Discursive Voices of Diaspora
Islam in Southern Africa

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ABSTRACT
This article traces the genealogy of Islam in South Africa. It attempts to situate the unfolding of Islam during two historical phases: first, the period of white exploration, conquest and settlement between 1488 to 1902; second, after 1902 which signalled the end of the Anglo-Boer war followed by the formation of the Union of South Africa until contemporary times. The narrative explores the nature of the communities formed by the diaspora Muslims who hailed from Southeast Asia and the institutions they built in the Dutch colony at the Cape. In the early nineteenth century there are clear signs that Islam had struck roots in southern Africa. The arrival of Muslims from India and the creation of more permanent social structures makes Islam an ineradicable feature of the landscape in the region. The article then highlights the contours of a ‘peripheral’ Muslim community and reflects briefly on future challenges.

ABSTRAK
white exploration, settlement and conquest 1488-1992

Challenges and Responses

The challenges faced by the Cape in the 19th century were manifold. The influx of European settlers put pressure on the local population, while the influx of gold and diamonds led to the creation of a new economy. The Cape also faced the challenge of integrating the African population into the colonial order. As a result, the Cape became a hub of cultural exchange, with the mixing of European, African and Asian influences.

The Cape also played a significant role in the broader issues of the time, such as the abolition of slavery and the struggle for independence from the British Empire. The Cape became a focal point for anti-colonial movements, and its history is a testament to the resilience and adaptability of the people who called it home.

In conclusion, the Cape is a fascinating case study in the dynamics of colonialism, settlement, and cultural exchange, and its history is a reminder of the complexity of human experience.
Chief among the early pro-Dutch leaders was Shaikh Yusuf of Macassar (1683–1699), who was best known as Adel Ta‘a Tjoejoe, in the region which is today known as the Moluccas. He was born in Java, but later moved to the Maluku Archipelago, where he performed the pilgrimage (Hajj). His influence was significant, and he became a key figure in the anti-Dutch movement. Shaikh Yusuf was a trusted advisor of the Sultan of Solo, and he helped to organize resistance against the Dutch. His efforts led to the establishment of a network of supporters across the region. Shaikh Yusuf's influence continued to grow, and he was able to recruit many volunteers to his cause. Despite facing numerous challenges, Shaikh Yusuf remained steadfast in his commitment to opposing Dutch colonialism. His legacy lived on, inspiring future generations to fight for independence and freedom.
The demise of slavery and the final emancipation of slaves in the Cape in 1834 is important in understanding the process of the end of slavery. The abolition of slavery in the Cape was a significant event in the history of the country and its impact on the society and economy.

The process of emancipation was not straightforward and it required a combination of political, economic, and social factors. The Cape government, under the leadership of Governor J.G. Strickland, took decisive steps to end slavery. In 1834, the Cape government passed the Emancipation Act, which abolished slavery throughout the Colony. The Act provided for the establishment of a system of compensated emancipation, which allowed former slaves to receive compensation for their lost freedom.

The emancipation of slaves had a profound impact on the society and economy of the Cape Colony. It led to a significant increase in the number of free blacks, who were now free to pursue education and work in a variety of fields. The emancipation of slaves also had implications for the economic structure of the colony, as it reduced the availability of a cheap labor force.

The emancipation of slaves also had implications for the social and cultural life of the Cape Colony. The former slaves were able to assert their rights and identities, and the process of emancipation led to the formation of a new social class of free blacks. The emancipation of slaves also had implications for the political life of the colony, as it led to the formation of a more diverse and inclusive society.

In conclusion, the emancipation of slaves in 1834 was a significant event in the history of the Cape Colony. It had far-reaching implications for the society and economy of the colony, and it paved the way for the formation of a more diverse and inclusive society.
It appears that Tuang Guru’s strategy with colonialism varied depending on the context and the colonial power he dealt with. Against the Dutch, his opposition was consistent and uncompromising. With the British, he seems to have adopted a more conciliatory attitude. Towards the latter part of his life, Tuang Guru was reported to have said: “Let everyone pay respect to God and obey the laws and rules he ordained.”

Much of this statement was motivated by the concern for the welfare of the Muslims. The British, for their part, were not interested in the welfare of the Muslim community. They were more interested in establishing their own authority and control over the community. The British government, under the leadership of Lord Wolseley, recommended the establishment of an autonomous Muslim council in the Cape. The British government also encouraged the establishment of Islamic schools and the promotion of Islamic culture. The British government was also interested in the economic development of the Muslim community. They encouraged the establishment of trade and commerce among the Muslim community.

The British government also introduced laws that were favorable to the Muslim community. These laws included the abolition of slavery and the establishment of equal rights for Muslims. The British government also introduced laws that were unfavorable to the Muslim community. These laws included the introduction of English as the official language and the prohibition of the use of the Arabic language.

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decline in legislative restrictions prohibiting the public expression of non
Christian religions. To a large extent, it was a result of a persistent
Muslim effort to transcend the disadvantages of displacement, colonialism
and prejudice. Official and social prejudice combined with
Islam's growing interest in its own heritage, which led to the
emergence of a self-confident, nationalist movement. This movement
began to challenge the colonial authorities, and eventually led to
independence in 1957.

As part of a pervasive European attitude during the last four
centuries, while Euro-African terms and settlers increasingly viewed Islam
as a "heresy," the anti-Islamic sentiment was not new. In 18th-century
Africa, especially in the British colonies, Islam was increasingly viewed as
a heresy and the very antithesis of Christianity. As such, Muslims in South
Africa, particularly those in the Cape, became part of the dominant
culture. In 19th-century South Africa, the resistance movement against
colonialism, particularly the Zulu war in the 1830s, was a significant
moment in the struggle for black liberation. The Zulu, under the leadership
of Shaka Zulu, fought against the British and their colonial allies. This
resistance movement showed the potential of Islam in the fight against
colonialism.

In the 20th century, the struggle for independence in South Africa
continued. The African National Congress (ANC) and other organizations
worked to end apartheid and establish a more just society. The role of Islam
in this struggle was significant, as many black South Africans found
strength and inspiration in their Islamic heritage.

Today, Islam is an integral part of South African society. The Islamic
influence is evident in many aspects of life, from the arts to business to
politics. The country has a diverse Muslim population, consisting of
people from different ethnic and cultural backgrounds. The Islamic
community plays an active role in the country's social, economic, and
political life.

In conclusion, the role of Islam in South African history is complex
and multifaceted. From its early days as a minority religion to its current
status as an integral part of the country's cultural landscape, Islam has
played a significant role in shaping the nation's identity and development.
The influence of the pre-Islamic cultures of South East Asia on Islam in that region is now well documented. This effect is clearly seen in the pedestrian and sainet airs that are common in much of the Cape, where the practice of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday is also observed. The practice is called khalq or display. It is a sword game in which the participants themselves make swords of space and throw them into the air, with some hypoxic trance actuated by musical chants in Arabic.

In the Cape Peninsula alone, Low Islam thrives on the hills of Table Mountain and on Signal Hill. The influence of the pre-Islamic cultures of South East Asia on Islam in that region is now well documented. This effect is clearly seen in the pedestrian and sainet airs that are common in much of the Cape, where the practice of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday is also observed. The practice is called khalq or display. It is a sword game in which the participants themselves make swords of space and throw them into the air, with some hypoxic trance actuated by musical chants in Arabic.

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THE ULAMA: PRE-TWENTIETH CENTURY

From their very inception in classical Islam, the *ulama* (the "learned") played an important role in shaping the religious character of Islam. While Islam did not have any ecclesiastical offices for a priestly class, the ulama were proponents of high or scriptural Islam. In contemporary times, the term ulama seems to represent both academic lawyers who occupy prominent positions in traditional institutions of learning, and theologians who play a role in public and private life.

The earliest of Muslim servants at the Cape were Bada'ir and Shajar. They were both educated in the Islamic law and had been trained at the Madrasa in Fez. Their aim was to have trained some lay preachers and ulama to conduct services in the Islamic heartland for the annual pilgrimage (hajj). They were trained to be ulama like Shajar and stay at the Cape. One of them was called Shajar, the other was called Bada'ir. But such preachers could not have been many until the early twentieth century.

Very little is known about the early followers of the *ulama* save the court-records and other official sources which reflect the nature of the society and the issues affecting their communities. The establishment of the first mosque in the colony suggested that the *ulama* played a central role in educating the community. The early followers of the *ulama* have a deep influence on the Christian community in the Cape. They were not only influential in religious matters but also in cultural and social issues.

The SAINTS OF DURBAN: BADA'IR AND SUFI SABH

The earliest saint in Durban was celebrated, but his name is unknown. He was born in the first quarter of the nineteenth century in Durban. His name was Bada'ir, and he was known as a scholar and a religious leader. He was the first to lay the foundations of Islam in Durban. These were laid by the missionaries, along with traders, who were the first to introduce the Catholic religion in Durban.

The first mosque in Durban was built in 1829. It was a very small structure, but it marked the beginning of the Islamic community in Durban. Bada'ir and his followers played a pioneering role among the early Muslims in Durban.

SUFI SABH (1850-1870), as he is popularly known, takes over the mantle of spiritual leadership from Bada'ir. His name was Shah. His example was followed by the Indian community in Durban, and he became a popular đẳng (master) in Durban. He was also a scholar and a religious leader, and he is known for his work in establishing Islamic practices and set about his work on spiritual reform. After his death in Durban in 1870, the community appointed a successor to the Shafiyya sect, the Shafiyya, who continued his work.
It was people like the charismatic Abdul Burns who argued fiercely for the civil rights of Muslims. Burns, whose ideas were grounded in eloquence and the right to be an influential figure in the city's politics. He was an able organizer and intellectually stimulating. Burns was also a potent power in the community with a skill and intellectualism. Burns' approach to politics was that of a reformist and constitutionalist. For those who were seeking to give more radical means which earned him the respect of his liberal admirers. For his work in the parliament, he was fined and had to serve a sentence of two months in prison. He called in reserve law and order in the city. EARLY MODERNISTS

One of Burns' close associates was the enigmatic Ahmad Effendi, son of the famous Ahmad Effendi. The younger Effendi was the first non-person to win the election to Parliament in 1894. This man was the most respected voice in Cape Town. He was one of those three candidates who were able to win the cumulative votes of two candidates. Under the old system, the..
Parliament was still in session. This gave his opponents time to introduce legislation that would thwart his chances.

DOMINATION, LIBERATION AND RELIGION
IN 20TH CENTURY SOUTH AFRICA

By the end of the Boer war in 1902 there was a substantial hub among the Muslims in the Cape, the Transvaal and Natal. In the Cape, it was reflected in the establishment of several Muslim organisations each with different political objectives. Around 1903, the South African Moslem Association was formed but its demise was due to lack of support from the Cape ulama of whom it was critical. At about the same time, the African Political Organisation, later called the African People's Organisation (APO) captured the imagination of the Cape Muslims due to the visible participation of one of their co-religionists, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman (1872-1940).

Where Ahmed Effendi's career ended in the previous century by falling to be elected to Parliament, Dr Abdullah Abdurahman's started. He was born in Wellington, in a family which two generations back purchased their freedom from slavery. Abdullah's grandfather acquired wealth and prominence through business and educated his son (Abdullah's father) in Cairo and Makkah. Abdullah's father by contrast sent his son to an exclusively white grammar school in Cape Town, and later to Glasgow in Scotland to study medicine. On his return, the young Abdurrahman practised his profession but he was passionately drawn to politics and education. It was due to his pioneering that several Muslim mission schools were established. In addition, he was elected to the City Council and later the Provincial Council, positions he held until his death.

Another prominent and influential organisation which emerged in 1923 was the Cape Malay Association (CMA). Among the CMA's prominent actor were Arshad Gamiet, Shaykh Ahmad Behardien and Imam Moeogamat Sudley Awaldien. Although the CMA was essentially socio-religious in nature, a few of its leaders were sympathetic to General J.B.M. Hertzog's appeal for coloured and black support. Later, the CMA supported Dr D.F Malan who in return promised the Malays an 'enhanced status' like the 'coloureds', a pledge the Nationalists reneged upon when they took power.

By the 1930's, the CMA was eclipsed by more radical and younger intellectuals, who espoused secular politics without any appeal to Islam. Among them was Dr Abdurrahman's daughter Zaynunisa 'Cissy' Gool (nee Abdurrahman) and her husband, Dr Goolam Gool. The prominence of the young radicals as well as the CMA's support for the discredited Coloured Affairs Department sounded the death knell to this once popular religio-cultural organisation.

In the Natal and Transvaal, Muslim activism was not carried out under the banner of Islam but became part of the Indian civil rights campaign. One of the demands made was for the authority to recognise Muslim and Hindu marriages. While politics in this context was not overtly couched in religious language, religious issues were central to individual and communal self-assertion of the Indian Muslims.

Some of the earliest religious organisations in the Transvaal was the Habibia Muslim Society about which little is known. It is interesting to note that Muslim organisations were visible at an earlier period in the Boer republic of the Transvaal, than the British colony of Natal. Closely aligned to Mahatma Ghandi, was the association known as the 'Pretoria Group' lead by Moulana Mukhtar and Ahmad Muhammad Cachalia. Ghandi expressed great admiration for the loyalty and commitment of A.M. Cachalia in his later writings on Satyagraha in South Africa.

THE 'ULAMA IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

If folk Islam reflects local knowledge and parochial religiosity then the 'ulama tradition is unmistakably the carrier of 'high' or universal Islam. In the practices of the 'ulama this effect is discernable at two levels: from a juristic point of view and a theological one. Islam being nonoecentric in its public character elevates the status of the law, similar to rabbinic Judaism. In the Transvaal and Natal, the Muslim of Indian origin followed the legal doctrines of the eighth century Hanafi school. To be precise, it is a version of the Hanafi school as interpreted by 'ulama of the Indian seminary of Deoband, near Delhi and its satellite colleges in India, Pakistan and those in South Africa. In its Arab mutation, the Hanafi school is considered as one of the more liberal and rational legal schools. Thus, during the Ottoman empire the Hanafi school was the pioneer of legal reform to meet the demands of modernity. However, on the Indian subcontinent the pervasiveness of hadith (prophecy traditions) studies since the sixteenth century has compelled legal scholarship to adopt more traditionalist approaches. Neo-sufism is also another feature of Indian 'high' Islam. Both conservative traditionalism and neo-sufism find their way into South African Islam. This happens via the 'ulama bodies of Transvaal and Natal which serve as the purveyors of the Deoband school and therefore are rigid in their commitment to the Hanafi school. Creative and independent thinking on religious law is hardly promoted among the 'ulama and imitation (taqlid) of the Hanafi school is generally viewed as imperative.
The other mainstream Sunni legal schools, like the Maliki, Shafi'i and Hanbali are variants of the traditionalist movement in which fideism rather than rationalism prevailed. In the Transvaal followers of the Shafi'i school are also to be found who historically hail from regions south of Bombay. At least two mosques in the greater Johannesburg area follow the Shafi'i code. In the Cape, the traditionalist Shafi'i school predominates although there are two mosques which recognised the Hanafi school. By definition the Cape ought to be conservative given its Shafi'i majority yet it is one of those regions where legal dogmatism is on the wane. One of the reasons for this change in attitude is because at one point most of the Cape 'ulama were trained in the Middle East, in places like Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Lebanon or Jordan, where legal eclecticism (talif) is encouraged and legal dogmatism abjured.

The difference between the Shafi'i and Hanafi 'ulama is not entirely due to the influence of ideas of 'high' Islam. The regional cultures in which Islam finds itself also has an impact. The Muslims of Malay origins have managed to develop a unique culture over a longer period of acculturation given the diversity of communities with which they coexisted for over 300 years. A synthesis of South East Asian Islam elements of Afrikaner and indigenous cultures most likely had a determining effect. This gave Cape Islam its visible cultural flexibility and adaptability. Indian Muslims on the other hand, are comparatively recent immigrants given their presence here for just over 100 years. Therefore, they resist acculturation and emphasize cultural particularism which fosters rigidity and conservatism. In their legal and ethical vision, both the Shafi'i and Hanafi 'ulama are perhaps equally conservative and resistant to innovative jurisprudence.

THE RISE OF ASSOCIATIONS, TENDENCIES AND SCHISMS

THE JAMIATS: THE DEOBAND TRADITION

At first neither the indentured labourers in Natal nor the merchants in Transvaal had any 'ulama to educate them or provide religious leadership. Basic religious functions were fulfilled by the labourers and merchants themselves. Only after 1880 did the authorities permit religious teachers and imams to enter the country and that also for special purposes only. These communities thus managed to employ 'ulama and some school teachers from India in order to ensure the formation of structures for religious education. It was the Indian Muslim merchants, who as a class, formed a stable and strong alliance with the 'ulama over the decades. So the formation of a new association of 'ulama, the Jamiat al-Ulama in Transvaal in 1922 with the collaboration of businessmen could hardly come as a surprise. Although the association was shortlived, an organisation by the same name was revived in 1935 by Mufti Ebrahim Sanjvali (d.1983). This took place with the assistance of the affluent Mia family, several of whose members were themselves 'ulama. Together with Mufti Sanjvali they founded the Jamiat al-Ulama of Transvaal (The Association of Transvaal 'Ulama). The attempt to organise religious leaders into a formalised guild or association was part of a modernising strain which featured in the Muslim world from the 18th century onwards. This association clearly derived its impulse from tendencies prevalent among their 'ulama counterparts in India who were organized along similar lines. Modernization in this context means adopting modern administrative and organisational skills, but not cultural and intellectual modernity.

In Natal the incipient sufi-based Islam with its popular religious practices was more resilient to encroachment by the 'ulama, although it was not totally impregnable. With the visible presence of the 'ulama after 1880 the conflict between 'high' and 'folk' Islam did not occur till late into the twentieth century. The first attempt to organize the 'ulama in Natal took place in 1935 with the formation of the Jamiat al-Ulama of Natal (The Association of Natal 'ulama). Islam in Natal was clearly marked by class interests. There was a large group of Muslims from working class background who in terms of sub-ethnicity and language were very different from the merchant class Muslims. The latter hailed primarily from the Indian state of Gujerat while the former were from the Deccan and South India speaking Urdu and other south Indian languages. Another interesting feature of Islam in Natal was that the religious proclivities peculiar to each class was determined by the religious tendencies prevalent in the region in India where they came from. In the same way that different strands of Islam could co-exist amicably, they could also be found within the same class. Among the merchant class one could easily find orthodox puritans as well those more inclined to ecstatic practices. In other words, class divisions and cultic practices do not always coincide.

Until the middle of the twentieth century certain practices among Indian Muslims, like the public celebration of the Prophet Muhammad's birthday (mawlid) and veneration of saints (urs), which today may be deemed to be part of the folk Islam, were found to be prevalent among all sectors. Given the class and ethnic differences in Natal, these religio-ethnic divisions took on an ideological character towards the latter part of the twentieth century. Fragmentation along schismatic lines were precipitated by factors originating in India where rivalry between puritanical scripturalist and charismatic folk versions of Islam reached new levels of conflict.
In South Africa one such factor in the sixties was the introduction of a movement originating in India called the Tabligh Jamaat (Evangelical Association). This movement, founded by Muhazzam Niazi (1855-1949), a member of the Indian ulama was started around 1919 and focused on a voluntary basis recruiting new members to continue the cycle of evangelical work both at home and abroad. The movement has gained worldwide influence. Recruits do evangelical work on a self-sustaining basis travelling outside India to spread their message. They lay laymen and women as well as some scholars use the mosque as a base for their work. These laymen, who are part of the movement, tend to align themselves with the Tablighi's ideals and practices.

As in the case of the Tablighi, the Movement for Islamic Reform in Africa (MIRA) also adopted a "European style" methodology, a type of informal meeting between Muslim leaders and non-Muslims to discuss matters. This approach was adopted by the Muslim Council of South Africa (MCSA) as a means of educating Muslims about the issues of the day. The MCSA's approach was to establish a dialogue with non-Muslims in an effort to understand their perspectives and to provide a platform for Muslims to express their views. The aim was to promote a greater understanding and respect between Muslims and non-Muslims.

The Muslim Council of South Africa (MCSA) was launched in 1975. The council's primary aim was to promote Islamic education and to combat the spread of false information about Islam. The council's work was focused on providing Muslims with a source of information that was reliable and based on Islamic principles. The council's efforts were aimed at providing Muslims with a platform to express their views and to combat the spread of false information about Islam. The council's work was focused on providing Muslims with a source of information that was reliable and based on Islamic principles. The council's efforts were aimed at providing Muslims with a platform to express their views and to combat the spread of false information about Islam.
CIRCLES, BOOKS AND REVOLUTION

The sixties also witnessed nationalist movements in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia. At that time influential Third World Muslim personalities such as the Egyptian leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser and the Indonesian leader, Sukarno, emerged as political figures. The Islamic revival movement known as the Muslim Brotherhood was formed in the late sixties. The Muslim Brotherhood, led by the Egyptian Nasser, and the Indonesian Sukarno, among others, sought to establish Islamic states in their respective countries. The movement gained traction in various parts of the Muslim world, including Africa and South Asia.

The rise of the Muslim Brotherhood coincided with the emergence of the Muslim youth movement. The movement was characterized by a desire to establish Islamic states and to promote Islamic values in society. The Muslim Brotherhood and the Muslim youth movement were influenced by the ideas of Salafism, a form of Islam that emphasizes the importance of returning to the practices of the early Muslims. This movement had a significant impact on the political and social landscape of the Muslim world, particularly in Africa.

The Muslim Brotherhood and the Muslim youth movement also had a significant impact on the ways in which Islam was practiced and understood. The movement introduced new forms of Islamic practice, such as the Friday prayer, which was established in Africa in the 1970s. The movement also promoted the study of Islamic texts, such as the Quran, and encouraged the establishment of mosques and Islamic schools.

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political discourse in the sixties and especially after the death of Imam Haron created a leadership vacuum among Muslim youth. It was at this juncture that the MYMSA stepped in as a national movement. It started out primarily as a religio-cultural body with a muted political agenda. Drawing largely from the middle-class sector, the MYMSA was unmistakably influenced by ideologues of the Muslim Brotherhood of Egypt and the Jamat Islami of Pakistan. Writings by people like Hassan al-Banna (1906-1949), founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb (d. 1906-1966), a journalist and militant ideologue of the same group who was executed by Nasser's government and Abu'l a'la al-Mawdudi (1903-1979) founder of the Jamat Islami of Pakistan, were the intellectual diet of the youth movement. Idealism clearly marked this phase of the MYMSA.

In its earliest phase the MYMSA operated along the lines of its equivalents elsewhere. Membership ranged from an associate member to a senior associate called a 'rukni' (pillar). Ideological indoctrination took place at intense weekend and holiday training camps. But the most enduring feature of this movement was the emphasis on self-education in matters of religion via small study circles called, halaqah (pl. halaqat). In these weekly circles, members were encouraged to read and reflect on the Qur'an in translated form, master the works of the ideologues and familiarize themselves with the history of Islam with several goals in mind. They saw such training as a protection against westernizing influences and the anachronistic interpretations of the Qur'an by the 'ulama with the ultimate goal of preparing for the inauguration of an Islamic state.

Together with the Muslim Students' Association (MSA), the MYMSA exerted significant influence on the Muslim youth for more than a decade. Within two decades, the MYMSA set up an impressive array of social organisations on a national scale. These included a major welfare body, the South African National Zakat Fund (SANZAF), the Islamic Medical Association, which served as a guild for Muslim doctors and provided health services to disadvantaged communities, a number of schools to train and reorientate converts to Islam in some African townships as well as an active disaster and relief agency called Islamic Relief Agency (ISRA).

But the youth groups, especially the MYMSA found it difficult to make the transition from a religio-cultural ethos to that of a socio-cultural one. The movement lacked a contextual Islamic idiom through which it could articulate its political concerns, especially during the tumultuous seventies and the Soweto uprisings in 1976. The Islamic revolution in Iran in 1979 provided a crucial impetus for the global Islamic political discourse. For those Muslim communities far away from the Muslim heartland, South Africa included, it had added significance. For the first time Muslims found a point of reference for their religio-moral struggle which coincided with the revolutionary zeal prevalent at the time among liberation movements in South Africa. However, it was not the MYMSA who embraced the Iranian revolution with its charged rhetoric and fervour. This space was reserved for the Qiblah Mass Movement and to a lesser extent, the Muslim Students Association.

Founded in 1980, Qiblah immediately identified itself with Islamic Iran and especially its main architect, Ayatollah Khomeini. Qiblah's main ideologues were longstanding supporters of the Pan-Africanist Congress and black consciousness tradition. The Qiblah's key rallying point was the unity of Muslims and the need to transform South Africa so it could achieve Islamic ideals. The movement supported armed struggle by actively seconding some of its members to this task, as part of jihad religiously sanctioned armed resistance. The Qiblah might be described as idealistic and extremist in its critique of South African Society.

MARCHES, RALLIES AND FUNERALS

The advent in South Africa of the disgraced tricameral system in 1984 and the era of repression during the P.W. Botha reign gave rise to spontaneous political opposition. One such constellation of opposition was the ANC-backed United Democratic Front (UDF), which later successfully managed to lobby the religious sector, the Muslim included for support. A dispute within the ranks of the MYMSA over the issue of political alliances with the UDF led some of its members to and set up in 1984 to breakaway a pro-UDF group called Call of Islam (COI). The COI articulated an expression of Islam which coincided in most cases with a UDF agenda in the same way as the Qiblah would pander to a PAC agenda. The COI emphasized the centrality of the leadership of the 'ulama and consistently dragged their reluctant alliance partners, the MJC into political issues.

By the mid-eighties, the MYMSA entered a revisionist phase along with the MSA and in conjunction with other groups began to develop a contextual expression of Islam with a strong focus on South African political realities. Meanwhile, the MJC was unique among the 'ulama groups to side with the liberation movement due to the visibility and influence of some of its key officials who were also members of the COI. Together these groups developed a hermeneutics of Islam as a religion which opposed oppression (zulm), in this case apartheid, and enjoined Muslims to constantly bear in mind that god sided with the oppressed (mustad'af), that justice (adl) and equity (qist) were the goals towards which Muslims should strive as part of the ongoing jihad. These concepts were part of a general anti-apartheid discourse mounted by the Muslims. While some Muslim organisations may have privately accepted the tricameral dispensation by tacitly supporting members of parliament who were Muslims, few publicly did this. Among the northern 'ulama-groups,
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only the Jamatu'Ulama of Natal and the Sunni Jamatu'Ulama issued statements opposing the constitutional dispensation. The constitution was quite popular and the progressive socio-cultural and political organizations were quite strong in various parts of the country, some even fought street battles with security forces, resulting in deaths, detentions and exile. The resistance striking formal and strategic alliances with political movements and groups, including the Christian, Jewish, Hindu, Muslim, and Pan-Africanist organizations eventually aligned with the liberation movements. Blurred political boundaries among this popular mass movement, which comprised racial and religious communities, became quite common.

The issue of apartheid, especially the white minority government's policies, often led to mass protests. The national liberation movement, the ANC, eventually gained international support and was recognized as the legitimate representative of the black majority in South Africa. The struggle of the people of South Africa against apartheid was not only a struggle for freedom and democracy but also a struggle for social justice and equality.

CONCLUSION

During the oppressive years of apartheid, it was evident that the system was fundamentally flawed and unsustainable. The struggle against apartheid was not just a fight for political freedom but also a fight for social, economic, and cultural rights. The liberation movement, with the support of the international community, eventually succeeded in bringing an end to apartheid.

The new South Africa that emerged after the fall of apartheid faced many challenges, including poverty, inequality, and racial tensions. However, the country has made significant progress in the decades since the transition to democracy.

The history of South Africa is a testament to the resilience and determination of its people. From the struggle against apartheid to the challenges of the post-apartheid era, the country's journey is a story of hope, struggle, and transformation.
underway in South Africa. Islam shares this continent along with two other traditions, African religious tradition and Christianity: three religions vying for Africa’s soul.

As South Africa slowly, but painfully, turns its back on the apartheid era, Muslims like other people have to face a new and challenging future. For the first time in history, all South Africans hope to participate in a democratic political dispensation. The new openness, pluralism and multiculturalism that will be experienced makes new demands of adaptation and adjustment from all communities religious ones notwithstanding. Exposure to the international community, and particularly relations with other Muslim communities, will most probably affect the social identity of South African Muslims. Cultural and social contact will inevitably introduce new tendencies in thought which may have far reaching implications for the Muslims in South Africa.

At the same, pressing domestic issues of reconstruction and nation-building will make several demands for adaptation to a new context. In the past Muslims felt alienated by the structures of colonialism and apartheid. Democratic and political dispensation will consider them as an integral part of the new society. In the post-apartheid era, South African society will certainly face the real prospect of multiculturalism where all cultures and value systems will be considered as full participants in society. For the South African Muslim, the challenge lies in how the one and to exercise his right as a citizen and on the other insist on his right to remain different from the others.21

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NOTES


4. The *Khalwatiyyah* has some obscure roots in thirteenth century Turkey and Persia. It is alleged that it gained the named *khalwatiyyah*, meaning ‘the retreating one’, due to the frequent spiritual retreats its founder, Muhammad Nur al-Alisi used to undertake. Others say the founder was ‘Umar al-Khalwati, who was born in Lahir, Jilan, and who died in Tabriz in 800/1397. See Encyclopedia of Islam 1987. Leiden: E.J. Brill, pp. 991-93.
6. Theal says: “They [free blacks] consist of persons, who during the existence of the Dutch East India Company, were sent from Batavia or the other dependencies, either as convicts or in attendance upon their masters, or as manumitted slaves, and many of them consists of Malays and Natives of Malabar, who were not in a state of servitude.” (Records of Cape Colony, vol 28:66)
7. This is a title of an unpublished paper by Achmat Davids.
8. Theal, p. 140.
17. The Qadiriyyah was founded by the reputable sufi Shaykh ‘Abd al-Qadir ibn Abi Salih Jangidost (1079-1165) who was born in Jilan, Iran and is therefore called al-Jilani. This order is perhaps one of the most popular sufi orders and is widespread with a stronghold on the Indo-Pakastan subcontinent.

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