ISLAM AND PEACE

Gé Speelman*

Abstract

Farida Pattisahusiwa, a Moluccan woman, born in the Netherlands, was inspired by her Islamic belief during the Moluccan conflict to become a peace activist. In the war against the British colonization, Abdul Ghaffr (Badshah) Khan, inspired by Ghandi, opposed the colonization with non-violence. With the formation of the *Khudai Khitmatgars* (=servants of the Lord) movement he succeeded to transform the belligerent *Pasthun* tribes, to oppose with non-violence by swearing among others not to use violence. The model for Khan was The Prophet Muhammad, who often patiently tried to solve a conflict without the use of violence. These two persons (Farida and Khan) are showing that within the Islam values like respect, patience, wisdom, and justice can become a strong base to oppose injustice and to live in peace with all people.

Keywords: Farida Pattisahusiwa, Badshah Khan, *Khudai Khitmatgars*, Islam, peace, non-violence.

Abstrak

Farida Pattisahusiwa, seorang perempuan Maluku yang lahir di Belanda, selama konflik Maluku menjadi seorang aktivis perdamaian berdasarkan iman Islamnya. Ibunya menjadi teladan baginya untuk hidup dalam perdamaian dengan sesama atas dasar rasa hormat terhadap setiap orang. Dalam perang kemerdekaan melawan penjajah Inggris di India, di daerah yang sekarang adalah Pakistan-Afghanistan, Abdul Ghaffar (Badshah) Khan menghadapi orang Inggris dengan nirkekerasan. Sumber inspirasinya adalah Gandhi. Dengan mendirikan gerakan bernama *Khudai Khitmatgars* (= hamba-hamba Tuhan) ia berhasil mentransformasikan suku *Pashtuns*, yang

* Dr. Gé Speelman is a senior lecturer in Religious Studies at the Protestant Theological University in Amsterdam, the Netherlands.

suka berperang, untuk melawan orang Inggris tanpa kekerasan. Anggota gerakan ini bersumpah antara lain untuk tidak menggunakan kekerasan. Teladan bagi Badshah Khan adalah Nabi Muhammad, yang sering kali dengan penuh kesabaran mencoba untuk mengakhiri suatu konflik secara damai tanpa kekerasan. Melihat dua tokoh ini tampak bahwa dalam Islam, nilai-nilai seperti rasa hormat, kesabaran, hikmah, dan keadilan dapat menjadi dasar kuat untuk melawan ketidakadilan dan hidup dalam perdamaian dengan semua orang.

Kata-kata kunci: Farida Pattisahusiwa, Badshah Khan, *Khudai Khitmatgars,* Islam, perdamaian, nirkekerasan.

Women for Peace in the Moluccas

In 2000, when the troubles in the Moluccas were at their zenith, a Dutch-born Moluccan Muslim woman, Farida Pattisahusiwa, came together with her Christian Moluccan friend in the Netherlands, Vera Tentua, and together they founded an organization called "Women for Peace in the Moluccas". When asked about her motivation to work for peace, she said:

> *"For me, there is no connection between Islam and violence. I am inspired by a text from the Holy Qur'an:*
>
> *'(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), (Sura 22, the Pilgrimage, verse 40).'* [1]
>
> *In the Holy Qur'an as I read it, Muslims should protect any place where the name of Allah is commemorated. The Qur'an explicitly names churches and synagogues as such places. But not only buildings of stone and wood are meant, because the place where we really commemorate Allah is in our hearts. Therefore, as humans themselves are temples or sanctuaries of Allah's name, we should protect any human being. Christians should be safe in the midst of Muslims."*

In another interview, Farida mentions another source of inspiration for her peace-work. That is the Moluccan tradition of *Pela*. *Pela* is the name Moluccans give to the ties that exist between certain villages. Inhabitants of villages that have a *pela* relation have to help each other in times of need. Villages that have established *pela* between them will not attack each other. In the Moluccas, *pela* often links Christian and Muslim villages to each other.[2] *Pela* members will treat each other respectfully and address the other as their *bangsa* (in Dutch Moluccan dialect spelled *"bongso"*), one belonging to the same ethnicity.

Farida says: *"I have learned to respect the Adat (customs) again since the fights. I have become conscious again of the values that I received and with which I grew up."*

She and her Christian friend Vera Tentua regret that the old customs of *pela* are gradually disappearing under the influence of modernity. Since the Orde Baru, the traditional Raja's, local leaders who maintained the ties of *pela*, lost most of their power. Tradition is also undermined by the behavior of the military, who try to destabilize otherwise peaceful *desa*'s (villages). [3]

There is a third source of inspiration besides the Islamic tradition and the local cultural customs that made Farida inclined to become active in the peace movement. That was the personal inspiration of her spiritually gifted mother.

For Farida, her mother and the way she treated all people with respect was a great source of inspiration. Her mother made her understand Islam basically as a religion of peace, respect, and harmony. For this reason, Farida regrets the absence of most Muslims in more general peace-building organizations in the Netherlands. In her opinion, peace-building should be the core business of committed Muslims.

Many Muslims echo the convictions of Farida when they engage in dialogue with Christians. Islam is for them the religion of peace. Then why is it that Islam in the eyes of many non-Muslims, especially in the West, stands for violence and aggression? One could argue that this is due to the role of radical movements in the political debate. Movements like the Laskar Jihad and the FPI in Indonesia, for instance, do not hesitate to use violence in order to spread their ideas about Islam. Nevertheless, they represent only a small minority of the Muslim population in any country. A representative random survey among Muslims all over the world indicated that only 7% of the respondents approved of the terrorist attacks on 11 September 2001 (Esposito, 2007: 69). How many of these 7% would be prepared to use

violence themselves is not known, but it will in all probability be a tiny minority.

And yet, in the debate about the future of Islam, the more radical and violent Muslim movements seem to have the upper hand. They manage to convey somehow, that the others, those who do not want to fight bodily for their religious convictions, are somehow lacking in true dedication to their religion. To be a Muslim, a true Muslim, means that one is prepared to die for one's religious convictions, is what is implied in their way of reasoning. Does it also mean that one is prepared to kill for those convictions?[4]

The conviction of radical Jihadi activists that "Islam" should entail the preparedness for the use of violence is confirmed by a spade of writings by Islamologists on the theme of violence in Islamic tradition. A great number of these studies focus on the Qur'anic texts on Jihad, taken to mean "Holy War", or on a traditional theory of Islamic statehood, dividing the world into two parts: "Dar al-Islam and Dar al-Harb" (the House of Islam and the House of War). Another type of studies concentrate on socio-economic or political theories explaining the occurrence of Islamic extremism and terrorism.

What such studies have in common is that they seem to ignore the contribution to the debate by people like Farida Pattisehusuwa, who are inspired by a more peaceful reading of their religious tradition. It seems as if extremist activist Muslims (a minority among the Muslim population as a whole) and Western critics of "Islam" agree that the "true" Islam is connected to the preparedness to use violence. If this would be so, is the interpretation of people like Farida of their Islamic tradition somehow at fault? Or can a strong case be made for the search for resources for peace building from the Islamic tradition itself? Up till now, there is not a great number of books and articles about reflections on peace and reconciliation from an Islamic perspective, or about practices in Muslim cultures to create peace between fighting parties, although some pioneering Muslim scholars have contributed to the debate on Islam and peace (The most important being: Abu-Nimer, 2003; Abu-Nimer 2010; Sachedina, 2000; and Hashmi 2012).

In this article, I want to focus on some of these Islamic resources for peace-building and reconciliation. What key terms do Muslim peace activists use when they reflect on the connection between Islam and peace? What practices from traditional Islamic societies could contribute to a peace culture?

Respect, '*Ihtiram*'

When Farida reflects on her activities for the peace movement, as she did in a lecture she gave for the Protestant churches in the Netherlands in 2001, she comes up with the example of her old mother. Her mother was a hospitable person for all around her, her neighbours and family as much as passing strangers. This hospitality and the need to share good things with others was rooted in her faith as a Muslim.

> *"About other people my mother always said to us: Itu hamba Allah, that is God's creature, with the warning: 'Be respectful for God's creation.' My mother was a truly believing woman, who showed her faith in all her daily behavior. Her education was essential for our development and our conversation with other people. My mother taught us to respect other people in the being-different. She also taught us to develop a sense of responsibility for each other"* (Pattisehusuwa, 2003: 4-11).

Respect for others is for Farida's mother rooted in the conviction that we are all God's creatures. Respect for human beings and devotion towards God are two sides of the same coin:

> "*Loving the other as principle, because he or she is a divine creation, is for her an act of adoration*" (Pattisehusuwa, 2003: 7).

Respect, *ihtiram*, is an important concept in Islam. It is linguistically connected to the term *haram* that means both 'forbidden' and 'sacred', and from which the Indonesian word '*hormat*' is derived, the term that is used by Farida's mother. Other creatures of God should be treated as sacrosanct, as if they are a religious duty. In the Islamic tradition, people are seen as the servants of God, and servanthood ('ibada) is the term used for religious rituals. By describing her respect as an act of adoration, Farida's mother gives "respect" a ritual, religious connotation. If respect for others as God's creatures becomes an impulse for peace-building, we can also think about the connection between creation and peace in the Qur'anic verse:

> *"On that account: We ordained for the Children of Israel that if any one slew a person—unless it be for murder or for spreading mischief in the land—it would be as if he slew the whole people: and if any one saved a life, it would be as if he saved the life of the whole people…."* (Sura 5: The Table, 32).

Respect also corresponds to another Islamic term, *irdh*, best translated as 'dignity'. Every human being possesses this dignity as a creature of the Creator (Ceric, 2004: 53). Respect for other creatures of God is a powerful resource for peace-building.

Patience, '*Sabr*'

On April 23, 1930, a great mass of demonstrators was standing eye to eye with British troops in the Qissa Khawani Bazar in the city of Peshawar (now in Pakistan, formerly in British India). They protested against the arrest of a great group of activists for independence. At the end of the protest march, when the masses began to return to their homes, a number of armoured cars came upon the scene. They overran a number of people, killing, and wounding them. This was the signal for the British troops to open fire upon the crowds. During three hours, the soldiers fired at the people. Between 200 and 300 people died. All the time, no one in the crowd fired back or threw any stones. The people did not go away, they kept standing right before the troops, but they did not fight back. And yet, this crowd was composed of Pashtuns, an ethnic group living in the North-West of Pakistan and the greater part of Afghanistan. Pashtuns are not known for their peaceful nature. The demonstration was organized by Abdul Ghaffar Khan, a Pashtun from the Peshawar Valley, son of a local landowner. He was known as Badsha Khan, "King of the landowners". After his training in a missionary school, he was destined to become an Army officer, but instead he was attracted by the ideas of Gandhi. He translated the Gandhian ideas about non-violent resistance in a unique way for the Pashtuns by founding the movement of the *Khudai Khidmatgars*, the "Servants of God". His Servants of God would fight for the independence of their country, but strictly without the use of violence. Every recruit had to swear a solemn oath:

> *I am a Servant of God. And as God needs no service, but we can serve Him by serving His creation, I promise I will serve mankind in the name of God.*
> *I promise I will forswear violence and revenge.*
> *I promise I will forgive those that oppress me and treat me violently.*
> *I promise that I will not be a party to quarrels and enmity.*
> *I promise that I will treat any other Pashtun as my brother and friend.*

I promise to forswear antisocial habits and customs.
I promise to lead a simple life of virtue and to avoid evil.
I promise to practice good manners and good behavior and not to lead a life of laziness.
I promise to spend at least two hours every day in work for the community.
(Easwaran, 1999-2: 111).

Some of the topics this oath covers go back to elements that according to Badsha Khan were characteristic for Pashtun culture in his time. Blood revenge (*badal*) was a wide spread institution, and the divisions in clans and tribes prevented them from cooperation. So it was not an easy promise to "treat any other Pashtun as my brother and friend". In the fighting culture of that period, the everyday work was left to women and servants. A real man was a fighting man. The rule to spend at least two hours a day for simple work in service to the community was therefore challenging the image of masculinity prevalent in the Pashtun culture of the time. In Badsha Khans eyes, his followers needed the discipline of cleaning, fetching water, and chopping wood if they wanted to become a disciplined force of activists.

In this way, he canalized the fighting qualities of his men. He did not abandon the vocabulary of war, but he gave a new meaning to many of the terms with which these men were familiar. The battle for independence was a real battle, a struggle, a war, but not a war in which violence was used. It was a war that required immense courage. It is, after all, far more courageous to stand opposite the enemy troops and let them fire at you if you are unarmed than if you are armed. Only a Pashtun who valued his reputation as the most courageous fighter in the world would be reckless enough to venture into such a battle. So, in overturning the meaning of the word "courage", Badsha Khan made use of the ideals of his community: ideals of true masculinity and courage.

The *Khudai Khitmadgars* were an army with military discipline and rigorous training, and their non-violent resistance against the British forces killing them at Qissa Khawani Bazaar made a great impression on the troops they fought. The British officers realized that this was a war which was very difficult to win.

But there is another side to the story, and that is the religious motivation to follow the road of non-violence. The methods of non-violence were of cause inspired by Gandhi, for whom Badsha Khan was a staunch supporter and a real friend. But Badsha Khan did not only

use non-violent forms of resistance because he suspected they would be effective. Also, he was convinced that Islam thought him to fight injustice in such a way.

Unfortunately, he was not much of a writer, so there are not many of his reflections that survived on paper. He was a very spiritual person, however, and in conversations he sometimes shared his spiritual insights. One of the stories he told was about a sort of mystical experience he had when he was a young man, who sought guidance by a sufi master. When his spiritual guide, Hajj Abdul Wahid Saheb, had to flee the country for the British, Badsha Khan was left to his own devices. He decided to keep a voluntary fast (*chilla*), during which he found a new orientation in life that eventually led to the foundation of the *Khudai Khitmadgars*. He came out of this solitary period in the mountains with the strong conviction that God had asked him to serve the villagers in the mountains. Badhsa Khan knew that God was not in need of his services. He did not need anything a human being could give Him. During his fast it became clear to him that God asked him instead to serve God's creatures. He came to the conviction that this service to God's creatures was the true meaning of "Islam", surrender to God. He also came to the conviction that the real, true Islam needs to be non-violent. He learned this especially from the example of the Prophet Muhammad.

In one of the speeches he gave to the *Khudai Khitdmatgars*, he said:

> *"I am going to give you such a weapon that the police and the army are not going to be able to resist it. It is the weapon of the Prophet, but you are not aware of it. That weapon is patience and justice. No power in the world can resist it. If you go back to your villages you have to tell your brothers that there is an army of God, and that its weapon is 'patience'. Ask your brothers to enter the army of God. Bear all… if you exercise patience, victory will be yours"* (Easwaran, 1999-2: 117).

Whereas for Farida the respect a Muslim owes to all creatures is a central term, for Badsha Khan the central term was '*sabr*' (patient endurance). For him, this was one of the central virtues of a true Muslim.

This is recognizable for Muslims all over the world. The Qur'an often reminds the believers of the need to develop their *sabr* when life does not run smoothly or when there is violent resistance against the believers. The meaning of the term *sabr* is not passive, however. It requires an active,

resisting attitude of the believer. Again, this is true for Muslims at many different places and times. A Dutch antropologist, questioning Moroccan women who migrated to the Netherlands learned from them that in their eyes women are better believers than men, because they have more *sabr* (cf. Bartelink, 1994) Although the men are better qualified to perform the religious rituals (women are impure part of each month), yet the women turn out as the more virtuous believers because of their mastery over the difficulties that God sends as a test to the believers. Under the difficult circumstances of the migration, throughout the frustration and pain they often suffered, the women were able to survive, to withstand the resistances they met and to keep their faith. This power of resistance they called *sabr*. Badsha Khan would wholeheartedly agree with these Moroccan women of half a century later. It requires in fact a lot of courage to develop the real *sabr* that God requires of the believers. In the Qur'an Muhammad himself is called upon to develop his own *sabr*, like the prophets before him (Sura 38:16; 46:34). The context in which *sabr* is used in the Qur'an is one of struggle, sometimes armed struggle (Sura 3:140; 8:66). The word occurs as a pair with "gratitude". A *Sabir* is in the Qur'an, in other words, at the same time a *Shakir* (Sura 14:5). Under misfortune, one should be *sabir*, under better circumstances *shakir*. Not only humans display *sabr*. God as well is called *al-Saboer*. This means that God is having the patience to go on trying everything to bring human beings back to Himself. God is not quick to punish, but He can wait patiently until human beings are brought back.

The fact that this human quality is one shared with the divine has not escaped the attention of the Muslim mystics. The greatest of them all, al-Ghazali, wrote in his second book, part 4 of his masterwork *"Ihya Ulum al-Din"* (the revival of the sciences of religions) about sabr: "Faith has two halves: *sabr* and *shukr*" (patient endurance and gratitude). Of all God's creatures, only human beings have *sabr,* writes al-Ghazali. Animals are ruled by their instinct, angels know now temptations. Humankind only is the battlefield of desire versus faith. People consciously engaged in this eternal battle are called by Ghazali *"Mujahidun"* (people exercising jihad). The outstanding example of such a Mujahid is the Qur'anic prophet Abraham together with his son. Sura 37:101-109 tells us about the temptation he had to encounter:

> *So We gave him the good news of a boy ready to suffer and forbear. Then, when (the son) reached (the age of) (serious) work with him, he said:*

> *"O my son! I see in vision that I offer thee in sacrifice: Now see what is thy view!" (The son) said: "O my father! Do as thou art commanded: thou will find me, if Allah so wills one practicing* ***patience*** *(sabr) and constancy!" So when they had both submitted their wills (to Allah), and he had laid him prostrate on his forehead (for sacrifice), We called out to him, "O Abraham! Thou hast already fulfilled the vision!"—thus indeed do We reward those who do right. For this was obviously a trial—And We ransomed him with a momentous sacrifice: And We left (this blessing) for him among generations (to come) in later times: "Peace and salutation to Abraham!"*

Both Abraham and his son have to face a real trial, and their response is the practice of patience and constancy. The trial of Abraham and his son are remembered by every pilgrim performing the Hajj. They repeat the sacrifice of Abraham in the spirit of patience and constancy. One of the participants of the Hajj, the Moroccan anthropologist Abdellah Hamoud (2006) wrote a moving book about his observations during the Hajj. He connects the quality of *sabr* with the essential qualities required of every Muslim: "Not trying to save your own life. And then to discover a world that may have been possible: substitution, compensation, promise."

Badsha Khan teaches his soldiers of peace that their most dangerous, most effective arms in the struggle against the injustice of colonialism are exactly the most central Islamic concepts: patience and the sense of true justice (*adl*).

Justice, '*Adl'*

Sabr has to be accompanied by *adl* 'justice', however, to have a true impact on the creation of peace. God wants us to be just towards one another.

> *"He has created man: He has taught him speech (and intelligence). The sun and the moon follow courses (exactly) computed; And the herbs and the trees–both (alike) prostrate in adoration. And the firmament has He raised high, and He has set up the balance (of justice), in order that ye may not transgress (due) balance. So establish weight with justice and fall not short in the balance" (Sura 55:3-9).*

Gods cosmic order at the creation is here connected directly to the order human beings should respect. Just as God has balanced his creation,

so human beings should keep the balance of justice. So, if one wants to establish true peace, this also means the restoration of the balance of justice. Justice is one with piety (Sura 5:8), it is one of the first things Muhammad hears (Sura 93:9,10).

One of the means to restore the balance is forgiveness. Just like God "has inscribed for Himself mercy" (Sura 6:54), so human beings should behave (Sura 42:37). Some Muslims claim that this justice should confine itself to other Muslims, and that Muslims have no comparable obligations towards non-Muslims. This is not what the Qur´an intends, according to South-African anti-Apartheids activist Farid Esack. God has intended humanity to be one ummah. The rules about justice and fairness in the Qur´an are universally applicable (cf. Esack, 1997).

Wise Judgement, *'Hikma'*

In his book *Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam* (Abu-Nimer, 2003), Muslim peace-activist Mohammad Abu-Nimer points out that Muhammad was involved in warfare in his time, but this does not constitute an exhortation for Muslims to use indiscriminate violence. Although the Prophet had to fight sometimes, war was generally abhorrent to him, and he preferred to use other methods that could be compared to "mediation". This is a way to solve conflicts in which all parties are being taken seriously and a peaceful solution is found that satisfies all. When the Meccans of Muhammads time threatened to have a serious conflict about the question who had the right to put back the holy stone in the Kaaba, this could have developed into a violent quarrel. The prestige of the different clans was at stake. The Prophet then proposed to put the stone on a piece of cloth, and that the leaders of the different clans should each take a corner of the cloth. Thus, they transported the holy stone together. Everybody's prestige was taken into account. Also, Muhammad mediated between the Medinan clans of Aws and Khazraj when they quarreled. The example of the peaceful mediation by Muhammad may be more of an inspiration to present-day Muslims than it has been so far, argues Abu-Nimer. He embodied the Islamic virtue of *hikma*. The Qur´an says:

> *Invite (all) to the Way of thy Lord with wisdom (hikma) and beautiful preaching; and argue with them in ways that are best and most gracious:*

for thy Lord knoweth best, who have strayed from His Path, and who receive guidance (Sura 16:125).

In the Middle East, there has always existed the tradition of such 'wise' mediation among the Beduin tribes. Especially when it came to the traditions of local custom within the Sharia (called *urf* or *adat*), the traditional Qadi´s were real masters in mediation. So, mediation is not something modern but really very old, with established rules within Islam. Studying the way it has functioned, not only in conflicts between tribes, but also within families, between husbands and wives and even for socially backward groups that demanded social justice should contribute to the peace/building qualities of the Islamic community.

A Disappearing Tradition?

Abu-Nimer is not optimistic about the future when he looks at the ability of local communities to build peace. The old layer of experts in traditional mediation is losing its grip. In many Muslim countries the State has taken many roles of traditional leadership upon itself. It seems that in modernity for the time being at least the tensions between communities are growing rather than diminishing. Sometimes they come back. When in Irak after the American invasion all central authority was disappearing in some regions and chaos threatened, the traditional tribal leaders were able to re-establish some order using the traditional methods of negotiation between ethnic and tribal groups.

The strong traditions that Badsha Khan could build upon for his army of 'peace soldiers' are in a process of change. The fighters in present day, Afghanistan and Pakistan seem to give priority to the enforced discipline of others (especially women) over the self-discipline that was so central in the practices of the *Khudai Khitmatars*.

The central concepts *ihtiram, sabr, hikma,* and *adl* are still there, however. They contribute, when brought in practice, to a more peaceful and just world.

LITERATURE

Abu-Nimer, Mohammed. 2003. *Nonviolence and Peacebuilding in Islam*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida.

_____ . 2010. "A Framework for Non-Violence and Peacebuilding in Islam". Harmony Centre CMS Research Publications 2010: http://harmonycentre.sg/cms/uploadedFiles/MuisGovSG/Research/Research_Publications/MOPS6%20IN_K5.pdf, consulted 17 August 2012.

Bartelink, Yvon. 1994. *Vrouwen over islam. Geloofsvoorstellingen en – praktijken van Marokkaanse migrantes in Nederland (Brabant*). Proefschrift, Nijmegen.

Ceric, Mustafa. 2004. "Judaism, Christianity, Islam: Hope or Fear of Our Times". Heft, James L (*ed.*). *Beyond Violence. Religious Sources of Social Transformation in Judaism, Christianity and Islam.* New York: Fordham University Press.

Easwaran, Eknath. 1999-2. *Nonviolent Soldier of Islam. Badshah Khan, a man to match his mountains.* Tomales (Cal): Nilgiri Press.

Esack, Farid. 1997. *Qur'an, Liberation and Pluralism. An Islamic Perspective of Interreligious Solidarity against Oppression.* Oxford: One World.

Esposito, John L and Dalia Mogahed. 2007. *Who speaks for Islam. What a Billion Muslims Really Think.* New York: Gallup Press.

Hashmi, Sohail (ed.). 2012. *Just Wars, Holy Wars and Jihad.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Hamoud, Abdellah. 2006. *A Season in Mecca*. *Narrative of a Pilgrimage*. Polity.

Pattisehusuwa, Farida. 2003. "Lecture on Peace". *Begrip.* 29 (2003) nr. 1 Febr., p. 4-11.

Sachedina, Abdulaziz. 2000. *The Islamic Roots of Democratic Pluralism*. Inc (USA): Oxford University Press.

Endnotes:

[1] This quote and all subsequent quotes from the Qur´an come from the Quran translation by Yusuf Ali, http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/

resources/texts/muslim/quran/022.qmt.html.

[2] http://www.nunusaku.com/pdfs/Guide%20for%20Beginners.pdf.

[3] http://www.vrouwenvoorvrede.nl/verafara.pdf, consulted 15 August 2012.

[4] Cf Gandhi: '"There are many causes that I am prepared to die for but no causes that I am prepared to kill for." http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohandas_Karamchand_Gandhi, consulted 15 August 2012.