ISLAMIC CONCEPT OF MORALITY AS NOTION OF WAR FIGHTING CONCEPT

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Abstract

Almost all modern armies of the world adopt some form of morality; however its application profiles have differed across the world dependent upon culture and environment. Analysis of contemporary moral trends in militaries across the globe reveals that existing concepts have failed to ensure ethical behavior in the battlefield. This failure leads to question the viability of contemporary moral trends and the need for alternative models of morality in profession of arms. A look at Islamic conception of morality divulges that it centers its foundation on ethical behavior as its philosophical basis is the endowment in human beings to differentiate between virtue and evil. The ultimate purpose of morality in Islam is to achieve love and Faith in the Almighty and the one who attains these qualities reaches the pinnacle of Nafs-e-Mutma’innah (contended Soul). Islam which presents a stronger concept of morality can serve as a basis of moral doctrine for Pakistan Army. Thus, the study has been purposed to suggest the inclusion of Islamic principles of morality in the Army as a notion of our war fighting concept. The study has been developed by critical review of literature produced on the subject matter.

The Quintessence of Morality

O ye who believe! stand out firmly for Allah, as witnesses to fair dealing, and let not the hatred of others to you make you swerve to wrong and depart from justice. Be just: that is next to piety: and fear Allah. For Allah is well-acquainted with all that ye do.¹

The term Morality, an eighteenth century English word, has been derived from the French “moralite” or from Latin

¹ Qur’an 5:48
“moralis” meaning "manner, character, and proper behavior"\(^2\). The Oxford dictionary defines morality as “a particular system of values and principles of conduct” and “the extent to which an action is right or wrong”. The term “morality” is used both descriptively and normatively\(^3\) wherein descriptively it refers to codes of conduct put forward by a society or some other group such as a religion, whereas, used normatively it refers to a code of conduct that, given specified conditions, would be put forward by all rational persons\(^4\).

Morality can be displayed as an individual behavior or as a group behavior abiding a Moral Code. A system of morality (according to a particular philosophy, religion, culture, etc.) can be described as a ‘Moral Code’ and a moral is any one practice or teaching within a moral code\(^5\). In its applicability dimension, morality can be equated with "goodness" or "rightness." Immorality is the active opposition to morality (i.e. opposition to that which is good or right), while amorality is variously defined as an unawareness of, indifference toward, or disbelief in any set of moral standards or principles. Moral or ethical behavior is generally taken to mean behavior that conforms to some code of conduct which is held to be authoritative in matters of right and wrong\(^7\). The set of principles that define what is right and wrong being called 'morality' or 'ethics'\(^8\).

Morals and Ethics are interchangeable terms as ethics also known as moral philosophy is the branch of philosophy concerned with the systematic study of morality i.e. what is right or wrong\(^9\). The word 'ethics' is sometimes used more narrowly to mean the moral principles of a particular tradition, group, or individual. Although the morality of people and their ethics amounts to the same thing, morality is generally restricted to systems such as that of Kant (philosopher), based on notions such as duty, obligation, and principles of conduct, whereas, ethics are more akin to Aristotelian approach of practical reasoning, based on the notion of a virtue, and generally avoiding the separation of 'moral' considerations from other practical considerations\(^10\).
**The Notion of Morality in Military**

The notion of Morality in Military is quite old rather as old as the history itself\(^1\). Even the primitive religions preached some form of morality during wars. Even the most barbaric of the armies observed, if not all, some form of moral conduct during wars. Genghis Khan, despite his eagerness to take lives with no moral consequences, had instructed his army to abide by a strict code of moral conduct which later came to be known as Mongol Laws.\(^2\)

This was because the need for the highest degree of morality and ethics are at the pinnacle in the military profession which places the supreme demand of not only sacrificing oneself in the line of duty but also require to kill the opponent while still retaining the high moral ground and professional ethos. These ostensible contradictory demands place a greater premium on the commanders as far as collective responsible behavior of the men they command.

With the advancement in educational levels across the globe, the notion of morality in military has gained more popular support. However the quality and quantity of military ethics training varies widely between countries\(^3\). Military ethics are included the training syllabus in almost all armies of the world. For instance, with US defence forces the foremost emphasis is on loyalty where the military officers are taught the four stages of moral development which include moral understanding, moral compliance, moral maturity, and moral ambition. In Australia, cadets at the Australian Defence Force Academy are taught character development classes (run by military chaplains). Military ethics is run as a university course, taught by a philosophy lecturers at Royal Military College Duntroon and at Australian Defence College. Thus all major armies of the world teach moral ethics in some form. The existing morality quotient of modern armies, as given by Paul Robinson in his book Ethics Education in the Military is given as under\(^4\):--
A subjective analysis of existing morality quotient of modern armies reveals that a lot of emphasis is laid on group loyalty and the need to train military personnel to kill (completion of mission). The group bonding is achieved through immersion in the intense, all-encompassing, group-oriented training environment, drills and ceremonials through the constant emphasis on duty, obedience, and loyalty, and through unofficial bonding processes. This is made explicit in a US Army report on military training which states that developing “unit cohesion” is a central goal of physical training, as is developing the “warrior ethos” which includes “never leaving a fallen comrade behind”. However, in view of the repeated embarrassing incidents in the recent past, the concept of blind obedience and loyalty to the military/own unit is now being seriously debated in the military thinkers. Questioning the group loyalty and group cohesion, it is argued that virtuous military personnel would not cover up other combatants’ illegal activities, would not participate in illegal and degrading hazing rituals, and would not put group conformity above the military’s own values.
Concurrent to the group cohesion, an equal premium is being placed on preparing the soldiers for the combat by imparting training in realistic environment so that the actual combat would just look like practice firing. To minimize the psychological impact of killing, desensitization behavioral conditioning are part of the training regime, achieved through various measures.

Motivating Drivers for Existing Concept of Morality in Military

In scientific domain, neuro scientists associate morality to the activation of ‘mirror neurons’ and stimulation of ventro-medial prefrontal cortex\textsuperscript{15}. In instinctive domain, many prescriptive theories of morality exist among which more famous are Ethical Egoism, Virtue Ethics/Self Pleasure, Kantianism, Cultural Relativism, Moral Subjectivism and Divine Command Theory etc. Immanuel Kant’s theory on morality and Divine Command Theory are two leading theories which form the basis of morality in contemporary armies.

Kantian Theory: Concept of modern western morality is built on the foundation of this theory in which one ought to do his duty simply because it is his duty and reason guides to this conclusion. Right and wrong is determined by rationality, giving universal duties\textsuperscript{16}. The basic idea highlights that there exists a supreme principle of morality in which good and evil are defined in terms of Law/Duty/Obligation. Rationality and Freedom are central moral values to this theory. Good Will (i.e., having the right intentions) is the only thing that is good without qualification so, actions are truly moral only if they have the right intention, i.e., based on Good Will.

Divine Command Theory: This theory anchors on the assumption (fact) that there is a definite connection between morality and religion, to the extent that, without religion (in particular, without God or gods) there is no morality, i.e., no right and wrong behaviour\textsuperscript{17}. It is postulated that religion is mandatory to motivate and guide people\textsuperscript{18} to behave in morally correct way and that the connection between morality
and religion means that right and wrong come from the divine commands of God (or the gods).

**Analysis of Current Application of Existing Concept of Morality in Military**

Despite teaching morality to soldiers in military schools existing concept of morality in military has failed to produce any appreciable results. The incidents of Abu Gharib and Qandahar in which a deranged US soldier killed 16 innocent civilian and afterwards burnt their bodies speaks volume about the moral bankruptcy of morality in contemporary armies. The western armies, particularly US Army continues to suffer from lack of morality and ethics, the optimum possible efforts to instil in them the best practices of morality notwithstanding. Whereas, the group loyalty and unit cohesion may be a strong forte in the system, the conduct outside as well in the battle field in the repeated violations of human rights and human laws have put the heads of their commanders in shame. Moreover, PTSD (post trauma stress disorder) is a common phenomenon owing to their desensitization, stressful environment of the battle field and the guilt factor.

There have been numerous cases in US Military alone where army officers serving at senior most command and authority positions have been found involved in cases of moral turpitude. Involvement of such high officials leave little doubt that western concept of morality has not been successful in inculcating moral values even after decades of moral training. These recent episodes, highlighted in international media, leave much to be desired as far as moral plane is concerned. In light of their track record, there is now a serious debate on laying too much emphasis on group loyalty and unit cohesion. Moreover professing difficulties in inculcating moral element in the leadership, inculcating good moral character in military personnel have necessitated radical re-think of training and culture as well as the development of effective ethics education programs. This demands an appraisal of
existing moral code of conducts practiced in modern armies and explore concept of morality as envisioned by Islam.

**Islamic Concept of Morality**

Islam introduced the concepts of morality and ethics as their main pillar of their war fighting concept in an age where wars were synonymous with savagery, debauchery, promiscuity, rape and plunder. Resultantly, the numerically inferior Muslim Armies always outwitted the much superior enemy forces due to the superior strategic orientation and psychological ascendency achieved by the force multipliers of faith and high moral values. The superior strategy adopted by the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) resulted into conquest of Makah with no bloodshed within 8 years of migration to Madinah. This unparalleled feat in the history of mankind would not have been possible unless and until the Muslim Army's war fighting concepts were based on the altruistic values of Islam. Whereas, the Muslim History is replete with the numerous examples of unparalleled morality, a few glimpses are given below to elucidate the importance of observing strict code of morality in their war fighting concepts:

- The incident of Hazrat Ali (may Allah be pleased with him) sparing an infidel of a certain death, who he had spat on Hazrat Ali’s face, when he was knocked down by the great warrior, is well known to all of us. To his utter surprise, the infidel was spared by Hazarat Ali as he did not want to include his personal motive in his killing.

- While returning from a battle, Hazarat Osama bin Zaid (may Allah be pleased with him) informed the Prophet (P.B.U.H) that he had killed one of the infidel who while trying to avoid being killed had feigned acceptance of Islam by reciting the Kalama. The Prophet got highly annoyed with him and told him that how could he judge the intentions of that infidel and what would he do on the Day of Judgment when the
‘Kalama’ of the infidel would stand between Hazrat Osama and that infidel.

- During the battle of Qadsyia, the Iranian commander sent his spies for the reconnaissance of Muslim Army. The spies on their return informed their commander that they had never seen any Army like the Muslim Army in their lives. They commented on the Muslim Army “Ruhaban fi lail, Fursan fi nihar” (saints at night and cavalry heroes during day). The indelible combination of piety and warrior spirit was thus the instrument of dismembering the two mightiest empires of the history i.e. Persian Empire and the Roman Empire within a short span of time.

- Immediately after Umar ibn Abdul Aziz was elected Caliph in 717 A.D., a delegation from Samarqand (Uzbekistan) called on him and complained that the General of the Islamic armies, Qutaibah, had unjustifiably deployed his army in the town. Caliph Umar ibn Abdul Aziz, after holding an inquiry ordered his army to vacate the town. When the citizens of Samarqand witnessed this state of affairs, they decided that fighting against such people would be futile. Rather, they regarded it as mercy and a blessing from God. The dwellers of Samarqand, therefore, agreed to host the Islamic army in Samarqand.

- Islamic armies conquered Damascus, Hams and parts of Syria in 634 A.D. and imposed ‘Jizya’ on them. In order to face Roman Army, they had to retreat from these towns as part of the overall maneuver plan but to utter surprise of the inhabitant Christians of these towns, the ‘Jizya’ collected was returned to them on the plea that the Jizya was meant for the protection of their lives and properties as well as defence of their territory from outside aggression, hence being returned before their retreat. The christen citizens responded by stating that "God be with you and bring you back victorious. Your governance and your justice and equity have fascinated enamored us, as the Romans despite of being our coreligionists; we have bitter remembrance of their oppression and tyranny. By God! had they
been in your position, they would not have returned a copper out of the taxes collected from us. Rather, they would have taken away everything they could from here belonging to us.”

Islamic Code of Ethics as a Superior Form of Morality

A Muslim is blessed with the best of code of morality and ethics since his motivation for observing moral code is not for a reward in this world or for some material gain rather it is purely because of Taqwa (Being of Conscious of Almighty. Islamic moral values flow from the divine source of Quran and Sunnah and faith in Allah and the Day of Judgment form the basis of Islamic morality.

Within Islamic Concept of Morality, all actions are directed at pleasing Allah and to expect rewards for good deeds in eternal life. The complete code of conduct spanning all activities of life including conduct in the battle field have been given in Quran and demonstrated by Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). Our traditions and cultural values further strengthen the basis of our professional ethics, hence be embedded in the morality code of our Army. There can be no better beacon for morality development than this verse which has been repeated many a times in the Holy Quran emphasizing that” And remain conscious of God: verily, God is aware of all that you do”.

The Holy Qur’ân elucidate three sources of moral conduct which have been embedded in the human nature. These are:-

- **The Commanding Self (Nafs-e-Ammâra)**: It is the first source of morality if the instrument of reason is applied. According to the Holy Qur’ân the state arising out of the human beings animal self which incites the human being towards evil, "Yet I do not hold myself to be free from weakness, for the Commanding Self (-the animal self) is surely prone to enjoin evil, except on whom my Lord has mercy.”
The Self-Accusing Spirit (Nafs-e-Lawwâma): It is the living perception of one’s psychological condition or the call of the inner voice. It is the second source of morality, the one judging the excellence of morals, every human being bestowed with this voice. It is the voice of the conscience which becomes loud when an act of indecency is committed. The Holy Prophet (P.B.U.H) is reported to have said, "When wanting to decide whether something is good or bad (right or wrong), ask your heart and inner soul, and take it that the deed, the commission of which gives you a feeling of satisfaction to the heart and inner soul, is a virtuous deed and the deed which rankles in the heart and produces perturbation and hesitancy in the mind is a sinful deed, even though the people may tell you that it is a lawful deed." And I swear by (and bring to witness) the Self-accusing Soul (Nafs-e-Lawwâma - the innate self-reproaching spirit, at the doing of an evil deed as an evidence”.

Love and Faith in the Almighty (Nafs-e Mutma'innah): It is the third and the ultimate source of morality in Islam. Faith in God is the foundation stone of the Qur'ânic Code of Ethics, our faith in God strengthens our heart to achieve the good and shun the evil. It is through this channel the human soul finds its ultimate peace and tranquility which is called Nafs-e Mutma'innah - the Soul at Peace in the Holy Qur’ân.“As for the person who has been blessed with a contented and peaceful mind He will say to him,) ‘O you soul at peace! Come back to your Lord well-pleased with Him and He well-pleased with you. Enter the fold of My chosen servants, and enter the Garden made by Me.”

The Notion of Morality in Pakistan Army

The existing concept of morality in our military is a hybrid between Islamic principles and British legacy. This colonial code of morality, based on the ‘in-group vs out-group’ behavior is still being followed in Pakistan Army to a large
extent. Whereas, this twisted form of morality might have suited the vested interest of the ‘British, it has created many vices in our system over a period of time. Group/Unit loyalty reign supreme in our military ethos with many vices accepted in the name of furtherance of unit cause. Whereas, the British era regimental loyalty of covering even the heinous crimes of the troops including murder in the name of regiment has diminished to a large extent, all out efforts are still made to inculcate the troops for not getting involved in any heinous crimes; bringing bad name to the organization in general and the regiment in particular.

While transforming a raw young boy into a military officer in PMA, all out efforts are made to inculcate in him the “spirit de corps” along with the other attributes like loyalty, perseverance and integrity through the rigorous training regime. With maximum emphasis on grooming the potential officer for their future leadership role, resort is also made to motivation talks and personality development programmes. Ironically, rather than following the best moral development programme that our religion offer, these programmes are mostly based on western borrowed concepts, hence the inculcation of the best moral values into the cadets owing to these concept remain doubtful. Resultantly, during the rigorous training regime, all out efforts of the majority of the cadets is avoiding an act which would qualify him for a reprieve, the morality of the act itself notwithstanding. It is also a known fact that many instances of failure of the erstwhile “Honour Code System” come to fore from time to time. This habit of cloaking the actual self is an attribute that he carries with him throughout his professional life.

Having been grown in an almost utopian environment of morality along with strict vigilance system, the newly commissioned officer finds himself in a totally different environment in the regiment, wherein, individual’s actions are considered to be in line with the regimental traditions, norms and values. The morality and conduct of the officer is not doubted as long as his personal self is not involved in any questionable activity.
Even the conduct of few senior officers in Army has remained questionable which has become a favorite topic of our TV talk shows as well as drawing rooms gossips. Their involvement, while in service, in shady deals has substantially dented the reputation of the honourable profession. Similarly, the post retirement conscious awakening is causing lot of sarcasm in the society. The justification of these senior officers for their past ignoble deeds in the media on account of ‘blind subordination’ and acting on the orders of superiors does not bode well for their stature.

In a society where corruption is not only endemic but an accepted norm and where end justifies the means, our men and officers cannot remain insulated from this malignance, a special focus is, therefore, needed to re-invigorate the essence of morality and ethics in our military, especially at the leadership level. Moreover, the shift from conventional war where everything was black and white to sub conventional and non-kinetic warfare wherein the conduct of our Army would remain under the sharp lens of hostile media and any exploitable action of our Armed Forces would be exploited for the vested interest, the HR violations of Indian Sri Lankan Army being case in point. Nevertheless, the colonial concept of morality in Pakistan Army has failed to affect the moral code of officers and men alike.

The Need for an Islamic Concept of Morality in Pakistan Army

The existing code of morality prevalent in Pakistan Army has been affected by dialectical materialism of our society which has resulted in the shape of rapid moral decadence and sharp decline in the psycho-social ethos. Thus there is a need to revamp the existing concept with something more powerful and effective. The Motto of Pakistan Army “Faith, Taqua and Jihaad in the name of Allah” is the epitome of morality and provides with the rallying point for morality; faith must therefore form the foundation upon which the Army should structure its code of morality.
Morality has never been truly documented in Pakistan Army. Thus the first step is to document the core principles of morality, as elucidated in Quran, making it official facet of morality in Pakistan Army and which should form as a notion of our war fighting doctrine. The documented code of morality, based on foundation of our Motto, should be the only code of conduct allowed to be sermonized in the army. A body of experts should be tasked to document this moral code. Some recommended attributes of morality in the suggested code could be:-

- Honesty and Integrity to include truthfulness, trustworthiness and sincerity.
- Courage to include bravery, responsibility and accountability.
- Kindheartedness to include compassion, consideration and forgiveness.
- Mutual respect to include respect and loyalty for parents, teachers, elders and neighbors.
- Cleanliness of body and mind to include physical cleanliness, environmental cleanliness and cleanliness of mind and thoughts.
- Others such like attributes to include justice, cooperation, rationality, diligence, gratitude, humility and self reliance etc.

**Methodology to Implement Islamic Concept of Morality in Pakistan Army**

The Islamic Concept of Morality is suggested to be implemented at three different tiers i.e at individual, group and leadership level. Following actions / strategies may be considered for morality development package in Pakistan Army:-

- Institutional ethos through the process of osmosis, i.e ethics are ‘caught’ not ‘taught’ through the sheer forces of institution.
- Formal classes in moral philosophy and personality development.
- Studying case studies from Muslim history as well as contemporary era.
- Role models and conduct of battles (Muslim history as well as contemporary military history).
- Integration of morality and ethics into the other aspects of military training.

**Individual Morality:** Rather than following the model of individual morality through creation of morally upright person by instilling certain key qualities or disposition of character through psychological remedial measures, “Tameer-e-Kirdar” Programme, started in 1990 by Lieutenant General (Retired) Ghulam Muhammad, is recommended to be re-invigorated after identifying its strengths and weaknesses. The said programme may be re-initiated with maximum emphasis on self actualization aspects rather than going into the rituals and semantics. Towards this end, it is proposed that virtues and ethics be inculcating into the hearts and minds of our men by elucidating the personality of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) and other Muslim role models whose unwavering moralities and lofty characters proved to be battle winning factors in the Muslim History.

**Group/Institutional Morality:** Group loyalty and unit cohesion, founded on Islamic moral principles, remains the hallmark of Pakistan Army, which has enabled it to withstand the rigours of extremely harsh conditions and challenges. Leaders and men must be groomed neither to give nor to accept any unethical command blindly which may not stand the litmus test of morality. The Islamic concept of Group morality which is based on obedience to command channel while being conscious of Almighty should form the basic feature of group morality in Pakistan Army. The traditional concept of transforming a newly inducted cadet/recruits into military culture by bullying ragging needs to focus on bringing a change through motivation and inspiration. Severe trauma to the newly inducted cadets leaves irreparable psychological scars on many individuals. Towards this end, it is worth mentioning that unbecoming conduct of the senior cadets with the newly inducted cadets has come
under intense scrutiny in the leading academies of the world, including US and Australia.

**Leadership Morality**: Of the three dimensions of leadership-moral, physical and intellectual—the most difficult to harvest is moral development. The physical attributes of leadership—courage, bearing, endurance, and even appearance, can be cultivated through disciplined training. The intellectual aspect of leadership can be cultivated through intensive study of human nature, crisis management, leadership and managerial technique, philosophy, logic, and so on. However, the moral aspect of leadership—personally understanding, embracing, and inculcating ethical conduct in others is far more difficult to develop in leaders and can be far more time consuming, hence necessitate bifurcating morality from leadership, especially when viewed in the back drop of the quantum change in our psycho-social environment. Towards this end, it is suggested that a separate module of ‘Morality and Ethics’ be introduced in the curriculum in which maximum emphasis be laid on personality development on the basis of tenants of Islam. Alternatively, the leadership module of our syllabi at various levels of training may be re-designated as “Leadership and Morality” in which the group bonding, unit cohesion and loyalty etc are tailored according to the prism of morality, rather than old concepts. We need to understand that in SCW environment, we deal with our own kith and kin, hence the British model would no longer work in such a challenging environment. The recommended actions / strategies proposed above may be helpful in this regard.

**Conclusion**

Owing to the advent of new technologies and evolving doctrines, the nature of warfare has been in constant transition; however, human being would continue to remain the only constant factor of the battle field. It can thus be safely vouched that the deciding factor in the battle would be human beings and not the weapons and technologies; hence the conduct of the human in and outside the battle field would continue to be of paramount importance and battle winning
factor even for the most advanced armies of the world. The need of maintaining the highest standards of ethics and zero tolerance for any act of immorality for a professional army in this backdrop cannot be over emphasized. With human resource as our prime asset, morality would remain to be a force multiplier for us, hence needs to be adopted as a notion of war fighting concept. The western models of morality having failed the test of combat, there is a demand for alternative model of Morality. Islamic model of morality, which if implemented in Pakistan Army, would not only increase the fighting potential of army as a combat force but would also pave the way for this model to be adopted by other armies of the world.

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Notes

1 Quran 5:8, transliteration by Abdullah Yousaf Ali

2 en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morality

3 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morality#Descriptive_and_normative

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10 plato.stanford.edu/entries/aristotle-ethics/

11 www.mariamilani.com/ancient../moral_principles_ancient_romans.htm

12 http://www.koreanhistoryproject.org/Ket/C05/tp/TP0504a.htm

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14 Paul Robinson; Introduction: Ethics Education in the Military. P. 7

15 http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC3163302/

16 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kantian_ethics

17 http://www.iep.utm.edu/divine-c/

18 www.caragillis.com/Pierce/.../ArthurReligionandMorality.htm


22 The Four Stages of Moral Development in Military Leaders, Joseph J. Thomas Lakefield Family Foundation

Distinguished Military Professor of Leadership, United States Naval Academy. (410) 293-6548, jjthomas@usna.edu

23 Stands for Sallul laho alehi Wasallam; meaning Peace be Upon Him

24 Stands for Sallul laho alehi Wasallam; meaning Peace be Upon Him
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27 Jump up to: a b Umar ibn Abd Al-Aziz - This-is-Islam.co.uk

28 http://www.cyberistan.org/islamic/sibai6.html

29 Book, The Great Islamic Conquests AD 632-750, David Nicolle, 2009, Ospery publishing

30 Quran 5 :8, Muhammad Asad

31 http://www.zaynabacademy.org/understanding-the-three-types-of-nafs/comment-page-1/

32 Quran 12:53

33 http://www.zaynabacademy.org/understanding-the-three-types-of-nafs/comment-page-1/

34 http://www.islam-info.ch/en/Morality_in_Islam.htm

35 Quran 75:2

36 http://www.zaynabacademy.org/understanding-the-three-types-of-nafs/comment-page-1/

37 http://www.islam-info.ch/en/Morality_in_Islam.htm

38 Quran 27:30

39 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Kharotabad_Incident

40 rdsc.md.government.bg/.../Four%20Stages%20of%20Moral%20Development

41 ibid