societies encourages the emergence of underground alternative policies against those of the government, with retaliations against those voices whose resistance is in the form of outright terrorism.

The West should understand that the confrontational situation in its relationship with Islam would bring further alienation within the Moslem World, and any clash between the two civilizations would widen the existing leverage, which means there is an imperative for developing cooperation between the two. Throughout that kind of cooperation the two civilizations, including the Moslems, Christians, Jews as well as the atheists living in the West and in the Moslem World mutual understanding and respect could be developed, in which the respective peoples could learn from each other's ways of solving their main problems. Together they could develop a new framework of accommodation between the sacred and the profanes, since this accommodation is the only answer to the entire array of problems and crises faced by both sides now.

15.04.1996.

The role of mass media and literature, our education institutions and other opinion makers.

by

Fil. kand. Sigrid Kahle, Uppsala, Sweden

Your Royal Highness, ladies and gentlemen,

How is the opinion about Islam formed in Europe?

In 1980, I made a small investigation of my own. I was on leave in Sweden from Tunis, where I had just moved from Sudan. I was dismayed about how little there was in the Swedish press about Islam. I asked a press clipping agency to send me everything written about Islam for one month. To my horror, they sent me every slip of paper where the word "Islam" was merely mentioned. I tried to stop the flow of clippings, but on it went, costing me a small fortune! Among all those clippings, there was just one serious article on Islam. "No news is good news", you might say, or as the Swedish poet Geijer has it,

"Every ailment has its cry,
health alone is silent!."

When you compare the silence about Islam fifteen years ago with the intense covering that Islam gets today, the result is stunning. The printed media are full of Islam: news, comments, politics and religion; negative or positive; horrified or admiring. I can't help quoting that snobbish saying: "Say what you like about me as long as you spell my name right!" Whatever the reason, it is a fact that no Swede today, indeed no European, can avoid knowing the following Islamic words: *Koran, shari'a, sunni, shia, imam, ramadhan, fatwa, mosque, jihad, hijab*. Quite ordinary people will know names like al-Fatah, Hizbollah, Abu Ammar; Benazir Bhutto, Mubarak, Qaddafi, Sadam Husain and cultured people will know about the Arabic writer Naguib Mahfouz, the Persian poet Hafiz, the Kurdish-Turkish Yasar Kemal, Adonis the Lebanese, and many more. It is a fact that we do know things about Islam now which we didn't know before, thanks to media.

A change of attitude

Within fifteen years, the attitude to Islamic countries has changed from ignorance

or indifference to curiosity. If we analyze this change we will find the following positive factors: The immigration of hundreds of thousands of Muslims to Europe over the past two decades has turned them from exotic strangers into neighbours next door. A less one-sided view of the relationship between Israel and the Palestinian Arabs has emerged. Catastrophes such as the war in Afghanistan, former Yugoslavia and Chechnia made onlookers compassionate. It opened their eyes to the predicament of Muslim populations. Political events such as the Iranian revolution of 1979 forced journalists to study the political and religious background of Islam. The uprising in Mecca in 1982 and the Gulf War of 1991 made people begin to ask questions about the Arab world and the history of Islam.

The following factors produced a negative effect:: The upsurge of phenomena rightly or wrongly termed "fundamentalism" (*al-usuliya*). The introduction of *hudud* punishments carried out in public in some Islamic countries. Female circumcision, though un-Islamic, being sanctioned by certain orthodox Islamic clergy. Terrorist acts and killings in the name of Islam by extremist groups. The upset about Imam Khomeiny's *fatwa* condemning Salman Rushdie to death, the murder of the Egyptian Farag Foda and the forced divorce and persecution of the Egyptian professor Abu Zaid. The persecution of dissident writers, censorship and the suppression of opinion in certain Muslim countries. The occasional violent religious upsurge in secularized Turkey. All this caused an uproar also in Sweden.

Adverse influences

Betty Mahmoudy's bestseller "Not without my daughter" in 1987 created new prejudices. It was hard for serious books to compete with its caricature of a Muslim society. Many superficial books about Muslim women by Western journalists appeared. The impact of such books, however, started a controversy at the end of which the West knows a great deal more about women and Islam, in particular since Muslim sociologists, Koranic experts and feminist Muslim theologians came to the fore to explain their position. The upsurge of Western feminist theology has created sympathy for the stand of Muslim women. The women's conferences in Cairo and Beijing brought Western women new knowledge about Islam through the contact with Muslim women from very different countries. All this has a positive effect for Muslim women in Europe.

In Sweden, one negative factor has to be mentioned: a Muslim immigrant was given a licence for a broadcasting station called Radio Islam. This initiative created

great hopes among those of us who were welcoming more information and knowledge about Islam. Unfortunately, Radio Islam was used merely as an instrument to incite hatred against the Jews and was accompanied by the spread of publications as bad as the worst publications of the Nazis. The head of Radio Islam was brought to court and convicted of "agitation against an ethnic group". He spent six months in prison. This brought Islam in discredit in Sweden.

The Image of the Other

Underlying the mistrust and suspicion is of course the fact that Europe is basically secular and the world of Islam basically religious. Europe has gone through the process of Enlightenment with its strong belief in the freedom of the individual whereas the community and the collective outlook are typical of Muslim countries. This does not mean that there are not religious people in Europe and no secularized believers in individual freedom in the world of Islam. This brings us to the inverted question: How is public opinion about Europe formed in the world of Islam? We know very little about how others see us. It is only in a crisis that we turn around and ask in an offended tone: "What! can *you* have anything against *us*?"

I myself am only well acquainted with the media in those Muslim countries in which I have lived. It is my impression that my country Sweden, if ever mentioned in Muslim media, is generally judged favourably, due to our longtime pro- third-world policy, and the reputation of our late prime minister Olof Palme and individual Swedes who may have made an impact upon a Muslim society. I remember, however, that during the time of President Zia ul-Haq, Pakistani army officers were warned about the moral laxity of Swedish society and in particular its women. I have also read reports about how badly we are supposed to treat our old people. Orthodox Islamic propaganda has maligned the openness of our society, showing little understanding of our concept of personal freedom.

I should say that Sweden with its 9 million inhabitants is mostly absent in Muslim public opinion and media. Lack of conflict is often due to lack of contact. It is the civilizations that deal with one another most that quarrel most. On the other hand, complete lack of contact creates myths and make people susceptible to propaganda. I can imagine narrowminded mullahs telling simple believers all sorts of horrors about Europe. It is now up to the Muslim participants in our discussion groups to name the points where Muslim newspapers, radio, television, books and pamphlets are critical of European culture, civilisation and general behaviour and

to analyze the reasons. It certainly would be most useful for Europeans to discover how we are looked upon from the perspective of a normal citizen in any Muslim country. If indeed we are "looked upon" at all.

Summing it up, it seems that getting angry about the problems of another culture tends to make you more curious about it and forces you to look close at the causes of its problems, which paradoxically may lead to greater understanding eventually. In this sense the media do us a great service — by showing us *something* rather than *nothing* of the foreign culture. So now let us look into the role of mass media. Instead of complaining about the role of mass media in contorting the image of Islam in the West and of the West in Islamic countries, we should stop and ask: what has been done so far by mass media in order to *improve* the image of each other's worlds? Has the covering by media on either side been *only negative* or also positive?

The role of mass media The Press

Again I will take my examples from Sweden. I will not consider purely political articles but only the cultural pages, and only what has been published over the past two years. The liberal *Dagens Nyheter*, the largest Swedish daily paper, has featured 150 cultural and well researched articles on Islamic subjects during 1994-1995. Its cultural page also is a main forum for the Swedish Rushdie Committee, which has made the paper all the more anxious to show its objective and favourable treatment of Islam, while strongly criticising certain aspects of it. (The Swedish Rushdie Committee has held a series of lectures about Islam, in order to show that it is against the *fatwa* but not against Islam.) *Dagens Nyheter* has a strong pro-immigrant stance and has favoured the building of mosques in Sweden. It has engaged a young female Swedish-Palestinian columnist. It publishes interviews with Swedish Muslims and reviews books by Muslim authors.

Svenska Dagbladet, the second largest Swedish daily (independent moderate) has the longest record of any Swedish daily paper in publishing serious cultural articles about Islamic religion and culture. I myself contributed some of those articles and bear witness to the fact that such articles were not considered of primary interest even when the Arab world became politically relevant to Europe in the 1950's. The Iranian Islamic Revolution in 1979 started off the demand for

articles on all aspects of Islam. The Rushdie case increased the demand. Nowadays, *Svenska Dagbladet* favours the building of mosques and free schools for Muslims. It is the only paper that encourages a Christian—Muslim debate. It interviews prominent Muslim authors and personalities and reviews books on the religion of Islam, while stressing women's rights and the freedom of speech for authors anywhere. It is an adamant critic of anti-democratic tendencies and disrespect of the UN human rights declaration in any country.

Aftonbladet, the social-democratic tabloid, has turned out about 40 lengthy articles on Islam during the past two years; in 1994 it published six pages of Juan Goytisolo's series of articles from the West Bank; it carried two pages about Hourani's *The History of the Arab peoples*. It devoted a whole issue to Tahar Ben Jelloun's *Handbook in the art of understanding the Arab World*. The paper takes every opportunity of showing its pro-Muslim immigrant stand and likes to phocus the predicament of refugees and the problems of ordinary people. It is not anti-religious. The editor of the North Swedish paper *Socialdemokraten* said the other day that it was easier to get journalists to write about Islam than about Christianity nowadays. The religious strictness of Swedish Muslims, long an object of wonder, is beginning to induce respect.

Expressen, until recently the most widely read independent evening tabloid, has often been tempted by sensationalism as far as Islam is concerned. The cultural page has conducted a veritable war against the Iran of the ayatollahs. In the name of the principles of freedom and democracy the paper has clamped down on the oppression of women, cruel punishments and terrorism in the name of Islam — but without any explanation or analysis, and without balancing it against other items. It was bound to sow hatred. One very thoughtful reporter on Islamic affairs has, however, emerged and been given more space. Under the new chief editor a series of well measured and sensible leading articles about Muslim affairs have appeared, as well as features pleading for tolerance and understanding of Muslim demands.

A few ugly examples of outright persecution of Islam as a religion in sectarian organs must be mentioned. I do not read those papers and have made no study of their contents. In how far such media have been able to sway general opinion negatively should be investigated. The Church of Sweden is interested in a dialogue with Islam but small extremist Christian groups feel threatened. A political

party called New Democracy won its popularity on the platform of hatred of immigrants, but since the entire party has failed and exists no more, it is difficult to know in how far this popular hatred still exists. To judge by the resurgence of racist youth organizations agitating against immigrants, however few their adherents, this irrational hatred may still be glowing underneath the surface. I dare say that official Sweden and all its media stand united in condemning it.

Radio and television

Radio Sweden has been on the forefront when it comes to highlighting the Middle East and North Africa in a fairly objective manner. Not only does it have excellent, well-read, experienced correspondents on the spot; it also brings cultural background programmes, lectures, discussions and interviews; Islam is featured in its religious programmes, there have been a great number of discussions and interviews about the controversial question of central mosques in big cities. There are regular programmes in Arabic, Persian, Turkish. Voices of Swedish Muslims are heard, not only in programmes about Islam. The stand of Radio Sweden, a state enterprise, is emphatically pro-immigrant, anti-racist and for the freedom of religion.

Swedish Television, state owned, is beginning to have a considered policy about Islam, stressing mutual understanding. Films bought from abroad showing fanatic violence of Muslim governments and groups have been shown, but are generally analyzed and discussed afterwards. The programme Documents from abroad aims at analysis and background. Educational television has shown many balanced programmes on different aspects of Islam. Educational radio has an advantage over television in being able to give contributors more time, whereas television seldom gives anyone more than a few minutes to explain a point, which does not favour the analysis of problems in depth. Commercial channels still rush for negative aspects of traditional Islam.

Television as a medium is susceptible to exaggerations, it favours action and colourful events. Violent conflicts are more spectacular than the gentler human aspects and cultural products. Culture must be considered supremely important in television. But how often does a television film made by a director from a Muslim area reach us? We need more co-operation. Swedish television has recently been invited to co-operate with the European cultural television programme 3Sat and ARTE, which shows cultural programmes of the highest quality from the whole

worlrd. Indo-China, Japan, Korea, Latin America and South Africa are already members. Why should Muslim media not co-operate with ARTE, "the largest cultural institution in the world" in order to benefit from its high quality cultural programmes from the whole world? In religious quarters European cultural influence might be feared, but it would also mean a great chance for Muslim countries to influence Europe culturally.

Unfortunately, the difference in outlook between secularized and religious Muslim societies might cause complications between television channels. On April 12th, the British Broadcasting Corporation was forced to close its Arabic television channel after it had permitted a Sa'udi-Arabian dissident living in London to criticize the presumed violation of human rights in Sa'udi-Arabia. The closing of the Arabic Television Channel of the BBC with its 250 employees is naturally a step backwards in our overall efforts to be informative and create understanding between our cultures and civilizations.

Mass Media Projects

A research project.

Complaints are heard all the time about the supposedly damaging role of mass media in forming the image of Islam in Europe, and vice versa. Therefore, the most important project to my mind is a research project to be carried out in our universities: to work out statistically and to scrutinize what has been published, broadcast or televised over a period of time in any two sample countries, say, Sweden and Jordan, Germany and Saudi-Arabia, Belgium and Malaysia, France and Pakistan, Italy and Iraq, Switzerland and Iran etc. and submitting it to teh follwing questions:

How much of the material was political, commercial, sociological, ideological, religious, cultural? How much of it was based on serious analysis? Was it superficial or based on a knowledge of history and social development?

Where have prejudices and tendentious contorsions been at play? If the image was negative, can the reasons for this be analyzed? Was it wilfully negative, part of a smearing campaign? or was it steered by vested interests? Was it speculative? Was it due to a political crisis? some unpleasant event? Was the negative description perhaps justified?

If the image was positive, was this due to genuine interest or a conscious effort, or does the credit go to the influence of some respected personality, a lucky political event, or was it simply an act of natural curiosity, or of political good will? If positive and negative trends vary, to what influences can the fluctuations be traced?

Once the material has been analyzed, moral questions should be asked. What is the role of media in reporting terrorist actions? What are the media ethics in regard to terrorism? Considering its toll in human suffering, should it be shown at all?

If the role of the press is of providing independent, truthful information to the public, where is the limit where human lives are at stake? Is limited reporting preferable as it enables counter-terrorist agencies to operate effectively? Would lack of reporting not undermine the credibility of the press and of democratic values?

Exchange of journalists.

My conclusion is that we should not worry too much about unfavourable reports about our own world in foreign medias but accept the challenge of criticism and answer it. State censorship should be excluded. No state interfering in the creation of an image of one's civilisation can match what individuals are doing on t their own accord. A good way of improving one's image is to leave it to the journalists. Journalists are individualists anywhere. Left to see and judge for themselves, they would eventually arrive at a just and fair image. They should be given the opportunity to do so. The best project therefore would be the frequent exchange of journalists.

The role of literature

Television notwithstanding, books remain the main transmitters of culture in the world. They are the principal channels of thought and story-telling between East and West. Muslim élites who read English and French have easy access to European literature, more so if they also read German, Spanish, Italian and Russian. But how many Arabs could name a Polish or a Swedish writer? There probably is more knowledge among Muslim élites about Western literature than among Western élites about Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Urdu etc. literatures. Large parts of the population of Muslim countries have no access to European literature unless it is translated into a vernacular language.

The cohesion of European culture depends in no small measure on the determined efforts to translate books from one European language into another. The high quality of the translation is encouraged by rewarding it financially and submitting it to expert criticism. Every kind of scientific, philosophical or medical book should be translated. The stress should be on fiction which conveys more about a society and its individuals than books of sociology. To know the classics and modern authors of another culture is the best way to a deeper understanding.

Who is qualified to translate? The linguistic differences between Oriental languages and European languages go especially deep. Both cultures have to be known equally well. Naturally, some European states with more inhabitants than Sweden can translate more books. It is not enough to translate and to publish, you also have to make sure that books from lesser known languages are being reviewed properly, so that the book is actually read. Without government subsidies this sort of activity is hardly possible. In Sweden the Swedish Institute is concerned with this type of cultural work.

A question of quality

How does one know if a translation is good? An unauthorized person who translates a famous Swedish poet badly into Turkish or Arabic can ruin the reputation of that poet forever. There are many examples of bad translations that have done more harm than good. I myself have edited books and written introductions into languages that I don't know myself such as Bengali, tagalog, malayalam, where I simply had to trust the translator's skill. When I arrived in a country where such a book had been sold I asked people about the translation. In one or two cases they said that it was not good at all. An essay of mine translated into Arabic turned out to have changed both form and tendency in the process! An author is powerless in the hands of a bad translator.

Who decides which books are to be translated? I heard an Egyptian orientalist complain that European translators pick up the wrong books and neglect the best Egyptian books because they know the wrong people. And how much European trash is translated in Egypt? The publishing houses seem to be working on an ad hoc policy. And as for spreading Arabic literary works to Europe, I am afraid that Arab countries care little about it. When I once suggested to a wealthy sheikh in one of the Gulf countries who complained that no Arab had received the Nobel Prize (it was before Naguib Mahfouz) that he might institute an "Arab Nobel Prize" in his

own name, he answered: "I would gladly donate money to any social cause, but culture...no, that would not be worth my while!"

In contrast, Pakistan has decided to go in for literature in a big way. "Literature, culture and democracy" was the heading, when its democratic Government invited about 600 writers from 105 countries to a huge, very successful literary conference in Islamabad, which was carried out with unparalleled efficiency and hospitality in 1995. Each partaker was presented with a generous gift of books by Pakistani authors. This indeed is an example to be emulated, although the size of the conference does not always have to be so grand. Writers and publishers should meet more often and Oriental book fairs be arranged in Europe.

Academic Project: A carefree survey within a specified culture of what has been translated and by whom, who arranged for the translation, who checked its quality, what might have been translated and was not, and an investigation into the manner of distribution and publication might provide a good basis for knowing how to go about a translation policy in the future.

Swedish models

I would like to mention a few things that have been done in Sweden recently in to promote the culture and literature of Islam. In 1983, the University of Lund held a Swedish-Arabic Poetry conference where ten outstanding Arabic and ten outstanding Swedish poets met intensively for three days, reading each others' poetry in the original and in translation and discussing differences and similarities for an audience of students of Arabic but also open to the public. A lot of publicity surrounded this encounter. This pioneering venture was followed by many private invitations to poets from the East over the years. Our Arab guests had promised a new poetic encounter in an Arab country, but no country came forward, and so it remained a one time affair

An important initiative was when, in the university town of Lund, a Lebanese immigrant started a publishing house, *Alhambra*, whose books are for display here in Amman just now. For years, it has brought out amazing works in Swedish, such as Ibn Khaldoun: *al-Muqaddima*, Ibn Muqaffa: *Kalila wa Dimna*, Amin Malouf: *The Crusades as seen by the Arabs*, Jaques Berque: *The Egyptians*, as well as modern Egyptian and Lebanese authors (Albert Cossery, Emile Habibi, Sonallah Ibrahim, Magali Morsi, Nabil Naoum) and a pocket encyclopedia (*Que sais-je?*) including scholarly works on Islam. Working under tremendous difficulties, with some support

from Swedish cultural funds, he may yet have to give it up. Such an effort might be worthy of support also from the Arab side.

A Survey of Arabic Literary History on the grand scale, published in Swedish by professor Tryggve Kronholm in 1995, may help building the interest in Arabic literature among students and the reading public. Arabic scholars like Axel Moberg, Gösta Vitestam, Christopher Toll and Kerstin Eksell have paved the way by writing and translating, but it is only in the present generation that one can speak of a revitalizing effect of Arabic literature. The interest in Persian literature is at present at a low ebb. A group of enthusiasts have founded a literary magazine, *Literature of Half the World*, where stories and poems from many Muslim lands are presented. Quite a few Turkish writers are known in Sweden, notably Yasar Kemal (about twenty of his books have been translated) and Orkhan Pamuk. Sadly, our literary contacts with countries further away such as Malaysia or Indonesia, are scant.

Muslim immigrants ought to show that Islamic culture does not only consist of the religion of Islam but is far wider. Visual arts are an immediately capturing, important medium between cultures and so is music. There have been at least two big exhibitions of Islamic Art in Stockholm recently. And for several years now a "ReOrient Festival" has been held, featuring music, singing, poetry, lectures, dancing, and traditional cooking from all over the world of Islam, organized by a young Turkish immigrant to Sweden. The attendance has been very high. Swedish composers, singers and musicians are markedly influenced in their creative work by kawali singing, mystical poetry and instrumental music, and Turkish dervish dancing had made a deep artistic impact.

Proposed projects in the field of literature:

1. Translations, translations, translations!
2. Contributions (translated into vernacular languages) by European writers in Arabic, Bengali, Indonesian, Malaysian, Moroccan etc magazines, and by writers from all over the Muslim world in European literary magazines.
3. Financial and moral support of already existing publishing enterprises such as Alhambra.
4. Making use of immigrants from respective Muslim countries as transmitters of culture. Muslim immigrants to Europe could do more themselves by communicating their culture to the surrounding society, rather than looking inwards and tending to live in a kind of cultural ghetto, as they often do.

The role of educational institutions

Schools

Schools, dealing with children and youth and therefore with the future, are a source for creating an image of the Other. Mutual ignorance in the youth culture can be very dangerous, since we now know that it may end in murder of young people by young people, when a different ethnic, religious or political background may have been played up by ruthless individuals. To counteract such bad influence, each country has to find its own methods. How do we teach our children religion and history? The importance of children's books, youth books, and ordinary text books scrutinized by experts so as to exclude false information, was stressed at our conference on Europe and Islam in Stockholm in 1995.

Ignorance and lack of curiosity about the West can be found in educational institutions in Muslim countries. I have often talked to school classes in Pakistan, Sudan, Iraq, even Oman, far away from the capital. Very rarely are teenager pupils capable of naming more than a couple of European countries, one or two European capitals, while displaying a complete ignorance about European languages and cultures. I have noticed that in primary and middle level schools in most countries the map of one's own country is shown without the neighbouring countries and without indicating where the country is situated in relation to the world map. Since programmes like the CNN can be seen even in remote villages now, the resulting image will be extremely confusing.

Swedish school children learn a lot about foreign history and religion. The curriculum is arranged that way. Teachers are encouraged to attend courses on Islamic subjects. Some of the classmates may come from different societies. Whenever a political event fills the daily newspaper the teacher would ideally pick it up during a history lesson. She would take the opportunity to teach something about the country concerned. I was invited the other day to the Stockholm school, where Crown Princess Victoria is a pupil, to talk about The Arabs! The interest and curiosity of the pupils were heartening. In the Swedish provinces, particularly in the far North, young people and their teachers are known to be committing themselves enthusiastically to the immigrant cultures they find around themselves. Whoever remains ignorant and prejudiced has no excuse.

All the same there are youngsters in Swedish and European cities who harass young immigrants and show contempt for their culture. The aberration may have deep sociological and psychological roots. It may have nothing to do with the immigrants themselves. It may be the result of shortcomings in one's own society, where adults may have set a bad example. It is a problem how to deal with this. Harshly or leniently? Everything should be done by society to prevent hostile attitudes and to encourage a tolerant attitude towards people who look, behave and think differently. Youth exchange programmes may not be on top of the agenda when so many people from different cultures already live in other countries. It is up to each society to solve this problem before it is too late.

For university students there are exchange programmes. Unfortunately, literary and humanistic studies in Western countries seldom include the literatures of Asian or African countries. Islamic culture is handled by the language departments and the theological faculties. Indigenous teachers of the languages, visiting lecturers and scholarships for study visits to Muslim countries are growing features but much more should be done. A new problem is how to motivate growing Muslim populations in European countries to enter academic studies. Once this happens, Islamic culture will automatically become more prominent in the Universities.

Academic Scholarship

We come to the difficult subject of Oriental scholarship and Islamology in European universities. The scholarly study of somebody else's religion in a religious society is problematic. Professor Rudi Paret, whose German Koran translation is highly regarded, was writing his famous book *Muhammed and the Koran* in 1953, when an orthodox Muslim from Multan in Pakistan came on a scholarship in order to study scholarly methods of editing Arabic manuscripts. In his European isolation, Paret had looked upon his research on the text of the Koran as a purely scholarly effort. Confronted with a pious Muslim, he changed many of his interpretations and statements.

The outcome is not always so beneficial. In 1929, when the first *Encyclopedia of Islam* was published, there was a suggestion of translating it into Arabic. A great controversy developed about one of the very first entrances, the name of Ibrahim. The Muslim scholars did not agree at all with European scholars about this patriarch, holy to all three religions. The Azhar University in Cairo considered the

article heretic, which exasperated the European Islam experts. Controversies also arose when the Encyclopedia, mainly written by Western scholars, was translated into Urdu. Many articles were written by Muslim scholars and in so far the Urdu Encyclopedia edition has deviated from the interpretations in the original Encyclopedia of Islam.

However great European scholars of former generations like Brockelmann, Wellhausen or Nöldeke are still considered to be, there are orthodox Islamic scholars or *ulema* who would frown upon the work of any Western scholar of Islam who is not a Muslim, including these "giants". Less orthodox Muslim scholars who admire some Western scholars nevertheless may get shocked when they read them. A friend, Dr. Moinul Haq of Pakistan, was very anxious to read Ignaz Goldziher's *Muhammedanische Studien* and had it translated into English, only to be disappointed, as many of Goldziher's views were shocking from a Muslim point of view. If a Muslim scholar were to write a book about Christianity, it would be just as difficult for him to be entirely objective in his description of Jesus.

Among the more fanatic fractions of Muslim orthodox or fundamentalist scholarship and propaganda, unjust assumptions about the work of European Orientalists are sometimes being made today. Most recently, the London-based Arabic magazine *al-Hayat*, financed by Sa'udi Arabia, published an essay by an Arab studying at a European university on Western Koran translations, in which he viciously attacked some prominent European Orientalists for their research on works by Islamic heretics. Among those attacked I not only find some of the best European Arabists alive, but also my own father H.S. Nyberg, who died in 1974, for having done research on *al-Mu'tazila* and having edited a medieval work about the heretic *Ibn Ar-Rawendi*. How dangerous it has become to do objective research on religious texts for a Muslim is shown by the case of Abu Zaid of Egypt.

Differing attitudes to the nature of objective scholarship and criticism should not be allowed to disturb the relations between Muslim and European scholars of Islam. A trust in the good will of European Islamic scholars by Muslim Islamic scholars, and a certain intellectual and emotional affinity on the part of European scholars of Islam, respecting differences of method and approach, ought to replace the tendency to allege ill will. To consider joint scholarly publications is probably premature. The best would be to hold conferences on controversial scholarly research. It cannot be the exclusive privilege of Muslims to do research on Islamic

texts, as little as any Muslim can be excluded from research on the Bible and other Christian writings. All texts belong to all humanity.

The role of opinion makers

Who are the opinionmakers? Politicians, sportsmen, television speakers? Returning tourists? Diplomats? Filmstars? Only today, Brigitte Bardot has scared the readers of Le Figaro by conjuring up a Muslim invasion of France, a France where the mosques would soon outnumber the churches, and ended up by condemning *halal* and *kosher* slaughter. On the Muslim side, who are the opinion makers? The Muslim brethren? Taqfir wa hijra? Louis Ferrakhan? Hassan al-Turabi? It is hard to counteract powerful opinion-makers who with media at their command are able to spread misinformation leading to hatred. They should be followed closely, but the correction of a malevolent product should not come from an official source. The best reply is to answer positively, to make better films, write better books and think better thoughts than the opponent.

So, who are the opinionmakers? I dare say that we who are collected here might be regarded as opinionmakers. It is up to us to improve mutual understanding. We are attempting to do that in this our host country, the Kingdom of Jordan, which with its politics of peace and reconciliation has helped to change world opinion on the question of Palestine.

Sigrid Kahle

Sigrid Kahle

Utmyrby, Boglösa April 22, 1996

(This is a keynote speech for the Conference on Relations between the Muslim World and Europe at Ahl al-Bayt University, Mafrq, Jordan, June 10-13, 1996.)

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HOW BEST TO IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF ISLAM ?

Summary of the paper

Smail Balic

Historical prejudices and clichés taint Islam. Especially the prejudices born in connection with Othmanexpansion in Europe are deeply ingrained and of lasting effect. Object of this chapter of European history could only be to Islam's advantage and open the way to a change in consciousness. The non-Muslim partner should be made to understand, e.g. that the starting point of Othmanexpansion was not the Jihad but the belief in the Othmandynasty's calling to world supremacy. It was an idea developed in the Mongolian tradition and taken over by the Turks. Needless to say, it is not Islamic. Its realization required belligerent actions not only against Christians but also against Muslim states.

Jihad did, indeed, lend itself admirably as an instrument of justification. The OthmanEmpire was essentially geared to world supremacy. Even in its military power non-Muslim elements had a considerable share. At the second siege of Vienna (1683), Balkan Christians made up nearly one third of the besieging power.

Dissemination of Islam was not its motive. Christians and Jews were able to continue unmolested in their religious activities. The Calvinists in Hungary held the religious attitude of the Turks up as example to the Europeans. The patriarch and metropolitans of the Greek-orthodox church were practically civil servants. This would have been impossible, had it not been admitted by Islam teachings. Also in many other ways had the Empire oriented itself according to the Islam. The interpretation school of Abu Hanifa (8th century) played a vital role in this. Its teachings testify to increasing striving to humanness; slave relief is upheld, trading in eunuchs condemned, cruelty to animals seen as contrary to the spirit of the religion, sparing prisoners of war and other defenseless urged. Abu Hanifa even took the view that the life of every human being is equal in value.

In all other respects regarding the conduct of war the generally valid principles of the sharia were observed, i.e. killing women, children, the aged and insane, maiming enemies, killing peace mediators, prolonging war right up to the conclusion of peace, poisoning wells and drinking water is unlawful and not allowed.

Hand in hand with clarifying the history, the image of Islam must be enhanced through the conduct and behavior of the Muslim peoples. Ways and means must be found to protect Islam against the abominable misuse. It is inadmissible that, in the name of the religion, innocent people be murdered. National means must be used in the struggle to achieve for national goals. Today we find ourselves in a position where innocent Muslims (as in Bosnia) are made to pay for the misdeeds of their co-religionists somewhere in the world. The lack of differentiating and the tendency, especially among Christians, to look for collective guilt, are disastrous. The entire people are held responsible for the death of one single person. This is not in the spirit of post-Council reasoning. We have to learn to differentiate.

Through Communism a number of instruments of peaceful coexistence were lost : on the Balkans, the principle of good neighborliness and building relationships of brotherliness. If these values could be brought back to mind, it could help to assuage the roused passions. Churches and mosques could play a positive role in this. In the history of the Othman Empire, the istimala-system was repeatedly used for the purpose of conquest. It is a policy of reconciliation. It has since fallen into oblivion. Professor Halil inalcik mentions it in his historical writings. In our ecomonical times, this ancient practice of the Islam would need to be revived. This would require concerning oneself thoroughly with this system.

The motive forces of the sharia used and further developed by posterity are, apart from the Koran and Sunna (tradition), the ancient Orient, the asiatisized Hellenism, the Syrian monastic Christendom and a political pragmatism. The contribution of these human components in the sharia necessitate it being freed from all jetsom.

The Koran, as scriptura sacra, contains eternal and timeless principles. But it also deals with historical questions and provides specific answers. And from these we need to filter out those that are valid for our times. The Koran often speaks in parables, metaphors and symbols, just as it uses myths as means of expression. This is why hermeneutics is needed. Also the 'ilm asbab an-nuzul - the discipline that looks into the outside sources of the Revelation-has quite a few things to say. Blindly adhering to the word is, therefore, out of place.

In this connection one must ask oneself what is the character of the Sunna. Some high-grade scholars see the Sunna as an igtihad, that is say the personal legal finding of the prophet. Thus the Sunna is accorded quite a different meaning than is the case in the orthodoxy. The findings of the igtihad are to be put in question; they can be replaced by other, more modern ones.

WESTERN ORIENTALISM AND ISLAMOLGY ON THEIR WAY TO UNDERSTAND ISLAM.

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Abstract of Paper :

The history of Western Orientalism is the sort of intellectual reflection of the long and complicated interactions between West and Muslim Orient. It appeared parallel with the formation of the colonial politics of the Europe towards Muslim countries of Middle East, Asia, Maghreb. And it is evident that from the very beginning one of the functions of the Western Islamic studies was to supply this politics in terms of ideology. Certain stereotypes and misconceptions are existing up to now and they are the object of the strong criticism from different points of view - Western itself (J.Waardenburg), western marxist (M. Rodison), Antiwestern (E. Said), Islamic (A. Tibawi, Muslim scholars and periodicals like " Al-Tawhid", "Islamic Quaterly" etc.). The most strong accusations consisted in "colonialism", " neo-imperialism", "the tool of westernization", "antislamism" and even "sionizm". In order not to be biased we need to say that Western Orientalism is the serious field of research. With its own philosophy, methodology, instruments and fundamental principles. It includes several directions and among them the most interesting and recent - western scholars who have been converted to Islam or tried to understand Islam from its own basic ideas (L. Massignon, R. Garodi, R. Genon). The dialogue of European and Muslim scholars where different and especially " pure religious" (pro-Islamic or pro-Christian) approaches could be discussed together is one of the ways for two civilizations to understand each other.

Western Orientalism and Islamology on the way to understand Islam

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The problems of Islam and its role in the modern social and political processes attracts the attention of the whole world Occident and Orient. It could be explained not only by the fact that Islam is one of the largest religions now, but mainly because it is the most active political and social force, popular ideology. The essence, character of the influence of Islam on the modern world are interpreted in the different way by the Western and Oriental scholars very often. The comparative analyse of different, contradictive conceptions could help us to understand what do we think about Islam, its past, present and future, could help West and Orient to understand each other, and to avoid misconceptions and false stereotypes. Islam is the second, most numerous, traditional religion in Russia and CIS. Russia is the fifth country in the world by the number of its Muslim population (after Indonesia, Pakistan, Bangladesh, India). So the problems of Islam-external and internal are well studied in the Russian religious studies, politology and orientalism. Russian orientalism and islamology were influenced by the Western science, they developed on the Western methodological and theoretical fundament. At the same moment the real history often Russia as the Christen-Muslim, Eurasian country rendered large influence on the specific features of Russian Islamic studies. The history of western Orientalism is the sort of the intellectual reflection of the long and complicated history of interactions between West and Muslim Orient. It is possible to say that Islamology was the subject of "marketeering" politics all the time and in this case it could not be compared with any other field of Religious studies.

The birth of Islam, its early history as well as its present situation are the issue of scientific discussion as of political processes in the world. Western Islamology as a part of Orientalism appeared at the end of XVIII century. It was caused by the goals of the colonial tactics and missionary activity of the Christian Church in the Muslim World. The word "Orientalist" appeared in the English language in 1779, and was legitimised on its own way by the French academy in 1838. J. Waardenburg, professor from

Lozanne University in the article to Encyclopedia of Islam (1992) suggested to reject from the term "Orientalist" because of its negative meaning and the use the term "Mustashricun" which means somebody, who has devoted himself to the orient. The centers of Islamic studies were established all over Europe in XIX - XX c. But it was USA who took the initiative in the Muslim World in their hands at the second part of XXc. Immediately the new centers of Islamic studies appeared in USA. Orientalism was developed as the narrow-specialized discipline for the researches up to the 50-s of the 20th Century. It was "consumed" by those who were interested in the eastern languages. literature, history. In the works of Goldzier, Kaetani, Gibb, Grunebum and others the early history of Islam was studied, and the comparative linguistic analyses of Koran and Sunna were given. But together with them there was a lot of antiscientific and antiislamic literature where Mohammed was presented as pseudo-prophet and Islam as a religion of merchants. Beginning with Hegel the idea of Islam as a religion which played its role and left the scene was predominant. Islam was perceived as a symbol of backwardness, the main reason of stagnation in the Muslim World .

In the 60-s and especially in the 70-s the serious changes took place all over Muslim Ummah. Among them the Iranian revolution, Afghan resistance, wars, conflicts, new fundamentalists movements. That made orientalists to changes their attitude to Islam its political and social capabilities. The new socio-political trend in orientalism and Islamology appeared. Politologists, economists. sociologists and social philosophers started to deal with the problems of Islam. But even today the orientalism and the researchers feel the press of ideological instructions (E. Said, A.Azmeh, M.Rodinson) .

If we will turn to the theoretical and methodological fundament of Islamology will see that it is based on the ideas of Hegel, Veber, Merton, Durkheim, especially the last one. Due to the Durkhiem conception Islam was perceived as the integrative force of the Muslim society, and the idea of the permanent secularization of the Muslim world was forgotten.

There are different, sometimes contradictive schools in the modern Western Islamology. One of the most popular - Catholic school, with the head of L. Massignon. He was named as one of the key-figures in the modern Orientalism. Marxism rendered large influence on the development of Islamic studies in the West and in Soviet Union. But

together with them the idea of absolute rejection of western categories exist. The adherents of these theories are writing that we have to refuse from traditional western conceptions, methodological principles when we are speaking about Muslims and their civilization. The representatives of the other group of the scholars are insisting on the eurocentric approach on Islam on the contrary.

So, modern western orientalism is developing in the various directions which we could determine as following :

academic, Socio-political, protestant, catholic, pro-Muslim, eurocentric, Marxist. This variety could be explained by the fact that modern Muslim world is not homogenous and different models of social, political ideological, economic development could be observed there. But at the same time several scholars are coming to the conclusion that this variety is the witness of the methodological and theoretical crisis of Orientalism. It is the result of its theoretical weakness, the absence of scientific, objective philosophical and sociological conception of what is Islamic, civilization, Muslim social order.

We've told already that from the very beginning one of the functions of Western Orientalism was to support to work out the politics and ideology of West in Muslim World. This feature are strongly criticized from different points of view-Western itself (J. Waardenburg), Western Marxist (M. Rodinson), Antiwestern, anticolonial (E. Said) , Islamic (A. Tibawi) Muslim scholars and periodicals like Al - Tawhid, Islamic Quaterly etc. The most recent and very interesting trend are those orientalist of western origin who have been converted to Islam and who have their own view on it (R.Garodi) .

The most strong accusations against Orientalism consisted in colonialism " neoimperialism", the tool of westernization, "antiislamism" and even "zionism". In order not to be biased we need to say that Western Orientalism and Islamology are serious fields of research with their own methodology and philosophy. During recent years the evident trend appeared to create their own theoretical and methodological principles, philosophy and sociology. The main source of this originality are the specific features of Islam which could be defined as the socio-cultural system .

We've told already that Russian Orientalism could be defined as the heir of the Western science. And not only because of the common philosophical,

cultural roots, but because of the common features of their history. Russian Orientalism appeared as the theoretical explanation and justification of the colonial politics of Russian empire in Central Asia. Of course, we can't deny the positive contribution of Russian Orientalism to the Islamic studies, and the works of Sablukov, Krachkovsky, Barthold and many others are well known all over the world. But it is clear that Russian Orientalism from the very beginning was planned to be the theoretical basis of the politics of assimilation, christianization of the Muslim peoples of Russian empire.

During the Soviet period the Islamic studies were under the control of the Communist party. Islamology had two aspects : external and internal. In the relationships with the foreign Muslim world it had to provide the ideas of peaceful initiatives of the Soviet State. Islamic studies of internal, so called Soviet Islam were developed in the spirit of atheism, what meant antiislamism very often. But now the ideological reform in Russia rendered large influence on the Islamology and Orientalism. They had to refuse from the atheistic spirit and are trying to find new philosophical and methodological principles in order to explain the phenomenon's of Muslim Renaissance, politicization and activation of Islam.

The dialogue of European and Muslim scholars where different and especially "pure religions" (pro-Islamic and pro-Christian) approaches could be discussed together is one of the ways of two civilizations to understand each other, to cooperate and enrich themselves.

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WHAT SHOULD THIS CONFERENCE BE ABOUT

BY

SONA KHAN

'Among our positive acquisitions from Arab law, there are legal institutions such as limited partnership (qirad) and certain technicalities of commercial law. But even omitting these, there is no doubt that the high ethical standard of certain parts of Arab law acted favourably on the development of our modern concepts and therein lies its enduring merit.' wrote De Santillana (1931, p. 310), while researching the origin of influences of Islamic law on European societies.

Muslim traders were the main source of carrying Islamic juristic concepts and scientific knowledge, social and political thoughts, along with their merchandise to Europe. Jurisprudence has always been considered the most elevated area of knowledge because it provides administrative support for the governance of human behaviour. Joseph Schacht has following to say about Islamic Law:

"Islamic law is the epitome of Islamic thought, the most typical manifestation of the Islamic way of life, the core and kernel of Islam itself. The very term 'Fikh', 'knowledge', shows that early Islam regarded knowledge of the Sacred Law as the knowledge par excellence." (1961, p.1)

Modern jurists, outside the Islamic world are not interested in

discovering the value of Islamic concepts, therefore, do not accord them due regard. One reason often cited is that it is complicated and therefore, not familiar. But we find a different perception in the judgement of American judge, Justice Frankfurter, in the matter of *Terminiello vs Chicago*, says, "This is a court of review, not a tribunal unbounded by rules. We do not sit like a kadi under a tree dispensing justice according to considerations of individual expediency" (337 US 1 at 11 (1949)). Similarly, Justice Dobie of the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals, in the matter of *Clarke Vs Harleysville Mut Casualty*, says, "We sit, after all, as an appellate court, administering justice under the law, not as an ancient oriental cadi, dispensing a rough and ready equity according to the dictates of his own discretion". (123 F 2d. 499 at 502). These expressions reveal a lot of communication gap. Such prejudices have not only eroded the possibility of comparative assessment of legal principles, but also the possibility of benefit from the richness of juristic quality of Islamic jurisprudence. The reason for such disregard is explained in the *Cambridge History of Islam*, as follows:

"Another difficulty is that some occidental readers are still not completely free of prejudices inherited from their medieval ancestors. In the bitterness of the Crusades and other wars against Saracens, they came to regard Muslims and in particular Muhammad, as the incarnation of that is evil, and the continuing effect of the propaganda of that period has yet not been completely removed from occidental thinking about Islam".

The principle of 'legitimacy' governs Islamic legal concepts. It means that all acts, procedures, depositions and final decisions of the public authority, at any level can not be valid and legally binding as to the people they effect, save to the extent they are consistent with the law. Concepts of equity and principles of natural justice are the underlying currents of Islamic jurisprudence. What is known as 'Social Security' and 'Welfare' in the West, is the duty of the state towards its people under Islamic law, since all the wealth of the nation belongs to the people. Any deviation of assets or funds from the main theme of the welfare of the entire people, would render it illegitimate. Some times, when basic needs are ensured, the test of legitimacy can be made to take a back seat in the minds of people, hence rulers have been able to get away with such improprieties. The thinking process of the rulers needs stimulation of being conscious to the miseries of others. To ensure that no one, no matter what be the justification, would be allowed to subject other people to undue agony and torture, as we see result from the conflicts, like in Bosnia and Middle East. None of the religions of the world authorise any one to take away the peaceful existence of others. The main issues indeed giving rise to conflict are sharing of land and water and not opposed religious ideology. Vested interests have turned them in to issues of religious conflicts. Innocent people suffer for the wrongs of the few in power. The understanding of Islamic and non Islamic word is the need of the day.

Islamic criminal jurisprudence lays onus of proof heavily upon the prosecution and in the absence of such proof, beyond a reasonable doubt, the accused must be acquitted. The presumption of innocence as found in Common Law systems is the underlying principle of this branch of Islamic jurisprudence. The Hadith is that the Prophet (PBUH) said,

" Had men been believed only according to their allegations, some persons would have claimed the blood and properties belonging to others, but the accuser is bound to present positive proof thereof" (Bassioni, 1982, p. 67).

As it is clear from the above that the victims of wrongs have also to be compensated from the assets of the accused besides his receiving the prescribed punishment. May be the victims of Bosnia need such a healing touch as to also receive compensation to rehabilitate themselves again. The primary and the supreme source of Islamic law is the Quran. There is no area of human behaviour, not covered by Quran. It is a myth and lack of understanding of Islamic principles that Muslim women can not be equally empowered as their counterparts in the West. They are chained to the traditions, most of them originate from pre-Islamic times. There is a complete chapter, besides references in other parts as well, on the rights of women and children. It clearly says:

"Women possessed intellect, wisdom and soul,

as man and women came from the same stock. (Quran IV:9)

There is no area of human dealing, not covered by Quran. On commercial integrity, it says:

"Give full measure when ye measure,

and weigh with a balance that is straight" (Quran XVII: 34)

'Tariff' is an Arabic word, slipped in to Europe at the time of Crusades, its use in international commercial dealing and trade to this day, is an indication of Arab influence on European commercial law.

On treaties, it has the following to say:

"(But the treaties are) not dissolved

With those Pagans with whom

Ye have entered into alliance

And who have not subsequently

Failed you in aught,

Nor aided anyone against you.

So fulfil your arrangements

With them to the end

Of their term: For God

Loveth the righteous.

(Quran IX: 4)

On trusteeship, it says:

God doth command you

To render back your trusts

To those to whom they are due.

(Quran IV: 58)

On guardianship, it says:

Those who unjustly

Eat up the property

Of orphans, eat up

A fire into their own

Bodies: they will soon

Be enduring a blazing fire.

(Quran IV: 10)

The rights contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948, was the greatest step in the European history towards the evolution of common set of standards regarding the right to dignity of every human being. From the mere reading of the Quran, we find that these rights are also enshrined therein. Some such numbers of relevant verses are stated as follows:

- Right to equality of mankind (Quran XLIX: 13; III: 64)
- Freedom of religion (Quran II: 256)
- Right of respect for the
religions other than Islam (V:56; II: 136)
- Right to enjoy bounties
created by God (Quran VII: 32)
- Right to freedom of movement (Quran LXVII: 15)
- Right to Asylum (Quran IV: 97-100)

- Right to life (Quran VI: 151 & 35)
- Right of the unborn female child to life (Quran XVI: 158-9)
- Right to privacy (Quran XXIV: 27-28; XXXIII: 53; XXIV: 58)
- Right to respect & dignity (Quran XVII: 70)
- Right to Justice (Quran V:9; XVI:91; LIII:39)
- Right of freedom (Quran IV:36; XXIV:33; IV:92; XLII:21; XII:40; II:256)

All these rights are available to all, irrespective of their cast, colour, creed, gender and religion.

Not only the individual human interaction but of nations is also covered by the Quran. Islamic jurisprudence is very rich in private and public international law also. The protection under a treaty to the Christians of Najran is well known, when Prophet received 60 delegates from Najran. Future treaties of the Islamic world always treated this treaty as a model. It is a pity that whenever there is a conflict with the Islamic world, West only lays emphases on textbooks containing secular Western texts. References to Islamic law is seldom made, like in 1979, while dealing with the case of American hostages, American legal experts, never cited a single piece of Islamic International law, which is extremely rich in diplomatic immunities. Whereas history

tells us that such an indifference is rather recent. There is solid evidence that Grotius was influenced by Islamic law. His contribution to the principles of Western International law has the same principles as found in the Quran and Sunna.

Islamic classification of all human actions into five categories which are differently viewed by God. These activities are:

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|
| A. Fard | :Which is commanded |
| | :First Degree |
| B. Masnum, Mandub and Mustahab | :Which is recommended |
| | :Second Degree |
| C. Jaiz or Mubah | :Which is permissible |
| | :Third Degree |
| D. Makruh | :Which is unworthy |
| | :Fourth Degree |
| E. Haram | :Which is forbidden |
| | :Fifth Degree |

Some how with the passage of time, the range of flexibility and consequently, the scope for application between B, C and D categories of duties has been changing. For example, going by the above, there is no doubt about how a Muslim is to act in the matter of behaviour towards others, therefore, there is no place for violations of human rights for any reason whatsoever, but in practice, we know that there are blatant deviations from these

principles for justifiable and non-justifiable reasons by Muslims.

The Quran is the word of God, as revealed to His Prophet (PBUH) and obligatory on every Muslim to read the Quran for its understanding and discovering as to what he and his faith are all about. The Quran is the primary source of Islamic law and all other sources derive their strength from the Quran. Reading of Quran is an act of piety, hence the need for reading, writing and learning. Before the advent of Islam, literacy and learning were rare among the Arab tribes. Due to the need for reading of the Quran by every Muslim, the literacy became a necessity for every one. With the passage of time, not merely literacy but also the proficiency of the knowledge of Quran gained momentum because it is a very scientific text and deals with human interaction of every level. The Prophet encouraged discussion and analyses. He (PBUH) said:

"if there is a difference of opinion within the community, that is a sign of the bounty of Allah."

The right of dissent is the beginning of a scientific enquiry. The records indicate that in every Muslim city, groups of people met in the mosques or in the courtyards of private houses for discussions. Their aim would be to discuss and find out solutions in accordance with the Quranic principles, in respect of every

new problems, which were constantly arising. The difference of opinion of the minority group with the majority stimulated healthy discussion and prevented arrogance of power and suppression of minority, since the majority opinion was required to meet the criticism logically, before being enforced. Discussions were helpful in the development of juristic abilities, urgently needed in view of the rapidly expanding world of Islam in national and international relations, all based on unalterable text of the Quran. Thus the sophistication in the Islamic legal methodology developed. The techniques of legal reasoning included primarily 'Qiyas' (reasoning by analogy), 'Istishab' (presumption of continuity), 'Istislah' (consideration of public interest) and 'Istihsan' (a concept of equity developed, particularly by the Hanafi school, to offset the restrictive use of the technique of qiyas. Sir Mohammed Iqbal, an Indian thinker, went to the extent of saying that it is the duty of a Muslim to engage in such enquiry, in order to facilitate the adaptation of the law to the new age. An ardent scholar with deep knowledge of Islamic law and trained in the techniques of legal reasoning is known as 'mujtahid' and his considered initiative is known as 'ijtihad'. 'Ijtihad' provided Islamic law with a means of adaptation to the changing needs of fast developing and expanding society. However the doors of 'Ijtihad' were closed in the 10th century for the fear of loosing the infrastructure of juristic discipline and preservation of the originality. The process of 'taglid' or imitation, whereby jurists commented upon the

existing juristic literature, compensated the lack of availability of 'Ijtihad'. 'Sharia doctrines were not considered suitable for the needs of development, 'hiyal' or stratagems gained popularity. The success of 'hiyal' literature was mainly due to Hanafi scholars. Maliki and Shafi scholars opposed most of the 'hiyal' methods of reasoning. Therefore, the call for opening the doors of 'ijtihad' has been received from various parts of Islamic world. However, Ulemas are reluctant for good many reasons. They need to examine the old and new Islamic jurisprudence, since Islamic jurisprudence constantly evolves to meet the needs of modern times within the parameters of Islam. It is a legacy to be cherished and celebrated by all generations that this is such a versatile jurisprudence. I strongly advocate that this conference must explore the possibilities of opening the doors of 'Ijtihad', to respond to the needs of technological advancement and revolutionary methods of availability of information, in fast emerging plural societies of this shrinking world. Failing which, our own children will have to struggle hard to hear the voice of Islam since other voices will reach them easily.

The efforts to justify the need for opening the doors for 'ijtihad', have been received from various quarters, more urgently from the forces involved with environmental auditing and women. There has been scattered response, what is needed is a consistent concerted effort and sooner it is given, the better it

would be for the world. For example, the Tunisian interpretation of the Guranic principles concerning Muslim women, who has interpreted the Guranic requirement of treating co-wives with complete equality and impartiality, as being a practical impossibility, in view of modern social and economic conditions. Thus the Tunisian Law of Personal Status, 1957, managed to prohibit polygamy. The Muslim Family Law Ordinance of 1961, passed by Pakistan, provided, for setting up of an arbitration council, composed of the representatives of each spouse and an independent chairman, to find out if the subsequent marriage is just and necessary. I do hope that all Muslim societies would follow such interpretations, as that of Tunisia and make suitable amendments in their laws, to do away with this form of slavery of women, legitimised by marriage, is indeed a subtle form of domestic violence against them within the family, rather than a bliss of married life. Polygamy is rampant in poor and politically backward societies, where voices of women have been constantly ignored. The civil laws, often secular in nature, as applicable in European countries do not permit Muslim residents to practice polygamy legally (though the institution of marriage itself is on a steep decline in the West). In this regard, it is pertinent to note that the fall out, for the considerations of the comity of nations, of the 4th World Conference of Women, held in Beijing, China, in September, 1995, needs to include the said Tunisian approach in their agenda for Muslim societies. The Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against

Women of the U.N. has also a role play herein. The comments and reaction of the Nordic countries to the exercise of the option of 'reservation', while ratifying this Convention are very noteworthy and go ~~on~~ to challenge the games played by nations, for getting round to stall the processes of empowerment of women. Muslim societies constitute more than ~~one~~ one third of the total population of the world, most of it very much behind in development. How much I wish that both these U.N. conventions should have ^{had} the foresight to quote relevant Quranic provision, relating to the empowerment of women, to deterred and to deal effectively with Muslim countries, thereby, sparing them the trouble of resorting and invoking the clauses permitting them to ratify the said Convention with 'reservations'. Often ratification with 'reservations' is justified on the grounds that the culture and laws of these countries are different from ^{that of} the West, wherefrom, most of these Conventions are mooted, hence not relevant to their conditions. In reality, I have examined that none of the provisions of these conventions can be said to be in conflict with Islamic principles of empowerment of women. The damage done to the world of Muslim women can still be repaired, if sincerity of purpose exists, May be, this conference can explore the possibilities of formulating an acceptable similar document for Muslim countries and send it to the co-ordinators?

As already been pointed out that Islamic jurisprudence has had room for analyses in minute details. The principles are well set

and the sight of the main concern for equity and fairness are not lost. In order to have a different view point from the prevailing or that of the other group, the command over knowledge of the subject was essential, when Muslim world was interacting with Europe in the times of its glory. Therefore, learning and knowledge of the Quran was of paramount importance. The advent of Islam, triggered off the torrent of learning in the Arabic world and other parts equally benefitted therefrom. Wherever Muslims went, learning of Arabic flourished. The Prophet (PBUH) enjoined his followers to seek learning anywhere, they could find it, even to go to China to seek it, if need be. The Arab traders brought the art of paper making from china in the eight century. (in my country, India, Islam first came through Arab traders on the west coast in the southern part, who were frequent visitors to south Asia and the far east. They followed both the silk routes regularly). Earlier, the records were maintained on sheep skin or papyrus. After the availability of paper, scholars, could copy and multiply the reading material, which went through Europe through the Arab traders. The 'hajj', the pilgrimage to Mecca was a potent source of information exchange, demand for books and spread of knowledge, since Muslims from all parts of the world came here. The movement of legal ideas is well recorded in most literature pertaining to that period.

Channels of communications from Muslim world through Italy to Europe were easy and well organised. When Italy was under

Byzantine control, Sicily was a Muslim province (831 to 1090), therefore, Sicily became the gateway to Europe for the Islamic world. Muslim traders needed protection, their trading agreements needed to be honoured, credit facilities and related arrangements needed to be worked out to the last minute detail in foreign lands, gave rise to procedures and models of working documents. When Muslim world led the international trade and commerce, Muslim jurists worked hard, to evolve rules with in the basic concepts of Islam, thus those arrangements received recognition and thereby, became the natural extension of the basic principles of Islamic law. The schools of Salerno, Otranto, Rossano and Monte Cassino, were the first to receive Arabic learning. Later the Arabic learning was taken to the north of the Alps through the activities of scholars like John of Gorze, who took with him a horse load of Arabic books to Germany, from where the Arabic science and Jurisprudence reached England. Hereford in England became the foremost centre for the study of science and knowledge mainly because King Canute (995-1035) after conquering England, brought with him Lotharingan and Flemish churchmen, who were Arabic scholars and they settled in Hereford. The well known amongst them was Robert de Losinga, Bishop of Hereford. Later, Adelard of Bath, cousin of Henry I, travelled extensively in the Middle East and his work 'Questiones Naturlas' pioneered an intellectual revolution. Roger of Hereford followed immediately thereafter in quest of similar knowledge.

Muslim rule at places in Europe helped Islamic law in being received well elsewhere as well. Toledo (Spain) was under Muslim rule from 712 to 1085 and a centre of learning. Friedrich Heer's (1968, p. 240) reaction of Toledo's culture and civilisation of that period is very apt. He says:

"It was the example of Toledo that Europe first learnt to understand that learning knows no frontiers, that it is universal global and human, that it concerns mankind as a whole, without respect of race or religion. At Toledo, Arabs, Jews and Greeks worked with Spaniards, Frenchmen and Germans, with Slavs from the Balkans and last and not the least with Englishmen".

Spain and Sicily were centres of translation. Here Arabic works of scholars were translated in to Latin and transmitted in to the rest of Europe. Works of Greek philosophers, including those of Aristotle were translated in to Arabic as well. Through their use by Arab scholars, these works re-entered Europe. The libraries and universities, provided the needed impetus to this intellectual exchange. Lord Bryce (1901) in his 'Essay on Law and Religion' narrates his visit to Al-Azhar University and describes it as the splendid seat of knowledge and learning, especially of Islamic jurisprudence. He also drew similarities in teaching methods and curriculum with the European medieval universities. I do hope educationists and policy makers can make efforts to evolve a composite educational culture to spare the future

generations the dangers of falling in to traps of prejudices.

Travellers and missionaries reached the Islamic world after Crusades. They needed knowledge of Islamic laws for dealing with the Muslim mind, though they understood each other well, after all, they are all the children of Abraham! To look at positively at this period of history, Crusades provided a meeting point for Islamic and Western minds and thus a stream of intellectual and cultural richness invisibly flowed, thereby, enhancing immensely the growth of knowledge of Islamic jurisprudence in the West and its consequential influence. San Alvero of Cordova said, as recorded by Thompson:

"Many of my co-religionists read the poems and stories of the Arabs, and study the writings of Muhammedan theologians and philosophers, not in order to refute them but to learn to express themselves most elegantly and correctly in the Arab tongue. Alas! All the young Christians who become notable for their talents know only the language of literature of the Arabs, read and study Arabic books with zeal, and at enormous cost from great libraries, and everywhere proclaim aloud their literature is worthy of admiration. Heu, pro dolore. Linguam suam nesciunt Christiani".

The Muslim scholars like Avicenna (Ali Abu Ibn Sina, 980-1027) and Averroes (Ahmed Ibn Ruschd, 1126-98) are an important part of

the bridge of knowledge between Muslim world and Europe. They are the men, who brought Renaissance in the Muslim world. Avicenna was as versatile as Leonardo da Vinci. These Muslim thinkers rolled out a different dimension of intellectual enquiry of their age, came to be known as the 'Theory of Double Truth', divine truth and the human reasoning based thereon, influenced many like Aquinas, who wrote 'Summa contra Gentiles' mainly for the Muslim audience. The stimulation for emphases on reason, eventually lead to Renaissance and Reformation, thus resulting in the transformation of European legal systems. There is considerable material available to indicate that the thinking of Locke and Rousseau was greatly influenced by the works of Islamic scholars. Rousseau influenced the 'Ethical theory of Kant and equally inspired Hagel for his theory of the 'State'. Montesque wrote in 1721 'Persian letters', a clear insight in to the ways of Muslim travellers to Paris at that time or what he thought of them. It was clear evidence of influence of Islamic perceptions.

Locke showed keen interest in the lectures of Edward Pococke, the first professor of Arabic studies at Oxford. As we know from Locke's works that he was intellectually very concerned with theory of sovereignty, powers of government, methods of governance and individual liberty. Therefore, he went deeply in to the works of Arabic scholars relating to the concepts of sovereignty and law. Locke is considered to be the foremost political scientist in the concepts of trusteeship of power for

the benefit of the governed, inalienable rights of the individual, which no government can forfeit and removability of the ruler, if he failed to keep his trust and these concepts were known to Arab thinkers. The Quran clearly defines the duties of the people responsible for governance. Thus the works of Locke have indeed been inspired by Islamic thinkers.

The Islamic principle of consensus is parallel to Rousseau's concept that each individual is the recipient of the delegated power back and civil liberties from the community and the sovereignty which he had delegated to the community for being governed. Islam does not provide for the separation of moral code from the political institutions. The criticism of Rousseau of the political structure of Europe made him propound that the community formed the body political and 'the body politic is a moral being, possessed of a will'

Rousseau wrote in 'Social Contract' (1968, Book IV, p. 179): "Mahomet (PBUH) had very sound opinions, taking care to give unity to his political system and for as long as the form of his governance was undivided and, to that extent, good." He further wrote, " But it is not for every man to make the gods speak, or to gain credence, if he pretends to be an interpreter of the divine word. The law-giver's great soul is the true miracle which must vindicate his mission. Any man can carve tablets of stone, or bribe an oracle, claim a secret intercourse with some

divinity, train a bird to whisper in his ear, or discover some other vulgar means of imposing himself on the people. A man who can do such things may conceivably bring together a company of fools, but he will never establish an empire, and his bizzare creation will perish with him. Worthless authority may set up transitory bonds, but only wisdom makes lasting ones. The Law of the Hebrews, which still lives, and that of the child of Ishmael which he ruled half the world for ten centuries, still proclaim today the greatness of the men who first enunciated them; and even though proud philosophy and the blind spirit of faction may regard them as nothing but lucky impostors, the true statesman sees, and admires in their institutions, the hand of that great and powerful genius which lies behind all lasting things".

The conferences like the one in Sweden last June and now in Jordan are a path to achieve much needed understanding. The Swedish and Jordanian initiative is highly commendable. These efforts are profoundly valuable for a permanent dialogue for achieving international peace through the understanding of cross cultures. Such efforts would indeed be helpful in removing age old prejudices for attaining balanced understanding and mutual appreciation. There is ample scope for research in this area with modern perspectives. Universities and scholars need to get in to action to place their contribution in this area at the disposal of the world. I pray for the continuation of this chain of efforts. Amen.

Western Coverage of Islam: A critical Assessment

The coverage of Islam in the Western media has always been problematic. It is problematic because it has its roots in complex historical, political, social, religious and cultural reasons. This plurality of root issues, and the subsequent inability, or even lethargy, towards trying to understand them, has led to fundamental structural complexities in the coverage of Islam and Muslim societies in general. This has often given rise to prejudices that have, over time, become ingrained in both psyches. This paper attempts to analyse the causes of this and suggest some long-term remedies.

When examining Western media attitudes towards Islam, it is important to recognise the cultural background of western journalists who, in a sense, reflect the societies in which they are born. In the first instance, most Western journalists are born into a society which, until recently, had little contact with Muslims and Islam. Although Western society has undergone enormous change since the end of World War Two, Christianity played a major part in most aspects of life until fifty years ago. At the same time, the encounters with Islam were ones which were usually negative. The Ottoman invasion of Europe was one which threatened the Christian identity of Europe and a similar motivation was produced for the expulsion of the Arabs from Spain.

Islam was generally characterised as uniform, always hostile to non-believers and intent on the forceful conversion of the world. As far as the education of the average Western journalist goes, history was until recently taught from a Western perspective. Religious education, as required by law, was introduced not to teach people about non-Christian religions but to strengthen and help enforce the moral precepts and teachings of the Christian faith. In purely Christian terms, the Qur'anic revelation as it was known would have been regarded as at best fraudulent and at worst blasphemous and offensive. This historical attitude, which was reflected by most early writers on Islam - with few honourable exceptions - has also been the reference point for many Western journalists. Many are therefore carrying a negative cultural baggage about Islam with them and precious few facts about the reality, richness and diversity of Islam. This has had a determining factor in the way Islam and Muslims are viewed and this, in turn, has given rise to cultural, religious and racial bias, and probably produced a deep cultural antipathy and fear of Islam. Oddly enough, the secularisation of society has probably not entirely helped. Many people believe that they have benefited by creating a more secular society and any religion which is active, as Islam is, would be regarded in a negative light. To Many liberal Western intellectuals, the intolerance and violence of modern political Islam is highly reminiscent of their own European history. They see the world of the Muslim as a closed universe, incapable of absorbing rationalist and scientific advances.

The other common encounter was in a colonial situation - industrialisation motivated Westerners to believe that their society was superior in every respect, including the religious. The legacy of modern colonial, and particularly post-colonial, past resulted in a profound effect on Muslim nations, cultures and peoples. But these powerful effects of history are not generally appreciated by the average Western journalist. Decolonisation tended to place the Western and Islamic worlds in opposing camps. I will come back to this point later.

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The Western coverage of Islam has also been influenced by other political events, including the Western support for Israel and the oil price rises in the 1970s. The Middle East is necessarily a media godsend because it is always newsworthy. And it is always newsworthy because of dynamic political developments in that region that are ever-changing and unexpected.

But arguably the most important and interesting Islamic phenomenon of recent years was the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In international political terms, this has had a devastating impact on Western foreign policy considerations that are now seemingly so polarised as to be irreversible. Concomitantly, this had an absolutely profound influence on the Western media's coverage of Islam, which pursued its own process of polarising Islam and Muslims by using the visible militancy of the Islamic Revolution as a yardstick for discussing all things Islamic, all things Muslim. This representation of revolutionary Islam was so powerful, biased as it was, that it was a key factor in determining how Shi'a Islam in particular, and later Islam per se, was covered in the Western media during the 1980s and beyond. A notable exception was the coverage of the Mujahideen in Afghanistan during the Russian invasion.

Following the end of the Cold War, important events occurred, such as the Rushdie affair, the Gulf conflict where Saddam Hussein managed to persuade many disenchanted Muslims that the West and its media were embarked on a crusade against Islam. These events, in addition to what many in the West perceived as the need to have a new foe after the collapse of communism, has given Islam a much higher profile in the Western press. This was accompanied by pictures coming out of Afghanistan of violent acts committed in the name of Islam, as well as the spread of the increased use of violence in settling political disputes in other Muslim countries, notably in north Africa. The indiscriminate and frequently murderous violence of an Islamist fringe have proven a boon to the Western media who, in turn, have used such images to gain larger audiences.

In this period of ignorance, one can hardly hear a news bulletin where the word "Islam" is not mentioned but in a negative light, sometimes several times in the same bulletin. The news is invariably either connected with war, violence or a tragedy, or some other unpleasant disaster. The terms Islamic fundamentalism or extremism, the Muslim terrorist, the Muslim threat, the Islamic Bomb have become key buzz words used freely by the main news agencies and followed by the rest. The words Islam, Islamic and Muslim are used interchangeably even by some respectable and serious news organisations and thus such "newspeak" has become part of the acceptable popular culture. Muslim societies are often projected as archaic in their laws, undemocratic, corrupt and violent. Such prejudice is bound to have an impact on the uncritical mind and has led to theories among many Muslims of a systematic and continuing propaganda for which there are few rules.

This is ultimately leading to an alienation on two levels - that experienced by the Muslim community itself and the negative self-fulfilling prophecies that may be engendered particularly among the susceptible and the young among the now growing numbers of second or third generation Muslim minorities in the West. The coverage of Islam, as seen by these minorities, is generally covered as if they are an inherently alien phenomena, both in culture and dogma. Some of the coverage of their social, economic and political problems,

such as immigration and education, has added to their sense of isolation. There is open hostility to their demands for state funded schools in line with Christian and Jewish schools, for example. The possibility of Muslim schools being playgrounds for the training and recruitment of fundamentalists has been projected in many press reports. Even the first person who won the lottery in Britain found his religion, Islam, on trial on the front pages of the tabloids. Other stories, such as the marriage of a young Turkish man to a thirteen year old English girl on holiday in Turkey, was sensationalised with negative connotations about the boy's religion, occupation and social class. One can also detect elements of racism, may be subconscious racism, as Islam is the religion of many of these new migrants to Europe. In Britain, for example, Muslims are unable to resort to legal remedies to address this problem as religions are not covered by anti-racist legislation. If some of the writings were written about Blacks rather than Muslims, they would have been hauled in front of the Race Relations Board and the Press Complaints Commission; If they were written about Jews, they would have been instantly accused of virulent anti-Semitism and condemned.

These problems for the new Muslim communities in the West was compounded by the fact that, certainly in the early days, Muslims rarely gave feedback to the newspapers about their feelings on what is written or broadcast about them. This is partly due to lack of experience and organisation on the part of the Muslim community and partly due to apathy and nonchalance. Such an attitude has been greatly induced by the inward-looking nature of many of the ethnic Muslim minorities. Many developed a siege mentality and do not even read, let alone wish to respond to the tabloids. The lack of any clear leadership and representative Muslim voice has not helped either as the Media does not know who speaks for the community. The Muslim response has thus, up to now, been inadequate. Responses in the main have either been apologetic or else radical and confrontational. The apologists are always eager to portray an essentially non-threatening, introspective and pious Islam which can accommodate and reflect the prevailing standards of moral behaviour in the West. The radicals, on the other hand, are always keen to appear in the media and say what many in the media want to hear, thus further enforcing existing stereotypes.

Some of the more controversial aspects of Muslim culture wherein the Western media have shown a particularly exuberant interest is the position of women and the question of Muslim Fundamentalism.

The question of women has always been a serious point of contention where both sides have stereotyped each other's views and practices. In the West, this debate is mainly driven by a secularist conscience that sees itself on a social crusade to right wrongs in the name of sexual equality and freedom of expression. The Hejab, which has become a visible phenomenon in a number of Western capitals is seen by many as one of the symbols of oppression and anathema to any notion of sexual equality or gender freedom.

The coverage of Muslim Women has, therefore, been a negative one, concentrating on some of the more extreme abuses against women in some parts of the Muslim world and applying it to the whole. It has also been sensationalist in the way Western female conversion to Islam, either through marriage or otherwise, is depicted. Pictures of young girls wearing Hejab in Islamic schools makes for good television. The question of Hejab in schools and

the marriage of Imran Khan to the daughter of a wealthy Jewish socialite attracted immense media interest with some racist comments. In the case of Imran Khan's marriage to Jemima Goldsmith, the media in Britain had a field day with satirical cartoons depicting the newly-converted Mrs Khan travelling on pilgrimage to Mecca for her honeymoon.

The Hejab is seen as degrading to women because it is seen to not only perpetuate patriarchal control over what the Islamic faith refers to as "half of humanity", but is seen as an irrelevant archaism in the post-modern age in which faith is relegated to near-irrelevance. Ironically, to the Muslim masses living in the West, the Hejab has become, in many cases, a definitive symbol of identity and is regarded by many Muslim women as a protection against what they see as the West's own unhealthy attitude towards womanhood. No attempt is made to explain these subtleties but instead the coverage is often in terms of "The hejab exists because women are exploited and women are exploited because the hejab exists". In discussing no other culture are such questions so illogically correlated and so purposefully concluded.

The second point concerns the notion, an old adage recently repropounded, of an inextricable link between fundamentalism (read extremism) and Islam. Indeed, in no other religion is this suggested more strongly than in terms of the Islamic faith. The root reasons for this go back centuries and it may partly be based on a much more profound historic consciousness regarding religion in Europe. The current Western interest in Islam is, however, stimulated by the prominence of political Islam in the Middle East. There has been very little attempt in the Western Media to see it in terms of a reaction to colonial rule. Why is it that the freedom to struggle against colonial oppression in, say, Africa or Latin America, is met with relative sympathy and understanding yet the equally just struggle emanating from the Muslim and Arab world is greeted with fear and loathing? Criticism of double standards in the Western media is one argument many times put forward by Muslim and non-Muslim analysts alike.

Fundamentalism, of course, has to remain the prerequisite for discussing the various forces at play in the Middle East (whether these be political, economic and social) because it acts as a catalyst in terms of defining the larger picture to an audience that is not expected to understand the complexities of an alien culture. So much easier to call a wog a wog, easier on the tongue, easier on the brain and certainly easier on the recipient's ignorance. But to suggest that the notion of fundamentalism is used primarily to paint the background picture, the *raison d'être* as it were, for the conflicts in the Middle East is perhaps an oversimplification. It does not mean that fundamentalism, as a phenomenon, is not there to be analysed. What one fundamentally detests is the simple assumption that everything that happens in the Middle East can be explained away easily in terms of fundamentalist religious forces - but this is just one aspect of the dynamic social and political currents running through transitional post-colonial nation states.

The existence of Israel is seen very much as a media godsend because it enables the story to be told according to inherent prejudices that have been nurtured on a feeling of collective historical guilt over the holocaust and the mythical concepts of the weak against the strong, the big versus the small, David (in this case, Israel - a state borne from an international apology and forged on the notion of a victim state even before its founding) versus Goliath (the sprawling sea of Araby with its power-hungry sharks). If Israel can be

recognised as a loner amidst a hostile crowd then so much the better for an American media trying to explain US foreign policy to a US audience nurtured on some fanciful idea of "Superman" justice.

The extent to which events in the Middle East define media attitudes towards Muslim communities in the West was most painfully apparent in the aftermath of the Oklahoma bombing in the United States. Even the serious BBC "Newsnight" programme in London joined the bandwagon. In Britain, this undertow of hate was capped by one of the most astonishing pieces of journalism I have ever seen. The *Today* newspaper published on its front page the heart-rending picture of an American fireman carrying a dead infant from the wreckage, under the headline: "In the name of Islam". The paper refused to apologise even it was quickly discovered that the perpetrators were not Muslim.

Oklahoma happened out of the blue but the assumption of Muslim involvement was something that had been festering out of control for a long time. To make the connection, however superficial, was easy and one could get away with being wrong. What else did people expect? After all, was not Muslim terrorism on everyone's mind anyway? So much easier to preach to the converted - in this case an audience already sensitised to expecting the worst from Muslims.

Perhaps so, but the media jumping to conclusions was the chicken coming home to roost in terms of the perception of news analysis in the West as a whole. It also brought home an important lesson that many of us have forgotten: the simple power of the media in being able to swing opinion, instigate chaos and suffering, and then simply retire to a corner claiming professional miscalculation. But can we, as human societies, really afford such miscalculations?

How can such attitudes, then, be countered?

I want to illustrate this question with a simple hypothesis: I recently took a newspaper article which was about Muslim fundamentalism and found that if I replaced the word "Muslim" with "Jew" and the word "Islam" with "Judaism", what I got was a vociferously anti-Semitic diatribe. How journalists should be thinking is in terms of "AntiMuslimism", as Professor Fred Halliday put it. In line with such a policy, those journalists and presenters who consistently offend should be exposed and marginalised. In this respect, the programme "Kilroy", presented by the ex-Conservative member of parliament, Robert Kilroy-Silk, particularly springs to mind for his tireless rantings against "Muslim fundamentalism". Others, like Bernard Levin, who wrote some particularly scathing pieces for *The Times*, in London, and Conor Cruise O'Brien, both of whom are otherwise deservedly highly regarded commentators, have themselves a duty to inspire understanding and create a forum for further dialogue, rather than fall foul of abuse and insult. There are, thankfully, already a number of individuals working in the media, some of the broadsheets' more senior correspondents, such as Robert Fisk of *The Independent* (London), for example, who show a more open and unfettered attitude towards Muslim and Arab societies.

On the part of the Muslim minorities in the West, there should be more feedback to press reporting of Muslim issues. Muslims in the West need to "come out of the closet", if I may use that term, and become pro-active

respondents of the media world they inhabit rather than passive recipients. Letters of protest or congratulation, or merely comments on news items and programmes, must be registered with editors and commissioners so that they might heed Muslim sensitivity next time. Along with this, objective analysis by Muslim thinkers, and non-Muslim thinkers on Islam, should be further encouraged. To a certain extent, BBC Radio is already taking heed of Muslim sensitivity and Muslims are given some airtime on certain religious days. We ourselves are involved in this process, as are others such as Professor Akbar Ahmed who presented the excellent television series "Living Islam"; Roger Hardy who presented an objective eight-part series for radio "Islam, Faith and Power"; and Michael Wood's cultural documentaries.

We have reached an apex in our mutual recognition of each other's existence. What we have not reached is a common understanding of each other's ingrained prejudices and the reasons for their perpetuation. There is no magic cure. What has to be sought is a gradual process of dialogue and education which will develop and nurture our respective understanding of each other. In addressing the coverage of Islam, the greater onus is upon the Western media who must critically re-examine their coverage and particularly the use of terminology in reporting Muslim issues.

Yousif Al-Khoei
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HOW BEST TO IMPROVE THE IMAGE OF ISLAM ?

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Historical prejudices and clichés taint Islam. Especially the prejudices born in connection with Osman expansion in Europe are deeply ingrained and of lasting effect. Objectivating this chapter of European history could only be to Islam's advantage and open the way to a change in consciousness. The non-Muslim partner should be made to understand, e.g. that the starting point of Osman expansion was not the ḡihad but the belief in the Osman dynasty's calling to world supremacy. It was an idea developed in the Mongolian tradition and taken over by the Turks. Needless to say, it is not Islamic. Its realization required belligerent actions not only against Christians but also against Muslim states.

ḡihad did, indeed, lend itself admirably as an instrument of justification. The Osman Empire was essentially geared to world supremacy. Even in its military power non-Muslim elements had a considerable share. At the second siege of Vienna (1683), Balkan Christians made up nearly one third of the besieging power.

Dissemination of Islam was not its motive. Christians and Jews were able to continue unmolested in their religious activities. The Calvinists in Hungary held the religious attitude of the Turks up as example to the Europeans. The patriarch and metropolitans of the Greek-orthodox church were practically civil servants. This would have been impossible, had it not been admitted by Islam teachings. Also in many other ways had the Empire oriented itself according to Islam. The interpretation school of Abu Hanifa (8th century) played a vital role in this. Its teachings testify to increasing striving to humaneness; slave relief is upheld, trading in eunuchs condemned, cruelty to animals seen as contrary to the spirit of the religion, sparing prisoners of war and other defenceless urged. Abū Hanīfa even took the view that the life of every human being is equal in value.

In all other respects regarding the conduct of war the generally valid principles of the sharia were observed, i.e. killing women, children, the aged and insane, maiming enemies, killing peace mediators, prolonging war right up to the conclusion of peace, poisoning wells and drinking water is unlawful and not allowed.

Hand in hand with clarifying the history, the image of Islam must be enhanced through the conduct and behavior of the Muslim peoples. Ways and means must be found to protect Islam against the abominable misuse. It is inadmissible that, in the name of the religion, innocent people be murdered. National means must be used in the struggle to achieve for national goals. Today we find ourselves in a

position where innocent Muslims (as in Bosnia) are made to pay for the misdeeds of their co-religionists somewhere in the world. The lack of differentiating and the tendency, especially among Christians, to look for collective guilt, are disastrous. The entire people are held responsible for the death of one single person. This is not in the spirit of post-Council reasoning. We have to learn to differentiate.

Through Communism a number of instruments of peaceful coexistence were lost: on the Balkans, the principle of good neighborliness and building relationships of brotherliness. If these values could be brought back to mind, it could help to assuage the roused passions. Churches and mosques could play a positive role in this. In the history of the Osman Empire, the istimala-system was repeatedly used for the purpose of conquest. It is a policy of reconciliation. It has since fallen into oblivion. Professor Halil Inalcik mentions it in his historical writings. In our oecumenical times, this ancient practice of the Islam would need to be revived. This would require concerning oneself thoroughly with this system.

The motive forces of the sharia used and further developed by posterity are, apart from the Quran and Sunna (tradition), the ancient Orient, the asiatisized Hellenism, the Syrian monastic Christendom and a political pragmatism. The contribution of these human components in the sharia necessitate it being freed from all jettison.

The ^{Quran} ~~Koran~~, as scriptura sacra, contains eternal and timeless principles. But it also deals with historical questions and provides specific answers. And from these we need to filter out those that are valid for our times. The ^{Quran} ~~Koran~~ often speaks in parables, metaphors and symbols, just as it uses myths as means of expression. This is why hermeneutics is needed. Also the 'ilm asbab an-nuzul' - the discipline that looks into the outside sources of the Revelation - has quite a few things to say. Blindly adhering to the word is, therefore, out of place.

In this connection one must ask oneself what is the character of the Sunna. Some high-grade scholars see the Sunna as an igtiḥad, that is to say the personal legal finding of the prophet. Thus the Sunna is accorded quite a different meaning than is the case in the orthodoxy. The findings of the igtiḥad are to be put in question; they can be replaced by other, more modern ones.

No doubt an outside observer might see in the sharia a serious obstacle to the acceptance of global ethos or of the Declaration of Human Rights in general. But to a considerable extent sharia consists of legal constructions of later generations. Therefore it is also to a large extent the product of historical development, so that it is possible to strip it of what has been added at a later date and is not authentic. Islam's intervention in the purely jurisdictional sphere, especially in the field of criminal law, is not an emanation of religiousness, of pious endeavor, but an aid afforded by Islam in ancient times to serve its faithful. Law in oriental culture has a different character than law in the western culture. It is an instrument put in the hands of rulers or government to help secure social ability on ethical laxity. Some offences are considered pardonable.

The ancient Islamic jurists divided the world into two antagonistic blocks: the dār al-islām (House of Islam) and the dār al-harb (House of War). At one time, there was good reason for this. In our times, such division is meaningless. Nevertheless some voices still keep clamoring for such a division. In the context of our theme, this legal construction is of importance in so far as in the dar al-harb, according to the jurists, the Muslim is exempted from certain religious and moral obligations. This can be seen as the ideological inception of a double set of moral standards. A double set of moral standards stands for a behavior that condones things in public life that are considered evil and intolerable in private life. Such double set of moral standards is no more alien to the Muslim than to other people. There are sufficient examples of coreligionists in whose house reigns meticulous cleanliness yet do not feel it any concern of theirs if mountains of refuse and garbage heap up outside their house.

The Islam is the conscious and responsible mastering of life in the sign of dedication to God. The premise for responsibility is reflection. Reflection as to moral acting is ethics, in this case Islamic ethics, that, just as the Islam, run through the entire history of mankind.

Ethically ordered action requires 1) unfailing judgment of conscience ('consult Thy heart and then act!' Muhammed) and 2)

earnest endeavor to act according to the standard given by God.

Self-discipline is the premise for ethical freedom. Anyone who indulges his urges in an uncontrolled and unfettered way, is caught up in their net. In Islamic theological terms - he has already become an idolater.

In religion man seeks God in order to find man. Service to mankind is the supreme way to serve God. Religion cannot endure separate from life on earth, although to be valid for all times it must originate in God.

By its morality, which is only one part of the religious world view, religion works towards fulfilment of fundamental human needs and hopes. Religion champions justice, love, truth, reconciliation, brotherliness and unity; thereby contributes to the mitigation of conflicts in everyday life. On the other hand when religious doctrine of salvation claims exclusivity, i.e. to be one and only saving one, it may, with its morality confined to a particular denomination, become a source of interiorance; more so, it may even bring about conflicts and, as history shows, their escalation into world-wide conflicts.

Christianity, with its commandment of love and the doctrine of salvation, loosens the fetters of law and life. Not so Judaism and Islam. The necessity to make life easier, on the one hand, and to adhere to the letter of the law, in the other hand, led the Jewish scholars to keep 'multing over' the law, to consider and weigh it from different angles; so as to finally relate it and make it bearable. This may be the origin of the current term of "Jewish twist". Similarly an entire literature of legal artifices - the so called hiyal - originated in Islamic jurisprudence.

Even the finest doctrine will remain ineffective where good will is lacking. It may even turn into its opposite. Despite the commandment of love, Christians of Northern Ireland - Catholics and Protestants - are locked in bloody battle. Despite the Islamic commandment of brotherliness, Iraqi and Iranian Muslims have been inflicting death upon each other for seven years.

In conservative and rigoristic interpretation of religion there

are ideas and conceptions that hinder the development. Such hindrance is, for example, the so-called taqlīd in Islam. It is the blind emulation of the supposed life-style example of Muhammad and his closest collaborators. Bassam Tibi relates this 'imitatio' to a thought, expressed in the Qur'an, according to which Muslims are the best community the world has brought forth. He holds that this doctrine leads one to suppose that in the case of Muslims there is a psychic barrier against learning from other cultures, because they think themselves superior to them. Whether or not this diagnosis is correct, can be left open. In any case the concept of being chosen, taught by the Jewish religion, has not harmed the Jews in the cultural respect. On the contrary.

Large parts of today's Islamic world are going through a stage of development in which tradition is overstressed to the detriment of spirituality. The form and the label are rated higher than the heart. The essential feature of the Islam is in danger of being stunted by formalism.

Regional constraints, human deficiencies, low levels of education. antiquated ways of thinking, obsolete world views, national rivalry and such like - all this is provided with an Islamic label and justified to the world public. Mistaken tradition and uncritical acceptance of casuistic heritage of jurisprudence are used to establish a semblance of legitimacy. It would be erroneous to see in these practices a reflection of authentic Islamic tradition.

Sound tradition no doubt offers practicable models for social and political life. Not so the rigid and static fixation on law not uncommonly mistaken for Islamic tradition and which has an alienating effect.

Tradition generally sees religion in opposition to critical research and critical investigation. Tradition is recognition and cultivation of old pragmatical values. Although it is essential to man's understanding of himself as a historical subject, by its very nature it tends to stunt the development of his own creative forces. Rigid adherence to tradition would seem to be a means of protecting one's identity; in the end, however, it leads to loss of this very identity.

Islam is often understood as antiquated models of thinking and

obsolete structures; but these are merely remnants of an ancient oriental cultural heritage, not essential elements of the doctrine. Islam of the masses often takes on a folkloristic character.

Looking backwards makes being a Muslim more difficult. Many Muslims attach a time-transcending importance to early medieval social structures born of pre-industrial ways of thinking and long before the religion.

The 'sunna' always did play an enormously strong conservative role in the world of Islam. The Qur'an certainly had not intended it to play this role. The contents and emphasis of the 'sunna' were occasionally changed in the course of being handed down, so that finally the 'sunna' became a 'reflection of the religious, social and political conditions of those by whom it was handed down'. In this form - as a digestible product, so to speak - it reached the learning faithful.

The responsibility of the faithful lies in invoking Allah, not in invoking a human being. As representative of God on earth, 'man is placed in a responsibility that encompasses the whole : the whole of his life as that of his World in which he has his Life' ¹⁾.

Fundamentalist thinking in theology encounters inadequate understanding. In the Muslim case it additionally burdens the faithful from the very outset with the feeling of being strangers in their own homelands and hinders integration which is absolutely necessary for self-assertion. One can not permanently keep the young people in contrariety to existing standards. It is a question of how to integrate into the social process whilst at the same time retaining an impeccable religious and ethical Islamic personality. This requires effort on all levels and a methodical approach. Opening new mosques will not be enough. Maintaining a wide awake religious consciousness depends on many factors. In no way will it be achieved by insisting on the past and its preserved values. Only the readiness to take the responsibility in shaping one's own future will set planning in the right direction.

1) Heinrich Leipold : Offenbarung und Geschichte als Problem des Verstehens. Gütersloh 1962, p. 151.

It is a fact, that in the eyes of the non-Islamic world today Islam is regarded as a militant religion. That is partly due to certain misunderstanding of its teachings, partly however also to behaviours of Muslim peoples. In this context mention should be made of the Islamic perspective of creativity in the life of the faith and of the readiness to make sacrifices for it, which is properly called ḡihād, yet which is often misunderstood as 'Holy War'.

The second factor which gives Islam a by and large rather unfavourable image is the idea of the Elect One, which is to be found in Islam, as it is in the whole of the Biblical tradition. In one place it is even written that Muslims are the best community of like-minded people which God has created (Qur'an 3:110). However, one ought to bear in mind that this is only insofar the case as they are "enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong, and believing in God" (ibid.) Yet this particular condition does not play too influential role in the life of the great masses of the Muslim population.

As a third important factor which has an adverse effect on a better image of Islam in the world may be listed the doubtful attitude towards human rights in Islamic jurisprudence. After all, the shari'a continues to be equated to a large extent with Islam, even though this is not admissible, because the shari'a or total codex of Islamic rules of life is largely the work of later generations. Yet this circumstance is not given appropriate attention in Islamic teaching.

Futhermore, the concept that the ideal period of Islam was that of its founding fathers, i.e. in the conditions as they were in the earliest days, causes a certain uneasiness within Islam today. Such a conception can indeed be an obstacle to Muslims to open themselves to the future.

The understanding of Jesus Christ has opened Christianity to a perception of human concerns from the very beginning : by that, it was also the leading idea of the Enlightenment - man as measure of all things - which was understood better in Christianity than anywhere else. Even if, basically, the founder of each of the

monotheistic religions is considered to be God himself, their constitute element being the 'Selbstmitteilung Gottes', the revelation of God, each religion nevertheless still articulates its perspective basic understanding in a different way. Whereas because of its Christological dogmas, historical Christianity has to a certain extent become anthropocentric, Islam has remained theocentric. That is probably the greatest difference between the two religions. Whilst western Christianity has largely opened itself to the Enlightenment and can somehow be described as what has been filtered by it, eastern Christianity remains still much more coined by the categories prevalent in the Middle Ages; and this again leads to a sometimes easier understanding of eastern Christians by Muslims.

In asking how far man is called upon to be creative according to the Islamic concept of faith, one may first of all think of the summons to exert oneself, to the ğihād : "And strive in His case as ye ought to strive" (Qur'an 22:78). It is recorded of Muhammad ('a.s.) that he himself repeatedly said : "There some moments in which I feel urged to create". Thus he also introduced personal creativity into the primordial times of Islam. The Qur'an repeatedly speaks of the Prophet's wisdom, which means that it was not only revelation which gave rise to Islam as we have come to know it historically, but also human commitment. That human commitment forms the basis of what man is able to bring forth in his life also becomes clear from a passage in the Qur'an which runs : "It gets every good that it earns, and it suffers every ill that it earns" (Sura 2:286).

Nature does not make an exception to Muslims as human beings: They are also subject to the laws of social development. Sound renewal cannot but be accepted by Islam, Nothing that is good advantageous for society is bid'a. Muslims must break away from the conviction that everything from the Muslim past is good, and everything that happens today is infested with evil. The historical development of immorality does not spare the Muslims. Events in the Muslim world in the last four centuries have thrown this world upon itself. "Re-Islamization" is a process which has its counterpart in the impulse of Zionism after the

holocaust. But as in Judaism, a difficult historical situation led to self-reflection, and then repeated efforts to the open to the world, so re-Islamization must face up to the world and to history. Questions about its nature are already accumulating, and also doubt about its actual comprehension and practical application. In order to survive, the religious identity of the Muslims in Europe and America for example can only be based on the image of those values which have been successful in the process of history, with the highs and lows of man.

It is the ubiquitous almightiness of Allah that dictates the 6th article of Islamic faith. This article says that everything in the world, be it good or evil, depends on God. The faithful fashions his life according to the belief that he has been set into one great entirety. God is omnipresent. Man can devote himself to Him at any and all times without thereby losing his personality. The possibility the Islam offers of devotion to God is open to everyone. Dedication to the Will which acts in creation is not fatalism. It is an active profession of the creed : 'There is no god but Allah'.

Islam is endowed with a certain ascetic feature. This finds expression in the many compulsory prayers, the strict fasting during day time for an entire month, the readiness for self-sacrifice and renunciation. Life on earth is regarded more as a field for sowing what may be harvested in the life hereafter. a period demanding personal investments and dedication. The Islamic concept of Allah is predominantly an ethical one. Mystics in Islam base their manifestation doctrine on the famous "verse of the light" of the Qur'an (24:35), according to which God is the light of heaven and earth. The faithful strive towards this cosmic light.

In spite of this tendency the environment in the Muslim world is in danger. The threat to the environment finds constant expression in the excessive exploitation of existing natural resources, such as - for example - systematic deforestation of entire regions, unscrupulous exploitation of mineral resources for reasons of misguided competition, trendy habits of the up-

perbracketed consumer, and many more such manifestations. An educational level deficiency of the broad masses stands in the way of the development of an environmental consciousness. The missing factor of enlightenment in intellectual Islamic life, and almost medieval feeling of creatureliness of the simple people, social dependence and the greatly restricted space for political and social initiative impede the development of any ecological consciousness. For this people environment protection has always been individualistic, restricted generally to the most immediate personal sphere. Anything outside one's own four walls is left to state welfare or one of the many religious foundations (awqaf). On the other hand, the traditional conservatism of the broad masses shies away from dismantling the customs and is wary of abolishing tradition, what is natural.

Following the partly completed, partly incipient change to democracy in east and south-east Europe, the western world seems to be looking for a new face to put to the enemy. No later than since the Iranian events of 1979, Islam offers itself as substitute. The fears of what is seen as Islamic threat has already spread considerably. In America there is talk of a "global Intifada".

The spectre of 'Fundamentalism' appears as triggering motive. This development has last not least been furthered by the unfortunate misuse of Islam for political purposes and violations of human rights.

The attitude of the European governments and their peoples to Islam in Europa has become a true barometer of their democratic maturity and tolerance. On the whole, Islam feels - with some exceptions - in good hands in western Europe. It avails itself of the legal possibilities democratic and liberal West offers. Nor so in east and south-east Europe, where, in sharp contrast to western European conditions, Islam finds itself exposed to a kind of modern crusade and where, in the wake of the radical change in 1989, the anti-Islamic mood is on the increase. Bosnia, invaded by the darkest forces of the former eastern bloc, faces extinction.

Let me conclude with the Qur'anic words : "Verily never will God change the condition of a people until they change it themselves" (13:11). This sentence indicates the only possibility

and meals to solve the acknowledged problems.

Islam is nether witless difference nor blind submission to the dictate of history. It is constant striving. This means that the faithful are obliged to take up the challenges of their times and not to allow a gulf to separate their life and their faith. The sometimes quoted alleged lore that the Islam started out as a stranger and as such stranger shall see the end of the times cannot be reconciled with the Qur'anic thought that the Islam is the religion ordained by God.

إِنَّ الدِّينَ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ الْإِسْلَامُ (3:19). A religion separated from real life is indeed in danger of being reduced to a sect or eccentrics.

It is unrealistic to maintain that the wisdom of the Qur'an and the 'sunna' offers answers to all possible problems life may present. At the times of Muhammad (a.s.), sacral and tradited knowledge took the place of science. Therefore, in their dilemmas, anxieties and need the people naturally turned to this knowledge. Had it been the inention to seal this knowledge for all times, the Qur'an would not contain the encouragement to observe nature, to reflect and to research.

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DIALOGUE AND RELATIONS AMONG RELIGIONS

Professor Dr. Huseyin Atay

Religions have arisen from man's spiritual needs. Besides his daily problems, he is most profoundly interested in problems related to his tomorrows. It is possible to point out tomorrows in two ways. One is the tomorrow of the day in which one actually lives. That is to say, it is the tomorrows of this world. It is possible to some extent, to plan for the tomorrows of this world by comparing them to today and to yesterday. For, having seen and experienced the past tomorrows in this world, no fear of the tomorrows of this life is left and, perhaps, one looks forward to tomorrow with more enthusiasm and joyful desire. There is one anxiety though; whether or not one will reach tomorrow. Thus driving man to real anxiety is his unknown tomorrow after death, that is the second kind of tomorrow.

Man cannot know what will happen in this kind of tomorrow since he has no knowledge or experience with similar examples. God has given man the power to think. However, the answer was given by sending religion and prophet. The greatest gift of revealed religions is the promise to mankind of life after death, showing him the ways of happiness in the hereafter, despite the fact that he has no previous experience of it. Its incomprehensibility is certain as well as its inevitability. Man was created with a nature of thinking of life after death. Because man is a creature capable of both comprehending the future and taking precaution, if needed, it is impossible to get him away from his thoughts and beliefs. No matter how atheists and unbelievers deny the hereafter and life after death, even they themselves can not get away from this anxiety. Religions have brought forth some principles in order to console man and to put aside his anxiety and fears in this matter. The truth of the matter is that every religion explains the various classes in which man will be in the hereafter, the places where classes are going to be, and the ways of setting free the believers who have the same ideas and beliefs about man's comfort or conveniences in those places. It can be said that religions even if they have some differences, are uniquely united in the belief of placing man in different places by classifying him as being good or bad.

Among living religions, having the same origins, Judaism, Christianity and Islam are the closest to one another. These have arisen in different times, in different circumstances and in different nations. Having the same origin, they have

common uniting principles and aims. Differing principles and judgements are due to the above mentioned differing times and places. In addition, these differences have gone on throughout history and even if some sort of dialogue had been established, it wouldn't have gone beyond individual efforts. This may be explained as follows:

a) men belonging to three different religions who have lived side-by-side and have always shown respect for each other's legal rights, know each other as "good men". The conflicts that exist among these are like the ones that exist among men of the same religion, maybe even less.

b) Dialogues among scholars of three religions were significant but not entirely non-existent. The friendship among the scholars used to be very close, like neighbors, and once in a while, it used to be a scholarly friendship. They respected each other and took advantage of each other's views, and every now and then, they found themselves in a teacher-student relationship. Today a limited exchange of knowledge exists among scholars as it has always existed during the times of Muslim empires throughout history. Although religion is a vast field, very few relationships among religious scholars can be mentioned. History shows that Muslim scholars and Christian scholars have benefited from each other. Even today, some mutual benefits can be seen. Muslim students are getting their Ph.D. work in Christian Theology under Christian Professors just as Christian students are doing the same thing under Muslim Professors. Likewise, there is no harm in a Muslim student doing his Ph.D. work in Christian Theology at a Christian University or in a Christian student doing his Ph.D. work in Muslim Theology at a Muslim University.

c) The third kind of dialogue is to extend good relations between the church and Muslim religious institutions. This has never existed in history and does not exist even today. Perhaps this is due to political, rather than religious and scientific influence. Since such a dialogue would be under surveillance, it might have been avoided due to the possibility of being directed by government politics.

The aim of every kind of scholar is to find a remedy for the religious and spiritual troubles of man and to solve his problems. Therefore, achievement of this same goal should be considered a necessity to their profession. If the goal of both sides is only to solve the problems of man, a more successful and lasting agreement of mutual support and friendship for the sake of God would start and go on. Otherwise, to start the establishment of relations with the intention of converting each other would not produce lasting results. Such an intention may even result in deteriorating and adverse relations.

Expressing ideas of "how to behave" about this matter might be taken up at the first opportunity in the future.

The obligation of cooperation among revealed religions is a necessity of their beliefs. Atheism and hostility towards religion is being carried out intensely by governments and institutions which universally have great physical strength and propaganda. It can be seen, that youths in particular, are being influenced more as each day goes by. International terrorism is a result of this. Instead of being beneficial to this world, men are becoming destructive and terror is sentencing young and old alike to live behind chained doors. This is the influence of materialistic ideas which deny man's morality. Terror has infiltrated into man's house both openly and secretly. In destroying man's moral and spiritual values and beliefs, these atheists and unbelievers don't recognize any possession of man beyond eating and drinking. If the morality, spiritual values and religious beliefs of man are annihilated and overthrown, that would make man not only a slave, but also a materialist and nihilist. Nations, warring with each other, come to an agreement and sign peace treaties in the end.

The basis of agreement among revealed religions for common points can be started sincerely by exchanging knowledge and culture. Why shouldn't religious scholars try to establish world peace if governments or philosophers don't do so? Religious scholars deserve this attempt and their love of man is superior. This kind of effort might at least diminish animosities and minimize wars.

However, in order to start good relations, it will be appropriate to commence by teaching our different religions to each other. Let's get acquainted with each other and try to know the religion of one another. I believe that we will have more positive results if we start communicating, not only through books, but also through confrontation. There is a great difference between reading someone's book and talking with him in terms of sympathy. It might leave a negative impression when someone's book is read, however, a positive impression may come out during a face-to-face chat.

This begins through the exchange of teacher and student, to be treated or respected according to one's own religion depends on how much is known about his religion. The agreement and friendship which are based on knowledge and culture have a firm foundation. Thoughts and proposals might spread out if everybody starts this dialogue within the bounds of possibility. If atheists and unbelievers are putting great efforts into spending more money in order to spread their thoughts, the believers of a religion, in the same manner must disseminate, teach and support their beliefs, thoughts and principles to establish relations among religions.

This exchange of culture among the religions would dissipate intolerance. One believer wouldn't look at another believer with an evil eye, and by learning to respect another's religion and to treat him according to his religious judgements, people of all religions could start friendships.

It is right to think that all the people who unite with each other on the fundamentals would be happy. Scholars of every religion would learn a few ideas and methods by exchanging thoughts and knowledge. This doesn't necessitate him to leave out the religion. This kind of cultural exchange may be started scientifically as Ph.D. studies, seminars in Ph.D. programs and exchanges of teachers at universities, religious faculties and colleges. Mutual scholarship could be provided. It could be developed and disseminated as its benefit is seen. Is there any other greater work than pleasing God? Scholars of religions are the individuals who do this sacred work. The aim is to indicate the ways of happiness and to serve mankind. Those who serve mankind, the beloved creatures of God should have indeed pleased God.

Therefore, because of these and similar reasons and benefits, starting a dialogue based on good and exchanging teachers and students within the framework of universities would result not only in a good starting and positive outcome, but it would also be the greatest guarantee of a beginning.

The purpose is not to unite the religions. But it is to develop good relations among them.

In order to materialize a dialogue among religions, the first step, to take may be holding conferences in which some common universal principles of the dialogue are determined and discussed.

First of all, however, we'd better establish some points which are concerned with the state of the present religions.

It is a fact that every follower of a religion, because he believes that only his religion bears the truth and all other religions are false, is of the belief that he, and only he, is on the straight path and therefore, he will enter heaven. He, by assuming the role of an angel of mercy, tries to save people of other religions from hell. Every follower of a religion thinks that only his religion is the universal one for all men and thus he struggles to call people to embrace his faith. Scholars of every religion persistently discuss problems among their co-religionists and endeavour to propagate the alleged wrongs of other creeds. Thus enmity spreads among the religions and the present gaps that exist between one another become unbridgable. Believers of a religion and its scholars use the political authority to which they belong for their missionary activities; whereas, political authority too, exploits them for political

purposes. Every follower of a religion feels sorry for failing to convert others into his religion and he tries every possible means without giving adequate care as to whether they are lawful or not in the religion concerned.

Having fixed these above-mentioned unfavourable attitudes that exist among the religions, we now may determine some of the positive principles, and every follower of a religion should take these principles into serious consideration through research, meetings, conferences, etc. It will be easy to commence such a dialogue among the revealed religions, that is, Judaism, Christianity and Islam, as there are some common points in the very roots of these religions. Every scholar of a religion should feel that these common principles are to be dwelled upon and be explained to his co-religionists. The tentative principles may be summed up as follows:

1. The scholars of these three religions should frequently meet and discuss relevant religious problems.

2. No one should try to convert other believers into his own religion; but every one may freely explain the principles of the religion he believes in.

3. Every follower of a religion would naturally believe that his faith is the true one, nevertheless, he would also accept the possibility that other systems of belief also have the truth. Therefore he would not claim the invalidity of other religions.

4. Each would accept each other as men of religion and therefore would treat them as if they were his co-religionists.

5. Every follower of a religion will struggle against atheists and doing so, he will seek the help of the followers of other religions.

Finally, every follower of a religion should consider that not only will his co-religionists enter heaven but others also will, provided that they believe in these two basic principles and act accordingly. These two principles are as follows:

1. To believe in God, the Creator of the universe, all knowing, the performer of what He desires, the necessary Being.

2. To act rightly and honestly, that is to say, to be right and honest to everyone, irrespective of his colour, religion and nationality.

These two basic principles are the most comprehensive and universal ones. Apart from these two, the belief in

resurrection and of life in the hereafter may well be considered as the third universal principle. In fact, for those who accept and practice those two it is already included in them.

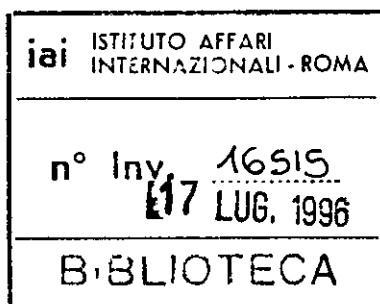
In short, it is indispensable that the proposed dialogue be based on these two principles. Whoever takes hold of these may also be considered to have followed the foundation of the religions and consequently reached salvation. Judaism, Christianity and Islam already have these basic principles. Other minor and detailed differences are to be discussed among the religions. Frivolous ones should not be taken into account.

Every scholar of a particular religion, should feel free to preach the pillars of his religion but, he, at the same time, should remind his people that whoever believes in these two basic principles, ought not to be considered an atheist or an infidel.

It will be clear from reviewing these topics, issues and problems that the goal of this dialogue and study will not be an exercise in self-praise nor is it going to be a show of strength and supremacy of any religion against others.

Therefore, the first thing to do is to hold serious meetings, spirited with good intentions, without giving much importance to the approval or disapproval of the principles that have been pointed out above.

Perhaps this paper may be the catalyst for beginning such a dialogue.



Alexander Fodor (Budapest)

THE WEST AND MUSLIM CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THE WORLD CIVILISATIONS

Judging by the news and commentaries by mass media on world events we are tempted to think that the conflict between the Muslim world and Europe is the most significant factor which determines further developments in present day history. From time to time journalists raise

the possibility of a new confrontation which will replace the old hatreds which shaped international relationships between the West and the so-called socialist world during the cold war. In this negative propaganda against Islam acts of terrorism are

frequently exploited to emphasize age old false views and misconceptions about Islam as a religion and spreading prejudice among the ignorant. The political aspect of this conflict has always been assured by the permanence of the Arab-Israeli armed confrontation in the last fifty years.

The situation has been especially aggravated with the emergence of Islamic fundamentalism in the last decades. The nature of this phenomenon has played the main role in transforming an originally national issue into a religious one. The reason for this and for the birth of Islamic fundamentalism in general can be found, in my opinion, in the disastrous defeat in the six-day war in

1967. This military defeat dealt a serious blow also to the idea of Arab nationalism symbolized by Abdel Nasser. In his value system expounded in the Philosophy of the Revolution Islam occupied only the third place after Arab nationalism and Pan-Africanism. After the failure of Arab nationalism in solving the basic problem of the Arab world the pendulum shifted in a natural way to the opposite side: religion. The conclusion drawn by many from the lesson was logical: if nationalism failed then a much broader force relying on a wider scale of elements and the confidence given by religious belief promised success and victory.

As a matter of fact, this attitude has never been alien to the Muslim community ever since the Prophet interpreted the disappearance of ancient peoples as a result of God's punishment on them because they refused to accept the Divine revelation proclaimed by His true messengers. This flux and reflux between nationalism and Islamism can be particularly well observed in the last century

when Pan-Islamism was born to be followed by the birth of nationalism to be replaced by the Islamic trend. This basically political problem has deeply influenced the relationships between Europe and the Islamic world and greatly contributed not to the creation but rather the preservation of negative

attitudes on the part of both sides. For the Arabs the haunting memory of the Crusades and the Crusaders' states, for European public opinion the appearance of Islamist extremism and terrorism have proved to be sometimes unsurmountable obstacles in the way of finding a better understanding.

No matter how significant the political aspect of the whole problem is what we intend to do on this occasion is to approach the subject on the social level and to see what can be done in eliminating prejudice and false stereotypes mainly through the help of education.

In this respect the supposed confrontation between the so called Western world and Islam can be best interpreted within the framework of intergroup conflict which is one of the main fields of research for social psychology. This term of intergroup conflict may concern in the widest sense of the word representatives of groups, nations, races, religions, cultures. This kind of intergroup conflict is unfortunately a common phenomenon all over the world, in the most different societies and countries let them be Western or Eastern. The recent sad history of former Yugoslavia is the best witness to the fact that new ethnic or religious conflicts can appear seemingly quite unexpectedly at any place and at any time. In the Balkan ethnic hostilities have contributed to the re-emergence

of age-old hostilities and rivalries between Orthodox and Latin Christianity combined with their separate confrontation to Islam in Bosnia.

Understanding the historical background of intergroup conflicts and accompanying prejudice and false stereotypes is a basic factor in the elimination of biased ideas. This explains the role of education as a basic means in spreading cultural information. In other words, as a leading social scientist put it: "The psychology of intergroup attitudes and behaviour must specify contemporary events within the framework of the past relationships between people and their future goals and designs" (Sherif, 1966, p.21). Another indirect confirmation of the paramount importance of education can be found in the UNESCO Charter which states that wars begin in the minds of men (Condor-Brown, 1988, p.20). Consequently the "illumination" of these minds through knowledge provided by education is the first step towards the realization of better understanding.

Social psychology generally proposes two approaches to deal with intergroup conflicts: the "contact approach" is based on physical contact between members of the groups, and the "information approach" which centers upon providing information to members of the conflicting groups about each other. It is in this respect that the decisive role of education and educational institutions starting from kindergartens to universities come to the fore.

As is well-known ignorance and lack of information will lead sooner or later to the development of prejudice and stereotypes. On the other hand the acquisition of proper information may tend, although not necessarily, to minimize negative attitudes based on prejudice.

Starting with the first stage of education we may state that children in kindergartens are usually in a lucky position to form a positive attitude about the world of Islam since the tales of The Thousand and One Nights are real bestsellers for them and the astonishing world of the stories may incite them to start to like the Islamic setting of the tales. Later on this could be a determining factor in forming positive attitudes about Islam as a whole civilisation.

School in its different phases can include information into the curricula on Islamic history and Islamic contribution to the cultural achievements of mankind. The most efficient way of assuring the acquisition of the information is to repeat it on the different levels in an increasingly detailed form.

Universities and other institutions of higher education can play the most effective role in the information approach. Appropriately chosen educational materials have a good chance in helping the reduction of prejudice.

In the following I wish to give a selection of materials

representing different aspects of Islamic culture which can be used in the hope of achieving a positive effect on students.

Starting quite logically with the presentation of historical events we can also state that these are the most controversial and the most difficult to deal with and not to stimulate feelings which are in sheer contrast to the intended ones.

First of all the subject of the Crusades cannot be left out from the review of historical experiences shared by Europeans and Muslims. The question is how this delicate problem is presented and explained in an objective but not hypercritical way. A very good example for the latter is offered by a series of articles on the Crusades published by the French daily Le Monde in 1993. The author decided to follow the long road of the Crusaders from Clermont Ferrand in France as far as Jerusalem via Bouillon, Budapest, Sophia, Constantinople to name only the main stops on this long journey. A journey to the past but always with references to the present.

My late teacher of history always told us to look at historical events through the "eye-glass of the age" if we really want to understand them. This approach can be used in the case of the Crusades which have been interpreted in so many and frequently contrasting ways.

Emphasising the long lasting negative effect the Crusades have left on Christian-Muslim relations is self-evident but the moral rejection of the Crusaders' acts must be presented in view of the complexity of the whole question. The desired effect may turn to its opposite, if we adopt the hypercritical attitude of such great figures of the French Enlightenment as Diderot and the Encyclopedists who looked upon the Crusades as the archtypes of superstition and the intolerance of the Church. By this simple rejection they ignored the sincere belief which motivated most of the first Crusaders when they were ready to leave everything behind when they decided to accept every hardship for liberating the Holy Sepulchre.

Besides, any serious effort which claims to be objective in dealing with the causes that made Pope Urban II, to call for the liberation of Jerusalem in 1095 cannot forget the importance of such facts as the destruction of the Holy Sepulchre at the hands of the Caliph al-Hakim bi-Amri-l-lah or the responsibility of Alexis Komnenos, the Byzantine Emperor who personally invited the Pope to announce the Crusades.

To form correct ideas about the real nature of the crusades we cannot omit references to the atrocities, pogroms, massacres perpetrated by the Crusaders during

their long march across Europe. For example the Hungarian king, Coloman had to decimate an army of the Crusaders because of their atrocities against local people.

Among the positive outcomes for the Muslim side reference must be made to the important role played by such historic figures like Saladin and the victories by Muslims in the shaping of present-day historical consciousness. This process of strengthening people's awareness of history is exemplified by such facts as erecting an imposing memorial to Saladin in Damascus or the celebrations organized on the occasion of the anniversary of the Muslim victory at Hattin in 1187.

As a sign of change in the judgement of the Crusades it is worth mentioning that the inhabitants of Clermont Ferrand were not happy when a memorial statue for Pope Urban II was erected in 1895.

It is also significant on the way to encourage a better understanding between Christians and Muslims that on the occasion of the coming year 2000 when the Christian world will celebrate the anniversary of Jesus' birth the Pope called for a dialogue between Christians, Muslims and Jews. Looking for historical parallels one cannot forget that a thousand years ago the celebrations on the occasion of the year 1000 and the subsequent growth in the number of pilgrims heading for the Holy Land heralded the coming of the Crusades.

Before leaving the domain of history, a historico-religious concept, namely the jihad, the holy war for the sake of God, calls for an objective presentation since it has caused the possibly greatest misunderstandings and controversies between Christians and Muslims and it has always been one of the most serious accusations levelled by Christians at Muslims whenever they have tried to prove the aggressive character of the propagation of the Islamic faith.

Any attempt to give a correct explanation of this idea must emphasize at least two mistakes which Christian advocates of this rather simplified view do not fail to commit in most of the cases. First, they do not differentiate between the original situation when jihad was an important means of self-defence for the Prophet and his followers and between the present situation when Muslim theologians interpret jihad as an inner holy war for moral improvement. Second, they overlook the fact that any call for jihad necessarily lacks the legal support since only the leader of the Muslim community has such a right but there is nobody who could qualify for this title. Consequently, any call for jihad cannot be more than a piece of political propaganda.

Another important aspect of the historical background of the jihad is disclosed by the fact that the idea of the "just war" for the cause of God was actually invented by St Augustine in the 4th century A.D. The Crusaders

did nothing else than put the idea into practice. Speaking about Islam as a religion the stressing of the existence of ideas shared in common by all the three monotheistic religions can always have a positive effect on students. Apart from the indication of this common spiritual background, my personal experience has shown that students have always liked to get acquainted with every-day practices related to religious customs and beliefs. A good example of this is the celebration of mulids, saints' birthdays in Egypt, where Muslims, Christians and Jews share common practices. Apart from the numerous mulids of Muslim saints like those of al-Husayn, Sayyida Zaynab, Ahmad al-Badawi, Ibrahim ad-Dasuqi and many more, Mari Girgis, i.e. Saint George for the Copts and Abu Hasira for the Jews deserve to be mentioned. The latter's mulid was celebrated in the city of Damanhur situated in the Nile Delta in December and a large number of Jewish pilgrims from all over the world flocked to Damanhur to commemorate this noted saint. It is not rare that members of the different communities visit each other's mulids to benefit from the other saint's blessings.

These kinds of instances can show students that peaceful coexistence between different communities is a natural phenomenon worth to be imitated.

Turning now to other fields of Islamic civilisations we may mention the enormous debt Europe owes to Islam in the natural sciences and philosophy. In contrast to the controversial historical experiences Islamic achievements in these fields and Muslim contribution to scientific progress can always speak for themselves. Usually we do not have to go into exaggerations when we point to Islamic precedence in these fields. To illustrate what kind of presentation can be expected to exert the most favourable impression on listeners we may refer to such examples as the case of Giovanni Vico who tried to discover general laws governing the progress of human societies and who had a precursor in this respect in the person of Ibn Khaldun, the famous philosopher of history several centuries earlier.

Or there is the case of European medicine which was indebted to Islamic medicine much more than to Greek. Suffice it to mention the popularity of Avicenna's Canon or that the appearance of hospitals around the year 1200 came under Muslim influence.

Excellence of medieval Muslims in sciences and their dedicatedness to their cultivation offer a good opportunity to link it to the widespread employment of the newest results of technical and scientific progress all over the Arabic and Islamic world.

In the foregoing we tried to show how educational programs can be used in the informational approach to eliminating prejudices resulting from intergroup conflicts. The effect of this method, however, can be strengthened by combining it with the contact approach. In our case this means that after the acquisition of a certain amount of information participants of the programs, teachers and students alike should be given the possibility to establish personal contacts with people in the Muslim world.

To conclude this survey, let me indicate some important points. The elimination of the conflict has every chance to eliminate prejudice although not necessarily on the short run. An example for this to happen can be found in the case of Hungary. As is well-known a part of Hungary lived under Turkish occupation during 150 years. Later, Hungarian freedom fighters who revolted unsuccessfully against the Austrian rule found a political asylum in the Ottoman Empire. This brought about a change in the earlier conflict situation. Former hostility and confrontation gave way to mutual respect and sympathy. This reconciliation went as far that a famous historian of the beginning of this century gave a very idealistic picture even of the period of the Turkish occupation.

Research also shows that the acquisition of correct

information does not necessarily lead to a change in the negative attitude. This means that the information approach has its weak points. The same can be stated in connection with the contact approach. Negative feelings of exchange students towards the culture of the host country can be increased after a time.

Although we cannot suggest hundred percent safe methods for eliminating intergroup conflicts and their by-products we may say that a combination of these methods combined with a firm belief in success in the long run may pave the way for achieving the desired goal of lessening intergroup tensions.

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ALEXANDER KHATCHATRIAN

The Muslim - Christian Dialogue

The history of the interrelations between the Muslim world and Europe goes back to the Middle Ages. The problem of that interrelations is very complicated and manifold, in other words, it is the problem of the Islamo-Christian dialogue - the history of the interrelations of the Muslims and the Christians during the 14 centuries of the coexistence of the two religions.

Of course, the frames of this paper do not give us the possibility to embrace the whole spectrum of the problems dealing with the dialogue between the Islam and the Christianity. But it is necessary to find such a point of view, which could give an opportunity to observe its diversity in a kind of a unity of problematic. In that aspect the historico-culturological approach seems to be the most relevant. For, in the final analysis, the Islamo-Christian dialogue is one of the forms of a wider process of cultural and historical interaction of the East and the West. Today, the East - West problem attracts great attention both in the West and in the East, the striking evidence of which is this conference dedicated to the relations between the Muslim World and Europe. The actuality of ^{This} ~~that~~ problem may be expressed with a ^{unique} ~~unique~~ argument: the future of the two regions depends on solving the problem of their interrelations. It was after the spread of Islam and the creation of the Arab Khalifat, that the religious and ideological opposition of the West and the Near East came into being. But after the Seljuks appeared in the Near East in the XI century, that opposition grew into a military and political confrontation between the two civilisations, and until the XX century it bore predominantly religious and ideological ~~int~~ ^{connotation}.

The establishing of Islam in Syria, Egypt and Northern Africa, which tore away the half of the Mediterranean area from the Christians, the Muslim Conquest of Spain, Sicily and the Crusades to Palestine, the seizure of Salah-ad-Din (Saladin) the Reconquista in Spain and the fall of Constantinople, the Osman-Turk invasion to the Balkans and the revolts of the Greeks and the Slavic peoples - all these events were interpreted as wars against the "infidels", in the categories of the Holy Wars or Jihad, thus confirming in the minds of the sides the idea of the historical antagonism of Islam and Christianity.

But the process of the cultural contacts between Europe and the Near East was never thoroughly interrupted. In the early period of Islam that important intermediary mission was accomplished by the Christian Syrians. In the VII century Islam met in Syria the Christian ideology, developed in the previous epoch by the Greek patriots. In the IX-X centuries the schools of Christian translators in Baghdad, Gundishapur and Haraan introduced the antique philosophical and scientific heritage to the Muslims.

In the XII-XIII centuries the roles changed. Now the Muslim scientists and philosophers became scholarly authorities for the European Christians. The translation^s made from Arabic to Latin considerably enlarged the European knowledge of the antique philosophy, medicine and natural sciences. Renaissance and the New Age strictly brought apart the fortunes of Europe and the Muslim East, but in the XIX century their new approach began to outline. And in this process the most important role belonged to the Christians^(Syrians) of the Arab East who greatly contributed to the social and national - cultural upsurge (nahda), in the Arab East in the second half the XIX century - first half of the XX century.

Islam not only ^{gave} Europe new knowledge, but also considerably influenced the development of the cultural processes, in many aspects promoted the formation of the European self-consciousness. The concept of "Christian Europe" itself and in general the idea of European territorial and cultural unity took shape among the Europeans in the case ^{of} the Reconquista and the Crusades, ~~that is arose~~ ^{arose} from the opposition to the Muslim world. It was the first Crusades, that initiated the process of "cultural intercourse" between Western Europe and the Muslim ^{World}. In the Middle Ages the main stereotypes of the image of Islam in Christian world-outlook were formed. Those stereotypes predestined in many aspects the peculiarities of the traditional attitude of the Church towards the Muslims. And the ~~contemporary~~ modern European views on the Muslim world have originated from the mixture of contradictory, corrupted, sometimes fantastical ideas with the real knowledge of ^{Their} ~~the~~ medieval ancestors. The image of Islam in Europe is composed of three coexistent and interacting elements: mythological, theological and rational. The Western European views on Islam were mainly moulded in the XII-XIV centuries on the base ^{of} Eastern Christian interpretation of the Muslim doctrine. In the period of time from the XV up to XIX centuries the real knowledge on Islam in Europe developed very slowly. In the XIX century a strong wave of European migration of military officers, travellers, businessmen, missionaries, technical specialists and scientists - to the

East opened ^{wide} ~~white~~ possibilities of immediate contact with the new world. The knowledge of the Muslim countries grew with great speed. The interest to the Muslim world was stimulated with the practical needs of European countries. In Europe imperialistic colonial interest towards the ^{Near} Arabic East ^{arose} ~~arrows~~, which resulted in the division of ^{The Arab Countries} ~~their territories~~ on spheres of influence ^{ce} and then - their occupation and the establishment of mandate and protectorate regime ^{s/} in the Near

East in the first quarter of the XX century. The Western empires in the colonial period appeared as masters and exploiters, provoking not only positive but also negative attitude towards themselves. The close interrelations in XIX - first half of the XX centuries between the East and the West resulted in disappointment about "civilised Europe".

The colonial period formed certain ^{type} ~~stereo~~ type of thinking among the Arabs and Muslims in general. But the backwardness, which was the result of a long period of time of stagnation during the Ottoman rule in XVI - XIX centuries, and the need of social development forced the Arabs and the whole Muslim world to turn their faces to the West, to the western political and economical systems in order to find ways of rapid progress. The progressive representatives of the Arabic society understood the importance of assimilating the achievements of the Western science and the World culture, in order not to remain the stepchildren of the history, exploited and humiliated. At that time the West showed the East the prospective of its economical and cultural development.

In the period of time between the two World Wars the attitude of the Arabs towards the West remained ^{ambiguous} ~~double~~, on the one hand the striving grew to use achievements of the Western civilisation for the needs of the social development, and on the other hand - total distrust, even hatred towards the Western bourgeois society accumulated.

The hopes of the Arab ^{illuminators} ~~enlighteners~~ and reformers for the forthcoming formation of the European type society did not thoroughly come ^{true} ~~there~~. But the national liberation movements in the Arabie countries between the two World Wars forced the Muslims and the Christians of near East to continue their search

for new forms of community life, after the collapse of ^{the} colonial system and gaining the independence by the Muslim countries in the 40-60's (new prospective opened) for the Muslim - Christian dialogue and setting relations between the Muslim world and Europe. In all the Muslim countries of the Near East social and economical progress is observed. ~~The capitalistic relations different tempo.~~

In the culturological aspect the development of social relations in the countries of the Arab East based on the synthesis of the traditional heritage and the modern values. The tendencies of the development of modern multiform ties between Europe and the Arab East could be hardly deeply understood without taking into consideration the specific character (both historical and modern) of their religious relations. Sometimes the least very unexpectedly appear to be interlaced with the economical, social, political and mostly cultural spheres of their co-operation.

In the Islamic - Christian relations the Church plays a special role. ^{It} ~~She not~~ ^{not only} stimulates the dialogue between the Muslims and the Christians, but also sets interrelations between them in wider aspects. The role of the Church in the development ~~in the~~ of the concepts of the dialogue was and stays to be very important. That is why the Church has to undertake the task of giving the Muslims access to its religious teachings and doctrines and to prepare a background for the theological dialogue between Islam and Christianity, which may have two forms: theoretical and practical. In the theoretical aspect the dialogue may be based on the positive ^{strong} evaluation of the Islamic religious doctrine, with special ⁱ emphasises on the points, which are common for the both religions: the Monotheism (tauhid), the abrahamite tradition, the Christology, the Mariology, the ⁱ eschatology, the ethical

teachings (^{AKAL-G}ahlag), the cult etc. The belief of one God, the Monotheism (tauhid) - the central dogma of Islam, expressed in the first part of the Muslim "Shahadah" - must become the foundation, crucial point of the Islamo-Christian dialogue.

As for the practical sphere, the Church must work out orientations for joint social practice. In this sphere moral values should be pointed out, which form the base of the social, family and individual ethics of the Muslims, and the most important prescriptions of Islam on the cult must be stressed: relating the God (prayer), relating the ^{other people} (mercy, charity), relating oneself - one's own nature ^{abstinence} (fasting). These three ritual prescriptions, together with the attestation of the belief in the God and ^{The} prophet ~~t~~ Mohammed and ~~hadj~~ (pilgrimage to Mecca) - form the "five pillars of Islam" - "Arkan ad-din" the foundation of the religious practice of the Muslims. These prescriptions have their analogues in Christianity. For the religious thought these problems are extremely concrete and they can not be separated from the social and cultural aspects of the co-operation and dialogue. Moreover, the Church has to accept Islam as an independent Monotheist religion, the God-revealing nature of Koran and the status of Mohammed. Only the favourable disposition, openness, mutual tolerance and respect can open prospective of mutual understanding and dialogue and can make the "peace and social justice" possible. Though positive progress in the relations of the Catholic Church with the Muslim world are obvious, the dialogue is realised only on the elite ~~level~~, but not *the popular level*.

An essential obstacle is formed by the psychological barrier, which divides the two religious communities, - the heritage of the century-old history of mutual incomprehension, which often transformed into the "dialogue" of the sword and

<yataghan>. It would be just to note, that the church has played a very active role in that dialogue.

But today the both sides have to forget the past and taking into consideration the bitter experience of the past, to develop the items of the interreligious communication and not only deal with theoretical problems of interrelations with Islam, but, first of all, with try to find "lively dialogue of the confessions", to find concrete forms of the dialogue of the representatives of various religions, stressing that all the believers belong to the human race. All the people form one unity, go back to one origin and have to feel themselves members of the great human family, for they belong to the common People of the God. It is the universalism, that can unite in a synthesis the most diverse ideological values, and our general principle should be "unity ⁱⁿ and diversity".

A very important role in the religious dialogue between the Muslim world and Europe and in the social and cultural development of the Near East was played and continues to be played by the Christian peoples and the national minorities in the Near Eastern countries, ~~the~~ whose national cultures flourished after their conversion into Christianity.

The rise of Islam, its rapid and firm strengthening on the vast territories in Asia and Africa played a decisive role in the fate of the Eastern Christianity. It met the new religion without any resistance. The reasons were, first, the tolerance of the early Islam towards the confessional affairs of the Christians (of course, under the conditions of their political loyalty), second, the Muslims defended them of the claims and persecutions of the Byzantine empire, which considered the Monophysite and Nestorian Christians as heretics.

It is interesting to note, that one of the outstanding figures in the history of Armenia, the head of the Church (catholicos) Hovhan Odznetsi in the early VIII century, when Armenia was divided between the ^{Byzantine} Empire and Khalifat, being himself admirer of the Greek culture, preferred to establish good relations with the Arabs in counterbalance to the Byzantine, and due to that wise policy managed to strengthen the real independence and the national identity of the autocephal Armenian church.

So, the Christians of the Near East were not assimilated. They kept their spiritual and partially also cultural originality, which depends not only on their religious and cultural roots, but also on the tolerant attitude of their Muslim environment.

In the limits of "dar al-islam" (the abode of Islam) the classical Islam recognised the status of the Christians and the Jews as "those under protection" (ahl al-Dhimma), who are "the people of the Holy Book", "holders of Scripture" (ahl al-kitab), that is people, who have their holy scripture. Their status was in general determined already in Koran.

Thus the Christians and the Jews had the right to exist as religious communities. Each confessional community

was conducted by its own religious legal rules, which regulated not only its spiritual, but also its social life. A very important and significant example of religious and social symbiosis of Muslims and Christians are the mixed commercial-trade corporations, known as futuwwa, which flourished in the XII - XIV centuries in the Asia Minor.

Today the Christian minorities of the Near East are a very important factor in the aspect of the Muslim - Christian Dialogue. It is in the Near East, where till nowadays Christian communities exist in their ethnic and confessional diversity. It

is the loyalty and the tolerance of the modern Islam witnessed by the fact of the existence and flourishing of the Christian ethnoconfessional minorities in the Muslim environment. This may be demonstrated by the example of the Armenian communities of Lebanon, Syria, Jordan, Egypt, Iran etc., which keep their language (Armenian), the spiritual (religion, church) and social life (cultural, sportive and other institutions) and take active part in the social-political life of the Near Easternⁿ cities.

I would like to pay special attention^{to} on the important role of the mass media. There is no doubt that they are the main instrument, which form the public opinion of the conflicts in Yugoslavia, Azerbaijan, Armenia and Chechnia. They also play an important role in the modernisation of the social consciousness, the adaptation of the modern Weltanschauung^{to}, of building and changing of acceptance of tenor of life, of adopting the modern technological changing of the social life etc.

I suggest the following points in order to maintain a dialogue between the Muslim world and Europe.

1. To propagate through mass media the ideals of universalism - the adoption of the values of the world culture, the principle of unity of mankind in all the diversity of forms of its cultural-historical experience.

2. To ^{reject} refuse the stereotypes of ^{national superiority,} discrimination, of larger political experience of this or that people, to reject confessional hatred and religious intolerance, ^{enhancing} raising the function of religious dogma^s upon ideological and political concepts.

3. ^{To} Stimulate the development of religious contacts and the adaptation of the religious institutions to modern life.

4. ^{To} Develop ~~(work-out)~~ the following theoretical and practical sphere^s of the dialogue of two religions:

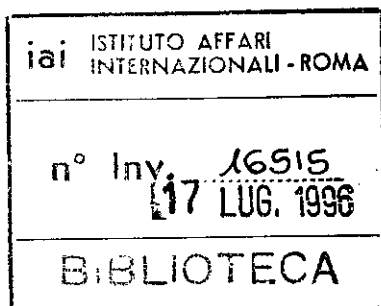
A. Monotheism, "tauhid" ^{cult} Abrahamite tradition, Christology, Mariology, eschatology, ethic teachings, the rites etc.

B. ^{To} Organise international conferences and congresses for ^{the representatives of} the different religions, regular seminars and lectures, with the participation of the leading theologians and scientists.

C. Publish special ^{international} ~~joint~~ journals and monographs on the doctrinal problems of the inter-religious dialogue.

D. ^{To} Stimulate the exchange of journalists and university professors for illuminating ^{various} ~~special~~ problems and organising special courses on the dialogue.

5. ^{To} Stir up the social-political processes of the integration of the countries of the mentioned ~~regions~~ into world economy and politics.



SOME DIFFICULTIES CONCERNING THE NEED FOR MUTUAL RESPECT.

Jan Myrdal

Truth is... as we know ...concrete. I will therefore begin by taking three concrete Swedish examples that few people will want to hear about.

1) One of the three traditional nationalities of Sweden, the really indigenous population of what is now Middle and Northern Sweden, are the Same. (Lapps as they were called by the ethnical Swedes as the indigenes were called Indios by the Spanish.) They are herdsmen following the reindeer and constitute a nationality with a language, a culture and an economy of their own.

But the ethnically Swedish settlers from the south and East have been taking more and more of their land during centuries. The Swedish state through its politicians and the legal system are still dispossessing them. The Same are being driven to destruction as a community. (It is important to remember that the same Swedish politicians that talk beautifully in international fora of the rights of the indigenes in South America have just voted away a base for the economic life of the Same. The traditional hunting rights of the Same in the land they inherited from the dawn of time have been confiscated. for the benefit of the tourist industry ... but then these politicians are amateur hunters, but they do not hunt in the South American rain forest but in the Same mountains!)

There has in recent decades been a large Iranian immigration to Sweden. The Same are native and Christian. The Iranians are Muslim and immigrants. and the size of the two groups - Iranian immigrants and indigenous Same - is about the same. But it is the Same who are subjected to a policy that .. to be honest .. is genocidal and it is the Same who in the media and by Swedish officials are subjected to ethnical slurs.

How come?

The Same are not even farmers, they are reindeer herdsmen. They are not well off. The Iranians are mainly middle and upper middle class, urban and educated.

Class not religion or race (whatever that is) is here the determining factor.

2) The third Swedish nationality is the Finnish. Even after the realm was divided into Sweden proper and Finland proper Finnish speaking Finns lived in Sweden as Swedish speaking Swedes in Finland. But the Swedes in Finland were middle and upper class in the south and farmers in the northeast whereas the Finns in Sweden were among the poorest of the poor ... forest Finns and Tornevalley Finns.

The forest Finns have in the main become extinct as a group. But the Tornevalley Finns who live along the border to Finland, have refused to be totally assimilated. They had lived on their land there since the land was settled. But in Sweden they were a despised and oppressed minority ... I know it well, I am married to one... Now they are allowed to speak their native language in school ... at least during breaks... but the same Swedish government that can give money to Swedish language study for immigrants from Syria has just refused a modest grant to enable older and unemployed Tornevalley Finns to acquire such knowledge of the Swedish language that would enable them to look for work outside their valley. Why?

Class, of course, the Tornevalley Finns are under class. But if class oppression is the origin this traditional class oppression has led to ethnical prejudice among the majority population.

3) Take a third example. In Sweden there are about ten times as many Muslims as Jews. But if you look at the Swedish economic, academic, intellectual or artistic scene you will see that the ratio of leading figures is the inverse.

Why is this so?

A Jewish conspiracy? No that is a myth. Reality is much simpler than so.

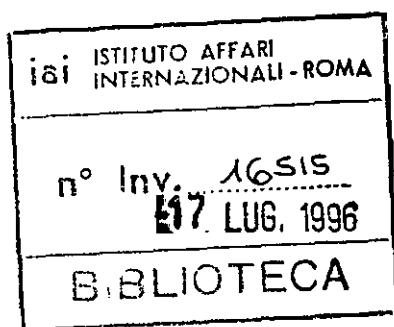
Also in this case class not religion is the determining factor. The Jews largely belong to the middle and upper middle class. The Muslims to the petty bourgeoisie, at best.

The Jews not only immigrated earlier and during a longer period they never were ghettoized in Sweden. Thus they could be socially mobile. But the Muslims in Sweden are not only on the bottom rung of the social ladder, they are around Stockholm as around Paris... living in segregated suburbs. And as the inhabitants of these suburban areas in general have lower income, a higher degree of unemployment, and as the so called second generation immigrants, (those born in Sweden with Swedish citizens as parents) being underclass do not get the same health care as children from middle class homes and as they at the same time get a worse education than the children in better areas and thus do not even speak Swedish properly the future of these Swedish Muslim citizens looks as bleak as that of their counterparts in the suburbs of Paris... or of the blacks in Harlem.

It has been ... and still is ... extremely difficult to to make these very real social conflicts in Swedish society visible to Swedish intellectuals ... even those who speak out loudly for human rights.

This has made me not unduly optimistic.

Jan Myrdal



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LES ANTÉCÉDENTS ISLAMQUES DE LA RENAISSANCE OCCIDENTALE

par

EHSAN NARAGHI

« Ô Musulmans, vous me demandez ce que je suis ?
– Je suis à moitié d'ici et à moitié de partout.
– Je suis à moitié des perles de la mer et à moitié
des rivages lointains. »

JALAL al-DIN RUMI (1207-1273).

Dès la Renaissance, en Occident, on considéra que la civilisation gréco-romaine s'était uniquement développée entre Athènes, Rome et Paris. C'était oublier le détour qu'avait fait la culture grecque par la civilisation musulmane pendant plusieurs siècles et son influence sur sa philosophie et ses sciences. On ignorait aussi son impact sur l'Europe par l'intermédiaire de l'Andalousie et de la Sicile. En réalité, il faudrait analyser le chemin du savoir comme allant d'Athènes, via Bagdad et Cordoue à Paris. En omettant cette réalité historique on sous-estime le rôle joué par les chrétiens d'Orient et les juifs sur la transmission du savoir grec vers l'Islam et de ce dernier vers l'Occident.

Après la fermeture de l'école d'Athènes par Justinien en 529 après J.-C., le savoir antique se déplaça vers les terres d'Islam. Il se développa, en particulier à Bagdad, une soif de connaissance qui donna naissance à un prodigieux travail de traduction des textes grecs, syriaques, pehlevi et à de nombreuses découvertes dans tous les domaines. Ce fut la première fois dans l'histoire que des savants de toutes les origines et de toutes les religions se réunirent dans les grands centres du savoir comme Bagdad, Le Caire, Maragha, Ispahan, Marrakech, Cordoue, Séville et Palerme où ils élaborèrent une nouvelle vision du monde qui sera probablement à l'origine de la Renaissance occidentale.

Les grands centres scientifiques de la fin de l'Antiquité

Alors que la vie intellectuelle dans un Occident miné par les invasions était murée dans les monastères, deux grands

Leipzig à partir de
las ABBE, « Trans-
995.

empires s'affrontaient en Orient : l'empire byzantin, héritier de Rome et de la Grèce, et l'empire perse où les Sassanides étaient sur le trône depuis 226. Les grands foyers culturels de l'Antiquité païenne tardive s'appelaient Alexandrie en Égypte, Ra's al-'Ain en Syrie, et Djundichapur en Iran. Leur influence sur le développement de la science arabe mérite que l'on s'y arrête.

Les étudiants affluèrent de tout le Proche-Orient pour suivre les cours de la célèbre école d'Alexandrie. Parmi les savants de cette école on compte Alexandre de Tralles (525-605), médecin byzantin dont l'œuvre a été largement citée par Razi. Paul d'Égine, profondément influencé par Galien (dont l'œuvre sera rapidement traduite en syriaque puis en arabe), fut considéré comme l'une des principales autorités en matière de médecine dans le monde musulman. Jean Philopon, dit Jean le Grammairien, vécut dans la première moitié du VI^e siècle et commenta plusieurs ouvrages d'Aristote. Deux mathématiciens de valeur ont également brillé à Alexandrie : Diophante, qui vécut un siècle après Ptolémée et étudia les équations puis Pappus, qui environ cent ans plus tard, travailla sur les angles et les courbes et rédigea un traité de géométrie et d'arithmétique grecques. Son travail sera repris en Occident quelque treize siècles plus tard. Le médecin andalou, Al-Zahrawi, célèbre pour son traité de chirurgie sera également très influencé par l'école d'Alexandrie.

Sergius, médecin et prêtre jacobite formé à l'école d'Alexandrie, travailla à Ra's al-'Ain et finit ses jours à Constantinople en 536. On lui doit, d'après le grand traducteur arabe Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, les versions syriaques de 25 ouvrages de Galien.

Si la science arabe hérita largement de l'école alexandrine, elle fut également influencée par l'école de médecine fondée par les Sassanides à Djundichapur (ville du sud-ouest de l'Iran) et qui garda son importance jusqu'au X^e siècle. Des nestoriens venus y chercher refuge après leur expulsion d'Édesse en 489, y enseignaient la médecine grecque dans des traductions syriaques et persanes. Un nouvel afflux d'idées grecques survint avec l'arrivée de philosophes néo-platoniciens, après la fermeture de leur école d'Athènes par Justinien en 529. Alors que le christianisme pourchassa les Grecs païens et ensevelit la philosophie antique, Djundichapur, à son apogée, sous Khosroès Anouchirvan, devint un centre d'enseignement actif où se mêlaient les idées grecques, persanes, syriaques, juives, chrétiennes et indiennes, dans un admirable esprit de tolérance. Dès la période abbasside, ces éléments exerceront une profonde influence sur la vie intellectuelle de l'Islam. Sous le règne de Harun al-Rachid, le directeur de cette école, le nestorien Jibra'il Ibn Bakhtichu', sera chargé de construire, à Bagdad, un hôpital sur le modèle de celui de Djundichapur et deviendra médecin attitré du calife al-Mansur.

Le grand astronome dans le centre p Bagdad, et traductions.

La conquête arabe

Après la conquête tardive. Le musulman s'étend des Omeyyades l'Empire à Damas place l'administration. Les plus arabes-musulmans wiya qui contenaient sur son ordre qui consacra sa vie des ouvrages d'a

Sous la dynastie qu'en Inde, l'arabisant Empire la leur. Elle sera pendant d'années, par un de Samarra situés écrivains, des construire, selon Micheau, « un e. Quelles sont les abbasside ?

Pour A. Hassa même religion, la raire et scientifiques. Ainsi, l'turc, chinois, persation musulman cité de symbiose nimes d'une très droits des « gens rer les anciens t nouveaux à l'inté sation musulman d'occuper un post zali à Bagdad ré lousie lui apport alors inconnu dan

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Le grand astronome Thabit Ibn Qurra (mort en 901), formé dans le centre païen de Harran, vécut à la cour des califes de Bagdad, et traduisit du grec de nombreux traités de mathématiques.

La conquête arabe

Après la conquête, les Arabes respectèrent l'héritage de l'Antiquité tardive. Un siècle après la mort du Prophète, l'Empire musulman s'étendra de l'Espagne au Turkestan. La dynastie des Omeyyades (661-750 après J.-C.) transféra la capitale de l'Empire à Damas en Syrie. C'est à cette époque que se mit en place l'administration arabe et que s'affirma la légitimité califale. Les plus anciennes bibliothèques publiques du monde arabo-musulman furent alors fondées, dont une créée par Mu'awiya qui contenait les recueils de hadiths et les ouvrages rédigés sur son ordre. Elle fut héritée par son fils Khalid Ibn Yazid, qui consacra sa vie à l'étude des sciences grecques et fit traduire des ouvrages d'alchimie et de médecine.

Sous la dynastie abbasside (750-1258), qui amena l'Islam jusqu'en Inde, l'arabe devint la langue administrative de ce puissant Empire la nouvelle capitale, Bagdad, symbolisa la grandeur. Elle sera par la suite relayée, pendant une cinquantaine d'années, par un deuxième centre culturel et artistique, la ville de Samarra située sur les bords du Tigre. Des penseurs, des écrivains, des savants s'inspirèrent de l'Antiquité pour construire, selon l'expression de Danielle Jacquart et Françoise Micheau, « un espace culturel nouveau » en langue arabe. Quelles sont les raisons de cette « Renaissance » à l'époque abbasside ?

Pour A. Hassan et D.R. Hill, ce fut tout d'abord l'Islam. La même religion, la même vision du monde, la même langue littéraire et scientifique, assurèrent l'unité culturelle des pays islamiques. Ainsi, l'élément grec fut mélangé à l'espace hébreu, turc, chinois, persan et indien. La grande nouveauté de la civilisation musulmane consiste, dans tous les domaines, en sa capacité de symbiose et en son esprit de tolérance. Ainsi, bien qu'animés d'une très grande foi, les musulmans respectèrent les droits des « gens du Livre », et donnèrent la permission de réparer les anciens temples, bien qu'il fût interdit d'en ériger de nouveaux à l'intérieur du « Dar al-Islam ». Plus encore, la civilisation musulmane, fondée sur le Coran, permettait à un esclave d'occuper un poste élevé. Dans le domaine philosophique, Ghazali à Bagdad réfuta les thèses d'Aristote et Averroès en Andalousie lui apporta la réplique. C'est cet esprit de tolérance — alors inconnu dans le Moyen Âge chrétien encore en proie à l'ar-

bitraire – qui permettra une liberté d'échanges de la Chine à l'Espagne. Tant que la civilisation islamique garda cette ouverture d'esprit, elle prospéra. Mais dès que le dogmatisme l'emporta, son déclin fut inéluctable.

Puis, vint la naissance d'une véritable politique culturelle. La civilisation islamique n'a pu s'épanouir que sous l'autorité d'un gouvernement stable et ayant adopté une politique éclairée en matière de sciences. Même lorsque l'Empire se morcela, chaque État, pour des raisons de prestige, encouragea l'arabisation, la traduction, la fondation d'académies scientifiques, d'écoles, de laboratoires, de bibliothèques, d'observatoires, le patronage de savants, la conduite de la recherche scientifique et technologique ainsi que la mise en route de certains projets et industries d'État.

Par l'arabisation, la langue arabe devint la langue de tous les peuples, de Bagdad à Cordoue. Les califes utilisèrent dès la période omeyyade cette donnée comme élément essentiel de leur politique scientifique.

Enfin le rôle de l'enseignement. Le type d'université (Nizamiyya) fondé à Bagdad par le vizir seldjoukide Nizam al-Mulk s'étendra à tout l'Empire. Le nombre des écoles (madrasas) dans le monde musulman à son apogée continue à nous étonner (Mustansiriyya, Halawiyya, Jawziyya, ou al-Azhar). De grandes madrasas existaient dans toutes les villes et Wassaf, dans son *Histoire*, en mentionne 20 à Damas et 30 à Bagdad. Certaines avaient une structure de mosquée-hôpital, et délivraient déjà des bourses aux élèves méritants. L'hypothèse selon laquelle les madrasas furent à l'origine des universités européennes – dont les plus anciennes, Palerme, Bologne, Montpellier, Paris, Oxford remontent aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles – est à considérer avec prudence.

Il faut aussi mentionner que l'arrivée, dans les pays de l'Islam aux environs des années 751, du papier provenant de Chine, a rendu le livre moins fragile et moins coûteux qu'un rouleau de papyrus ou de parchemin. C'est alors que l'on commença à rédiger des encyclopédies, afin de réunir en un seul volume des informations jusqu'alors dispersées. Bagdad comptait à cette époque plus de cent librairies qui, en plus de la vente du papier, assuraient la copie de manuscrits. Ces nouveaux livres avaient une large circulation et étaient entreposés dans des bibliothèques.

Bagdad aux IX^e et X^e siècles : au carrefour des civilisations

Deux siècles après la fermeture de l'école d'Athènes, Bagdad, la ville du salut, « Madinat-al-salam », fondée en 762 par le

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calife al-Mansur, devint rapidement un véritable carrefour et la capitale intellectuelle de l'Orient. Selon l'expression d'André Miquel, une ville « immense et tentaculaire », de près d'un million et demi d'habitants, où se rencontraient des gens de toutes les origines. Elle fut également un point de ralliement des vieilles cultures comme celles de l'Inde, l'Iran et la Grèce. C'est alors dans ce tourbillon intellectuel qu'apparut « Bayt-al-Hikma » ou la « Maison de la Sagesse ». D'où venait-elle ?

C'est Harun al-Rachid (766-809) qui fonda à Bagdad l'importante bibliothèque dite « Khizanat al-Hikma » (bibliothèque de la sagesse). Elle employait déjà des traducteurs comme Salm al-Harrani, qui auraient traduit les *Catégories*, l'*Herméneutique* et les *Analytiques* d'Aristote, ainsi que l'*Isagoge* de Porphyre. Les califes se procurèrent des traités de sciences et de philosophie auprès de Byzance et de Chypre, ce qui permit à une foule de savants d'origines et de croyances diverses de collaborer dans l'objectif de traduire en une seule langue, ce qui existait jusqu'alors en grec, en syriaque, en pehlevi et en sanskrit.

Le calife Harun al-Rachid chargea également Jibra'il Ibn Bakhtishu', médecin chrétien de l'école de Djundichapur, de créer à Bagdad un hôpital. En accord avec la tradition ecclésiastique de Djundichapur, l'Indien Mankha y traduisit l'ouvrage de médecine sanskrit *Susrata-samhita* en persan et Razi y fit des conférences. D. M. Dunlop, G. S. Colin et B. N. Seh-suvaroglu nous rappellent que les hôpitaux, appelés en persan « bimaristan », permirent un développement à la fois théorique et pratique de la médecine. Le médecin ausculte les malades, consigne ses observations dans des registres et rédige des ordonnances. Chaque hôpital possède une pharmacie où les médicaments sont délivrés, sous le contrôle d'un pharmacien-chef. Certaines infirmeries ambulantes sont destinées à soigner les blessés de guerre.

Mais ce fut sous al-Ma'mun (813-833) que la bibliothèque de Bagdad, appelée « Bayt al-Hikma » ou « Maison de la Sagesse », connut sa période la plus florissante. Septième souverain de la dynastie abbasside, le fils aîné de Harun al-Rachid fut un souverain éclairé. Comme tout prince, il reçut dès l'enfance une formation classique en chant, en poésie, en littérature, en sciences religieuses et son califat marqua l'âge d'or de la dynastie. Il restaura l'unité de l'Empire, menacée par une longue guerre civile à la mort de son père. C'est surtout sous son règne, que se développa la doctrine mu'tazilite, qui privilégia la raison comme critère de vérité. Les conséquences en sont incalculables tant sur le plan politique que sur celui des sciences. Le calife n'hésita pas, s'opposant aux « traditionnistes » rivés au Coran et à la Sunna, à faire également appel à la philosophie grecque pour expliquer l'unicité de Dieu. On peut alors parler d'un grand tournant culturel du IX^e siècle.

Ibn al-Nadim, sur lequel nous reviendrons, décrit ainsi le rêve que fit un jour le calife al-Ma'mun au début du IX^e siècle : « Devant lui se tenait, assis sur un sofa, un homme à la mine aimable, le teint clair et vif, avec un grand front dégarni et des yeux bleus sous le tracé continu des sourcils. Impressionné, le Commandeur des croyants lui demanda : "Qui es-tu ?" L'homme répondit : "Aristote". Puis il autorisa le calife, ravi de cette rencontre, à lui poser d'autres questions. Alors, al-Ma'mun formula l'interrogation majeure : "Qu'est-ce que le bien ?" - "Ce qui est bien dans l'esprit", répondit Aristote. "Et ensuite ?" - "Ce qui est bien dans la loi." - "Et puis ?" - "Ce que le peuple estime bien". Enfin, Aristote recommanda à al-Ma'mun de traiter comme de l'or quiconque le conseillerait au sujet de l'or (alchimie, c'est-à-dire la science, ce qui n'est pas dans le Coran) et d'adhérer strictement à la doctrine du Tawhid, ou unicité de Dieu. »

Ibn Nadim ajoute qu'à la suite de ce rêve, al-Ma'mun envoya des savants chercher des livres de philosophie antique et leur demanda de les traduire. C'est ainsi que les traductions du grec en arabe devinrent une véritable affaire d'État.

Pour A.I. Sabra, les grands traducteurs, souvent experts en leur domaine, venaient d'horizons ethniques et religieux très différents. Ainsi, l'astrologue persan Ibn-Nawbakht traduisait pour Harun-al-Rachid du pehlevi en arabe. Al-Mansur fit collaborer Al Fazari (de souche arabe) avec un Indien du Sind à la traduction d'un ouvrage écrit en sanskrit : le *Sindhind astronomique*. Le plus grand traducteur de traités médicaux grecs et syriaques, Hunayn Ibn Ishaq (mort en 260/873), était chrétien nestorien et parlait le syriaque et l'arabe. Après avoir étudié la médecine à Bagdad puis le grec, peut-être à Alexandrie ou à Byzance, Hunayn revint dans la capitale abbasside, où il s'illustra comme traducteur, professeur et médecin des califes. Très minutieux et sérieux (écrivent D. Jacquart et F. Micheau), il se basait sur plusieurs manuscrits et par comparaison arrivait à une version fort fidèle du texte original qu'il traduisait d'abord en syriaque. Peut-être en relation avec le « Bayt al-Hikma », il dirigea une équipe de lettrés qui traduisit en arabe les textes d'Hippocrate et de Galien. Il fut aussi un remarquable médecin, dont les travaux firent autorité, autant comme généraliste que spécialiste en ophtalmologie, diététique, thérapie dentaire et en pharmacopée. Son *Kitab al-Masa'il fi al-Tibb* fut l'une des sources principales de la médecine médiévale, tant en Orient qu'en Occident. Il se consacra aussi à l'astronomie et à la philosophie.

Le rôle de Hunayn (Ibn Nadim cite 174 titres) fut déterminant dans la transmission de la science grecque, persane et indienne en arabe. Son fils, Ishaq Ibn Hunayn qui connaissait

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le grec traduisit des ouvrages philosophiques d'Aristote, les *Éléments* d'Euclide et l'*Almageste* de Ptolémée.

Outre la traduction, le « Bayt al-Hikma » se transforma en lieu de réunions, de discussions et de rencontres philosophiques. Mas'udi, dans son ouvrage intitulé *Muruj al-Dhahab*, nous rapporte un fait sans précédent pour l'époque : lors des séances qu'il anime tous les mardis, al-Ma'mun s'emploie à susciter des controverses politico-religieuses non seulement entre représentants des différentes religions (juifs, chrétiens ou musulmans, zoroastriens, manichéens), mais également entre partisans et détracteurs de la doctrine mu'tazilite. Savants, chercheurs, théologiens, se réunissaient dans une salle, mangeaient autour d'une nappe, se lavaient les mains, puis commençaient à discuter devant le calife jusqu'au soir et rentraient chez eux après le souper. Al-Ma'mun considérait ce genre de débat comme un moyen efficace pour rechercher la vérité. Abbas Iqbal rapporte, dans son *Histoire de Nawbakhti* ces paroles du calife : « On peut dominer l'ennemi seulement par la raison et non par la force, car la première est éternelle, tandis que la seconde s'écroule lorsque disparaît la force. » Si l'exemple d'al-Ma'mun ne fut pas suivi par ses successeurs, le souvenir de ces « Munazirat » resta gravé dans la mémoire des hommes de science et dans les livres, et donna naissance à une tradition littéraire qui survit de nos jours. L'institution employait un directeur, des traditionalistes, des relieurs, des copistes. La bibliothèque fut ouverte à un large public et non plus seulement à l'entourage du calife. Elle fut fréquentée par des savants (parmi lesquels Khwarizmi), des astronomes et des mathématiciens. Les historiens reconnaissent qu'après l'Académie de Platon, le Lycée d'Aristote et l'École d'Alexandrie, « Bayt al Hikma » fut le quatrième foyer culturel de l'humanité. C'est de Bagdad que sont partis vers l'Andalousie (pôle culturel dont Maïmonide est le symbole) les ouvrages traduits en latin.

Abu Yusuf al-Kindi (né en 801) qui travailla également auprès du calife, fut un des plus grands savants de l'époque. Qualifié de « premier philosophe arabe », esprit universel, il étudia en optique la propagation de la lumière, effectua des travaux en géographie, en géologie, en météorologie, en astronomie et en astrologie. Il fit aussi des recherches sur les horloges et les instruments astronomiques et s'intéressa à la fabrication des épées, et il composa des ouvrages sur les remèdes et leur composition. Mais c'est dans le domaine de la philosophie, nous rappelle Colin Ronan, que brilla le véritable génie d'al-Kindi. Son enseignement produira un grand effet en Europe occidentale pendant le Moyen Âge. Influencé par Aristote, Platon et Plotin, il effectuera la soudure entre l'Islam et le savoir païen. Ce dernier s'étant alors ravivé dans la Maison de la sagesse de Bag-

dad. Précepteur du futur calife al-Mu'tasim, son influence à la cour fut immense.

Le souverain patronna également le premier programme systématique d'observations astronomiques menées d'abord dans le quartier d'al-Chammasiyya à Bagdad puis à Damas dans un monastère du mont Qasyun. Cependant les structures qui devaient servir aux observations systématiques du soleil et de la lune, des étoiles et peut-être des planètes ne devaient pas être fixes car elles ne furent utilisées que pour une brève durée. Pourquoi cet engouement pour les mathématiques et l'astronomie ? Parce que les étoiles guident les marins et l'observation des astres est indissociable de l'ouverture de nouvelles routes commerciales maritimes. L'enjeu était donc de taille.

Le mathématicien Muhammad Ibn Musa Kwarizmi fut l'une des grandes figures du règne d'al-Ma'mun. Il élaborait un ensemble de « *Zij* », c'est-à-dire de tables astronomiques, appelées « *Zij al-Sindhind* », car elles furent établies à partir de tables indiennes provenant de Bagdad. C'est le premier travail astronomique de l'Islam qui subsiste dans son intégralité. Khwarizmi écrivit aussi sur l'astrolabe grec, un instrument que l'Islam devait s'approprier. Il fut également, sans conteste, le plus grand mathématicien du IX^e siècle. Son ouvrage *Al-Jabr wa al-muqabala* sur les équations du premier et du second degré, fut une « somme absolument sans précédent dans quelque langage que ce soit » (S.H. Nasr, 1979). Dès 830, il décrit systématiquement les chiffres et les règles du calcul indien, qui parviendront en Occident par son ouvrage, traduit en latin sous le titre : *Algoritmi de numero Indorum*. Le nom de Khwarizmi est à l'origine du mot « algorithme ».

Contemporain de Hunayn Ibn Ishaq et de l'éclosion de la science médicale arabe, 'Ali ibn Sahl al-Tabari est né à Marw, en Iran, dans une famille de savants chrétiens syriaques, entre 780 et 810. Il servit à la cour de Bagdad sous le règne de plusieurs califes et se convertit à l'Islam. Son *Firdaws al-Hikma*, achevé en 850, est à la fois influencé par les médecines grecque, persane et indienne, dont les traditions se complètent et parfois s'affrontent. Il est vrai que des traités sanskrits anciens ont été traduits en arabe, à la demande du calife Harun al-Rachid et de ses vizirs barmékides, et que des médecins d'origine indienne ont alors exercé à Bagdad.

En matière d'astronomie, nous retrouvons également les deux courants. Le premier dépendant du *Sindhind*, traduit dans les années 770, était bâti sur le modèle indien. Il a permis la diffusion d'une trigonométrie plus efficace que les procédés dont disposaient les Grecs. Mais une fois l'*Almageste* rendu en arabe, l'autre système, celui de Ptolémée, triompha. Muhammad ibn Jabir al-Battani (env. 858-929), l'un des plus célèbres astro-

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nomes musulmans dont la réputation repose sur son livre de tables astronomiques, le *Kitab al-Zidj* (symbole de la victoire, de la tradition ptoléméenne sur la tradition indo-persane dans l'astronomie musulmane). En Europe occidentale, du ^{xv}^e au ^{xvii}^e siècle, des géants de l'astronomie, tels que Copernic, Kepler, Tycho Brahé et Galilée s'y référeront. A.I. Sabra, dans un ouvrage collectif intitulé *Le monde de l'Islam*, sous la direction de Bernard Lewis, écrit : « Les historiens ont souligné à bon droit la nouveauté des recherches entreprises à Bagdad, même si elles se situaient dans la ligne de traditions tributaires du savoir grec. Pour la première fois, la science devenait « internationale » sur une large échelle ».

La multiplication des centres du savoir : une histoire de rivalités

Le développement du « Bayt al-Hikma » s'inscrit dans un contexte historico-culturel beaucoup plus vaste à travers le monde musulman. Dès la période abbasside ancienne, les gouverneurs des provinces de l'Empire, théoriquement sous contrôle du calife, s'émancipèrent et fondèrent les premières dynasties turques indépendantes (par exemple, les Toulounides, 868-905 en Égypte). En Orient, se constitua la puissance des Turcs Ghaznévides qui domina la Perse, l'actuel Afghanistan, les provinces de l'Inde, le Pendjab et une partie du Gudjarat. Ghazna et plus tard Lahore furent leurs capitales. Nombreux furent les souverains, notamment dans les provinces de Perse, qui ont soutenu les sciences, les arts et les lettres pour asseoir leur prestige politique. À partir du ^{xi}^e siècle, les hôpitaux, les madrasas, les mosquées, les bibliothèques, les écoles coraniques, les couvents soufis, seront constitués en waqfs. Ce système de donations, dont les revenus étaient affectés à une œuvre de charité ou de bienfaisance, en assurait l'autonomie financière et en garantissait le bon fonctionnement.

Que devient alors le Bayt al-Hikma de Bagdad ? Selon W. Heffening et J. D. Pearson, après le transfert du califat de la « ville ronde » à Samarra, sous al-Mu'tasim (successeur d'al-Ma'mun), Bayt al-Hikma perdit son caractère académique pour n'être plus connu que sous le nom de « Khizanat al-Ma'mun ». Fréquenté par les savants jusqu'à la fin du ^{iv}^e/^x^e siècle, il n'est plus mentionné par les auteurs successifs. On pense qu'il fut incorporé à la bibliothèque d'un des califes ou dispersée par les Seldjoukides.

La période du Bayt al-Hikma fut suivie par celle du « Dar al-'Ilm », qui fut une institution à caractère semi-officiel, constituée sous forme de bibliothèque publique qui avait pour objectif de diffuser une doctrine et d'enseigner les sciences naturelles.

La plus importante des « Dar-al-'Ilm » ou « Maison du savoir », fut celle que fonda à Bagdad le ministre Ibn Ardashir (env. 991-993). Elle comprenait plus de 10 000 volumes portant sur les diverses sciences et dont certains étaient considérés comme des modèles de calligraphie. Fréquentée par de nombreux lettrés, dont le poète Abu 'Ala al-Ma'arri en 1009-1010, la bibliothèque, qui recevait aussi des œuvres d'écrivains contemporains, fut incendiée lors de l'arrivée des Seldjoukides (1055-1056).

C'est à cette époque qu'Ibn al-Nadim, fils d'un grand libraire de Bagdad, dressa en 987/988 un catalogue recensant tous les ouvrages existant en langue arabe : le *Fihrist* fut une véritable encyclopédie de la culture musulmane médiévale. Sur les 430 titres de médecine qu'il mentionne, 174 n'ont pas été écrits à l'origine en langue arabe mais en grec, en sanskrit, en pehlevi, en syriaque. Ils ont été traduits en arabe au cours des VIII^e et IX^e siècles. Trois noms culminent : Hippocrate, Rufus d'Éphèse et surtout Galien, qui à eux seuls représentent 125 titres. Parmi les 256 ouvrages écrits en arabe, figurent ceux de Hunayn ibn Ishaq, Qusta ibn Luqa et Yuhanna ibn Masawayh, qui sont trois chrétiens nestoriens de la première moitié du IX^e siècle, et puis les 144 traités médicaux de Razi.

De tous les voyageurs arabes du X^e siècle, le plus remarquable fut Abu al-Hasan Mas'udi, célèbre pour son ouvrage historique *Muruj al-Dhahab*. Il quitta Bagdad vers 915 et passa toute son existence à parcourir le monde islamique, l'Inde et l'Afrique orientale. Il mourut au Caire vers 956. En privilégiant l'observation directe, Mas'udi, géographe et historien, fut certainement l'un des penseurs les plus originaux de l'Islam et peut-être... l'un des plus incompris.

En Égypte et en Syrie, les dynasties turques des Toulounides (868-907) et des Ikhchidides (935-969) furent suivies par deux dynasties de différente origine. La dynastie berbère des Fatimides (969-1171), dont le pouvoir s'étendit jusqu'à la Sicile, fixa sa résidence au Caire devenu ensuite la capitale de l'Égypte. Leurs successeurs, les Ayyoubides (1169-1250), d'extraction kurde, seront les adversaires les plus acharnés des croisés. Le sultan Saladin (Salah al-Din) sous lequel sera reconquise Jérusalem en 1187 (qui eut pour antagoniste Frédéric Barberousse) est devenu l'une des plus grandes figures de l'Islam.

Dans l'Égypte fatimide (969-1171), le calife al-Hakim installa à l'extrémité nord-ouest du palais du Caire (ville alors de 500 000 habitants) le « Dar al-Hikma », qui comprenait une bibliothèque, une salle de lecture et des locaux pour les cours (D. Sourdel). Cet établissement surclassa tous les autres du même genre. L'accès en était gratuit et public. D'après Y. Eche, le service était assuré par des bibliothécaires rétribués et des pensions permettaient aux savants d'y poursuivre leurs tra-

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Né en 965 à Bassora, en Irak, Ibn al-Haytham fut le plus grand physicien de l'Islam. Il se rendit en Égypte sous le règne du calife fatimide al-Hakim. Pour ne pas encourir la colère du calife lorsqu'il échoua dans son projet d'irrigation des eaux du Nil, il feignit la folie et demeura sous résidence surveillée jusqu'à la mort de son maître. Ibn al-Haytham fut le premier à attaquer la théorie planétaire de Ptolémée, ouvrant ainsi la voie à al-Tusi et à ses collaborateurs de Maragha. Al-Haytham fut également un grand opticien qui se démarqua des savants grecs, en privilégiant de manière toute nouvelle l'expérimentation scientifique. Son œuvre est souvent citée par les savants médiévaux occidentaux et sa théorie sur la réfraction de la lumière fut utilisée au *xvii*^e siècle par Kepler et Descartes.

L'un des plus grands astronomes musulmans du Moyen Âge, Abu al-Hasan Ibn Yunus, vécut à la fin du *x*^e siècle à la cour fatimide du Caire. Pour effectuer ses travaux, il ne disposait probablement, d'après J. Samso, que d'un observatoire privé et d'instruments portatifs. Cela ne l'empêcha pas de mettre au point en 1007 des tables, qui sont parmi les plus précises de l'époque, et de rédiger un ouvrage majeur sur la détermination astronomique des heures de prière. Dans le domaine des mathématiques, il travailla sur les projections orthogonales et étudia pour la première fois les oscillations du pendule, qui devaient permettre de construire les horloges.

Il existait en Perse, selon W. Heffening, des bibliothèques dès l'époque achéménide, mais elles furent détruites par Alexandre le Grand. Sous les Abbassides, on en trouvait à Ram Hurmuz (fondée par Ibn Sawwar), à Rayy et à Isfahan (cette dernière fut pillée par les troupes ghaznévides en 420/1029, transférée à Ghazna et détruite ensuite par le sultan Ghuride Ala al-Din Husayn). D'autres bibliothèques furent fondées çà et là, permettant non seulement d'acquérir le savoir traditionnel, mais aussi de s'initier aux sciences des Anciens. À Chiraz, la célèbre bibliothèque fondée par 'Adud al-Dawla (338-372/959-982), contenait

un exemplaire de tous les ouvrages disponibles dans toutes les branches du savoir. Les volumes, soit acquis par voie d'achat, soit copiés par des copistes attachés à la bibliothèque, étaient classés par matières sur des étagères. Certains ouvrages en plusieurs exemplaires étaient réservés au prêt. Le Coran occupait généralement un emplacement à part. Les bibliothèques avaient habituellement un directeur (*sahib*), dont plusieurs furent des savants célèbres, un ou plusieurs bibliothécaires (*khazin*), des copistes (*nasikh*) et des appariteurs (*farrash*). Les établissements étaient gratuitement accessibles à tous, et le papier, l'encre et les plumes de roseau étaient fournis par l'administration. Certaines bibliothèques privées donnaient même le gîte et le couvert aux savants qui venaient de régions éloignées. « On peut affirmer sans risque d'erreur que les bibliothèques musulmanes, publiques dès cette époque, étaient à tous égards en avance de plusieurs siècles sur celles de l'Occident. Lorsque au VII^e/XIII^e siècle, les Mongols envahirent la Perse, un très grand nombre de livres d'une valeur inestimable furent réduits à néant. Bien que certains sultans de Delhi aient protégé les savants et se soient montrés des amis fidèles du savoir, aucune bibliothèque remontant à leur époque n'a encore été signalée. La plus ancienne que l'on connaisse date du saint Nizam al-Din Awliya, contemporain des sultans Khaldjis et Tughlukides » (W. Heffening).

Les Bouyides : de Chiraz à Bagdad, X^e siècle

Ouvert en 982, le plus célèbre des hôpitaux de Bagdad, fondé par l'émir bouyide 'Adud al-Dawla (949-983), a joui d'une grande renommée : 24 médecins dont certains étaient des spécialistes en ophtalmologie, en chirurgie ou en orthopédie, y étaient attachés. Plusieurs d'entre eux joignaient l'enseignement au soin des malades. Doté de revenus importants, il fonctionnait encore à la fin du XII^e siècle. Lors de conférences données à l'hôpital, on lisait des ouvrages issus de l'école de Djundichapur. Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Majusi, le Haly Abbas de l'Occident, travailla, pense-t-on, dans cet établissement. Son Livre royal (*al-Kitab al-Malaki*), peut-être la meilleure synthèse sur la science médicale, recommande à l'apprenti médecin de compléter sa formation par de fréquentes visites à l'hôpital.

Farabi, que les textes latins du Moyen Âge nomment Alfabi, était l'un des plus célèbres philosophes musulmans. Il fut surnommé le « second maître », le premier étant Aristote, preuve de la vénération des musulmans à l'égard du précepteur d'Alexandre. Sa carrière se déroula à Alep, dans l'entourage du souverain hamdanide Sayf al-Dawla. Dans le domaine de la

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logique, des sciences naturelles, de la psychologie et de la métaphysique, Farabi fut très influencé par Aristote. Il était persuadé que la philosophie grecque pouvait ouvrir la voie à une réforme dont le califat avait bien besoin. Il envisagea une cité, une nation, et un État mondial parfaits. Dans le domaine des sciences politiques, il se rapprocha des *Lois* et de la *République* de Platon. En fait, Farabi tenta de concilier les deux philosophes grecs, en camouflant la logique d'Aristote par le mysticisme de Platon, simple couverture et ruse de philosophe vis-à-vis des théologiens fanatiques. Son influence sur les philosophes orientaux, comme Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd et Maïmonide, fut considérable.

L'hôpital de Bagdad (l'Irak était alors dominé par les Bouyides, d'obédience chiite, qui favorisaient la vie intellectuelle et scientifique) sera dirigé par le plus illustre médecin de l'Islam, Abu Bakr Muhammad ibn Zakariyya' Razi, le « Galien des Arabes » et le Rhazès des Européens. Il naquit aux environs de 865 à Rayy, une métropole persane à quelques kilomètres de Téhéran. D'abord luthiste, Razi s'adonna ensuite à l'alchimie puis à un âge avancé à la médecine. Si ses œuvres philosophiques sont perdues, son *Traité de la variole et de la rougeole*, très souvent traduit en Europe aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, fut consulté en Occident jusqu'à l'époque moderne. L'œuvre de Razi est considérable : 184 titres dans des domaines aussi variés que la médecine, la logique, la philosophie, la théologie, les sciences naturelles, l'alchimie, l'astronomie, les mathématiques, etc. Refusant la soumission aveugle aux Anciens, Razi privilégia l'observation quotidienne, les diagnostics précis et les descriptions minutieuses et se posa en contradicteur de Galien.

Toute la carrière d'Avicenne (Ibn Sina, 980-1037) se déroula dans les grandes cours iraniennes des X^e et XI^e siècles. Illustre médecin et philosophe, il appartenait à une famille de hauts fonctionnaires au service de la grande dynastie des Samanides (émirs d'origine iranienne au pouvoir depuis 875 et dont la capitale, Boukhara, fut un foyer de la renaissance persane). Bien qu'il n'eût pas de maître en sciences naturelles ni en médecine, des médecins célèbres travaillèrent sous sa direction alors qu'il n'avait que 16 ans. À l'âge de 18 ans, il avait déjà acquis la maîtrise de toutes les sciences de son temps. Fuyant devant la montée des Ghaznévides qui s'étendaient au détriment de la domination samanide, les tribulations de la vie le menèrent de Boukhara aux cités de l'Iran central, où régnaient des petits souverains de la mouvance bouyide attachés aux traditions iraniennes (Gurgan, au bord de la mer Caspienne, puis Rayy, et enfin Hamadan et Isfahan). Tantôt emprisonné, tantôt apprécié pour ses conseils en politique et son savoir médical, il deviendra même vizir d'un émir bouyide. A.M. Goinchon dressa ainsi son

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portrait : Ibn Sina n'était pas un chercheur enfermé dans ses livres, il vivait dans le concret ; le jour, il travaillait aux affaires de l'État et prodiguait des soins médicaux, et la nuit, souvent en fuite, il écrivait ses ouvrages à cheval, ou au coin d'un bivouac, ou encore en prison. L'œuvre d'Ibn Sina qui nous est parvenue est considérable. Connue surtout comme médecin et philosophe, il traita également les sciences naturelles, la physique, l'astronomie, les mathématiques, la musique, la morale et la religion. Il toucha même à l'économie et à la politique en tant qu'homme d'État. Poète, il mit en vers des ouvrages de logique et de médecine, plus faciles à mémoriser sous cette forme.

Son *Canon de la médecine* représentait l'ensemble du savoir médical de l'époque, enrichi de ses propres observations. Traduit en latin, cet ouvrage fut enseigné durant des siècles dans les universités occidentales. De même, son aide-mémoire de théorie et de pratique médicale, l'*Urjuza fi al-Tibb*, fut traduit plusieurs fois sous le nom de *Cantica Avicennae*, du XIII^e au XVII^e siècle. Quant à l'œuvre philosophique d'Avicenne, elle nous est parvenue mutilée. Influencé par trois grands maîtres, Aristote, Farabi et Plotin, il plaça au-dessus de tout la science de l'être, la métaphysique et la logique. Son influence fut considérable en Orient comme en Occident et se retrouve chez Albert le Grand, Saint-Thomas, Duns Scot et Roger Bacon.

Sous les Ghaznévides, vers la fin du X^e siècle, vécut l'un des grands esprits de l'Islam médiéval, Biruni (973-1048). Originaire du Khwarezm, aux confins de l'Asie centrale, il fut le contemporain et le compatriote d'Ibn Sina. Mais alors qu'Avicenne devint le maître à penser de l'Occident, Biruni fut totalement ignoré, bien qu'il fût, comme le soulignent D. Jacquart et F. Micheau, un esprit critique, aventureux, proche de l'idéal scientifique moderne.

Biruni acheva aux alentours de l'an 1000 son premier grand ouvrage consacré à l'étude de la chronologie des nations anciennes. En 1017, le puissant sultan ghaznévide Mahmud conquiert le Khwarezm, et emmena nombre de prisonniers, dont Biruni, qui se fixa à la cour de Ghazna. Il profita des expéditions guerrières du sultan dans la vallée de l'Indus pour apprendre le sanskrit, se familiariser avec les sciences des Indiens, multiplier les observations et les réflexions. Dans sa célèbre étude sur l'Inde qu'il acheva en 1030, il développa une curiosité insatiable, qui le poussa à n'accepter que ce qu'il avait pu vérifier lui-même. Il mourut aux environs de 1048. L'œuvre de Biruni toucha avant tout l'astronomie. Dès l'âge de 17 ans, il avait gradué un cadran circulaire de divisions d'un demi-degré, grâce auquel il observa les altitudes méridiennes du soleil.

À la dynastie des Ghaznévides succéda la première grande vague des invasions de groupes ethniques venus de l'intérieur

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de l'Asie, celle des Seldjoukides turcs, convertis à l'Islam au x^e siècle et originaires de la région du lac d'Aral (l'actuel Kazakhstan). Ils conquièrent entre 1037 et 1095 les pays est-islamiques (Perse, Mésopotamie, Asie Mineure, Syrie) pour créer l'empire des Grands Seldjoukides de Perse (avec ses résidences à Isfahan et à Tabriz), et celui des Seldjoukides de Rum en Asie Mineure (aujourd'hui la Turquie, dont la capitale était Konya, l'antique Iconium). Leur progression vers la Terre sainte déclenchera le vaste mouvement des croisades.

C'est dans les capitales de Merv et de Nichapur qu'Omar Khayyam, savant et poète connu pour ses *Quatrains*, réforma le calendrier et rédigea des traités décisifs dans le domaine des mathématiques. Né en 1048 en Iran, il fut invité par le sultan seldjoukide Malik Chah (1072-1092) à venir dans la capitale, Isfahan, pour y prendre en charge ce que l'on pourrait appeler le premier observatoire institutionnel du monde arabo-musulman. Il avait alors 22 ans. Omar Khayyam passa 18 ans de sa vie dans cet observatoire où il rédigea les *Tables astronomiques de Malik Chah*. Dans le domaine des mathématiques, il écrivit un commentaire sur Euclide et sur l'algèbre et il aborda également l'extraction de racines, grâce à une méthode qui utilisait peut-être le triangle de Pascal.

Sous les Seldjoukides de Rum, Konya atteignit l'apogée de son histoire. Mas'ud I^{er} (1118-1155) en fit sa capitale. Au xiii^e siècle, Djalal al-Din Rumi (1207-1273), poète persan, y fonda l'ordre des derviches Mawlawiyya ou derviches tourneurs. Les premiers hôpitaux (dar al-Shifa') et madrasas seldjoukides furent fondés à Kayseri en 602/1206. La construction d'autres hôpitaux suivit à Sivas, Divrigi, Cankiri, Kastamonu, Konya, Tokat, Erzurum, Erzindjan, Mardin et Amasya. Ils acceptaient toutes sortes de malades, et leur personnel se composait de chirurgiens, de médecins, de pharmaciens et d'oculistes.

La période ayyoubide vit une véritable floraison d'hôpitaux dans le Proche-Orient arabe. Lorsque Ibn Jubayr, voyageur venu d'Espagne, parcourut la Syrie dans les années 1183-1185, il indiqua un ou plusieurs hôpitaux dans la plupart des cités traversées. Nur al-Din (1146-1174), ce grand prince qui s'imposa face aux croisés (en réunissant Alep et Damas sous sa seule autorité) fit de nombreuses fondations dont plusieurs madrasas et le célèbre hôpital al-Nuri, à Damas. Le personnel gardait les listes des noms des malades et les quantités de médicaments et de nourriture dont chacun avait besoin. Une journée typique d'un médecin principal à l'hôpital Nuri comprenait la tournée des malades, la prescription d'ordonnances, le traitement, la visite de la clientèle privée, puis le retour à l'hôpital dans la soirée, pour y donner des conférences.

Alep possédait aussi deux hôpitaux prestigieux. Le premier

dû à Nur al-Din, qui le dota de waqfs importants, le second au prince mamlouke Arghun.

Parmi les médecins qui exerçaient en Syrie, le chirurgien Ibn al-Nafis, qui mourut au Caire en 1288, fut surtout connu pour avoir découvert la petite circulation, en signalant ainsi l'erreur commise par Galien. Cette découverte importante fut réalisée trois siècles avant que la circulation ne soit décrite en Europe par Servet (1553) et Colombo (1559), quelque 30 ans après que les idées d'al-Nafis eurent atteint l'Occident.

La floraison d'hôpitaux, (B. N. Sehsuvaroglu) se poursuivit au Proche-Orient durant l'époque mamlouke (1259-1382 et 1382-1517). Ainsi, en 1285, le sultan al-Mansur Qalawun fit construire au Caire un ensemble architectural prestigieux comprenant une madrasa, un mausolée et un hôpital. D'après la description d'al-Maqrizi, ce fut peut-être le plus perfectionné jamais vu jusqu'alors en Islam. La dotation serait montée à près d'un million de dirhams en or en un an (un hôpital normal dépensait entre 200 et 600 dinars par mois). Hommes et femmes y étaient admis. Personne n'était renvoyé et la durée du traitement n'était pas limitée.

Au début du XIII^e siècle, les Mongols déferlèrent sur les pays est-islamiques. Sous Genghis Khan (mort en 1227) et ses fils et petits-fils se constitua un empire puissant, qui s'étendit sur toute l'Asie centrale, orientale et occidentale. En dehors de la Mongolie, le pays d'origine, il comprenait trois vastes empires limitrophes : celui de la Horde d'Or (sur la Volga) ; la dynastie Yuan (fondée en Chine par Kubilaï) et enfin celui des Ilkhans sous Hulagu (en Asie Mineure, et auquel appartiennent le Khwarezm, la Perse, et la Mésopotamie ainsi que l'Asie Mineure, avec des résidences en Perse, à Tabriz et Maragha).

C'est dans cette dernière ville qu'au XIII^e siècle, des observations furent pratiquées pendant une vingtaine d'années dans l'observatoire, édifié en 1259 par Hulagu, petit-fils de Genghis Khan, et financé par une fondation pieuse. L'institution scientifique, dans laquelle on enseignait quasiment toutes les disciplines scientifiques et où les plus grands savants de l'époque médiévale se rassemblèrent, comportait une bibliothèque de 400 000 volumes et on y fabriquait des instruments comme par exemple des astrolabes. Il était équipé d'un matériel de pointe : un quadrant de 430 cm de rayon, des sphères armillaires, d'autres pour les solstices, les équinoxes et des cercles d'azimut. Dans cet observatoire, sous la direction de Nasir al-Din-Tusi, une vingtaine d'astronomes venus de tous les horizons du monde travaillaient : l'un d'eux, Fad-Mun-Ji était même originaire de Chine.

L'œuvre de Tusi est immense. Outre le fait qu'il commenta les travaux des mathématiciens grecs, il composa ses propres

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traités de mathématiques et d'astronomie qui remettent en cause Ptolémée, participa à l'élaboration des *Tables astronomiques de Maragha*, soutint la pensée d'Avicenne contre les attaques et rédigea plusieurs traités de théologie ismaélienne. Maragha constitua un modèle qui fut l'objet de plusieurs imitations. Cependant, aucun observatoire de cette taille n'apparaît avant le xv^e siècle, sous le sultan timouride Ulugh Beg.

Une autre entreprise de rédaction à grande échelle eut lieu sous les Mongols au xiv^e siècle à Tabriz, sous la direction du vizir Rachid al-Din Fadl Allah. Nous gardons notamment une traduction en persan d'un traité de médecine chinoise.

Tamerlan (1336-1405) fut le second grand conquérant venu d'Asie centrale. Il conquiert la Transoxiane, la Perse et la Mésopotamie et une partie de l'Inde septentrionale. L'Asie Mineure fut soumise par sa victoire contre le sultan ottoman Bayazid I^{er}. Sous son règne, Samarkand devint une somptueuse résidence, tandis qu'Hérat s'affirma comme un foyer de l'art de la miniature. L'un de ses arrière-petits-fils, Babur, fondera la dynastie impériale moghole.

Dans la première moitié du xv^e siècle, le sultan Ulugh Beg (1394-1449), petit-fils de Tamerlan fonda à Samarkand une madrasa un institut d'études supérieures (madrasa) où l'astronomie était la discipline principale. Quatre années plus tard, il devint un grand observatoire de pointe, dont demeurent encore aujourd'hui des vestiges. C'était un bâtiment de trois étages, pourvu d'un sextant géant, le plus grand instrument astronomique de ce type dans le monde, dont le rayon atteignait 40 mètres. Lui-même astronome accompli, le prince timouride attira les meilleurs mathématiciens de son temps, dont Ghiyath al-Din al-Kachani, qui calcula « π » jusqu'à 16 décimales. C'est probablement lui qui dirigea la rédaction des tables astronomiques extrêmement précises, les *Zij-i-Gurgani*. Lorsque Ulugh Beg fut assassiné, Samarkand périclita et au xvi^e siècle, l'observatoire fut totalement détruit.

Les Ottomans, également un peuple turc, pénétrèrent en Asie Mineure vers la fin du xiii^e siècle. Après l'écroulement de l'Empire seldjoukide, Mehmet II Fatih, le Conquérant, s'empara de Constantinople (1453), qui devint la capitale de l'Empire. Il rassembla les manuscrits grecs, latins et en d'autres langues, qui avaient échappé à la destruction et les plaça dans la bibliothèque qu'il fonda à l'Eski Saray. Ahmed III créa au moins cinq bibliothèques à Istanbul et interdit l'exportation de manuscrits rares. La plupart des bibliothèques de la capitale, qui avaient autrefois été rattachées aux mosquées, furent transférées à la bibliothèque Süleymaniye.

Le premier bimaristan ottoman en Anatolie fut le dar al-chifa' de Yildirim, à Brousse, fondé en 1399. Cette institution

faisait partie d'un centre spécial comprenant un hôpital, des bains, une maison de repos pour les voyageurs et ne fut abandonnée qu'au milieu du XIX^e siècle. Des léproseries furent également bâties à Edirne, Sivas, Kastamonu et Kayseri.

L'Afrique du Nord joua un rôle de premier plan dans la transmission du savoir arabe à l'Europe médiévale, via l'Espagne et la Sicile. Fondée en 670, Kairouan devint la capitale de l'Ifrîqiya et connut son apogée au IX^e siècle, sous les émirs aghlabides. La cité, peuplée de plusieurs centaines de milliers d'habitants, vivait dans un exceptionnel climat de tolérance, et devint l'un des grands centres intellectuels de l'Islam, en particulier pour le droit et la théologie. Les mécènes attirèrent un grand nombre d'étudiants, d'écrivains et de savants. Ainsi, à la fin de la période aghlabide, Ziyadat Allah III (903-909) appela à sa cour Ishaq al-Isra'îli (mort vers 955). Médecin et philosophe, représentant du néo-platonisme juif, ses ouvrages, inspirés de Galien, seront répandus tant dans l'Occident chrétien que musulman. Son *Traité des fièvres* traduit en latin, en hébreu et en espagnol, est la première monographie arabe consacrée à ce domaine.

En 909, les Fatimides, dont nous avons déjà parlé pour l'Égypte, éliminèrent les Aghlabides. C'est à cette époque que vécut le médecin ibn al-Jazzar dont l'ouvrage le *Viatique du voyageur*, *Zad al-musafir*, introduit en Andalousie, sera traduit en grec, en latin et en hébreu.

Au Maghreb, le premier grand hôpital connu est celui que le sultan almohade Ya'qub al-Mansur (1184-1199) créa à Marrakech environ un siècle avant la fondation du célèbre hôpital du Caire. Grand bâtisseur, ayant attiré à sa cour les plus célèbres médecins hispaniques de l'époque : Ibn Tufayl, Ibn Rushd, Ibn Zuhr al-Hafid et son fils, il fit édifier dans la capitale, pour les étrangers malades riches ou pauvres, un magnifique établissement sanitaire et dans les différentes localités de son royaume des hôpitaux pour les fous, les lépreux et les aveugles.

L'Andalousie et la Sicile, têtes de pont vers l'Occident chrétien

Tout au long du Moyen Âge, l'Andalousie, qui était une tête de pont vers le monde chrétien, connut une vie économique et culturelle animée. Elle joua, avec la Sicile des rois normands, un rôle essentiel dans la transmission du savoir de l'Orient vers l'Occident. En 756, le dernier représentant de la famille omeyyade s'empara de Cordoue, et fonda un émirat autonome, où juifs et chrétiens pouvaient garder leurs coutumes et leur religion. Dès le règne de 'Abd-al-Rahman II (822-852), fut entreprise à Cordoue une nouvelle traduction arabe de la *De Materia*

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Medica de Dioscoride, réalisée par un moine de Constantinople qui lisait le grec, des chrétiens connaissant le latin, des savants arabes et le médecin juif de 'Abd-al-Rahman. L'émir fit venir d'Irak des livres, dont un célèbre ouvrage d'astronomie de tradition hindoue. Les astrologues, à côté des poètes et des lettrés, jouaient un grand rôle à la cour. 'Abd al-Rahman III (912-976), qui prendra le titre de calife en 929, s'installa dans sa nouvelle capitale, « Madinat-al-Zahra », et entretenait des relations suivies avec l'empereur byzantin, dont il reçut des ouvrages de médecine grecque. Parallèlement, des savants allèrent se perfectionner à Bagdad. Les pèlerins, les voyageurs, les marchands, rapportèrent des ouvrages inédits. Ce fut l'éclosion dans tous les domaines de la connaissance, comme le soulignent D. Jacquart et F. Micheau. Au rôle d'al-Ma'mun à Bagdad, répondit celui d'al-Hakam II (961-976) à Cordoue un siècle plus tard. Patron des sciences et de la philosophie, il constitua une bibliothèque le cédant de peu à celles des Abbassides et envoya des agents pour acquérir des ouvrages dans tout le monde arabe. Elle aurait contenu 400 000 volumes ; malheureusement, elle fut pillée et détruite sous le règne de ses successeurs et lors de la Reconquête.

Parmi les savants andalous, Abu al-Qasim Khalaf al-Zahrawi (x^e siècle), notre « Abulcasis », connaitra une grande renommée en Orient comme en Occident. Connus surtout comme chirurgien, son œuvre est cependant bien plus vaste. Outre la fabrication des médicaments, il travailla aussi sur la description d'instruments chirurgicaux, comme ceux utilisés pour l'ablation des amygdales.

Au x^e siècle, l'Espagne entre dans les guerres civiles. Le dernier calife de Cordoue fut déposé en 1031. Le pays se morcela en petits États antagonistes, dont chacun entretenait une vie culturelle intense : ce fut l'époque des « Reyes de Tayfas ». Parallèlement, les royaumes chrétiens amorcèrent un vaste mouvement de reconquête et Cordoue et Séville passèrent entre les mains des chrétiens. Désormais, al-Andalous fut réduit au petit royaume de Grenade, où une vie de cour fastueuse se déploya à l'ombre de l'Alhambra. La *Reconquista* aboutit à l'éviction des musulmans en 1492.

À de rares exceptions près, toutes les grandes figures des sciences et de la philosophie dans l'Espagne musulmane se situèrent au xii^e siècle. L'Espagne, d'abord soumise par les Almoravides venus du Maghreb, retomba ensuite sous le joug des Almohades. Ces puissants souverains étendirent leur domination sur la plus grande part de l'Occident musulman et firent de Cordoue leur capitale. Les villes du sud de la péninsule voient alors affluer une multitude de savants, philosophes et médecins : ainsi, à Séville, Abu Marwan 'Abd al-Malik Ibn

Zuhr, l'Avenzoar des latins dont l'un des ouvrages médicaux, dédié à Ibn Rushd, fut traduit en hébreu et en latin.

Ibn Rushd, notre Averroès, est né à Cordoue en 1126 en Espagne, mais vécut la majeure partie de sa vie à Marrakech, au Maroc, où il mourut en 1192. Physicien et logicien, astronome, observateur et théoricien, il exercera une influence considérable, en particulier sur l'astronomie occidentale. Ami du médecin Ibn Zuhr, Averroès publia avec lui une encyclopédie générale de médecine. Mais ce fut sur l'ordre du souverain almohade Abu-Ya'qub (1163/1184) que le jeune Averroès rédigea les commentaires sur les œuvres d'Aristote, qui lui valurent plus tard d'être appelé par l'Occident latin « le Commentateur » et qui provoquèrent un véritable choc. Dans son commentaire sur la *Métaphysique* d'Aristote, qu'il tient pour la meilleure et ultime autorité en matière de philosophie, Averroès prône un nouveau système astronomique non ptoléméen, mais aristotélien, bien que lui-même ne suive pas aveuglément les conceptions du philosophe grec. On pourrait dire à ce sujet qu'il introduisit en Occident le principe du débat philosophique. Produit du même milieu philosophique, le théologien et médecin juif formé en Orient, Ibn Maymun (notre Maïmonide, Cordoue 1135 - Fustat 1204) s'associa à cette dénonciation de l'astronomie ptoléméenne. Les conceptions d'Ibn Rushd exercèrent une profonde influence sur la pensée médiévale occidentale et lui valurent de son temps une renommée considérable.

C'est par l'Italie et l'Espagne que parviendra en Europe une bonne partie de l'héritage scientifique. En Sicile, la cour des rois normands de Palerme est un véritable creuset culturel. L'île avait été reconquise par les Normands entre 1061 et 1092, après avoir connu quatre siècles de domination byzantine et deux siècles d'occupation musulmane. Elle entra en 1194 dans les possessions de l'empereur Frédéric II et devint alors un carrefour d'hommes, de produits et d'idées entre les civilisations latine, arabe et grecque.

L'arrivée de la médecine en Europe se fit avant tout grâce à l'action d'un traducteur surnommé le « maître de l'Orient et de l'Occident » : Constantin l'Africain. Né à Carthage, il aurait étudié les arts libéraux et la médecine au Caire. Il aurait aussi peut-être voyagé en Inde et en Éthiopie, s'adonnant à l'étude de l'hébreu, du syriaque, du chaldéen, du grec, de l'éthiopien et même de l'indien. Devant la pauvreté des textes médicaux en langue occidentale, Constantin décida d'étudier durant trois ans la médecine en Tunisie, et de collecter les ouvrages de littérature médicale. À son retour, il fut accueilli à Salerne par le duc normand Robert Guiscard, puis entra au Mont-Cassin où il devint moine et mourut sans doute vers 1087. Parmi les traductions de Constantin, on peut citer l'*Isagoge* qui est une traduc-

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tion des fragments des *Masa'il fi-al-Tibb*, de Hunayn ibn Ishaq. Elle fut transcrite et commentée à maintes reprises du XII^e au XV^e siècle et le *Pantegni* qui est la traduction presque complète de l'œuvre de 'Ali ibn al-Abbas al-Majusi. Ces deux ouvrages exercèrent une influence considérable sur la médecine dans son ensemble. Citons également les œuvres de Ishaq al-Isra'ili, devenu Isaac, et de Hunayn Ibn Ishaq, devenu Iohannitius. Parmi les œuvres d'Ibn al-Jazzar que Constantin mit en latin, le *Viaticum*, traduction du *Zad al-Musafir*, tient une place prépondérante. L'utilisation des traductions de Constantin à l'école de médecine de Salerne au XII^e siècle fut à l'origine de la médecine arabe en Europe. Salerne garda sa place prépondérante en Italie méridionale jusqu'au XIII^e siècle. Le sac de la ville en 1194 par les troupes impériales marqua le point d'arrêt de sa prospérité. Constantin a le mérite d'avoir enrichi le haut Moyen Âge européen des plus importants ouvrages gréco-arabes.

Parmi les savants rattachés à la cour de Sicile, citons Al-Idrissi. Né à Ceuta au Maroc en 1100, il fit des études à Cordoue, en Espagne. Bien qu'il mourût dans sa ville natale en 1166, toute sa vie active se déroula hors des régions islamiques. À l'âge de 16 ans, il entreprit des voyages en Asie Mineure, au Maroc, en Espagne, sur la côte méridionale de la France et jusqu'en Angleterre. Il fut ensuite invité par le roi normand de Sicile, Roger II, à s'installer à Palerme, point de rencontre des cultures arabe et européenne. Le souverain lui confia la réalisation d'une carte en argent et en relief. Des envoyés furent même dépêchés pour recueillir les données nécessaires, et le projet se réalisa comme prévu.

Frédéric II de Hohenstaufen, empereur du Saint Empire romain germanique, parlait neuf langues dont l'arabe. Il préfigura les princes de la Renaissance occidentale. En rapport constant avec les savants arabes, surtout depuis qu'il avait été excommunié par le pape, il expédia des questionnaires, souvent d'une extrême difficulté, en Égypte, en Syrie, en Irak, en Asie Mineure, au Yémen et au Maroc. L'empereur entretenait également une ménagerie, et écrivit un fameux traité de fauconnerie qui alliait les connaissances théoriques et pratiques. Jacob Anatoli traduisit pour lui Ptolémée et Averroès. Son astrologue, le traducteur Michel Scot (mort en 1235), fut un autre « homme-pont » ; c'était un Écossais qui avait fait ses études en Espagne. De Tolède, il rapporta pour son maître la *Zoologie* d'Aristote, ainsi que le *De Caelo et Mundo*, accompagné du commentaire d'Averroès. Un homme domina cependant cette intelligentsia cosmopolite : Leonardo Fibonacci (Léonard de Pise), le plus grand mathématicien du Moyen Âge. En 1192, il accompagna son père, chargé de fonctions consulaires, en Algérie. Léonard y apprit l'arithmétique, la langue arabe et les techniques de

commerce, puis partit à la recherche de livres en Égypte, en Syrie, en Grèce et en Sicile. Revenu à Pise en 1202, il rédigea son *Liber Abaci*, qui fut la somme du savoir acquis en Orient. Il y traita des chiffres indiens, de la multiplication des entiers, l'addition, la soustraction, la division, la multiplication des fractions et des entiers, des techniques de commerce, des monnaies, etc.

En 1266, la Sicile fut donnée à Charles d'Anjou, frère de Saint Louis. En 1279, Faradj ben Salem, un juif originaire d'Agri-gente, termina la traduction du *Kitab al-Hawi*, de Razi, dont la luxueuse transcription en 5 volumes (in-folio) fut remise en 1282 au souverain. Huit scribes et deux peintres y ont participé. Il faut noter que souvent, les traducteurs privilégiaient les ouvrages traitant d'expériences pratiques, de cas cliniques, etc.

Traductions et techniques : introduction de la science islamique en Occident

Aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles, Tolède (voir les articles de D. Jacquart) devint un grand centre du savoir. C'est là qu'al-Zarqali (Azar-quiél latin) perfectionna l'astrolabe et mit au point les *Tables tolédanes* (traduites au XIII^e siècle à la cour d'Alphonse X) qui seront, jusqu'à Copernic, l'instrument de base de l'astronomie occidentale. Parallèlement, la présence de nombreux manuscrits, de mozarabes et de juifs parlant l'arabe, sera à la source d'une activité sans équivalent de traduction, dont le représentant le plus important fut Gérard de Crémone (1114-1187). Né vraisemblablement en Lombardie, il se rendit à Tolède pour y apprendre l'arabe, où il figure comme chanoine de la cathédrale en 1157. Il consacra sa vie à la traduction vers le latin d'œuvres arabes dans le domaine de la philosophie, des mathématiques, des sciences occultes, et de la médecine. Il traduisit les traités des astronomes de Bagdad des VIII^e et IX^e siècles (Al-Farghani, Thabit Ibn Qurra), Aristote, Galien, Euclide, Farabi, al-Kindi, Khwarizmi. Il fit connaître en Occident latin les œuvres de Razi, et surtout d'Ibn Sina, à qui il convient de faire une place particulière. Gérard traduisit le *Canon de la médecine*, qui deviendra l'ouvrage de base de l'enseignement universitaire médiéval et qui connut un immense succès. Après de nombreuses transcriptions dans les manuscrits médiévaux, la première impression d'ensemble parut à Milan en 1473. Une douzaine d'éditions suivirent jusqu'à la fin du XV^e siècle, une soixantaine entre 1500 et 1674. Il est possible que l'enseignement parisien des Mendiants ait joué un rôle déterminant dans la diffusion du *Canon* d'Avicenne. Au rang des plus illustres dominicains figure Albert le Grand (mort en 1280). Proclamé

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patron des savants chrétiens, le bienheureux Albert fut un géant du XIII^e siècle en sciences naturelles, philosophie et théologie. Après des études en Italie, il professa à Hildesheim, à Strasbourg, puis à Paris, où il découvrit les ouvrages grecs et arabes nouvellement traduits en latin. Il contribuera plus que quiconque à les faire connaître, déclenchant ainsi l'hostilité des théologiens de l'Université. Son disciple saint Thomas d'Aquin n'hésita pas à intégrer à la théologie catholique certaines de ses démonstrations.

Le traité d'Abulcasis eut également un retentissement immense et fut à la base des grands traités de chirurgie à partir du XIII^e siècle. Au XIV^e siècle, une traduction de ses œuvres en langue d'oc, assura sa diffusion parmi les non-latinistes. Parmi les grands traducteurs, citons également Abélard de Bath, futur précepteur d'Henri II d'Angleterre, et auteur de traductions scientifiques en latin, y compris celle d'une version arabe des *Éléments* d'Euclide qui, pendant des siècles, fera autorité auprès des géomètres occidentaux. Les traducteurs du XIII^e siècle s'attachèrent plutôt aux auteurs de l'Occident arabe du XII^e siècle : Maïmonide, Averroès, Avenzoar.

La fréquentation de trois religions amena un autre « homme-pont » Raymond Lulle (1231-1315) à apprendre l'arabe si parfaitement qu'il écrivit dans cette langue plusieurs ouvrages destinés à convertir des musulmans au christianisme. Ce franciscain convainquit même le pape de créer des écoles de langues arabe, araméenne, hébraïque, à Rome, Bologne, Paris, Oxford et Salamanque.

Qu'apporta concrètement à l'Occident le travail de traduction ? Un flot de connaissances théoriques et pratiques dans des domaines fort variés. J. Vernet en a dressé un panorama dans son ouvrage *Ce que la culture doit aux Arabes d'Espagne*. En ce qui concerne la botanique, la zoologie et la médecine : l'évolution de la botanique au Moyen Âge s'appuya sur des œuvres d'Aristote et de Théophraste, dont la traduction en arabe par Ishaq Ibn Hunayn fut révisée par Thabit Ibn Qurra. Le passage au latin s'effectua par Alfred de Sareshel, en 1227. La zoologie médiévale s'appuya aussi sur les traductions arabo-latines des œuvres d'Aristote. Le *De naturis animalium*, traduit par Yahya Ibn al-Bitriq, fut traduit en latin en 1220 par Michel Scot, qui traduisit également le résumé d'Avicenne. Cette version servit de base à Albert le Grand pour son *Livre des Animaux*.

Dans le domaine médical, la traduction des œuvres d'Avenzoar nous apprend que la variole immunise ceux qui l'ont déjà eue. Le *Kitab al-Kulliyat* d'Averroès est traduit sous le titre *Colliget*. Il était formé de 7 livres consacrés à l'anatomie, la pathologie, la sémiotique, la thérapeutique, l'hygiène, la médication. On pense que Michel Servet, « inventeur » en Europe de

la petite circulation du sang, connaissait les œuvres du médecin damascène Ibn al-Nafis, lequel exposa la même théorie quelque deux cents ans auparavant dans son commentaire à l'*Anatomie* d'Avicenne.

Dans le domaine technique, dans un ouvrage intitulé *History of mechanical invention*, A. Husher rapporte que l'utilisation de l'énergie éolienne est probablement d'origine centre-asiatique, et avait été déjà décrite au Sistan par Mas'udi et Istakhri. À la fin du ^x^e siècle, on retrouva ce procédé en Espagne, puis en 1180 en France, et vers 1270 en Angleterre. Dès l'époque de Harun al-Rachid, furent fabriquées les horloges à eau que l'on retrouvera plus tard en Occident. L'introduction de la poudre en Espagne dut avoir lieu au ^{xiii}^e siècle. Elle fut utilisée par le sultan grenadin Isma'il en 1324. À partir de cette date, les mentions de la poudre se multiplient en Europe : on la retrouve au ^{xiv}^e siècle en France et en Italie.

Dans le domaine des moyens de communication nautiques, l'un des plus grands services rendus par les Arabes à la culture, fut la transmission vers l'Occident de divers éléments de l'architecture navale (voile latine, gouvernail d'étambot, techniques de construction des navires), des techniques astronomiques (détermination de coordonnées, latitude et longitude, astrolabes, le quadrant et la boussole) et géographiques (cartes nautiques, portulans, phares). Ces progrès rendront possible les grandes découvertes : les tables qu'utilisera Christophe Colomb dérivait de celles d'Ibn al-Kammad.

Dans le domaine des technologies appliquées, les productions agricoles des musulmans furent très répandues en Occident, comme l'oranger qui passa de la Palestine vers l'Espagne par l'intermédiaire de la Syrie ; ou encore la canne à sucre, que les musulmans avaient importée d'Inde, et qui est arrivée en Europe *via* les croisades ; citons également le coton, qui venait aussi du monde islamique.

Dans le domaine des arts et de la culture, le papier arriva dès le ^{ix}^e siècle à Cordoue, puis au ^{xii}^e siècle à Jativa, d'où il fut exporté en Orient et en Occident. Ainsi, pour sa correspondance, Alphonse X utilisa du papier tolédan. Des foyers de production de papier apparurent également en Italie, à Fabriano et à Ancône, puis en France, à Troyes en 1348 et à Nuremberg en 1390.

La soie semble avoir été un monopole andalou jusqu'en 1146. Roger II, à cette date, amena à Palerme des ouvriers grecs qui l'introduisirent en Italie. Venise y eut aussi accès après la quatrième croisade. À partir de cette époque, sa connaissance s'étendit à travers l'Europe.

Quant aux arts de la terre et du feu, nous rappelle Marthe Bernus, c'est sous les Abbassides, autour de Bagdad en parti-

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culier, que se développa l'une des grandes inventions des potiers musulmans : la technique du lustre métallique. L'aspect lustré est donné par une mince couche de métal - oxydes de cuivre et d'argent - déposée sur la pièce déjà glacée et cuite, lui conférant ainsi un reflet doré. Différents sites du IX^e siècle, dont Samarra, Suse, Fustat, ont livré un abondant matériel de ce type, qui sera importé en Transoxiane, au Sind, en Algérie et en Espagne. Le procédé fut transmis en Italie, par le biais de l'Espagne, et est toujours utilisé de nos jours.

L'Islam a également enrichi dans une certaine mesure le vocabulaire occidental : le mot cordonnier trouve son origine dans le nom Qurtuba, maroquinerie dans Maghrib, mousseline dans Mossoul, damasquinure dans Damas, tapis dans Atabi. Les musulmans étaient en avance sur les Européens dans les domaines d'extraction des minerais et des couleurs, de la fabrication de l'acier trempé pour les armes ou dans les techniques du commerce. C'est ainsi que le mot tarif vient de *ta'rifa*, magasin de *maghzin*, douane de *diwan* et caravane de *qarawan*.

L'apport de l'Islam à la civilisation occidentale, en matière de littérature, n'a peut-être pas été suffisamment mis en valeur. Renan, dans son ouvrage sur Averroès, explique que des poètes comme Pétrarque connaissaient les poètes arabes, même s'ils ne partageaient pas leurs idées.

Dans son ouvrage récemment publié *Penser l'art islamique*, le grand spécialiste de l'art musulman Oleg Grabar étudie la formation et l'évolution de l'art musulman né « de la rencontre de chaque aire culturelle (byzantine, persane, etc...) et de la révélation coranique », puis démontre que l'apport le plus considérable de l'Islam concerne l'architecture, la calligraphie et la géométrie. En conclusion, dit-il, « l'originalité de l'art islamique traditionnel a toujours été son ouverture à tous les goûts et sa capacité à satisfaire la demande esthétique de populations diverses ».

L'influence sur les centres du savoir en Europe

Lorsqu'au XII^e siècle l'ensemble du savoir grec enrichi de la science arabo-musulmane pénétra en Occident ; les universités de Paris et d'Oxford, nouvellement créées, furent parmi les premières touchées. Dominicains et Franciscains y enseignaient, et parmi eux, Robert Grosseteste et Roger Bacon, son élève, connaissaient très bien les travaux traduits de l'arabe en latin, en particulier Ibn al-Haytham. La lecture des traductions de Constantin l'Africain se propagea dans la première moitié du XII^e siècle à Chartres. Les œuvres de Guillaume de Conches, inspirées par le *Pantegni* et l'*Isagoge* rencontrèrent un immense

succès au Moyen Âge. Une fois connus, les textes arabes furent l'objet de commentaires et de controverses. Par sa double qualité de philosophe et de médecin, Avicenne jouera le rôle de médiateur entre Aristote et Galien, dont l'œuvre fut reçue avec enthousiasme à Bologne, Montpellier et Paris. À la fin du Moyen Âge, à l'université de Padoue (qui accueillera Galilée et Vésale), le *Canon* d'Avicenne tient désormais une place prépondérante. À Bologne, en 1405, la théorie médicale repose sur deux auteurs grecs : Hippocrate et surtout Galien et deux auteurs arabes ; Avicenne et surtout Averroès.

Quelle est la véritable identité culturelle de l'Occident ?

Selon les mots de Roshdi Rashed : « Une reconstitution de l'activité rationnelle des savants arabes pour répondre à des questions d'ordre scientifique peut donc montrer comment l'assimilation de la tradition hellénistique à partir de nouveaux intérêts a permis une réorientation de la connaissance scientifique dans de nouvelles perspectives qui seront reprises et approfondies à l'heure de la Renaissance en Europe. »

Le savoir de la Renaissance vient en effet de plusieurs grandes sources : d'abord de Rome. « Le respect des Romains à l'égard du monde grec était frappant », nous rappelle Colin Ronan. « Jusqu'aux derniers jours de l'Empire d'Occident, les œuvres de Platon, d'Aristote et d'Homère furent enseignées et représentèrent un modèle idéal de pensée claire et d'écriture de qualité... Ainsi, Rome joua un rôle capital en maintenant en vie les idées grecques, un rôle que les érudits de la Renaissance apprécieront beaucoup un millénaire après la chute définitive de l'Empire romain d'Occident. »

Puis, de Byzance. Pour Jean Théodoridès : « Les savants byzantins ont eu le très grand mérite de préserver beaucoup d'ouvrages grecs et orientaux qui étaient systématiquement copiés, commentés, annotés, traduits, voire illustrés. Ils ont ainsi contribué à la diffusion de la science hellène, d'une part chez les Syriens, les Persans et les Arabes après l'exode des savants nestoriens et néo-platoniciens, d'autre part en Occident, une première fois lors des croisades et, de nouveau, après la prise de Constantinople, lorsque les savants byzantins gagnèrent l'Occident avec leurs livres et leurs manuscrits. L'arrivée de plusieurs de ces savants en Italie est d'ailleurs considérée, avec raison, comme un facteur non négligeable de l'avènement de la Renaissance. »

Enfin, du monde arabo-musulman, par l'intermédiaire de l'Espagne et de l'Italie. C'est ainsi qu'un grand historien contemporain, Gabriele Crespi, dans son ouvrage *L'Europe*

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musulmane, écrit dans sa conclusion, en parlant de l'apport intellectuel de l'Islam : « Dans cette œuvre de transition et de formation d'une culture nouvelle, l'Espagne musulmane joua un rôle de premier plan dans l'histoire intellectuelle du Moyen Âge européen, lequel fit connaissance avec le savoir, les sciences et la philosophie des anciens non pas à travers les croisades, dont il faudrait reconsidérer l'importance et la ramener à de plus justes proportions, mais grâce à la médiation andalouse. » Il conclut d'une manière plus générale : « L'influence qu'exerça l'Islam dans l'édification de la culture occidentale du Moyen Âge fut donc décisive. Le monde chrétien, quant à lui, sut aborder des formes de vie, intellectuelles et artistiques, très différentes des siennes, disposé parfois à dialoguer mais toujours à apprendre puisque cette communication du savoir se faisait dans une seule direction, de l'Orient vers l'Occident. »

L'idée que les croisades auraient pu jouer un rôle majeur dans le transfert des idées par les traductions entre l'Orient et l'Occident est à rejeter. Si les apports sont essentiellement militaires (feu grégeois, fauconnerie), les croisés seront surtout impressionnés par les structures hospitalières, les traditions sociales, etc.

Cette manière de ne pas mettre à sa juste place l'apport de l'Islam est une des raisons conscientes ou inconscientes de la frustration des musulmans vis-à-vis de l'Occident. C'est un peu comme si ce transfert des connaissances et des techniques de l'Orient vers l'Occident avait été considéré depuis l'époque des croisades comme un butin de guerre, que l'on arrache à l'ennemi d'en face, et non comme une culture digne de dialogue et d'échange. Alors qu'Albert le Grand ou Kepler se sont inspirés avec le plus grand respect de géants de l'esprit tels qu'Avicenne et Ibn al-Haytham. Pourquoi ne pas suivre leur exemple ? « Bayt al-Hikma » n'est pas seulement un épisode de l'histoire de l'humanité : c'est un état d'esprit. Parions qu'un jour, des hommes de toutes religions, de toutes cultures, se trouveront rassemblés dans de nouvelles « Maisons de la Sagesse »*.

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* L'auteur n'a pas cité systématiquement chaque ouvrage qui l'a inspiré dans l'article, mais on en retrouvera les auteurs dans la bibliographie.

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