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Islam as Rival of the Gospel in Africa

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INTRODUCTION

The discussion of Islam as a rival of the Gospel in Africa must commence with a clarification of the terms involved.

ISLAM

It should be noted at the outset that “Muhammadanism” and “Muhammadans” are terms offensive to Muslims. The religion is Islam (submission) and a follower of Islam is a Muslim (one who submits). The offence is that the term “Muhammadan” creates the impression “that the founder of the faith has become an object of worship as in Christianity”.¹

Islam is more than a “religion” as this term is commonly understood in the West, viz. as a set of teachings about God and man with rules for worship and morality. Islam can more appropriately be described as an ideology,² because “it is a complete way of life, catering for all the fields of human existence. Islam provides guidance for all walks of life—individual and social, material and moral, economic and political, legal and cultural, national and international.”³ It is an all-encompassing system of life based on the Qur’an, the Sunnah (example of Muhammad), the principle of *Qiyas* (analogy), and *Ijma’* (the consensus of the Muslim community).⁴ This complete code of laws (also called *shari’a*) is found in four different “schools” of law, viz. the Hanafi, Shafii, Maliki and Hambali.⁵

Although it is true that many Muslims regard Islam merely as a religion in the narrow sense, the worldwide revival of Islam at present is in fact a rediscovery of this total character of the Islamic ideology.⁶ Therefore religion and politics are inseparable in Islam; in the words of Col. Gaddafi of Libya, “There is no contradiction between religious consciousness and

¹ G. H. Jansen, *Militant Islam*, London: Pan Books, 1979, p.81; *Al-Qalam*, 1:18, Feb./March 1976, p.2; Muhammad is not worshipped by Muslims, only respected as Allah’s last prophet.

² This is also done by Muslims recently, e.g. *Al-Qalam*, 2:10, November 1977, p.1. *Al-Qalam* is the mouthpiece of the Muslim Youth Movement (MYM), an active South African organization stressing the propagation of Islam and social service.

³ K. Ahmad, “Islam: Basic principles and characteristics”, in K. Ahmad (ed.): *Islam, its meaning and message*, London: Islamic Council of Europe, 1976, p.37.

⁴ These four elements are called the *usul ul-fiqh*, i.e. the roots of Islamic law.

⁵ In South Africa the Indian Muslims generally follow Hanafi law and the Malay Muslims Shafii law.

⁶ G. H. Jansen, *op. cit.*, p.17–30.

political decisions.”⁷ It is this total Islam which Christians will encounter during the last twenty years of the twentieth Christian century, which are also the first twenty years of the fifteenth Islamic century.⁸

GOSPEL

In the light of the above it is clear that the area of contact is not merely between Islam and “the Gospel” (understood as a message of good news), but between Islam as an ideology on the one hand and on the other hand the Gospel, the church and the political and economic systems with which they go hand in hand. In other words, the choice which confronts the people of Africa is not merely a religious one between the church and the mosque but at the same time between the political and economic ideologies associated with these religious commitments. It is only in this widest context that the “rivalry” between Islam and Christianity can be properly understood.

RIVAL

There are two aspects to the “rivalry” between Islam and Christianity in Africa: 1) competing for the allegiance of the remaining followers of African Traditional Religions (A.T.R.); 2) winning converts from each other.

1. Competition

According to statistics there are just more than 40% Muslims, a little less than 40% Christians and about 20% followers of A.T.R. in Africa.⁹ Both Muslims and Christians are gaining ground through conversions from A.T.R. and the first aspect of rivalry between them is the competition to gain the largest amount of these converts. This competition aspect was prominent in earlier Christian missionary thinking, in which a Christian “belt” across sub-Saharan Africa to halt the south-ward advance of Islam was a part of the strategy.¹⁰ In the religious “scramble for Africa” this was supposed to have given Christians the time to Christianize Africa south of the Sahara before the arrival of Islam. The fast changing reality of Africa has made this kind of thinking redundant and except in isolated rural areas the challenges of Christianity and Islam are reaching the people of Africa simultaneously. There is a growing interpenetration in that there are many active Muslim minorities south of the equator and many Christian missionary agencies and local Christian groups north of it. This competition is therefore not so much a geographical issue any more, but is becoming a merely numerical one.

⁷ Quoted in *ibid.*, p.17.

⁸ The Islamic calendar is a lunar one, according to which a year is 352–354 days long. The years are counted from the *hijra*, Muhammad’s migration from Mecca to Medina in 622 A.D., and the present Islamic year is 1400 A.H. *Anno Hegitae* or *Hijrae*).

⁹ J. D. Holway, “Christianity and Islam in Africa—looking ahead”, *Missionalia*, 2:1, April 1974, p.3.

¹⁰ This view was aired by a Dr. Robson at the World Missionary Conference of 1910 in Edinburgh and strongly propagated by Dr. H. K. W. Kumm, *Khont-hon-Nofer, The lands of Ethiopia*, London and Edinburgh: Marshall, 1910, pp.211,230–235.

2. Converts from each other

The real and lasting “rivalry” for which the church must prepare itself and which is taking place already throughout Africa is that of Muslims and Christians “evangelizing” one another.¹¹ This rivalry takes different forms in the various African countries, depending on the percentages of Muslims and Christians and on the policy of the particular government towards proselytization.¹² One effect of the current Islamic revival has been the curbing or prohibition of Christian missionary work in Muslim countries¹³ and rumours of the reintroduction of the law of apostasy.¹⁴ There is very little possibility that this rivalry will cease since both Islam and Christianity are missionary faiths with truth claims that contradict each other at crucial points.¹⁵ Although this rivalry will remain, it need not be the only attitude prevailing between Christians and Muslims.

3. Only rivalry?

In spite of the conflicting truth claims mentioned above, Christians and Muslims do share many things in common and co-operation between them in areas of e.g. justice and development is possible. The Islamic evaluation of Christianity has always been ambivalent: some Qur’anic verses speak with high regard of the Christians as “People of the Book”¹⁶ while others condemn their beliefs and practices in no uncertain terms.¹⁷ The same applies to the Christian evaluation of Islam: although it has been largely negative¹⁸ there has always been the recognition that Islam is a special case and therefore (with Judaism) it has been

¹¹ J. D. Holway, *loc. cit.*, p.3, “Seventy years ago the Muslim challenge was one of competition, a race to evangelize Traditionalists before they become Islamized. Now the challenge is switching to the evangelization of Muslims themselves.”

¹² *Ibid.*, pp.6, 8–11, 14–16.

¹³ *Africa Now*, July–August 1977, p.3. *Africa Now* is the mouthpiece of the Sudan Interior Mission.

¹⁴ *Vandaar*, 4:2, February 1978, pp.7, 16.

¹⁵ The central points of contradiction from the side of Muslims concern the Christian doctrines of Trinity, Incarnation, Crucifixion, Atonement, and the trustworthiness of the Bible. The contentious issues from the side of Christians are the Muslim doctrines of the prophethood of Muhammad, the denial of the crucifixion, and the Pelagian view of sin.

¹⁶ e.g. S.2:62, 5:82f.

¹⁷ e.g. S.5:17, 56, 72, S.9:30–34, S.19:34f.

¹⁸ W. A. Bijliefeld, *De Islam als na-Christelijke religie*, The Hague: Van Keulen, 1959, pp.47–78; A.-Th. Khoury, *Der theologische Streit der Byzantiner mit dem Islam*, Paderborn: Schöningh, 1969; A. Wessels, *De moslimse naaste*, Kampen: Kok, 1978, pp.52–81.

distinguished from “paganism”.¹⁹ Both Islam and Christianity are “Abrahamic”²⁰ and theocratic²¹ faiths and therefore share a deep concern for the establishment of justice among men as the demand of the true God who is Creator, Lord and Judge of mankind. On this basis co-operation is possible.²²

To conclude, the relationship between Christians and Muslims is a complex one, but the element of “rivalry” (i.e. proclaiming to the other the unique claims of one’s faith and calling him/her to conversion), will remain a permanent feature of this relationship.

THE HISTORY OF THE SPREAD OF ISLAM IN AFRICA

The history of the spread of Islam through Africa is very interesting but also highly complicated. It will suffice here to indicate the main streams and movements in order to understand the types of Islam encountered in the different parts of Africa.

THE FOUR PHASES

The first phase (A.D. 638–1050): The first thrust into Africa was the military conquest of North Africa which commenced in A.D. 640. The sad story of the virtual disappearance of the North African church under Islam is well known.²³ It is by no means true that the whole of North Africa was converted to Islam “at the point of the sword” as is commonly thought.²⁴ A host of political, cultural and religious factors played a role and the result was a near total Islamization by the year 1000.²⁵

The second phase (A.D. 1050–1750): From the north coast Islam spread gradually down the west coast, across the Sahara and down the east coast. This was due largely to Berber traders and later also to Sufi “holy men”. This movement continued through the Middle Ages and by a gradual “osmosis” Islam established itself in most of northwest Africa and down the

¹⁹ This is evident from the specific view that Islam is a Christian heresy (W. A. Bijlefeld, *op. cit.*, pp.98–100) but also from a more general recognition of its monotheistic and anti-idolatrous character. In the older hymnals of the Dutch Reformed Churches in South Africa one finds the expression “heiden, Jood, Mohammedaan”, which indicates that Jews and Muslims were not regarded as “pagans”: *Die berymde psalms saam met die evangeliese gesange*, Pretoria: N. G. Kerk-uitgewers, 1965, p.234 (Ges. 149:6), p.247 (Ges. 157:3).

²⁰ By “Abrahamic” is meant not only the fact that both Christians and Muslims regard Abraham as the “father of all believers”, but also the basic structure of faith in a transcendent God who leads believers into the future by his promises.

²¹ The Muslim and Christian concepts of theocracy differ, but they have in common the fundamental outlook that God rules over all things and that He therefore has to be obeyed in every area of life.

²² See later under *Conclusion*.

²³ e.g. U. Schoen, “The death of a church”, *Theological Review*, Near East School of Theology, 2:1, April 1979, pp. 3–20.

²⁴ T. W. Arnold, *The preaching of Islam*, Lahore: Muhammad Ashraf, s.a., pp.102–130.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp.126–127.

east coast to present-day Somalia.²⁶ The penetration in numbers and quality was not extensive or deep and religious life was characterized by various forms of accommodation to traditional practices.²⁷

The third phase (A.D. 1750–1901): From 1750 onwards there appeared militant and intolerant clerics who established a belt of theocratic states across Africa.²⁸ They rejected compromise with traditional African religion and brought Islam into the centre of communal life as state religion.²⁹ This resulted in a great expansion of nominal allegiance to Islam and a breaking up of tribal and social groups to form states based on Islamic law.³⁰

The fourth phase (A.D. 1901–today): When the colonial powers occupied Africa they brought with them new technological, economic and religious forces which furthered the breaking up of traditional patterns and thus unwittingly accelerated the spread of Islam.³¹ It was especially the railroad which enabled Islam to spread to the “Bantu” tribes of the interior for the first time.³² During the colonial period the first neo-Islamic movements like the Ahmadiyya made their appearance and they established Muslim groups on the pattern of Christian churches in the West.³³

ISLAM IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Islam came to South Africa with the exiled Malay political prisoners and slaves who started arriving from 1667 onwards. Sheikh Yusuf, who arrived in 1694, made a great contribution to establishing the Muslim community at the Cape.³⁴ The other way in which Islam entered was through the arrival of free passenger Indians from Gujarat in 1880, many of whom were Muslims.³⁵

²⁶ “The Islam in Africa”, *Pro Mundi Vita Bulletin*, vol. 28, 1969, pp.7–9; N. Q. King, *Christian and Muslim in Africa*, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p.16–29; J. S. Trimingham, *The Influence of Islam upon Africa*, London: Longmans, 1968, pp.10–33.

²⁷ J. S. Trimingham, *op. cit.*, p.34.

²⁸ J. S. Trimingham, “The phases of Islamic expansion and Islamic culture zones in Africa”, in I. M. Lewis (ed.): *Islam in tropical Africa*, pp.127–129, speaks of “the Sudan belt”, cf. also N. Q. King, *op. cit.*, pp.60–65.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.129.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*, p.130; T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, p.361.

³² T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp.345, 361–2.

³³ Trimingham, “The phases of Islamic expansion ...”, p.130.

³⁴ T. W. Arnold, *op. cit.*, pp.350–352; C. J. A. Greyling, *Die invloed van strominge in die Islam op die Jesusbeskouing van die Suid-Afrikaanse Moslems* (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Stellenbosch), pp.6–17.

³⁵ C. J. A. Greyling, *op. cit.*, pp.17–22; F. Meer, *Portrait of Indian South Africans*, Durban: Avon House, 1969, pp.15–21.

These Malay and Indian Muslims have spread throughout South Africa, mainly as traders and businessmen. Many of them have learnt the languages of the Black people and are in an ideal position to propagate Islam via literature and personal contacts. It is only since the 1960s, however, that a concerted effort has been made by Indian Muslims to bring Islam to the Black people of South Africa. Specific missionary societies were set up for this purpose³⁶ and they seem to be having a measure of success.³⁷ The missionary approach that is being used³⁸ and the type of people being reached³⁹ indicate a neo-Islamic modality, similar to that of the Ahmadiyya missions⁴⁰ and very different from the type of Islam produced by a process of gradual penetration (see phase two above). The fastest growth in the Black community seems to have taken place among young people and since the 1976 riots.⁴¹ This suggests that ideological factors played a large role in these conversions (see below).

ISLAMIZATION OF MODERN AFRICA

A significant feature of the contemporary Islamic missionary enterprise in Africa is the role of Arab oil dollars in funding organizations and erecting Islamic centres. From time to time one reads of large sums of money being donated by Arab governments for mosques or

³⁶ The most prominent are the Islamic Propagation Centre (Durban), the Islamic Missionary Society (Johannesburg), the Universal Truth Movement (now defunct), and the Muslim Youth Movement (countrywide). The Tabligh movement, which has a very large influence, is not a Western-styled missionary organization like the above-mentioned groups, but is an India-based worldwide movement of Islamic revival and propagation (= *tabligh*), with a very conservative theological emphasis and a definite style of its own.

³⁷ In *Al-Qalam*, the mouthpiece of the Muslim Youth Movement, one reads from time to time about Black converts, e.g. *Al-Qalam*, 1:24, Sept./Oct. 1976, p.16; 2:4, April 1977, p.1; 2:10, Nov. 1977, p.1; 3:15, Nov. 1979, p.1.

³⁸ The methods used are symposia, conventions, lectures, the printing of tracts and books, clinics, distribution of food and blankets, etc.

³⁹ The Black people being reached in South Africa are mainly urbanized and educated, especially young people (see note 41).

⁴⁰ By this is not necessarily meant that there is widespread influence of Ahmadiyya teachings, but that the methods employed and the strongly anti-Christian and anti-Western stance are very similar. There are, however, influences of Ahmadiyya, e.g. in the tracts of Ahmad Deedat on the crucifixion ("Was Christ Crucified?", "What was the sign of Jonah?", Durban: Islamic Propagation Centre, s.a.). In publications attacking the authenticity of the Bible (e.g. A. Deedat, *Is the Bible God's Word?*, Durban: Islamic Propagation Centre, 1980; A. S. K. Joommal, *The Bible: Word of God or word of man?*, Johannesburg: Islamic Missionary Society, 1976) many arguments are also used that have been made famous by the polemicists of the Ahmadiyya movement. For a discussion of Ahmadiyya influence in S.A. Islam, see C. J. A. Greyling, *op. cit.*, pp.45–52.

⁴¹ Several Black Muslims (in personal interviews) confirmed that since the 1976 riots there has been a marked increase of interest in and conversion to Islam in Black urban townships. This is a phenomenon that merits thorough investigation.

universities to further the Islamization of Africa.⁴² This plays a definite role in South Africa also, especially for erecting mosques in Black residential areas and for propagating Islam.⁴³

THE DYNAMICS OF ISLAM'S GROWTH IN AFRICA

Although there are great differences between different African states and between rural and urban areas in each state, there are some generalizations which can be made about factors favouring Islam's growth in Africa.

POLITICAL FACTORS

The anti-colonialist sentiment in independent African states is often accompanied by an anti-Christian sentiment because of the link between colonialism and mission in the past.⁴⁴ The influence of Gamal Abdul Nasser of Egypt in the 1950s as champion of African independence and the influence of the Ayatullah Khomeini in 1979 as a Third World leader who openly defied the mighty U.S.A. must not be underestimated. These Muslim statesmen have given encouragement to Third World countries to stand up and play their role in world politics. Various Afro-Arab agreements have been drawn up and virtually all African states support the Arab cause against Israel.⁴⁵ In world politics most African states are part of the non-aligned group with its policy of "positive neutrality". Within this political climate there is a positive attitude to Muslim states and therefore generally also an openness to Islam.⁴⁶ It is important that this political dimension be taken into account because conversion is never a merely individualistic "religious" decision. It is also identification with a certain group of people. Therefore the "image" one has of that group (whether it is a true image or not) will decisively influence one's openness to its ideology or religion. In a rural environment this political dimension may be less prominent but in an urbanized environment where people have had more formal education and are more politically conscious, this plays a decisive role. In South Africa and the U.S.A. Islam's growth in Black communities is strongly influenced by ideological factors. The slogan, "Christianity is the religion of the Whites"

⁴² *Africa Now* (Sudan Interior Mission), July–August 1977, p.3, mentions mosques of \$12 million in Chad, \$1.6 million in Niger, \$8 million in Senegal; *Al-Qalam* mentions Islamic centres in Gabon, Togo, Uganda and Rwanda (2:2, Feb. 1977, p.2), an Islamic university in Mauritania (2:11, Dec. 1977, p.2), etc.

⁴³ Through the Islamic Council of South Africa (ICSA), funds from Arab countries are channelled to different Islamic organizations and projects in South Africa. There is also another agency, AID International (Association for Islamic Development), operating in South Africa with international funds.

⁴⁴ See e.g. Ram Desai (ed.), *Christianity in Africa as seen by Africans*, Denver: Alan Swallow, 1962, passim.

⁴⁵ "The Islam in Africa", *Pro Mundi Vita Bulletin*, vol. 28, 1969, pp.27–30.

⁴⁶ A good example of this is the conversion of two African heads of state to Islam due to political contacts with Muslim states, especially Libya: Albert (now Omar) Bongo of Gabon in 1973 (see *Al-Qalam*, 1:19, March/April 1976, p.2) and Jean-Bedel (now Salah-al-Din Ahmad) Bokassa of the Central African Republic in 1976 (1:26, Nov./Dec. 1976, p.3).

represents a mood of Black consciousness looking for its “roots”.⁴⁷ The memories of slavery in the U.S.A. and the present reality of racism (U.S.A. and S.A.) establish a negative image of the Christian faith in the minds of many Black people. There is widespread reaction against the cultural aggression of White missionaries and a growing interest in Islam as a religion of Africa.⁴⁸ In this respect it is often stressed that one of the first muezzins⁴⁹ was a Black man, Bilal, a freed Abyssinian slave.⁵⁰

The strong emphasis on the *brotherhood* of Islam regardless of race, culture, or social standing which is expressed five times daily when Muslims pray shoulder to shoulder in the mosque and above all in the annual pilgrimage to Mecca is very attractive, especially when compared to racially separated churches or the image of a Christianity which sanctions racial separation. Islamic propaganda stresses the fact that both Christianity and Communism have failed to bring about justice and inter-racial harmony in Africa and that Islam is the only answer to these problems.⁵¹ It is the “third way” between the extremes of capitalism and Communism in that it allows private property but has strict safeguards against exploitation. The view of Toynbee is sometimes quoted in this regard, viz. that the special contribution of Islam to world history will be the solution to the problems of racial discrimination and alcoholism.⁵² The universal unity and brotherhood of Muslims is based on the unity of God, the finality of Muhammad’s prophethood, the uniqueness of the Qur’an, the prayer direction (*qibla*) towards Mecca and the use of the Arabic language in ritual worship. Precisely this expression of unity is a strong factor in the conversion of Black people in S.A. and the U.S.A. to Islam.⁵³ They experience conversion to Islam as a receiving of *dignity* because they are accepted as equals in the community of believers. According to Makonnen the dignified way in which Somali immigrants to the U.S.A., dressed in their distinctive Muslim garb, conducted themselves towards White Americans was what initially attracted Black Americans to Islam.⁵⁴ Islam gave them a sense of worth and dignity and was therefore

⁴⁷ Alex Haley, *Roots*, London: Pan Books, 1976, is the account of such a pilgrimage of a Black American Muslim who found his roots and his identity in Islam. See also *Al-Qalam*, 3:7, Sept. 1978, p.3, “God’s racial image”; 2:10, Nov. 1977, p.1, “Islam is the black man’s natural religion.”

⁴⁸ Ram Desai, *op. cit.*, p.35.

⁴⁹ A muezzin (more correctly transcribed muadhdhin) is the man who calls the Muslims to prayer from the minaret of a mosque.

⁵⁰ Hence the custom among Indian Muslims in S.A. to employ black Muslims as muezzins at their mosques. Black Muslims in the U.S.A. call themselves “Bilalians” and have a newspaper *The Bilalian Times*; cf. *Al-Qalam*, 1:22, July/August 1976, p.12; 2:5, May/June 1977, p.1; 3:9, Dec. 1978, p.4; 2:10, Nov. 1977, p.2.

⁵¹ *Al-Qalam*, 3:1, Jan. 1978, Supplement: “Islam—the solution for Africa”.

⁵² G. H. Jansen, *op. cit.*, p.203.

⁵³ This was borne out in several personal interviews which the author had with Black S.A. Muslims.

⁵⁴ Ras Makonnen, *Pan-Africanism from within*, London: Oxford University Press, 1973, pp. 75–77.

a humanizing force among people who still had an inferiority complex decades after the abolition of slavery. Islam's total prohibition of alcohol and its emphasis on cleanliness very, soon made Black Muslims healthier and more prosperous than their neighbours, creating the image that Muslims are successful and dignified people, proud of being who they are. They realized to what extent alcohol and a slave mentality had dehumanized them and they discarded not only their bottles but also their "slave names".⁵⁵ The message of a Black Muslim leader from the U.S.A. to his Black audiences in S.A. was, "Wake up, clean up, stand up".⁵⁶ This was backed up with the Qur'anic verse quoted often in the present Islamic revival, "Allah does not change the condition of a people unless they change what is in themselves."⁵⁷ In other words, moral uprightness is a prerequisite for the improvement of their lot and this can be received only in Islam. To hear this message from people who have clearly risen above their inferiority feeling of the past, is a very strong attraction to Islam in a marginalized and oppressed community.

RITUAL AND CULTIC FACTORS

Apart from the ideological attraction of Islam, which is limited to the politically conscious, the cultic and ritual elements of Islam attract people from a wider spectrum.

The first and most obvious cultic element is the ritual prayer (*salat*), performed five times daily. It consists of various postures of standing, kneeling and prostrating while prescribed Qur'anic phrases and verses are silently recited in Arabic. When praying "in congregation" there must be a leader (*imam*) and it must be undertaken in a prayer room (*jama'at khana*) or mosque (*masjid* = place of prostration). The call to prayer (*azzan*) is sounded about 15 minutes before the prayer commences and proclaims the essential beliefs of Islam:

Allah is the greatest (4x)

I testify that there is no deity but Allah (2x)

I testify that Muhammad is the messenger of Allah (2x)

Come to the prayer (2x)

Come to success⁵⁸ (2x)

Allah is the greatest (2x)

There is no deity but Allah

⁵⁵ One of the best-known examples of this is Malcolm Little who changed his name to Malcolm X to rid himself of his "slave name". His full Muslim name was El-hajj Malik el-Shabazz.

⁵⁶ *Al-Qalam*, 2:9, Sept./Oct. 1977, p.1. The speaker was Abd-ul-Malik Rushiddin whose tapes are being widely used in S.A. among Blacks to propagate Islam.

⁵⁷ S.13:11. This verse was made popular by Jamal-al-Din Afghani (1839–97) well-known Muslim reformer of the last century; cf. G. H. Jansen, *op. cit.*, pp.91ff.

⁵⁸ There are different possibilities of interpreting the Arabic word *falah*, translated here as "success". See e.g. E. W. Lane, *The modern Egyptians*, New York: Dover Publications, 1973, p.73, who translates it as "security" and K. Cragg, *The call of the minaret*, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964, pp. 140ff., "the Good", "welfare", "prosperity".

This call in Arabic announces the presence of Islam and exercises a strange attraction in a Black community even if only for the novelty of it.⁵⁹ People come to this new “church”, are attracted by the ritual washing, the postures of worship and receive literature. In this “centripetal” way a local *jama’at* comes into existence which eventually builds its own mosque or Islamic centre, often with financial help from elsewhere.⁶⁰

In connection with Muslim public worship, one feature, unattractive to some is the fact that women do not worship with men in the mosque. According to Muslim tradition Muhammad did not prohibit women from attending public prayer in the mosque, but said that it was better for them to pray in private at home.⁶¹ In the great mosque of Mecca women pray in the mosque behind the men while some other mosques provide separate facilities behind a screen or in an adjoining room. It is significant that among missionary minded Muslims in S.A. like the MYM and IPC, who are sensitive to Western criticism and intent on providing a strong apologetic, there is the tendency to advocate such separate facilities for women in the design of mosques.⁶² It is always the missionary “cutting edge” of a religious community which is most sensitive to the obstacles which certain practices of its community present to potential converts.

Other ritual practices that prove attractive in Africa are circumcision, the slaughtering of a goat annually for Eid-ul-adha⁶³ and amulets (*ta’wiz*) used in protective magic.⁶⁴ The figure of the Muslim *alim* (scholar/jurist) or the *sufi* holy man as a “man of power”, giving out amulets and medicines for healing and protection, is a well known one in a Black community.

VARIOUS OTHER FACTORS

Another characteristic favouring the spread of Islam is its *adaptability* and its tolerance with practices of the traditional religion.⁶⁵ This flexibility has caused Islam to be gradually

⁵⁹ A Black S.A. Muslim “missionary” told the author in an interview that he has merely to put up a prayer room and start sounding the *azzan* in a Black community and he will have ten people more every day. This is clearly exaggerated but it does reveal the unique “centripetal” missionary method of Islam.

⁶⁰ For this financial help, see notes 42 and 43 above.

⁶¹ *Al-Qalam*, 2:10, Nov. 1977, p.10; 1:10, p.8; Muhammad Ali, *The religion of Islam*, Lahore: Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha’at Islam, pp.390ff.

⁶² *Al-Qalam*, 2:4, April 1977, p.10.

⁶³ The festival celebrated during the time of the pilgrimage to Mecca by all Muslims everywhere in remembrance of Abraham’s obedience in being willing to sacrifice his son.

⁶⁴ The most common *ta’wiz* is a piece of paper with a Qur’anic verse written on it or a pattern of Arabic numbers (representing words or phrases), which is sewn into a little pouch (often black) and worn around the neck for protection against sickness or evil.

⁶⁵ According to Professor John Pobee of Ghana in a lecture at the Rand Afrikaans University in Johannesburg on 9th May, 1980, this flexibility of Islam was the most important factor in its success in Africa; see also Edward W. Blyden, *Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race*, Edinburgh: University Press, 1967, pp. 11f.

assimilated into the life of a tribe or village by what can be called “osmosis”.⁶⁶ It was partly a result of the fact that most of the “missionaries” of Islam were not orthodox jurists (‘*ulama*) but traders and members of *sufi* brother-hoods.⁶⁷ The traders were able to win over the “top people” in African communities because they not only exhibited Islam as profitable and successful, but also because they opened the gateway to a bigger and wider world beyond.⁶⁸

In many cases traders married women of the local tribe and thus entered naturally into the life of the community and could influence it in a profound and lasting way.⁶⁹ When a Muslim marries a non-Muslim the latter has to convert to Islam or at least consent to let the children grow up as Muslims. Because Muslims are very insistent on this, such a marriage always results in a gain for Islam.⁷⁰ The toleration of *polygamy* in Islam also counted in its favour.⁷¹ The Qur’an allows a man to have four wives, provided that he treats them equally.⁷² Many followers of A.T.R. are polygamists and are accepted by Islam but frowned upon by the Christian church. This advantage to Islam seems to be declining, however, because polygamy is generally on its way out in Muslim circles and many Muslim apologists have in fact come out against it openly.⁷³

The fact that Islam is a *post-Christian* religion also counts in its favour in relation to Christianity.⁷⁴ It comes with the claim of having received the final revelation from God to restore the original monotheism of Abraham to its pristine purity. This claim of possessing the *final* truth which supersedes Christianity and makes it redundant, gives Islam a decided psychological advantage. The claim of being the *original* monotheism from which Judaism and Christianity have strayed introduces an *anti-Christian* element, although this is not equally pronounced in all the modalities of Islam. It is prominent in Ahmadiyya propaganda and in missionary societies influenced by their arguments.⁷⁵ In the S.A. Black community, where there is a growing rejection of Christianity because of its association with the “Christian national” policy of separate development, this anti-Christian propaganda finds fertile ground. The majority of Black converts to Islam in S.A. apparently belong to this

⁶⁶ G. H. Jansen, *op. cit.*, p.40 speaks of “three stages of Islamic osmosis”.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, pp.40ff.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p.44.

⁶⁹ Ram Desai, *op. cit.*, p.33; cf. E. W. Blyden, *op. cit.*, p.20: “So the Arab missionaries often entered into the bonds of wedlock with the daughters of Negroland, and by their teaching, by their intelligence, by their inter-marriages with the natives, by the trade and generosity of their merchants, they enlisted so many interests and such deep sympathies, that they rapidly took abiding root in the country.”

⁷⁰ J. D. Holway, *loc. cit.*, pp.6f.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p.8, Ram Desai, *op. cit.*, pp.33f.

⁷² S.4:3.

⁷³ J. D. Holway, *loc. cit.*, p.8.

⁷⁴ The *post-Christian* character of Islam must be understood in the light of what is said by W. A. Bijlefeld (*op. cit.*, pp.166–175).

⁷⁵ See note 40 above.

modality of Islam.⁷⁶ Islamic propaganda seems to be riding the wave of anti-White and anti-Christian sentiment let loose in 1976 and providing a viable alternative to Christianity. It is essential to make a thorough study of the dynamics of Islam's growth in S.A. Black communities in order to understand the situation and approach it in a truly Christian way.

LOOKING AHEAD—THE CHALLENGE OF ISLAM

There is no doubt that Islam will continue its steady numerical growth in Africa in the next twenty years. There is also no doubt that Islam will become a stronger political, economic and social force in African and world politics towards the end of the century. As the militant Islam, which strives to totally Islamize the Muslim countries and turn them into Islamic states, increases its influence, a more total and self-assertive Islam will emerge.⁷⁷

Exactly who will win the "scramble for Africa" and "stake the most claims" is difficult to predict. The World Muslim League has declared that Christianity is growing at 6%, in Africa as compared to Islam's 2% p.a. and that although Islam is presently the larger of the two in Africa, Christianity will have passed it by the end of the century.⁷⁸ It is extremely difficult to comment on predictions like these because the future trends in African Christianity and Islam are unpredictable. What is certain is that the present Islamic revival will have its effect on the growth rate and character of Islam in Africa. What is ultimately at stake is not only a question of numerical expansion but the struggle for the heart of Africa. The depth and solidity of Christian penetration and its contextual relevance are equally important issues and these cannot be expressed in statistics.

In any case it seems certain that Islam will grow extensively in the Black communities of S.A. and this is the immediate challenge we have to face. A scare campaign is however not what is needed. It is not a "Muslim gevaar" (= Muslim danger) that we must combat or fear. Such a response would not be a mature Christian one at all. We have to *face* the challenge which Islam presents to us with humility, patience and confidence. We need not panic or withdraw into a defensive attitude. Controlled by the perfect love which casts out fear, we can face the Islamic challenge with *courage*. But what exactly are the challenges that Islam presents to us as Christians in Africa? The three most acute areas are those of ideology, community and theology.

IDEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

As explained earlier,⁷⁹ Islam is not merely a religion in the reduced Western sense of the word but rather an ideology, a complete system with prescriptions for every area of life.⁸⁰ Worship in the ritual sense stands at the centre of this system but there is no dichotomy between the "sacred" and the "secular"—every human action is seen as *ibadat*, the

⁷⁶ This statement is made on the basis of personal interviews but it requires thorough investigation to establish whether this is true of the majority of Black converts to Islam.

⁷⁷ G. H. Jansen, *op. cit.*, especially pp.121–204.

⁷⁸ Quoted in *RES News Exchange* 17:1, January 2, p.1522.

⁷⁹ See the [Introduction](#) above.

⁸⁰ K. Cragg, *op. cit.*, pp.140ff.

worshipful service of slaves to their Master.⁸¹ There is, however, an intense discussion going on in Muslim reformist circles about whether the *shari'a*, as it was formulated by the four Sunni law schools, can be applied literally in the modern world.⁸² Can one be satisfied with contemporary laws as long as they are in basic harmony with the *shari'a*, or must the latter be applied as it stands? There is a whole spectrum of opinions regarding this and the debate is continuing, but there is agreement that an Islamic state must be ordered according to the dictates of almighty Allah and not according to the whims or self-interest of men. The dedication and energy with which modern Islam is seeking to implement its "theocratic vision" is exemplary to us as Christians and challenges us to examine our dedication in "hammering" the principles of Scripture into the hard realities of politics and economics. Because we as Christians do not have a "nomocracy"⁸³ such as in Islam, we do not strive for a massively Christian state as they are attempting, but certainly militant Islam challenges us to recover the *wholeness of life under God* which is inherent in the biblical message.⁸⁴ Modern Islam denounces Christianity for having failed Western civilization by teaching, "Give to Caesar what belongs to Caesar and to God what belongs to God."⁸⁵ This is understood by Muslims to mean total separation between religion and politics and therefore a surrendering of politics, economics and law to the selfish will of man, withdrawn from the authority of God. Regarding economics, there is no final agreement on the shape of an Islamic economic system, but it is emphasized that private property is allowed while all hoarding, exploitation and monopolies are forbidden.⁸⁶ The prohibition of usury (*riba*) is generally interpreted to exclude all taking or giving of interest and some Islamic interest-free banks have been established. We shall have to wait and see what a fully fledged Islamic economy looks like, but at least Muslim effort in this field challenges us to think through the relevance of the Gospel for social and economic structures.

Islam presents itself as a "third way" in international politics as an alternative to capitalism and Communism.⁸⁷ Colonel Gaddafi of Libya has issued a "little green book" propagating his "third international theory" called "Islamic socialism". He has encountered opposition from Muslim states following an Islamic nationalism, but also from a group of young thinkers rejecting all Western terms like "socialism" and who are drawing up a

⁸¹ This unity of reality ultimately flows from the absolute insistence on *tawhid*, the unity of God.

⁸² G. H. Jansen, *op. cit.*, p.148 and *passim*.

⁸³ This term captures the central place which the divine law takes in Islam. See Robert Miller, "Islam and the West", *Theology* 692, March 1980, p.120.

⁸⁴ The biblical categories of creation, providence, history, and Kingdom of God (in their inter-relatedness) are of central importance in this regard.

⁸⁵ Ahmad D. Azhar, *Christianity in history*, Lahore: Sh Muhammad Ashraf, 1975, p.82, "Secularism, Capitalism, and through both of them, Communism itself are the offspring of this division of an indivisible life between the opposing forces of Caesar and God."

⁸⁶ Charis Waddy, *The Muslim mind*, London: Longman, 1976, pp.52f.

⁸⁷ Abd-al-Rahman Azzam, *The eternal message of Muhammad*, New York and Toronto: Mentor, 1964, p.114f; The Muslim Institute for Research and Planning, *Draft prospectus*, London: Open Press, n.d.; K. Siddiqui, *Towards a new destiny*, Slough: The Open Press, 1974.

completely Islamic epistemology and framework of knowledge.⁸⁸ According to the latter group it is enough to say “Islam” or “the Islamic ideology”. To describe it as democratic, socialist, etc. would be to deny the uniqueness and originality of the Islamic system by applying to it unislamic categories. It is important to note that this group consists of intellectuals who have studied in the West and who live there,⁸⁹ but who have become disillusioned with Western science and are now using their expertise to develop a thorough-going Islamic ideology for the modern world. This line of thought is propagated in South Africa by the MYM and is therefore directly relevant to our situation.

In Africa there is general acceptance of socialist ideas but a total rejection of the materialism and atheism of Marxism.⁹⁰ In such a situation the all-encompassing ideology of Islam with its theocratic character and yet clearly “socialist” tendencies will always be attractive, especially to people who have become disillusioned with a Christianity which has not been able to bring about justice and reconciliation in society.

COMMUNAL CHALLENGE

The body of Muslim believers (the *ummah*) is a closely-knit entity with a great internal loyalty. The emphasis on brotherhood and solidarity, which has been mentioned above as one of the factors favouring conversion to Islam, is one of the most important dimensions of the Muslim challenge to the church in S.A. The divisions of Christians along denominational, racial and cultural lines are a denial of the unity of Christ’s body and nothing but “conformity to this age” ([Rom. 12:2](#)). The “massive” unity of all Islamic life in its orientation towards Mecca⁹¹ and above all the annual pilgrimage itself is indeed impressive and attractive. The simple white clothing (*ihram*) worn during the pilgrimage by all Muslims regardless of rank, wealth or race, expresses the equality of all believers before God as no other symbol in the world.

It is true that in the mosque and during the pilgrimage all the acts of worship are conducted in Arabic (which all converts have to learn) and that they therefore have no language or communication problems during worship.⁹² The Gospel as a message, which has

⁸⁸ K. Siddiqui, *op. cit.*, passim.

⁸⁹ The “Muslim Institute for Research and Planning” is situated in London and is doing intense study and research into Islamic science, philosophy, economics, etc.

⁹⁰ See the paper of T. Kneifel, “Marxism as rival of the Gospel in Africa”, *Missionalia* 8:2 (August 1980), pp.54–66.

⁹¹ It is not only prayer which is directed towards Mecca; beds, graves and toilets, in fact the whole of daily life is oriented towards Mecca for a devout Muslim.

⁹² This is not to deny that there is controversy from time to time among S.A. Muslims regarding the sermon (*khutba*), which is delivered by an *imam* at the Friday noon prayer (*juma'*). Traditionally this sermon is read in Arabic from approved books of sermons and since it takes the place of one *raka'at* (sequence of prayer postures), it has to be in Arabic. Young Muslims objected to the Arabic and to the set pattern of the sermons since they expect relevant guidance for contemporary life. At the moment a translation of the *khutba* is given in Urdu or English after it is read in Arabic, but contemporary sermons do not seem to be forthcoming since the *'ulama* (jurists) are generally conservative traditionalists; cf. C. P. le

to be understandably communicated and constantly expounded in Christian worship, may be served by separate worship in different languages, but definitely not by separate churches. The “body language” of Muslims worshipping shoulder to shoulder in a mosque has a stronger impact than all the sermons preached on unity in our separate churches.

THEOLOGICAL CHALLENGE

The specifically doctrinal challenge of Islam concerns mostly the doctrines of the Trinity, the person of Jesus, original sin, atonement and the inspiration of Scripture. In Muslim missionary literature one often reads of the “simple, clear and logical” doctrines of Islam as opposed to the “mysterious, paradoxical and irrational” doctrines of Christianity.⁹³ Sometimes Christians are pictured as people who have to make a blind irrational leap of faith on the authority of their “priests”.⁹⁴ There is an element of deliberate caricature in this view,⁹⁵ but we also know that many Christians cannot in fact give a reasonable account of their faith. Islam challenges the church to take seriously the rationality of its faith and to show the reasonableness of commitment to God in Christ. In the light of the intense religious instruction which Muslims give to their children⁹⁶ (approximately 10 hours per week during afternoons), the church must also examine its own pattern of Sunday school, catechism, etc., and we must ask ourselves whether this has been taken seriously enough. In a world which is fast becoming religiously and ideologically pluralistic, will the church survive without thorough and systematic instruction of its members? The tremendous tenacity of Islam and its resistance against conversion can be explained to a large extent by the great emphasis placed on the religious socialization of the young. Indeed a challenge to the church of Christ!

When entering into conversation with Muslims, with their rigid uncompromising monotheism, one becomes aware of certain problematic phrases commonly used by Christians. These include “Jesus is God”, the practice of addressing prayer exclusively to

Roux, *The Ulama—hulle rol in Suid Afrikaanse konteks* (unpublished M.A. dissertation, Rand Afrikaans Univ., 1978). See also *Al-Qalam*, 1:24, p.13; 1:25, pp.6, 11; 1:26, p.6.

⁹³ Cf. e.g. A. S. K. Joommal, *The Bible: Word of God or word of man?*, Johannesburg: Islamic Missionary Society, 1975, passim.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p.12, “Christianity, as we all know, is founded on BLIND BELIEF where rational thinking plays no part whatever”; p.105, “We are told by the priests NOT to use our reason in trying to understand the dogmas of the Church ... Our belief in these doctrines must be BLIND, UNQUESTIONING, ABSOLUTE!”

⁹⁵ It is sad to see the amount of caricature in Muslim views of Christianity and in Christian views of Islam. Fourteen centuries of rivalry and animosity have caused an abyss of misunderstanding. Mutually open dialogue is the only way that this abyss can be bridged.

⁹⁶ Since there is no Islamic instruction in S.A. government schools, Muslim communities organize *madressa* instruction after school in which Islam is thoroughly taught to Muslim children. See C. du P. le Roux, *op. cit.*, pp.67–96.

“Jesus”, the preaching of the cross which creates the impression that God’s love and justice are separate entities.⁹⁷

Another fundamental issue concerns the Christian view of *man*. Islam does not accept original sin or the “fallenness” of man and thus emphasizes his dignity and free will.⁹⁸ It therefore has no qualms about using *propaganda* in spreading Islam or about speaking of *converting* people to Islam. They are proud of their faith and regard other religions as inferior and false.⁹⁹ Christian missions had a similar approach to people of other faiths in previous centuries and this can still be clearly seen in the military terminology used at Edinburgh in 1910.¹⁰⁰ There is a widespread rejection of propaganda and proselytism in some Christian circles and the question posed to the Christian mission today, especially vis-à-vis Islam, is whether it can witness in such a way that there is a clear and firm appeal for conversion without it degenerating into propaganda or proselytism. The polarization of dialogue versus conversation must be overcome by adopting a full biblical approach in which the urgent call to conversion is made by a humble and listening servant.¹⁰¹

A final theological challenge to be mentioned here concerns the very existence of Islam. The Christian evaluation of Islam (and other faiths), i.e. the *theologia religionum*, must be taken much more seriously by all theologians.

The few doctrinal issues mentioned here give an indication of the magnitude of the task before us in theologizing relevantly in our African context. As the church of Christ in Africa we ignore these challenges at our own peril.

CONCLUSION

In the preceding section we have allowed Islam to question and challenge us by exposing ourselves to it in some measure. It must be stressed, though, that our real meeting is not

⁹⁷ It is not possible to go into the reasons why these views are common among Christians or why Muslims find them totally unacceptable. Suffice it to say that contact with Muslims makes one aware of these unbiblical emphases that go unquestioned normally in the church. Real exposure to Islam is therefore an enriching and valuable experience.

⁹⁸ e.g. F. Karim, Al-Hadis. An English translation and commentary of *Mishkat-ul-Masabib*, Vol. III, Lahore: The Book House, s.a., p.123.

⁹⁹ This thought is based on certain Qur’anic verses, e.g. S.5:4: “This day have I *perfected* your religion for you, completed my favour upon you, and have chosen for you Islam as your religion” (i.e. Islam is the *perfect* religion), and S.3:110: “You are *the best of peoples*, evolved for mankind ...” Regarding this superiority, see H. Kraemer, *De Islam als godsdienstig- en als zendingprobleem*, The Hague: Boekencentrum, 1938, p.23.

¹⁰⁰ I. P. C. van’t Hof, *Op zoek naar her geheim van de zending*, Wageningen: H. Veenman & Zonen, 1972, pp.27ff.

¹⁰¹ The anthropological continuity and the theological discontinuity must be upheld at the same time. To hold these two in their biblical tension is the prerequisite for truly Christian witness. To avoid this tension by a simplistic overemphasis of the one or the other is its constant temptation. See also J. Triebel, *Bekehrung als Ziel der missionarischen Verkündigung*, Erlangen: Verlag der ev-luth Mission, 1976, pp.216ff.

with *Islam* but with *Muslims* as people.¹⁰² This exercise *in abstracto* is only meaningful to the extent that it actually prepares us to relate to Muslims in a more responsible Christian manner. In this meeting we are not only challenged by Muslims, we are also a challenge to them if we are true to our Christian faith. We must present to them the truth claim of the Gospel and in this sense Muslims are a *missionary* challenge to us. It is a human group highly resistant to the Gospel because it has been “immunized” against it,¹⁰³ and which is itself a highly active missionary force. The myth that “Muslims never become Christians”. must be dispensed with and Christians must witness to Muslims with humble confidence.

As mentioned above, however, mutual rivalry is not the only dimension of Christian-Muslim relations. Co-operation for justice and development is possible because of the basic world view that Jews, Christians and Muslims have in common. There are Muslims and Christians who are beginning to say that they should join forces against Communism. There are indeed many areas in which Christians and Muslims can join hands and work together.¹⁰⁴

To sum up, the relationship between Islam and Christianity is a complex one:

1. Islam is a rival of Christianity in competing for the allegiance of the followers of A.T.R. in Africa.
2. Islam is a rival of Christianity which challenges and questions it radically about the truth it professes.
3. Christianity is a rival of Islam which questions its truth claim and confronts it with the Gospel of Christ.
4. Christians and Muslims should engage in dialogue and cooperate where possible for justice and freedom in society.

Christians must take Islam with utmost seriousness. It should be taught thoroughly in theological courses to prospective ministers of the Gospel and on a broader level to members of Christian congregations so that they are not taken by surprise by Muslim propaganda and may be able to respond to this challenge responsibly.

In order to encourage this, the suggestion of J. D. Holway that an “Islam in Africa Project” be supported, must be carried out.¹⁰⁵ A study centre distributing literature and arranging training courses for members and ministers of all churches can make a great contribution in

¹⁰² This was the reason why the WCC changed the name of their programme on “The Word of God and the Living Faiths of Men” to “Dialogue with Men of Living Faiths and Ideologies”. See S. J. Samartha (ed.), *Living faiths and the ecumenical movement*, Geneva: World Council of Churches, 1971, pp.68f.

¹⁰³ The idea of “immunization” is an appropriate description of the defence which Muslims have built up against the Gospel. The Qur’an contains just enough “Christology” to make Muslims feel that they do not need to receive Christ, that they in fact have the true Jesus.

¹⁰⁴ This is the theme for another study, which is very important but also very difficult because of the existing estrangement and suspicion between Christians and Muslims.

¹⁰⁵ J. D. Holway, *loc. cit.*, p.12f, 17; Holway’s criticism of the I.A.P., “The IAP approach however does seem to the critical observer to encourage Christians to study Islam rather than to evangelize Muslims” (p.13), must be heeded, but that can also lead to a one-sided approach. The mutual dependence of *understanding* Muslims and *witnessing* to them must be upheld throughout.

this regard.¹⁰⁶ In the six years since Holway's lecture at this Missiology conference nothing constructive has been done about it. Before another six years pass something must be done about this urgent matter.

In conclusion, there is a painting in Edinburgh showing Muhammad riding on a war camel and Jesus riding on a donkey.¹⁰⁷ It was the other way around in Africa for the last hundred years or so, since Christians entered with colonial powers and Muslims as humble traders. Now we as Christians must set this right and in all humility be present among Muslims to witness to them about Christ and to cooperate with them for justice in society.

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The Sanctity of Human Life: An Appraisal of Trends in Medical Ethics

C. Everett Koop

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In speaking to you on the sanctity of life: an appraisal of the trends in medical ethics, I do so as a Christian physician who has spent thirty-five years as an active pediatric surgeon, teaching surgery at every possible level, and observing in the oldest medical school in America the trends in medical ethics. As the founder and editor-in-chief of the only English-speaking journal on pediatric surgery in the world, I have had an extraordinary opportunity to be in close contact with that group of physicians who deal with the situations medical and ethical which surround the birth of a child who is less than perfect.

When I speak to an audience such as this which is fundamentally Christian, I do not have to be exhaustive in my definition of the sanctity of human life. The Bible certainly affirms from cover to cover that life is precious to God. But what I have to say should be of importance to every thinking individual regardless of where he comes from spiritually. The sanctity of human life is being eroded and is being done so to the distress of millions of people, Christian and non-Christian alike. The erosion of the sanctity of human life is extraordinarily significant in the moral and political development of our shrinking world, so that even an atheist should be concerned about what is happening.

Communication is improving so rapidly that it takes less and less time for one part of our world to appreciate what is going on in another.

Social advances, so called, do not take long to travel across the Atlantic. Although the traffic goes both ways, it has been my general observation that you import from us by way

¹⁰⁶ For more information on the activities of the IAP elsewhere in Africa, see J. Crossley, "The Islam in Africa Project", *International Review of Mission*, vol. 61, 1972, pp. 154f.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. N. Q. King, *Christian and Muslim in Africa*, New York: Harper & Row, 1971, p.113.