



**THE BANGSAMORO ARMED RESISTANCE IN
SOUTHERN PHILIPPINES: THE ROLE OF SHAYKH
SALAMAT HASHIM AND HIS VIEWS ON PEACE AND
WAR IN ISLAM**

BY

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**A dissertation submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Islamic and
Other Civilizations**

**International Islamic Institute of Islamic Thought
and Civilization
International Islamic University Malaysia**

JANUARY 2015

ABSTRACT

Using the framework of Islamic doctrine of peace and war, this study examines and analyzes the role of Shaykh Salamat Hashim in the Bangsamoro armed resistance in Southern Philippines as well as the significance of his views on peace and war in Islam. Understanding these issues is of paramount significance in understanding the nature and course of the Bangsamoro armed resistance movement. Shaykh Salamat Hashim played vital roles in the present Bangsamoro armed resistance in Southern Philippines. He was the founding leader, *amīr* and ideologue of the armed resistance movement. In these capacities, Shaykh Salamat Hashim was able to transform the resistance movement so that it was not only an armed revolutionary organization, but also a vehicle and vanguard of Islamic revivalism in the area by formulating its Islamic ideological foundations, agenda and methodology based on the Qur'an and *Sunnah* (Traditions) of Prophet Muhammad. As an Islamic scholar, Shaykh Salamat Hashim viewed peaceful means, not war, as the primary basis of policy in resolving the Moro-Filipino conflict. For him, war comes as a last resort in achieving the objectives of eliminating injustice, oppression and aggression in the Bangsamoro society. Viewed in this context, the chance of peaceful resolution of the Moro-Filipino conflict is within reach. Consistently with this view, however, a peaceful and negotiated political solution must necessarily be based on justice, equality and mutual respect. The data gathered are based on primary sources such as the *khutbah*(s) (religious sermons), speeches, lectures, press releases and interviews of Shaykh Salamat Hashim. These data are supplemented by the results of key informant interviews (KII) and the articles written about him.

خلاصة البحث

تهدف هذه الدراسة لاستكشاف دور الشيخ سلامات هاشم في المقاومة المسلّحة بـ: (بانغسامورو) جنوب الفلبين، كما تتناول بالتحليل آراءه فيما يتعلّق بالسلام والحرب في الإسلام، استناداً إلى ما هو مبثوث في خطبه الدينية ومحاضراته والمقابلات التي أجراها مع الصحافة، علاوة على المقالات التي تناول أصحابها حياته وأعماله؛ حيث تشكّل جميعها بيانات وحقائق تستند إليها الدراسة في تحليل الخطاب الديني الجهادي لدى الشيخ سلامات هاشم. وقد تبين من هذه الدراسة أن الشيخ سلامات هاشم أدّى دوراً حيوياً وفعالاً في المقاومة المسلّحة الحالية بـ: (بانغسامورو) جنوب الفلبين؛ إذ كان زعيماً مؤسساً وأميراً ومنظراً للمقاومة الإسلامية المسلّحة في جنوب الفلبين. اوضحت هذه الدراسة، أيضاً، أن الشيخ سلامات هاشم كان يرى في حركة المقاومة طليعة من طلائع الإحياء الإسلامي في المنطقة تهتدي بهدى القرآن الكريم والسنة النبوية، وليس مجرد منظمة ثورية مسلّحة وحسب. وذلك من منطلق ما كان يؤمن به الشيخ سلامات هاشم من أن السلام بوصفه بعداً سياسياً مهماً، يعد ركيزة أخلاقية أساسية من ركائز إيجاد حل مرضٍ للصراع بين مورو وحكومة الفلبين، لأن الحرب في نظره لم تكن هي إلا وسيلة للقضاء على الظلم والقهر والعدوان المسلّط على أهالي بانغسامورو؛ مما يجعل فرصة الحل السلمي للصراع بين مورو وحكومة الفلبين أمراً ممكناً في متناول الجميع، شريطة ان يقوم هذا الحل السياسي السلمي على العدل والاحترام المتبادل، وإيجاد تسوية سلمية بين بانغسامورو وحكومة الفلبين.

APPROVAL PAGE

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DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this dissertation is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. I also declare that it has not been previously or concurrently submitted as a whole for any other degrees at IIUM or other institutions.

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Signature.....

Date.....

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA

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*To the sincere
Bangsamoro mujāhidīn,
my parents,
loving wife and daughter,
this work is sincerely dedicated.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

All praises be to Allah, the Lord of the worlds. May peace and blessings of Allah be upon His Messenger Muhammad, peace be upon him.

This work would not have been completed without the close supervision and sincere advises of my energetic supervisor, Prof. Doctor Muddathir Abdel-Rahim. From the bottom of my heart, I would like to thank him and express my deepest gratitude for this. I also express my thanks to my respected professors like Prof. Dr. Hassan A. Elnagar, Prof. Dr. Mohamed Ajmal Abdul Razak, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Idris Salem, Prof Dr. Abdullahil Al-Ahsan, the late Ustadz Muhammadi Uthman, and other professors who imparted me knowledge and good advise.

To my elder brothers in Islam, Abang Mahmud Morshidi of Brunei, Bro. Col. Shahrir Hashim, Dr. Salem Lingasa, Dr. Badrudin Ahmad, Dr. Jonathan Mantakiyan, and Dr. Ester Sevilla, I also owe them gratitude.

Of course, my expression of thanks and gratitude would never been complete without thanking my beloved wife, Ramla B. Lantong, and our lone daughter, Shahnaz, for the all-out support and understanding they rendered to me while I was away doing my course work and this study.

Finally, my deepest gratitude is due to Allah for the *tawfīq* and guidance He bestowed upon me until this work was completed.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARMM	Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao
BIAF	Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces
BMILO	Bangsa Moro Islamic Liberation Organization
CNI	Commission on National Integration
FPA	Final Peace Agreement
GRP	Government of the Republic of the Philippines
MSU	Mindanao State University
MIM	Muslim Independence Movements
MILF	Moro Islamic Liberation Front
MNLF	Moro National Liberation Front
OIC	Organization of Islamic Conference

TRANSLITERATION TABLE

Table of the system of transliteration of Arabic words and names
used by the International Islamic University Malaysia.

b = ب	z = ز	f = ف
t = ت	s = س	q = ق
th = ث	sh = ش	k = ك
j = ج	ṣ = ص	l = ل
ḥ = ح	ḍ = ض	m = م
kh = خ	ṭ = ط	n = ن
d = د	ẓ = ظ	h = ه
dh = ذ	‘ = ع	w = و
r = ر	gh = غ	y = ي

SHORT: A = َ ; I = ِ ; U = ُ

LONG: ā = َا ; ī = ِي ; ū = ُو

Diphthong: ay = َاي ; aw = َاو

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

BACKGROUND OF STUDY

Since the early 1960s, the Islamic reform movement of Shaykh Salamat Hashim has been actively advocating for the peaceful liberation of the Bangsamoro¹ people and their homeland from the clutches of Philippine colonialism. However, in the 1970s, this peaceful reform movement became an active armed resistance movement against the then aggressive and violent ‘filipinization’ policy of the Philippine government. While the Philippine government construed it as the Bangsamoro people’s struggle to secede from the Philippines, the Bangsamoros, especially Shaykh Salamat Hashim and his group maintained that they were waging a defensive *jihād* (armed resistance) against what they believed as the government’s aggression, oppression and injustice.

The Bangsamoro armed resistance is one of the world’s longest sustained resistance movements against foreign colonialism. From 1521 to 1898, the Bangsamoro people fiercely resisted the three centuries of Spanish crusade and colonial domination in the Moro region. From 1903 to 1935, the Bangsamoro people, although with respites, lulls and failures, resisted the United States of America’s colonialism. When the US left and granted independence to the Philippine Republic in 1946, annexing the Bangsamoro territory without their consent, the Bangsamoro people did not only protest, but demanded that they be left out of that political arrangement. Due to their persistent quest for freedom, the Bangsamoro resorted to violent armed resistance when their demand was unheeded.

¹ The Bangsamoros are the Islamized native inhabitants of the Moroland (mainland Mindanao, Sulu,

Thus, in the early 1970s, the Moro resentment became a full blown armed resistance movement. At first, the traditional political leaders who felt disenchanted with the government policy led the movement. When they became less enthusiastic and abandoned the resistance movement, some dedicated youth leaders like Salamat Hashim, Nur Misuari, Abulkhayr Alonto and others took over the armed resistance leadership. Through the initiative of Salamat Hashim, the group was able to organize the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF). Despite their ideological differences, they were able to work for at least a few years under the MNLF organization. During the trial period, the MNLF, under the chairmanship of Nur Misuari, served as the vehicle for Moro resistance against the Philippine government.

Until 1976, this organization was monolithic and acted as the unified nationalist armed resistance movement against the Philippine government. However, after 1976, when the MNLF and the Government of the Philippines (GPH) signed the famed Tripoli agreement in Libya, the unity of the resistance movement was shattered. Having an irreconcilable ideological difference with Nur Misuar, Shaykh Salamat Hashim, who was then in charge of the foreign affairs bureau of the MNLF, decided to split from the group in 1977. In 1984, he and his followers established the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) to emphasize its Islamic leaning and inclination. Without the cooperation of the resistance groups, the autonomy offered by the government failed.

In 1996, the MNLF and the government again signed the so-called Final Peace Agreement (FPA). As part of the deal, Nur Misuari was appointed chairman of Southern Philippines Council for Peace and Development (SPCPD) and Governor of the Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao (ARMM). Many of his cadre officers were appointed to government positions, and thousands of his armed combatants were

integrated into either Philippine National Police (PNP) or Armed Forces of the Philippine (AFP). Subsequently, many observers then were thinking that the Moro issues have been finally resolved through the said peace deal. However, President Aquino's administration recently admitted that it was a failed political experiment.

While the MNLF went on its way, the MILF, under the leadership and direction of Shaykh Salamat Hashim, continued the armed resistance and its Islamic reform programme. From 1994, its armed wing, Bangsamoro Islamic Armed Forces (BIAF) posed a major threat to the national security of the Philippines as it engaged the government's armed forces in many major gun battles. As a result, in 1997, the Philippine government invited the MILF leadership to forge a cease-fire agreement in order to negotiate peacefully the Bangsamoro issue to which Salamat Hashim agreed. Until his death in 2003, Salamat Hashim adopted a policy of negotiate with-and-fight the government armed forces. Most observers, including academicians, interpreted him and his ideas as nothing but a burst of "Islamic militancy", "Islamic extremism", "Islamic terrorism", "rebellion" and "separatism" from the Filipino-majority ruled state. The misunderstanding of Shaykh Salamat Hashim's views created the unnecessary persistence of misconception of the Bangsamoro struggle for genuine peace and right to self-determination in their ancestral homeland.

PROBLEM STATEMENT

Understanding the role and significance of Shaykh Salamat Hashim and his views on peace and war in Islam is of paramount importance in explaining the nature of the current Bangsamoro armed resistance movement in Southern Philippines. As *amīr* (commander) and the ideologue of the movement, he had extensive influence on the course and direction of the armed resistance movement. Yet, there has been no serious

attempt to investigate his role and the significance of his views on peace and war from an Islamic perspective. This study tries to fill this gap. It asserts that, as an ethical realist leader and ideologue of the Bangsamoro armed resistance movement, Salamat Hashim viewed Islam as a religion of peace that upholds to the primacy of peace, not war, in resolving conflict. For him, war (*jihād*) becomes legitimate only when it is waged in the way of Allah, and directed against forces of injustice, oppression and aggression.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

This study attempts to answer the following questions:

1. What is the true nature of the Bangsamoro armed resistance?
2. What was the role of Shaykh Salamat Hashim in the Bangsamoro armed resistance in Southern Philippines?
3. What were the views of Salamat Hashim on peace and war in Islam?
4. How did Salamat Hashim's MILF apply in practical life his views on peace and war in Islam?
5. What are the practical consequences and significance of Salamat Hashim's views on peace and war in the Bangsamoro armed resistance and society?

RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Generally, this study explores and analyzes the role and significance of Shaykh Salamat Hashim's views about peace and war in Islam.

Specifically, this study aims to:

1. Examine the historical background of the Bangsamoro armed resistance in Southern Philippines.

2. Understand the the role of Salamat Hashim in the Bangsamoro armed resistance in Southern Philippines and the outline of ideas he espoused to his followers.
3. Analyse his views on peace and war (*jihād*) in Islam.
4. Review the practical application of Salamat Hashim’s views on peace and war (*jihād*) in Islam.
5. Analyze the practical consequences and significance of Salamat Hashim’s views on peace and war in the Bangsamoro armed resistance and society.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Using a qualitative research design, this study attempts to examine and analyze the data related to the role of Salamat Hashim in the Bangsamoro armed resistance in southern Philippines and the significance of his views on peace and war in Islam viz-a-viz the Bangsamoro armed resistance and society. The primary sources of data are Salamat Hashim’s tape recorded lectures, *khuṭbah*(s) (religious sermons) in Maguindanaon dialect, compilation of his press releases, media interviews and diplomatic correspondence while the sources of secondary data are the articles contained in published books, journals, news items, online articles and studies on the MILF in general and Salamat Hashim’s thoughts in particular. The researcher had the privilege to have access to both sources of data.

To supplement the aforementioned data gathering method, the researcher utilized the Key Informant Interview (KII) method. He conducted interviews with selected MILF key personalities who helped and worked closely with Salamat Hashim during and after his creation of the MILF. The researcher used this method of data gathering in order to clarify and validate the conclusions he had drawn from the

primary and secondary sources of data. The researcher's personal acquaintance and contacts with key informant interviewees facilitated the generation of data and information needed.

Among the said key personalities whom the researcher interviewed was Shaykh Khalifah Nando, schoolmate and close associate of Hashim at Al-Azhar University, Cairo, Egypt. Together with Shaykh Salamat Hashim, he was also co-founder of the Islamic reform movement that was later known as the MILF. Nando served the MILF-led armed resistance in various capacities such as, chairman of the MILF Central Committee on Education and chairman of the *Majlis al-Shura* (Consultative Assembly). Presently, he is the head of MILF Shari'ah Supreme Court.

The researcher also interviewed Shaykh Abu Hurayra Abdul-Rahman. A graduate of Islamic University in Madinah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Shaykh Abu Hurayra is the current Grand Mufti of Darul Ifta, Cotabato City. Like Shaykh Khalifa Nando, Shaykh Abu Hurayra was also Salamat Hashim's colleague and a co-founder of the MILF. Within the MILF Central Committee, he was once in charge of the MILF Foreign Affairs Bureau.

Other personalities that the researcher had interviewed were Shaykh Esmael and Commander Anwar. Shaykh Esmael is the former director of the Islamic College of Camp Abu Bakr As-Siddique, and currently the provincial chairman of the MILF's provincial committee of the province of Damakling. He lived for quite some time with Salamat Hashim both in Pakistan and in Camp Abū Bakr As-Siddique in Mindanao. On the other hand, Commander Anwar was one of the close aides of Salamat Hashim in Camp Abū Bakr As-Siddique and Islamic Center in Buliok Complex. When Hashim clandestinely moved to the jungle of Lanao Del Sur where he died of cardiac arrest, Commander Anwar was also with him as the chief of his security forces. As a

source of data, he knew well the ideas and line of thinking of Hashim until his death in 2003.

After gathering the data through library research and the KII, the researcher, using inductive and deductive methods of analysis, examined and analyzed them together to draw conclusions, recommendations and suggestions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study is deemed significant for three major reasons. First, the results of the research may hopefully correct and clarify the common misconception regarding the true nature of Salamat Hashim-led armed resistance in Southern Philippines against the Philippine government. For instance, many Filipinos were made to believe that the armed resistance that Salamat Hashim organized was aimed at fighting Christians and driving them back to Luzon and Visayas should the struggle succeed. Thus, many of them, especially their leaders, vehemently opposed the idea of giving back to the Moros their claimed territories. It is hoped that the findings of this research may be instrumental in the promotion and advancement of better awareness and understanding of the Moro armed resistance.

Second, the results of the study may serve as an additional basis for the continuing search for viable peaceful settlement of the centuries-old Muslims' quest for genuine and lasting peace in Southern Philippines. For instance, as stated above, the Muslims believe that they are fighting against what they perceive as the injustice, oppression and immoral annexation of their homeland to the Philippine territory. Based on the findings of this research, the Philippine government and the MILF should be able to find mutually acceptable ways on how to address the core issues or

accommodate the Bangsamoro's aspiration within the Philippine jurisdiction without resorting to a perpetual war.

Finally, the findings of this research may serve as additional contribution to the ever increasing literature, body of knowledge on culture of peace, concept of peace and war in Islam, and conflict resolution. As such, the findings of this research may also be useful not only to students of Islamic revivalism, reformism and revolution, but also to peace advocates, practitioners, scholars, researchers and others whose interest are in line with the present study.

SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The scope of this study is the analysis on the role and significance of Shaykh Salamat Hashim in the Bangsamoro Islamic resistance in Southern Philippines and his views on peace and war in Islam. The analysis is based on the data gathered from the compilation of Salamat Hashim's works that are written either in English or in Arabic, his lectures, *khutbahs* (religious sermons), and speeches in Maguindanaon dialect which he delivered from 1994 to 2003 and the results of the KII.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Doctrines of Peace and War in Islam

The doctrine of peace and war in Islam is based on Islamic law. The major sources of Islamic law are the Qur'an, traditions of Prophet Muhammad and precedents in Islamic history. Due to the nature of the issue, differences in opinions and understanding of the sources of Islamic law among the Muslim scholars happen. In this section, the researcher reviews some of the major works of Muslim scholars that deal with the doctrine of peace and war in Islam. These works are categorized into

classical and modern. The classical works are divided into two groups; one advocates an offensive *jihād*, and the other advocates a defensive approach. The modern scholars, on the other hand, are divided into pacifists, neo-classical and ethical realists. The first part of the section presented their respective views, while the second part presents some of the major works related to the armed resistance movement in Southern Philippines.

Classical Doctrine of Peace and War

Imam Muhammad ibn al-Hasan Al-Shaybānī, a prominent student of Imām Abū Ḥanīfa, in his pioneering work on Islamic International Law², laid down the foundation of the classical doctrine of war and peace according to Hanafi school of thought. Based on the traditions of Prophet Muhammad, he emphasizes that a legitimate war in Islam should be fought for the sake of God alone; it should be directed against the disbelievers and polytheists who neither embrace Islam nor subject themselves to the rule of Islamic state until they are humbled and pay *jizyah*.³

Imam Al-Shaybānī based his doctrine on the following traditions of Prophet Muhammad:

Fight in the name of God and in the path of God [i.e., truth]. Combat only those who disbelieve in God...whenever you meet your polytheist enemies, invite them (first) to adopt Islam. If they do so, accept it, and let them alone...if they refuse [to accept Islam], then call upon them to pay the *jizya* (poll tax); if they do, accept it and leave them alone...⁴

Under Imam Al-Shaybani's legal scheme, there are only two possible conditions that may allow peaceful co-existence between what Islamic jurists then

² *The Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybānī's Siyar*. (Tran.) Majid Khadduri. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966).

³ *Ibid.* 76-7.

⁴ *Ibid.* 76.

called *Dār al-Islām* (abode of Islam) and *Dār al-ḥarb* (abode of war). First, the latter either surrenders or renders an annual tribute of *jizyah* to the former. Second, if the imam thinks that entering a peace treaty with *Dār al-ḥarb* serves the interest of *Dār al-Islām*, then the Imam can do so. Otherwise, the Imam should not enter a peace treaty with *Dār al-ḥarb*.⁵ In this legal scheme, the possibility of having peace with non-Muslims, including the non-combatants, is seemingly difficult.

Speaking for the Mālikī school of thought, the Mālikī legal luminary and philosopher of Cordova, Spain, Ibn Rushd, who lived in the 12th century CE, discussed the nature of *jihād* and peace in his renowned treatise on comparative Islamic jurisprudence⁶. Talking about the Islamic ruling on waging war, Ibn Rushd affirmed the collective obligatoriness of waging war. He wrote that “the jurists agreed unanimously that it [*jihād*] is collective and not a universal obligation. The majority of the jurists adopted this view...the activity is obligatory on men, who are free, have attained puberty, who find the means (at their disposal) for going to war, are of sound health, and are neither ill nor suffer from a chronic disease”.⁷

In the above-stated quotation, Ibn Rush did not mention the conditions that make waging war a collective obligation. However, he affirmed that the Muslim jurists have unanimously agreed that *jihād* should be fought against all polytheists except for the Ethiopians and the Turks due to some reported hadīths attributed to Prophet Muhammad reprimanding Muslims from doing so⁸.

Like the Hanafī jurists, he was of the opinion that war should be declared against the disbelievers who stubbornly stick to their belief after receiving an

⁵ Ibid. 154-5.

⁶ Ibn Rushd, *The Distinguished Jurist's Primer: A Translation of Bidayat al-Mujtahid, Vol.1*, trans. by Imran A.H. Nyazee (UK: Garnet Publishing Ltd., 1994).

⁷ Ibid., 454-5.

⁸ Ibid., 455-6.

invitation to embrace Islam. For instance, he wrote, “the condition of the declaration of war, by agreement, is the communication of the invitation to Islam, that is, it is not permitted to wage war on them unless the invitation has reached them.”⁹ Thus, for him, Muslims are allowed to launch attack on their opponents when the opponents, having received invitation to Islam, rejected it.

As for entering a peace treaty with non-Muslims, Ibn Rushd concurred with the Hanafi opinion that Muslim leaders are allowed to conclude a peace treaty with non-Muslims provided that it serves the interest of the Muslims. He wrote:

A group of jurists permitted this initially (without warfare) without necessity, if the imam considered it to be in the interest of the Muslims. Another group of jurists did not permit it, except on the basis of a compelling necessity, such as the avoidance of disturbances or for gaining from them some concessions for the Muslim community, which are not in the nature of *jizya* as the condition for *jizya* is that they be subject to the laws of Muslims, or even without taking anything from them. Al-awza-i permitted that the imam may negotiate a truce with the disbelievers on the basis of something that the Muslims would give to the disbelievers if that is required as a necessity for avoiding (greater) trials, or on the basis of any other necessity. Al-Shafi-i said that the Muslims are not to make any concession to the disbelievers, unless they fear that they would be overwhelmed by the sheer number of the enemy (in relation to) their own small numbers, or because of a severe ordeal that they are subjected to.¹⁰

Like the preceding classical Islamic scholars, al-Māwardī, who was affiliated with Shāfi-ī school of thought, taught that *jihād* should be launched against the polytheists or those who receive invitation to Islam, yet persist on their disbelief. According to him, *jihād* in the sense of fighting is directed against the *mushrikīn* (polytheists). In his view, the *mushrikīn* are divided into two categories: those for whom the call of Islam has reached them, but they refuse it and take up arms, and those for whom the invitation to Islam has not reached them. Regarding the former, al-Māwardī taught that the *amīr* (commander) of the army has to fight them [the

⁹ Ibid., 461.

¹⁰ Ibid., 463.