

CHAPTER X

THE PRINCIPLE OF POLITICAL ORDER

Al tawhīd asserts that "this *ummah* of yours is a single *ummah* whose Lord is God. Therefore, worship and serve Him."¹ That the believers are indeed a single brotherhood, whose members mutually love one another in God, who counsel one another to do justice and be patient;² who cling together without exception to the rope of God and do not separate from one another;³ who reckon with one another, enjoining what is good and prohibiting what is evil;⁴ who, finally, obey God and His Prophet (SAAS)⁵ is the relevance of *al tawhīd* to society.

The vision of the *ummah* is one; so is the feeling or will, as well as the action. There is a consensus in the thought of the *ummah's* members in their decision, in their attitude and character, and in their arms. The

إِنَّ هَذِهِ أُمَّتُكُمْ أُمَّةً وَاحِدَةً وَأَنَا رَبُّكُمْ فَاعْبُدُونِ (الأنبياء: ٩٢)

¹This is your *ummah*, one, united and indivisible, and I am your Lord. Serve Me (21:92).

إِلَّا الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالْحَقِّ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالصَّبْرِ (العنبر: ٣) ... الَّذِينَ ءَامَنُوا وَتَوَاصَوْا
بِالصَّبْرِ وَتَوَاصَوْا بِالْمَرْمَةِ (البلد: ١٧)

²[Doomed is humankind] except those who have believed, done good deeds, enjoined one another to stand up for the truth and to be patient (103:3)... Those who have faith in Allah, and enjoin patience and compassion (90:17).

وَأَعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا وَاذْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ فُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ
بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَى شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِنَ النَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ مِنْهَا كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ ءَايَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ
(آل عمران: ١٠٣)

³Hold fast together to the rope of Allah and do not separate. Remember His blessings, your reconciliation when you were hostile to one another, and became as brethren. Or when you stood on the brink of a tragic precipice and He saved you therefrom. So does Allah show you His signs that you may be guided (by His commandments) (3:103).

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ
(آل عمران: ١٠٤)

⁴Let there be of you an *ummah* which calls for good, which enjoins good deeds and prohibits deeds of evil. Those are truly felicitous (3:104).

... وَأَطِيعُوا اللَّهَ وَرَسُولَهُ إِنْ كُنْتُمْ مُؤْمِنِينَ (الأنفال: ١)

⁵Obey Allah and His Prophet, if you are truly believers (8:1).

ummah is an order of humans consisting of a tripartite consensus of mind, heart and arm. It is a universal brotherhood which knows neither color nor ethnic identity. In its purview, all men are one, measurable only in terms of piety.⁶ If any one of its members acquire knowledge, power, food or comfort, his duty is to share it with the others. If any one achieves establishment, success or prosperity, his duty is to help the others do likewise.⁷ It is an order of human beings who opt to govern their lives, and seek to govern the lives of all other humans, by the *ummatic* values and principles. They may belong to numerous territories and to various communities. Their membership in the *ummah* gives the *sharī'ah* the ultimate authority over their differences. The *ummah* is based neither on race, nor territory, nor language, nor political and military sovereignty, nor past history. It is based on Islam. Whoever opts to make Islam his/her religion and to govern his/her life by its law is *ipso facto* a member of the *ummah*. This is the meaning of the juristic requirement of the *shahādah*. No other requirement is necessary. By choosing such option, any person makes himself entitled to exercise all the rights, and to enjoy all the privileges, and to stand under all the duties recognized by the *sharī'ah*.

The individual Muslim may live anywhere on earth, and may give loyalty to the laws of the land as long as they do not contradict the *sharī'ah* in the areas which affect his own life. When the laws of the residential territory affect his life in a manner adverse to Islam, he has the option of emigrating to an Islamic territory or to bear the adverse effect on his own life in hope of achieving ulterior objectives, whether Islamic or otherwise. The *ummah* is not obliged to intervene on his behalf. It is the duty of every individual Muslim, however, to call others to Islam, and to seek to establish the *ummah* in the territory; it is their duty to seek the promulgation of the *sharī'ah* as the law of the land.

I. AL TAWHĪD AND AL KHILĀFAH

The *ummah*, as defined above, is the agent of world reconstruction,

... إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاهُ ... (الحجرات: ١٣)

⁶Noblest of you in Allah's sight is the most pious, the most righteous (49:13).

... وَتَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْبِرِّ وَالتَّقْوَىٰ وَلَا تَعَاوَنُوا عَلَى الْإِثْمِ وَالْعُدْوَانِ ... (المائدة: ٢)

⁷Cooperate with one another for deeds of righteousness and piety, not for deeds of sin and aggression (5:2).

or world reformation to fulfill the divine will. It is God's *khalīfah* in creation since this prediction, originally given of man as such, must extend to the *ummah* for the reasons outlined in the foregoing section. The *ummah* is equally the state, in the sense of sovereignty, and all the organs and powers which the exercise of sovereignty requires. As state, the *ummah* should be referred to as *al khilāfah* rather than *al dawlah*. The former is closer to the Islamic tradition and to *al tawhīd* of which it is a direct and Quranic deduction.⁸ The latter is a modern notion, and stands at the farthest remove from the Quranic idea of vicegerency which is the very *raison d'être* of the *ummah*. While we mean the state when we mention the caliphate, we should bear in mind the radical difference between the Western notion of state and *ummah*. The caliphate is therefore the *ummah* as far as regards the *ummah's* exercise of sovereignty which is constitutive, though not exclusively so, of the *ummah's* vicegerency. By analyzing *al khilāfah*, we propose to analyze *al tawhīd's* implications for political theory.

The caliphate is a threefold consensus. It is a consensus of vision, of power and of production.

A. *IJMĀ' AL RU'YAH*

Ijmā' al ru'yah (consensus of vision), is a community of mind or consciousness, and has three components. The first is knowledge of the values constitutive of the divine will and of the movement in history their realization had produced. Evidently it is systematic and historical. The contents of vision are infinite by nature. Hence total comprehensiveness cannot be a requirement. What can and must be so is the essence or core. This is a structure, a methodology of relating, hierarchizing and inferring which, once mastered, would enable one to discover and establish what was missing in comprehensiveness. This is especially true of the systematic knowledge of value, whose sources are revelation, namely, the Quran and the *sunnah*, and reason, through its understanding of its own process (logic and epistemology), of reality in general (metaphysics), of nature (natural science), of man (anthropology, psychology and ethic), and of society (the social sciences). Neither in the case of revelation nor in the case of reason is vision required to be academic, consisting

⁸Indicated by the Qur'anic verses using the terms *khilāfah*, *khulafā'*, *khalā'if*, *yastakhlifukum*, etc.

of a systematized conceptualization of content; but intuitive, i.e., enjoying a perceptual light which can illuminate any area by establishing for the vision an image of the relevance of Islam to it.⁹

Knowledge of the movement in history, the realization of the Islamic values which it had produced, is, on the one hand, primarily an empirical affair.¹⁰ This is why the early Muslims fed themselves constantly with reports about the Prophet (SAAS) and anecdotes culled from his companions' lives. This kind of need accompanies every religious community, for it is of crucial importance to the adherents to move from a speculative understanding of their faith to knowledge of how it embodies itself in the concrete. The particular materials of value actualization exercise a worthy and desirable pedagogic influence on their student, and are easier to penetrate and to remember than the contents of systematic study. Both are equally necessary, however, to produce the vision needed for the *khilāfah*.

A vision composed of both the systematic perception of values and of the historical embodiments of them is still incomplete without knowledge of the present, and of how that present can realize them anew. Since the *khilāfah* cannot be backward-looking and must live and operate in the present and future, it is necessary for it to relate values to the present, and determine which real-existent *materiel* will realize which values, how present conditions affect the order of rank of values in the task of actualizing them.

Ijmā' al ru'yah, as here defined, has been assumed to be a source of religious knowledge. The Prophet's *ḥadīth*, "My *ummah* will not reach consensus on a falsehood," added an aura of near-sanctity to the *vox populi* of the *ummah*. Nonetheless, it is not dogmatic, but remains always open.¹¹ This openness is institutionalized in *ijtihād*, the capacity—nay duty—of every sensible Muslim to appropriate anew the whole or any part of the range of Islamic truths and values. *Ijtihād* is by nature dynamic and creative, and by itself quite appealing to the perceptive mind. It, too,

وَلْتَكُنْ مِنْكُمْ أُمَّةٌ يَدْعُونَ إِلَى الْخَيْرِ وَيَأْمُرُونَ بِالْعُرْفِ وَيَنْهَوْنَ عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْمُفْلِحُونَ
(آل عمران: ١٠٤)

⁹Let there be of you an *ummah* which calls for good, which enjoins good deeds and prohibits deeds of evil. Those are truly felicitous (3:104).

¹⁰It is this attention to the concrete and the implementation of its provisions that earned for Islam its reputation as the practical religion—*orthopraxies*—and contrasted it so starkly with the religions of utopia.

¹¹In Islam, the *vox populi* had never been equated with the *vox die*. Rather it remained absolutely subject to Allah's commandment, authoritative when it agrees therewith and condemnable when it strays therefrom.

the Prophet deemed fit to bless with the *ḥadīth*, "Whoever does *ijtihād* but arrives at error has nonetheless earned a measure of moral merit. Whoever does *ijtihād* and arrives at the truth, has earned double." Together *ijtihād* and *al ijmā'* constitute a dialectical movement constitutive of Islamic dynamism in the realm of ideas. For, while *al ijmā'* is hallowed as the crowning of the effort to understand, it is continually broken by the creative energy of *ijtihād*; and while *al ijtihād* is hallowed as the most highly desired purpose of understanding, it is sobered, purged and made critical by the necessity to convince all fellow Muslims of the validity of its findings—by the need for it to be approved by all (*al ijmā'*).

B. *IJMĀ' AL IRĀDAH*

Consensus of power is a community of will and has two components: *al 'aṣabīyah* (*sensus communis*, social cohesiveness), whereby the Muslims commit themselves to respond to events and situations in one and the same way, in united obedience to the call of God; and *al nizām* (the organizational and logistical apparatus capable of crystallizing decision, of reaching and mobilizing the Muslims for fulfillment of the call, and of translating the ought-to-be's of values into ought-to-do's for individuals, groups and their leaders).

Al 'aṣabīyah, is not equivalent to, or a consequence of the consensus of vision. It may well and should be enriched and deepened by such consensus. Indeed, it is impossible without such consensus, since where nothing is held in common, no cohesiveness will ever be found. *Al 'aṣabīyah* requires more than the consensus of vision. It expresses itself in a decision to identify with the movement, to throw one's lot, as it were, into the ship of the *ummah*, and then to respond with, i.e., to say and do a positive "yes" to the call and all that the call requires. The decision is itself based on a long process of psychic transformation in the course of which the individual identifies himself with the *ummah*, but at the end of which his consciousness veers towards implementation and identifies itself with the *khilāfah* as the *ummah's* historical vortex and spearpoint. This psychic process can be the object of education and pedagogy. Where it is, it would be refined and rich. But it can emerge naturally through birth, and be nursed in the closed quarter of the tribe, in which case it would grow as a fanatic and blind urge to identify with the tribe or race. It was in this sense that Ibn Khaldūn declared it the

base of social cohesion.¹² Since in Islam these material elements have been transcended in favor of ideology of *al tawhīd*, the *ʿaṣabīyah* of Islam would have to be the result of a new process, of a new *paideia* (an active and continuous transfiguration of the self into the image God has willed). *Al ʿaṣabīyah* therefore must be willed, fed, developed and matured. It may not be an involuntary growth by nature alone; nor confused with the nationalist feeling of European romanticism, which is often described as unconscious, nondeliberate, inexplicably internal and dark, which again is really the *ʿaṣabīyah* of tribalism. Islamic *ʿaṣabīyah* is deliberate, clearly explicable as an ethical and responsible act. It is a commitment to, an engagement in, the destiny of the *ummah* in clear light of *al tawhīd*, in full light of *al tawhīd*'s complete range of meanings. It is exemplified at its purest form in the choral cry of the pilgrims at Makkah as they circumambulate the Ka'bah, or as they hustle onto 'Arafat: "*Labbayka Allāhumma labbayk!* (At Your call, O Lord. Here we come! At Your call!) And it is the very opposite of enlandized and/or racialized or culturized particularism, such as Western nationalism has been through the centuries.¹³

Being an element constitutive of a universalist *ummah* covering a wide portion of the globe, *al ʿaṣabīyah* cannot be merely a factum of the Muslim in his personal moment. Nor can it function as a free surge as and when the Muslim wishes or suffers it to act in response to situations and events. Such would be a chaos of global dimension. In order to be Islamic and hence responsible, *al ʿaṣabīyah* must be disciplined to accord with that of all other Muslims in timing, intensity, direction and to translate itself into cooperative action with other Muslims. This is the aspect of *al niẓām* to which the institution of *al ijmā'* has prepared the Muslim's understanding of the meanings of *al tawhīd*. Aiming at *al niẓām*, our forefathers knew well that every Muslim must be literate as well as literary, that he must know large portions of the Quran, be conversant with the *sīrah* of the Prophet (SAAS) and the *sīyar* of the Companions, that he must frequent a *jamā'ah* close to his home and worship (i.e., cooperate and serve with them in God) at a neighborhood mosque. The requirement that in worship the Muslim's shoulders must touch one another was meant to enable the living presence on one's fellows, reciprocal self-identification with one another, and cooperation in the literal sense of the term with

¹²Abd al Raḥmān ibn Khaldūn, *Al Muqaddimah* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Mustafā Muḥammad, n.d.), pp. 127 ff.

¹³See this author's *Christian Ethics*, chap I, VII: "Urūbah and Religion," pp. 206 ff.

the *ummah* at large, to impinge on the worshipper's consciousness as it turns to acknowledge God as Lord and Master. All this was to lay a groundwork for the institutionalized organization of the *khilāfah*. The mosque was then, as it ought to be now, the hub of Islamic activity, the center of Islam's logistical machinery, for in it the Muslim made a daily appearance, came into living contact with his fellows under the aegis of *al tawhīd*, and received a daily ration of spiritual, moral and political vitamin. The latter could be and was in fact given by any Muslim impelled by his better knowledge and wisdom to speak out to his fellows, not excluding the caliph himself, in fulfillment of the divine command, "Call unto your Lord with wisdom and arguments yet more sound"¹⁴ and the Prophet's idea of predicating for *al naṣīḥah* (freely given advice) the same high merit accorded to *ijtihād*.¹⁵ This contact and intercourse with one's fellows was to culminate in *ṣalāt al jumu'ah*, where the speech of the *imām* stands as constitutive pillar. This *khuṭbah* (speech), was to deal with the situation of the day, with the sociopolitical and economic problems confronting Muslim society. The requirement that the *khuṭbah* include some Quranic and *ḥadīth* references was meant to bring Islamic wisdom to speak to the situation at hand and thus to voice its relevance. Finally, the practice that the *āmil* (governor) be himself the *imām* of *ṣalāt al jumu'ah* was meant to crystallize, for purpose of execution, the consensus emerging from the deliberations of the week; or, reflecting the nonconsensus reached, to furnish the leadership around which men may rally, and provide and test the needed *denouchment* to the issue at hand. In Islam, all this is worship; the actual transformation of earth and men for the sake of which the Quran itself was revealed;¹⁶ the concrete service of the tenant-farmer in the manor of God which

ادْعُ إِلَى سَبِيلِ رَبِّكَ بِالْحُكْمَةِ وَالْمَوْعِظَةِ الْحَسَنَةِ وَجِدْ لَهُمُ بَالِيًّا مِنْ أَحْسَنِّ ... (النحل: ١٢٥)

¹⁴Call unto the path of your Lord with wisdom and beautiful preaching. In dialogue with the non-believers, always present better and more comely arguments (16:125).

¹⁵In promotion of legitimate criticism of the ruler, the Prophet (SAAS) said, "Whoever loses his life in the course of bringing the ruler to account dies a martyr" and "If people witness a ruler act tyrannically and do not seek to stop him, they make themselves guilty of a sin heavily punishable by Allah."

...إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَغَيِّرُ مَا بِقَوْمٍ حَتَّى يُغَيِّرُوا مَا بِأَنْفُسِهِمْ ... (الرعد: ١١) الَّذِينَ إِنْ مَكَّنَّاهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ أَقَامُوا

الصَّلَاةَ وَآتَوُا الزَّكَاةَ وَأَمَرُوا بِالْمَعْرُوفِ وَنَهَوْا عَنِ الْمُنْكَرِ وَلِلَّهِ عِاقِبَةُ الْأُمُورِ (الحج: ٤١)

¹⁶Allah does not change the condition of a people until they have changed themselves (13:11)... [Righteous are] those who, when given dominion on earth, uphold *ṣalāh*, pay *zakah*, enjoin deeds of righteousness and prohibit deeds of evil. Unto Allah all things ultimately return (22:41).

is the earth, not the physical acrobatic devotions of the monk on the desert pillar, the Upanishadic guru; nor the self-mortification, world denial and history-spurning of the ascetic of whatever religious tradition.

C. *IJMĀ' AL 'AMAL*

Ijmā' al 'amal is the climax, in actual event, of all the preceding preparations. It is the carrying out of the ought-to-do's crystallizing out of *al ijmā'*; a process which, like the eternal dynamism of the *ijmā'-ijtihād* dialectic, can never be said to terminate and, as it were, to bring man into possession of his title to paradise. Actualizing the will of God in space-time is for man an endeavor terminated only by the Day of Judgment. It consists of satisfying the material needs of the *ummah*, of giving every member of it an education adequate enough to bring about a full measure of self-realization, and of providing all the material and moral means necessary for successful defence of the *ummah* against its foreign enemies as well as for bringing about the realization of the divine will throughout the world.

To satisfy the material needs of the *ummah* is of the essence of the divine will, and hence, of religion. Since God created man to serve Him,¹⁷ and to do so as a tenant farmer in the manor of God,¹⁸ it follows that God wants man to till the soil, to usufruct the elements and forces of nature, to develop civilization to his satisfaction.¹⁹ In confirming this

وَمَا خَلَقْتُ الْجِنَّ وَالْإِنْسَ إِلَّا لِعِبَادِي (الذاريات: ٥٦)

¹⁷I have not created the jinn and humankind but to serve Me (51:56).

... يَنْقُورُوا عِبَادُ اللَّهِ مَا لَكُمْ مِنْ إِلَهٍ غَيْرُهُ هُوَ أَنْشَأَكُمْ مِنَ الْأَرْضِ وَاسْتَعْمَرَكُمْ فِيهَا فَاسْتَغْفِرُوهُ ثُمَّ تُوبُوا إِلَيْهِ إِنَّ رَبِّي قَرِيبٌ مُجِيبٌ (هود: ٦١)

¹⁸O People, serve Allah. There is no other god but He. He created you out of the earth and planted you therein that you may settle in it according to His patterns. Seek then His forgiveness and repent to Him. He is the Lord, near and merciful (11:61).

وَعَدَ اللَّهُ الَّذِينَ آمَنُوا مِنْكُمْ وَعَمِلُوا الصَّالِحَاتِ لَيَسْتَخْلِفَنَّهُمْ فِي الْأَرْضِ كَمَا اسْتَخْلَفَ الَّذِينَ مِنْ قَبْلِهِمْ وَلَيُمَكِّنَنَّ لَهُمْ دِينَهُمُ الَّذِي ارْتَضَى لَهُمْ وَلَيُبَدِّلَنَّهُمْ مِنْ بَعْدِ خَوْفِهِمْ أَمْنًا يَعْبُدُونَنِي لَا يُشْرِكُونَ بِي شَيْئًا وَمَنْ كَفَرَ بَعْدَ ذَلِكَ فَأُولَئِكَ هُمُ الْفَاسِقُونَ (البور: ٥٥)

¹⁹Allah promised those who believe and do good deeds to establish them with dominion on earth, as He established their predecessors. He promised to make strong their religion which He was pleased to accept from them, and to transform their fear and insecurity into reassurance and safety. Their part is to serve Him and associate naught with Him. Those who do not believe are the wrongdoers (24:55).

vision, the Quran described poverty as the promise of Satan²⁰ and identified feeding the hungry and protecting the weak with religion itself.²¹ It is a consequence of the vicegerency of man that he may enjoy the sweets and pleasures of creation, especially if he has done his duty of service to God.²² In the Mesopotamian vision, the very act of creation of man also placed him in God's manor as His servant. But that act was also the commencement of organized agriculture, the building of dams, or irrigation and drainage canals, of *zigurrat* for the pooling and storing of the harvest, of the invention of writing and the keeping of records, and finally of setting up the government of the village, city, province, nation and world levels. In short, the act of creation was the very pulling of the world out of chaos and the establishment of cosmos.²³

The Semitic mind has never been able to understand the world-denial or mortification of the ascetic. Its has never seen sex and procreation, food and comfort, as intrinsically evil. Evil in its view was always an abuse of them, never themselves, as phenomena of nature. It was the Gnostic legacy, inherited by Christianity, with all its horror of matter, which injected into the Christian movement the seeds of asceticism and world-denial. Surely, Islam has imposed fasting; but it did so for two purposes: exercise in self-mastery and commiseration with the destitute. It also enjoined in the same verse that the fast must be broken at sunset with plenty of food and drink and merry-making.

How much is enough of the material needs of man, that the *khalifah* must satisfy if it is to fulfill what is expected of it? The minimum is easy to establish; and that is the level at which famine, disease and immature morality could be eliminated for all mankind. The maximum

الشَّيْطَانُ يَعِدُكُمُ الْفَقْرَ وَيَأْمُرُكُمْ بِالْفَحْشَاءِ وَاللَّهُ يَعِدُكُم مَّغْفِرَةً مِنْهُ وَفَضْلًا وَاللَّهُ وَاسِعٌ عَلِيمٌ
(البقرة: ٢٦٨)

²⁰Poverty is the promise of Satan. Satan enjoins upon you deeds of shame and sin. Allah promises you His mercy, forgiveness and bounty. He is All-Knowing All-Generous (2:268).

أَرَأَيْتَ الَّذِي يُكَذِّبُ بِالْإِيمَانِ فَذَلِكَ الَّذِي يَدْعُ الْيَتِيمَ وَلَا يَحْضُ عَلَى طَعَامِ الْيَتِيمِينَ (الماعون: ٣-١)

²¹Would you consider the denier of reckoning? He is the one who pushes away the orphan, who does not enjoin the feeding of the destitute (107:1-3).

قُلْ مَنْ حَرَّمَ زِينَةَ اللَّهِ الَّتِي أَخْرَجَ لِعِبَادِهِ وَالطَّيِّبَاتِ مِنَ الرِّزْقِ قُلْ هِيَ لِلَّذِينَ آمَنُوا فِي الْحَيَاةِ الدُّنْيَا خَالِصَةً يَوْمَ الْقِيَامَةِ كَذَلِكَ نُفَصِّلُ الْآيَاتِ لِقَوْمٍ يَعْلَمُونَ (الأعراف: ٣٢)

²²Say, O Muhammad, who prohibited the beautiful ornamentations and the delicacies of food which Allah provided for His servants? Say, they belong to the believers in this world, and the believers will enjoy them again in the other world in purity. So does Allah show His signs to those with reason (7:32).

²³Pritchard, *Ancient Near Eastern Texts*. 60.

is impossible to establish since neither the usufruct of nature nor the food-yielding powers of nature can be determined. Both are functions of an ever-expanding mastery of nature's laws or patterns God had implanted into it for man's benefit.²⁴ Everything in heaven and earth, the Quran tells us, is for man's benefit. The Prophet (SAAS) said: "Whoever retires home at night while a single man within a day's journey is hungry has offended God;" and 'Umar (RAA), the second caliph, declared: "I fear that God will indeed hold me responsible on the Day of Judgement for every mule which stumbles or falls down on the unrepaired pavement of the most distant village in the kingdom."²⁵

Certainly Islam commanded charity like every other religion. By calling it *ṣadaqah* (literally, a piece of truthfulness, charity), it meant to institute it as an index and expression of the truthfulness of one's faith. But beyond all the religions, Islam instituted *al zakāh* which is an annual wealth tax of 2.5% collected under sanction of public law. By calling it *al zakāh* (sweetening) it sought to emphasize that our wealth sours yearly unless we share it with our fellowmen. It further assured the deprived that to them belongs not a charity, not a little crumb on sufferance, but a right, a title to the wealth of the rich.²⁶ Islam has forbidden monopoly as well as hoarding, and abolished interest as the main instrument of man's exploitation of man.²⁷ On the other hand, Islam enjoined man to seek His bounty anywhere and everywhere,²⁸ to take off

وَسَخَّرَ لَكُم مَّا فِى السَّمَوَاتِ وَمَا فِى الْأَرْضِ جَمِيعًا مِّنْهُ إِنَّ فِى ذَٰلِكَ لَآيَاتٍ لِّقَوْمٍ يَعْقِلُونَ (الحجرات: ١٣) هُوَ الَّذِى جَعَلَ لَكُمُ الْأَرْضَ ذُلُولًا فَامْشُوا فِى مَنَاكِبِهَا وَكُلُوا مِن رِّزْقِهَا وَإِلَيْهِ النُّشُورُ (الملك: ١٥)

²⁴Allah made subservient to you all that is in the heavens and in the earth. In this are signs for those who think and reason (45:13)... It is Allah Who made the earth submissive to your design and action. Strike out in the earth, therefore, eat of the bounty of Allah and remember that it is to Him that you will return (67:15).

²⁵Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *Al Fāriq 'Umar* (Cairo: Maṭba'at Miṣr, 1364), vol. 2, p. 200.

وَفِى أَمْوَالِهِمْ حَقٌّ لِّلضَّالِّينَ وَالتَّوَّابِينَ (الذاريات: ١٩)

²⁶And in their wealth they acknowledge the right of the poor and the deprived (51:19).

الَّذِى جَمَعَ مَالًا وَعَدَّدَهُ يَحْسَبُ أَنَّ مَالَهُ أَخْلَدَهُ (الهمزة: ٣-٢) ... وَأَحَلَّ اللَّهُ الْبَيْعَ وَحَرَّمَ الرِّبَا... (البقرة: ٢٧٥)

²⁷[Woe to] those who collected and hoarded their wealth, thinking that their wealth would make them immortal (104:2-3)... Allah made selling and buying legitimate, and usury illegitimate (2:275).

فَإِذَا قُضِيَتِ الصَّلَاةُ فَانْتَشِرُوا فِى الْأَرْضِ وَابْتَغُوا مِن فَضْلِ اللَّهِ وَاذْكُرُوا اللَّهَ كَبِيرَ الْعِلْمِ تَعْلَمُونَ (الجمعة: ١٠)

²⁸When *ṣalāh* is complete, strike out into the earth and seek His bounty, and oft remember Allah in that you may be truly felicitous (62:10).

and emigrate in search of that bounty—indeed to seek the “million” but under the moral law of God, i.e., without treachery, cheating, thieving or robbing. And once earned and collected, the “million” or any part or multiple of it, has to be sweetened with *al zakāh*, and its owner’s “truthfulness” proved with *al sadaqah*.²⁹

It is certainly the duty of the *khilāfah* to make everything possible to enable every member of the *ummah* to earn and enjoy God’s bounty on earth. But this purpose, noble and necessary as it may, quickly degenerates into crass animality and degradation, a warping of human personality and betrayal of the whole divine will, once it is regarded as the sole or final end of human life.³⁰ The material needs of life are innocent and indeed good; they are to be satisfied to as high a degree as possible. But they and the whole material aspect of life which they are to sustain are only a means, an instrument, a carrier for the spiritual, whether for the individual or for the *ummah* as a whole. To hold the material pursuits as the final end is to deny the spiritual.

This is to claim that the spiritual is the empty, disembodied life of ritual and psychic self-transformation, as an alternate to the life of material pursuit. The spiritual life in Islam has three stages to be pursued all at once. The first is the engagement of the individual in the general material concerns of the *ummah*. This is the task of subjecting one’s own material needs to the demands of “ummatic” work. The second is the pursuit of education for oneself and others on a twofold level; viz., that the mastery of natural may make its usufruct by man more possible and easy; and that the dialectic of *ijmā’-ijtihād* may become more dynamic, creative and reach ever higher echelons of the divine will. The third stage is the production of esthetic works crystallizing the yearning, aspirations and career of the *ummah*, as the *ummah* continues to actualize and to embody values or the divine will in history.

The second component of *ijmā’-ijtihād* (consensus of production) is

... خُذْ مِنْ أَمْوَالِهِمْ صَدَقَةً تُطَهِّرُهُمْ وَتُزَكِّيهِمْ بِهَا وَصَلِّ عَلَيْهِمْ إِنَّ صَلَاتَكَ سَكَنٌ لَهُمْ وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ
(التوبة: ١٠٣)

[O Muhammad], Take of their wealth a portion to give to the needy. That will purify their wealth and confirm the righteousness of their hearts. Invoke Allah’s blessing upon them. Your prayer on their behalf will bring them reassurance, for Allah is All-Hearing, All-Knowing (9:103).

²⁹The Qur’anic verses commanding *zakāh* are too numerous to count. See Barakat, *Al Murshid*... s.v. *zakāh*, especially Qur’an 9:103.

³⁰Indeed, the pursuit of any value in exclusion of other values constitutes a tyranny or monopoly by that value. Such exaggerated pursuit vitiates the striving as well as its objective and transforms them into something valueless.

the provision of education to every member of the *ummah* to the extent and height in which a full measure of self-realization may be achieved.³¹ No individual has realized his vocation as a servant of God if his personal potential has not been developed and deployed to the fullest possible. Such an individual will not only feel unhappy and an *ummah* made of such individuals is a frustrated society, but the temptation to seek self-realization outside the confines of the *ummah* or to plot to undermine and subvert the *khilāfah* will continue to haunt the unused talents, the unusufructed energies, and unfulfilled spirits. *Al khilāfah* must do both: to create the need, i.e., to stir up the potential latent in the members, and to provide the means for their self-fulfillment. If it fails in the former, it has on its hand an *ummah* of ignorant and unawakened naive men. If it fails in the latter, it has opened its doors to self-emptying and self-wasting through emigration, or to self-destruction through subversion within, and war and foreign exploitation from without.

Al khilāfah must, in satisfaction of the consensus of production, mobilize the *ummah* to provide all that is necessary for an effective defence of the *ummah* from attack by its enemies.³² No member is a volunteer; all are conscripts in the struggle when the very existence of the *ummah* is in question, or when the issue of making the world of God supreme in the world requires their services.

In final analysis, it is this side of *ijmā' al 'amal* that constitute the highest felicity of the *ummah*, namely, its contribution to the Islamization of the world. It is this aspect of its vocation that raises the *ummah* to the

أَقْرَأَ بِاسْمِ رَبِّكَ الَّذِي خَلَقَ... أَقْرَأْ وَرَبُّكَ الْأَكْرَمُ الَّذِي عَلَّمَ بِالْقَلَمِ عَلَّمَ الْإِنْسَانَ مَا لَمْ يَعْلَمْ (العلق: ١-٥) وَمَا كَانَتْ
الْمُؤْمِنُونَ لِيَنْفِرُوا كَأَفْهٍ فَلَوْلَا نَفَرَ مِن كُلِّ فِرْقَةٍ مِّنْهُمْ طَائِفَةٌ لِّيَتَفَقَّهُوا فِي الدِّينِ وَلِيُنذِرُوا قَوْمَهُمْ إِذَا
رَجَعُوا إِلَيْهِمْ لَعَلَّهُمْ يَحْذَرُونَ (التوبة: ١٢٢)

³¹Recite in the name of your Lord, the Creator (96:1)... Recite, for your Lord is the most gracious. He taught the art of writing. He taught man what man never knew before (96: 3-5)... The believers should not all go out to war. Some of them should stay behind to study religion and cultivate their knowledge of its principles and commandments. For they will be needed to admonish their fellows upon return from war, that these guard themselves against evil (as the religion commands) (9:122).

وَأَعِدُّوا لَهُمْ مَا اسْتَطَعْتُمْ مِنْ قُوَّةٍ وَ مِنْ رِّبَاطِ الْخَيْلِ تُرْهِبُونَ بِهِ عَدُوَّ اللَّهِ وَعَدُوَّكُمْ وَآخَرِينَ مِنْ
دُونِهِمْ لَا تَعْلَمُونَهُمُ اللَّهُ يَعْلَمُهُمْ وَمَا تُنْفِقُوا مِنْ شَيْءٍ فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ يُوَفَّ إِلَيْكُمْ وَأَنْتُمْ لَا تُظْلَمُونَ
(الأنفال: ٦٠)

³²Prepare for your encounter with the enemy all the might you can. Marshal the cavalry in such numbers as to frighten the enemies of Allah and your enemies, and others besides, whom you may not know, but whom Allah does know. Whatever you spend in the cause of Allah will be returned to you with your reward, and no injustice will befall you (8:60).

level of contending in the matter of human history, of world history. Its achievement on this level constitutes the *ummah's* ultimate justification in the eye of God, *sub specie aeternitatis*.

II. AL TAWHĪD AND POLITICAL POWER

A. ISLAM AND THE MUSLIM WORLD: THE SAD FACTS

The Muslim world which now counts more than a billion members residing in an area stretching from the Atlantic eastward to the Pacific, and now beginning to take root and spread in Europe and the Americas, constitutes a great potential for making the word of God supreme in the world. Unfortunately for itself and for the world, it is still far from developing or deploying its capacities in the interest of God's cause. Indeed, it is keeping a very precarious balance between using its own capacities for its own development; and wasting those capacities on futile endeavors at home and constructive endeavors for the benefits of non-Muslims.

The great majority of constitutions of Muslim countries state that Islam is the state's religion. Only one, Saudi Arabia, takes the statement with seriousness, the sign of which is the implementation of the *sharī'ah*. A number of other states, such as Pakistan, Kuwait, come next with a claim for Islam as *raison d'être* of state and *ummah* but add to it the Western descriptive notions that they are nations or states because they combine a people, a territory and sovereignty—a consideration which at once assumes Islam to be inadequate as *raison d'être*. A third class like Egypt, Morocco, the Sudan, etc., regards Islam as necessary icing on top of the cake whose internal structure and texture are molded by Western rather than Islamic notions. Nationalism, a new *shu'ūbiyah*, imitating the Western brand of (*Blut und Boden*) romanticism, determines the immigration and naturalization laws, the active statesmanship of the leaders, the style of life of the intelligentsia and other elite, and the social self-image that is being projected for the education and inspiration of the masses. No Muslim country exists, that keeps itself in the constant mobilization and vigilance in which the Prophet's society had placed itself during the whole span of the Prophet's ministry in Madīnah. And, perhaps the worst of all features of the Muslim world is its bankruptcy

in the field of education. Nowhere is there a single institution which assumes the burden of taking a five-year-old Muslim and handing him back to the *ummah* with fully developed potential. We have no facility which fulfills the task of training the Muslim to transform the world and making materials into the likeness of the divine pattern in consciousness of that divine pattern itself as the ultimate end of his own personal existence. The percentage of educated emigrants and frustrated residents to the total number of Ph.D. or M.D. graduates in frighteningly high. At the other end of the spectrum the percentage of illiterates to literates is horrifying.

It is not upsetting that the Muslims are waking up from their long slumber; that their societies are weak in their economic, social and political momentum; or that their states are staggering out of inertness and lethargy in staccato rhythm. What is upsetting is the lack of vision among Muslim leaders of the moment of the *ummah* at this juncture of the present and future. What we observe is the consequence of this lack of vision, and that is the utter absence of effort to build the Islamic citizen, who is as committed to the ideology of Islam as he is at home in the twenty-first century.

B. THE PROMISE OF POLITICAL POWER

No *engage* Muslim understands or accepts the apologies usually given by Muslim politicians about the sad shortcomings of the *ummah* in this century. And no one accepts the argument that the masses' initiative must come from the ranks of the masses before it can be exercised by *al khilāfah's* leaders. The elite who know better are certainly there, and in abundance. What is needed at this time in history is the spark to ignite the will of the *ummah* into motion. This can come only from the leaders preparedness to engage in the dangerous business of interfering in history as its subject, not as its patient and object.³³

قُلْ لَنْ يُصِيبَنَا إِلَّا مَا كَتَبَ اللَّهُ لَنَا هُوَ مَوْلَانَا وَعَلَى اللَّهِ فَلْيَتَوَكَّلِ الْمُؤْمِنُونَ قُلْ هَلْ تَرْتَضُونَ
بِنَا إِلَّا إِحْدَى الْحُسَيْنَيْنِ وَنَحْنُ نَرْتَضِي بِكُمْ أَنْ يُصِيبَكُمُ اللَّهُ بِعَذَابٍ مِنْ عَذَابِهِ أَوْ يَأْتِيَنَا...
(التوبة: ٥١-٥٢)

³³Say, [O Believers], nothing will befall us but what Allah has already decreed. He is our Lord. Upon Him shall we believers depend... Say, Do you expect anything to befall us but one of two blessings (martyrdom and paradise or survival and victory over the enemy)? But we do expect that Allah will vest the enemy with severe punishment, either by Him or through our hands (9:51-2).

Interference in history by the Muslim ummah begins at home, in the patient, sober building of *al khilāfah* which cannot be said to exist in any present Muslim state. Once sure of a provisional base on which to anchor itself, *al khilāfah* must mobilize the whole Muslim world and call it to march. No price should be regarded exorbitant to achieve this objective except the dissolution of *al khilāfah* itself. Its personnel can and should be sacrificed if progress towards that goal cannot be made without it. Once the *ummah* stands in readiness, the moment of Abū Bakr's caliphate will be on hand again. That will be the greatest moment ever.