CHAPTER 1

Re-Emergence of Islamic Consciousness
Re-emergence of Islamic consciousness in the Islamic world is a new phenomenon in the history of our time. Its incidence can be seen in almost all the Islamic societies as well as non-Islamic countries. Its manifestation and re-emergence in the Islamic states is not uniform. Each development has a distinct entity with its own historical genesis, socio-economic environment and conceptual frame of reference. It articulated its political outlook in the form of an internal Islamic dialogue. Although their followers drew from the Qur'an in formulating response to certain questions, their respective appeals created different results and interpretations. An appeal indicated a certain intellectual stance that drew political principles from a timeless divine text. It conducted an open dialogue with European culture and philosophies in an attempt to grapple with what it perceived to be intolerable state of Islamic decline. Ideological differences have taken a variety of forms. The political difference is over who shall hold power and how he should be selected. The national complaint is over the regime's lack of faith or sincerity in pursuing Arab and Islamic goals. The social grievance is over the maldistribution of wealth and the creation of a small upper class of conspicuous consumers. The moral objection is over the allegedly corrupt personal lives of leaders and ruling
class and their excessive lenience in the enforcement of public morality. Islamic history witnessed numerous activist movements against the foregoing grievances.

Religion plays a significant role in almost all societies in determining the attitude and behaviour pattern of the people. Islam, as the religion of the overwhelming majority of the people of the Middle East, has totally governed the socio-economic, political, legal and cultural lives of the people. Its moral teachings have inspired values, norms of behaviour and attitude. Being one of the greatest religions of the world Islam, in itself, is a total way of life and it makes no distinction between state and religion. It represents a system of spiritual guidance and embodies a comprehensive socio-economic, political, legal and cultural system. It preaches the concepts of umma and towhid which advocate human brotherhood and unity among the believers of the faith. ¹ These concepts do not recognise any territorial, social, political, racial or colour distinction and division among the human beings. Islam is not a movement by the choice of the people as it came divinely and it is incontrovertibly linked with man's movement and progress. From the beginning Islam is populist. It

creates a will of the people which is in line with the divine Will, and then creates a state and its institutions which should exercise authority on behalf of the creator and his creation. In the original Islamic movement, led by Prophet Muhammad, every Muslim took part. Every Muslim also participated in the institutions of the state.

State legitimacy is dependent on its role in protecting the 'umma' and preservation of Sharia or divine law by enjoining the good and forbidding the evil. Accepting no separation between state and religion, Islam represents for the Muslims much more than a system of spiritual guidance. Inspite of various attempts at Westernisation and secularization in the Islamic societies, Islam still retains its basic creed and it remains a powerful and dominant force in the political and social realms.

Islam provides a political system which commands the allegiance and respect of its believers. The ruler and his subjects are equally bound by the sacred law whose violation would make the culprit equally subject to punishment. Islam is not against democracy or Constitutions or representative or parliamentary forms of government. It opposes the principles and concepts which harm mankind and structure of society. It is also opposed to domination by a group of people with some vested interests, injustices, inequalities
as well as the monopoly of administration in the hands of only a group of people. Islam provides a universal and not a regional system. The Islamic sharia is a system of jurisprudence which covers all aspects of human life.

Islam condemns every type of exploitation and class privileges, monopolies and other aspects of capitalism. It provides for economic, justice and equity. The muslims believe that the ideologies which are man-made cannot compete with Islam and they regard Islam as a legitimate force of political and social cohesion. This interpretation of Islam as a universalist system of political social, economic strength, equity and justice is considered as the only legitimate ideology to run the government. Islam sees itself as an all-inclusive social regulatory system having a unity of religion and social organisation. Politics has the task of implementing the divine law and of establishing the rule of Islam. The Qur'an is not only a divine revelation but it is also a book of law. Being a divine revelation it lays down a code of behaviour of individuals and society in all aspects of life.

In the Islamic societies not only the ulama, Islamic intellectuals and Islamic organizations but also the common people collectively believe that Islam is a universal and not a regional system. The term umma embraces all Muslims
as believers and citizens and they are united as a single force to bring back a system based on Islamic principles and values without admixture of foreign systems. They insist that the *sharia* should be applied within the Islamic world order. They also consider the application of *sharia* as a guarantee against cultural exploitation. Unlike other religions such as Christianity, Buddhism etc., Islam is not confined to religious rites and metaphysical convictions. Islam is a religion with a social and philosophical world view, as it provides for political economic principles.²

Islam, as a system of thought and social organisation, came into being stamped with institution of temporality. It unfolded in time and space denoting the continuation and culmination of other unitarian religions. Its power nucleus expanded within a short period to encompass a far-flung empire extending from Arabia to Spain and Asia as a whole. While becoming cosmopolitan, the survival of Islam was contingent on the specific fortunes and institutions of its multitudinous adherents. History and Islam were thus intertwined in a journey of expression, conquest and gradual regression.

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Historical Islam gave way to a new period of political, economic and cultural Islam. By and large, one may speak of two broad periods, encompassing historical Islam on the one hand and 'modern Islam' on the other. The first period opened with the career of Prophet Muhammad (CE.610-632) and reached its zenith with the fall of Constantinople under the assault of Ottoman artillery in 1453. The second period found its threshold at the moment Europe left behind the Renaissance and embarked on a new venture of commercial expansion and military conquest. This modern stage coincided with the rise of three territorial states in the Islamic World: the Ottoman Empire, the Safavid Empire in Persia and the Mughal Empire in India.3

These two broad periods are, in turn, subdivided into distinct phases. First, the age of conquest which roughly extended from 634 to 838 CE and witnessed the consolidation of an Islamic polity based on a partnership of tribal confederacies, urban merchant families and Arab statesmanship. Its economic system was centered on major cities acting as nodal points of long-distance trade and commerce. Islam itself, as a system of rules and values, was imperceptibly integrated into the official structures of the state.

During the second period, between 945 and 1492, Persian administrative norms and Turkish military standards set the pace of military feuds, monopolised the state and dominated the economy. The crusades, launched between 1099 and 1250, served to accentuate the trend towards the militarization of Islam. In conjunction with this development, sufi orders sprang up both as a reaction to official Islam and an expression of popular discontent. Philosophy was another vehicle which conveyed an intellectual endeavour seeking to mitigate the harsh nature of military oppression. Historical Islam reached its full fruition towards the end of this highly original and rich phase.4

It was under these conditions that the world of Islam became a truly universal domain, ruled by varied and numerous dynasties. In its initial stage, modern Islam derived its specific features from the three empires of the Ottomans, the Safavids and the Mughals. The first phase of this period, extending from 1500 to 1770, was the era of territorial and absolutist Islam. Almost every facet of public life tended to take on a systematic form of institutional arrangement, bureaucratic precision and politico-economic rationality. The Sufi orders and artisan guilds were inter-

4. Ibid. p. 17.
twined as entrenched means of spiritual and material endeavours. Whereas historical Islam unfolded during its last phase fluctuating fortunes of city states and urban centres, its modern period bore the marks of developments taking place towards the end of the fifteenth century. This periodization was to a large extent mirrored in the development of Arabic historiography from the early days of Islam down to the nineteenth century.

Viewed in its metaphysical dimensions, Islam represented an endeavour to rectify the false scriptures of Judaism and Christianity. By doing so it envisaged the restoration of Abrahamic monotheism to its pure origins. Its message was deemed to consist of a timeless reality rooted in the eternal reaffirmation of God's permanent laws.

The eighteenth century was a time when there was major revivalist effort within Islam and the lines of that effort were similar to preceding periods. Although there was some impact from the modernising West that was not the primary or most visible challenge that aroused the reforming spirit. Just before European dominance a reformist revivalist tradition had been established in the mould of the revivalist style of Islamic experience and that tradition created an underlying theme for the modern Islamic experience. Social groups and associations were created to meet the issues
raised by the adaptationists within the Islamic community. Those groups had revivalist mood which was close to the surface in the past two centuries. Thus the style of the eighteenth-century spirit of socio-moral reconstruction provided the counterpoint to the adaptationist secularizing reforms. When the latter weakened or appeared to have failed, as was frequently the case by the 1970s, the more revivalist style emerged into full view.\(^5\)fp

During the eighteenth century the leadership of the revivalist movements came from the scholars of Islam. These scholars were often able to inspire political figures to support them and when that happened the result was the creation of new state order based on their teachings. However, the eighteenth century revivalist spirit was not tied to the changing political boundaries of the time. The ulama travelled widely, often disregarding politico-military rivalries and were part of a broad cosmopolitan network. As a result, even though the specific history of a revivalist movement in any given area might be distinctive, there were direct lines of interaction among the revivalist ulama. One such line was the gradual expansion of the Naqshbandiyyah

order from South Asia into Eastern Mediterranean areas. Another was the influence of North African teachers in central Islamic lands. 6

The Naqshbandiyyah spread from India to the Eastern Mediterranean world in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and it carried with it some of the revivalist tone associated with the Indian Naqshbandiyyah revival. The leaders of the order insisted upon a careful adherence to Islamic law and clearly dissociated themselves from the heterodox tendencies and latitudinarianism of the older, popular Turkish brotherhood.

Most of the religious teachers and leaders living within the Ottoman Empire were not part of the official hierarchy. Learned scholars taught in a wide variety of schools that spread far beyond the official institutions for training the state ulama. There were also the Sufi leaders, whose tariqahs had an important impact on the political life of the Ottoman Empire but they were largely outside of the formal Ottoman religious establishments. During the eighteenth century, in the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, the development and expansion of the tariqahs was the manifestation of most visible change. Among the ulama there was

6. Ibid. p. 46.
a growing sense of the desirability of redefining the sufi tradition. Although some of the ulama rejected sufism, there were many who were active in an effort to bring it more in line with a stricter interpretation of Islam. One manifestation of this effort was the growth or expansion of certain tariqahs among the ulama. The two most important were the Naqshbandiyyah and the Khalwatiyyah.

Inspite of that, the Islam of the community and Islam of the state overlapped in some areas and competed in others, forming complementary parts of the picture of Ottoman Islamic life. Two important parts of that picture were developing roles of the non-state ulama and continuing evolution of the tariqahs. One of the heritages of Islamic society was the generally autonomous operation of Islamic institutions and groups outside of state structures. Ulama and tariqahs in the Ottoman provinces had some links with the state hierarchy but they pursued their own lines of operation in the general life of the community.7

The non-state ulama were the main interpreters of the sociological implications of Islam for most people. In the provinces, it was the local scholars rather than the state-appointed judges who were the most influential ulama and

7. Ibid.
they were supported by a complex network of pious endowments and other gifts. In Damascus, for example, a large number of endowed instructorships and religious positions had been created as early as the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.⁸ Although some of them had been funded by sultans and other politico-military leaders, they did not become a part of the state system when it was formalized by the Ottomans. In the eighteenth century, the central government had some role in determining who would hold certain positions but most of the major posts were not filled by people from the official hierarchy. That was clearly true for the muftis in each of the four schools and was also true for the lucrative instructorships in the umayyad mosques.⁹

The reformist struggle that highlighted the eighteenth century history of official religious establishment was not included in the traditional intellectual disciplines and issues raised by the internal development of Islamic society."¹⁰

The great nineteenth century Egyptian historian, Abd al-Rahman al-Jabarti, describes an incident of early eight-

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⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Voll, n. 5, p. 45.
teenth century that illustrates the complex interaction of various Islamic groups in Egypt. A man began preaching to the people in one of the mosques and he vigorously condemned the practices of the some of the \textit{tariqahs} in venerating Sufi 'saints'. His message was basically that of a vigorous revivalist and it soon attracted a number of followers. As a group armed with clubs moved through the streets, some people went to Al-Azhar to seek the opinion of the ulama there and two major shaykhs at the university said that the preacher was in error. The preacher then demanded a debate in the court of Qadi, the official Ottoman Islamic Judge in Egypt. When the Qadi saw the size of the crowd, he went to the military authorities and after much discussion the preacher was suppressed by the armed forces. In this incident, the religious consciousness or revivalism of the Azhar shaykhs is evident. One can also see the complex lines of interaction among the different groups and the care that was taken in dealing with a popular street preacher.\textsuperscript{11}

In Iran, the Safavid power was crumbling by the beginning of the eighteenth century in the midst of political struggle and military attacks and important developments were taking place within shi'ism. Until the time of the

\textsuperscript{11} Ibid.
Safavids, shi'ism had not been explicitly identified with the Persian cultural tradition, although it had been one aspect of the Islamic experience in Iran. The proclamation of twelveer shi'ism as the religion of the Safavid state and the subsequent conversion of the majority of the population to shi'ism during the Safavid era were major turning points in the history of Islam in Iran. The Safavids "presided over the fusion of shi'ism with the Iranian national consciousness".12 By the end of eighteenth century an independent group of shi'i ulama had emerged. The leading figures were scholars whose independent interpretations had been accepted by a majority of the population. These Mujtahids, as they were called, stood outside of the organisation of the state and the foundation of their authority was independent of the patronage of the state. The non-state ulama became a major religious force which competed with the government religious establishment and the shah himself. As the state structure weakened, the Mujtahids played a more prominent role until, under the last Safavid shahs, great Mujtahids like Muhammad Baqir al-Majlisi came to dominate the political system itself.

With the collapse of the Safavid monarchy the ulama liberated themselves from the monarchical institution. In the absence of effective central control shi'ism was able to become an Islamic expression of the Iranian identity without reference to a particular monarchical structure. The eighteenth century was a period in which shi'ism, its learning and institutions, defined political and social decay to maintain its dominance in Iran.¹³

Besides this, the Wahhabi movement had a broad impact. It provided a striking example at the centre of the Islamic world of rigorous revivalism in practice and by its success, the movement was able to show muslims from other areas that militant purification was possible. In this way, it gave added emphasis to the eighteenth century mood of socio-moral reconstruction along strictly Islamic lines.

In the long run the teachings and writings of Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab and his followers provided an inspiration for twentieth century Muslim thinkers, particularly in the movement that came to be called the salafiyyah. In the later movements, the ideal of comprehensive programme of social and political revivalism and a rigorous opposition to sufism were fully developed. Their debt to the Wahhabi

¹³. Voll, n.5, p. 83.
movement can be seen as a prototype of the rigorous revivalism that is a part of twentieth century Islamic experience.

Throughout the Islamic world, the eighteenth century was a significant formative period and developments during the century helped to determine the shape that Islamic movements took in the following centuries. One significant feature that emerges from a study of the eighteenth century Islamic experience is that Islam became a basis for the assertion of an authentically indigenous identity which was often in opposition to emerging political structures. That situation emerged in Iran and through the Ottoman Empire it spread to the states of West Africa. In some cases, there was a relatively conservative resistance to reforms instituted by political leaders while in others revivalist movements which aimed a socio-moral reconstruction were created.

In contrast, many governments in the Islamic areas emerged as the leading force for adaptationism which increasingly meant accommodation with the new forces, both economic and military, of the modernising West. This trend strengthened the non-establishment character of many of the activist Islamic movements.

A look at the eighteenth century Islamic experience helps to emphasize the importance of the Islamic dimension of modern Muslim history. The Islamic World was not a stag-
nant, inert mass on which the West could impose its control and ideas. Reformism and religious consciousness were already emerging in the eighteenth century and the special characteristics of those movements were important part of the interaction between Islam and the challenge of modern history.\textsuperscript{14}

It was in the nineteenth century that Muslim religious leaders and politicians began to perceive their religion or more correctly their societies as being in a state of decline in comparison with various European nations.\textsuperscript{15}

The European penetration of Islamic societies in the financial, military and industrial fields changed both the historical context and the intellectual perspectives of Muslims to a large extent. It is true that Islam had previously suffered defeat and its lands were occupied by foreign armies, yet no perception of decline or the need to borrow from the enemy was ever poignantly felt as an exigency. When the Muslims were defeated in the eleventh century and lost Jerusalem to the leaders of the first crusade, no Muslim scholar questioned the self-sufficiency of Islamic territories. Two centuries later, the Hanbalite Ibn Taymiya

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid. p.86.
\textsuperscript{15} Choueiri, n.3, p. 31.
ventured beyond and condemned the Yasa of Chenghis Khan as being man-made and contrary to the divine laws of Islam. The European encroachments in the eighteenth century were still absent in the normative system advocated by Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhab. Having discarded the existence of a foreign model for imitation, he based his teachings on the school of Ibn Taymiyya calling for the exclusive Lordship (rububiyya) and divinity (uluhiyya) of God and obliteration of polytheism (shirk) which resulted in the worship of man, trees and stones.

The European civilization which the Muslims faced in the modern age was no longer that of Richard the Lion Heart or of Louis IX. It was rather a new Europe refashioned and regenerated by the Enlightenment, the Industrial and French Revolutions. Awareness of decline became at this crucial juncture of international events an integral theme in the causes of Islamic reformists. The normative Islam of Ibn Taymiyya or Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhab suddenly ceased to be a searchlight illuminating the blemishes of a disrupted social order. Islam was for the first time directed and re-evaluated under the watchful eyes of an advancing expansionist West. European norms and concepts were inevitably borrowed

16. Ibid. p. 31.
in this comparative endeavour and the self-sufficiency of Islam was irredeemably shattered.

As a result of the direct occupation of Islamic territories by European forces or the collapse of state authority, as in Iran, the Ottoman Empire gradually emerged as the last hope and refuge of Muslim power. Its Sultan who increasingly stressed his dual function of being both emperor and caliph of all Muslims tended to exert moral political influence well beyond the ever-decreasing demarcated boundaries. A vigorous Muslim public opinion was consequently brought into being bent on modern reform in order to encounter European penetration. However, Europe had in the meantime fully grasped the possibility and beneficial results of having the unprecedented opportunity to exercise direct control over the vital economic resources and strategic position of the Islamic world. The triumphant power of successive European states reinstated the erstwhile relationship of almost two equal adversaries on a new footing. As the momentum of the Industrial Revolution gathered pace and turned the world into a vast network of market-oriented economics, various Islamic countries became a source of raw
material and cash crops as well as recipients of manufactured goods. 17

In the nineteenth century, European intrusion initially took the form of imposed settlements such as the resolution of the Greek insurrection of the 1820s, the civil war in Lebanon in 1860, and the Balkan crisis in 1870s. Later, the Europeans engaged in outright partition of various parts of the Ottoman Empire. Britain acquired control of Cyprus in 1878 and of Egypt in 1882, having already established dominance over the Arab Sheikhdoms in the Persian Gulf region and South Arabia. In 1907, Iran and Afghanistan which had been the object of imperialist manipulation for a century were divided into zones of foreign influence by Great Britain and Russia, virtually terminating their already considerably eroded independence. France acquired Algeria in 1830 and extended its control over North Africa to include Tunisia in 1881 and Morocco in 1912. 18 Libya became an Italian colony in 1911. The Fertile Crescent provinces which had remained part of the Ottoman Empire, were recognised and placed under British and French Mandatory administrations

17. Ibid.

after the World War I. Turkey proper was defeated in the war and much of it was to be parcelled out to France, Italy and Great Britain. By 1918 the entire Middle East, with the exception of Yemen and Central Arabia, had been partitioned into zones of foreign occupation or influence.

Territories which came under the direct European control and influence were in the grip of total eradication of Islamic socio-political institutions and witnessed the emergence of a new social stratum. The colonial powers who were deeply interested in the natural resources of the Islamic countries penetrated these societies in different ways such as sending Christian missionaries, establishing medical facilities, educational institutions, trade centres and factories, offering loans, acquiring concession and monopolies and entering into defence agreements. The colonizers, with the cooperation of oppressive rulers, tried to destroy the spiritual power of the Muslims which was nothing else than Islam. Under the guise of modern technology, industry, science and cultural advances they launched their programme of uprooting the Islamic principles and values in the Islamic societies. The common man, being unaware of modern culture and civilization and its sinister effect on

19. Ibid.
20. Ibid.
his society, was unable to check the domination of Western influence and domination. At this stage, the masses and their culture were kept aside from the political, economic, social and cultural activities by the ruling class. The people watched the changes with fear and panic.

Apart from this, the pro-Western ruling groups planned to uproot the revolutionary aspect of religion and religious teachings on which the existence and entity of Islam was based and to make Islam an unimportant and neglected religion. They emphasized that religion was a personal matter and they preached only the superficialities of Islam. They projected Islam as a formal religion and mosques and all other religious places as highly adorned. The masses got trapped in these massive diversions.

The eradication of Islamic ideology by the puppet rulers and the enemies of Islam especially the Western imperialism was not an easy task to be done within a short time. Even if they wanted to erase it there was the possibility of arousal of religious sentiments of Muslims against them. In the guise of kind and sympathetic friends the imperial powers, along with the rulers, attempted to eradicate the fundamentals of Islam and its principles and values. But because of the basic strength of Islam the rulers failed in their attempt. Islam never compromised with
the oppressor and its believers raised their voice against the enemies of Islam and carried out plans to reform their societies. The ruling class, for continuing its rule, prevented any changes which could harm its interests. In order to legitimize its rule the ruling class paid lip service to Islam and propagated only the Islamic eye-catching formalities and superficialities but did not pay any importance to the educational, religious and revolutionary aspects of Islam. It attempted to separate the religious teachings and revolutionary message of Islam. In almost all states of the Persian Gulf region except in Iran and Iraq political institutions are traditional. Rule is hereditary and ruler's accession to power is not a matter of popular decision. Usually, the ruling family decides who should be the Sultan, King or Amir. By and large, in these societies, the masses are denied their basic political right of choosing the head of their country. The most important posts are occupied by members of the ruling family. In this system the ruling families, for perpetuating their rule and programme, either coopted the educated and politically active segment as well as influential businessman to work with them or gifted riches to the influential persons for silencing the masses. If these two measures could not work they resorted to force to suppress them. In Saudi Arabia, Iraq, and Shaikhdoms the
rulers succeeded in controlling religious foundations but in Iran, due to strong position of Shi'i Marje', the government plan failed.

Meanwhile, a rift was also created on the application of laws between the rulers and the ruled and each fresh attempt created deeper causes of conflict. In the Islamic societies as the ruling class consolidated its hold it did not permit the religious leaders and masses to participate in the political process. The Arab states of the region except Saudi Arabia were British protectorates linked to Britain by special agreements which were concluded early in the 19th century. On gaining independence all of these states began to build modern political, economic and social infrastructures based on Western models. Though relative progress was achieved, real authority remained in the hands of the ruling chiefs and their family members. The masses, especially the emerging generation, were denied any share or weightage in the decision making or in the administrative set up. In almost all states of the region neither any sort of multiple party system nor true parliamentary form of government has existed. If there is any political party it is a government party. Opposition political parties or organizations are not permitted to function. Leadership and party functioning hinged on personal loyalty to the ruler
rather than on public support. The political parties or the ruling class made little effort to reach the common people. Public opinion in these societies was never considered as a determining factor in the functioning of the government. The autocratic rulers never allowed active participation of the masses in the governmental process and the latter could not modify the whims of the rulers. But due to the effective and deep rooted influence of Islam and the holy Qur'an on the Muslims their activities did not succeed. The devotion of the ulama kept the masses attached to Islam.

Islamic reformists embarked on a search of viable cultural paradigms capable of checking the advance of industrial Europe. By the middle of the second half of the 19th century and afterwards the Muslim reformers who were the true followers of Islam began their reformist movement in the Muslim societies. They were particularly active in Egypt, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Turkey, North Africa and the Indian subcontinent. The reformist movement, following a few centuries of stagnation in the Islamic societies, emerged as a result of the increasing despotic rule of the rulers and Western imperialist influence in the sphere of culture, politics and economy of these societies. The development could be considered as an awakening and a revival of Islam. The leaders of the movements invited the Mus-
lims to return to the origin and fundamentals of Islam. The pioneers of the Islamic reformist movements who were mostly the Islamic thinkers in the initial stage of their movement attempted to purify the thinking, opinion and thought of the Muslims from unscientific superstition. They wanted to present the real picture of Islam which they considered as the only solution for all problems of the present age.

The leaders of these movements called the Muslim masses to revolt against the despotic rulers and external influence in the contemporary period. It was a sort of revolution in all spheres of life. The reformists' aim was to take the masses out of false beliefs and guide them to the right path. In this regard, the reformist leaders from Seyed Jamaluddin Afghani to Ayatollah Khomeini strove for the revival of original Islam and their teachings and prescriptions created several Islamic movements aimed at giving a perfect shape to their societies based on Islamic principles and values.

Jamaluddin Afghani (1839-96), Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905), and Abdur Rahman Kawakebi played a fundamental role in formulating an Islamic response to the twin problems of domestic development and Western imperialism. Their doctrines, formulated at a time when European pressure on the Islamic world had reached new height with the Russo-Turkish
War (1877), the French occupation of Tunis (1881), and the British occupation of Egypt (1882), were to have a lasting effect on social and political thought in the Islamic world and one which can be seen to the present day.21

Seyed Jamaluddin, popularly known as Al-Afghani, was born in Asadabad, the province of Hamadan in Iran. Throughout the course of his turbulent political career he served governments in Afghanistan, Turkey, Egypt and Persia. He invariably came into conflict with the rulers in power and was banished. During one of his exiles in Paris, he established a society, Jamiyat al-Urwa al-Wuthqa advocating an Islamic awakening and revolution.

Undoubtedly he was one of the pioneers of reformist movements in the contemporary history of Islam. His primary concern was to bring a new transition and life in the Muslim thought and their living conditions based on the spiritual and Islamic values. He thought that the most important problems of the Muslim societies are the internal despotism, exploitation and external colonisation, and he combated against these two factors. To fight against these, he prescribed an important remedy and that was political aware-

ness, political activity and also active participation in politics by Muslims.

Afghani's primary concerns were with the disunity, corruption and weakness of the Islamic world in the face of Western imperialism. To a great extent, for the ills of Islamic society, he blamed Islamic leadership which had allowed superstition and ignorance to replace reason and enlightenment in the guidance of society. According to him, religion and science do not disagree. If it appears so one must employ exegesis. Ignorance and rigidity are so abundant among those who don the cloak of ulama that they allege that the Qur'an contradicts scientific facts. The Qur'an disavows such allegations. The Qur'an does not have any contradiction with real science.

Rather than trying to secularize the issue of Western science and technology Afghani attempted to synthesize them with Islamic thought. His ideas of Islamic awakening amid corrupt political religious establishments advocated radical reformism, if not revolution. Afghani's ideas reflected the strong influence of Salafiyah thought in his diagnosis of the corruption and decay of Islamic society and in his prescription of purification to revitalise the dynamic spirit of Islam to meet the challenge posed by the West.
Shaikh Mohammad Abduh also focussed his activities on those problems and sorrow which Afghani had emphasized. A close friend and ideological ally of Afghani, Abduh struggled for revolution in Egypt. He was born in Egypt in 1849 and educated at al-Azhar university, the centre of higher Islamic studies in the Muslim world. Abduh actively supported Ahmed Orabi's revolt in 1882 and on its failure he was jailed briefly and then exiled for six years. While in exile in Paris, Abduh joined Afghani in his secret society, Jamiyat al-Urwa al-Wuthqa, and its newspapers. By the time he returned to Egypt in 1889, however, Abduh had despaired of revolution or reform. He devoted himself entirely to philanthropic activities.

Like Seyed Jamaluddin, Abduh attempted to demonstrate that Islam, as a school of thought and ideology, has the ability to be a strong guide and support for the morality and thought of the Muslim societies through which they can attain their honour and happiness. However, he differed from Jamaluddin on some points. First, Abduh stood for gradual reform while Jamaluddin insisted on revolution. Secondly, Abduh believed that religious education and training were more important than political education and training in any type of political movement but Jamaluddin's primary concern was that the Muslims must politically fight
against the internal despotic and external colonization and he believed that before everything these two factors should be discarded from the Muslim societies. Thirdly, the impact of the works of the two on Islamic awareness of the Muslims was very much different. Fourthly, Jamaluddin was a man of struggle and hard work, while Abduh was for moderation and meditation. Fifthly, whereas Afghani believed that the Muslims' freedom can be achieved only by motivating their thought, morals and meditation. Abduh was much concerned about the religious, moral and spiritual training and education of the Muslims. Finally, Jamaluddin's revolutionary activities more or less spread all over the Islamic world but Abduh's revolutionary activities were focussed on Egypt.22

Abduh propounded some of those issues which were not touched by Seyed Jamaluddin i.e., inter-relationship between the Fiqhs (Islamic Jurisprudence) of the five schools of Islam, projection of philosophy of jurisprudence in Ijtehad (Exegesis of divine law on matters of theology and law), establishment of civil code in religious jurisprudence to be answerable to the daily matters, differentiation between

transaction and religious servitude in other world creating
difference between the spiritual and other worldly issues
and those matters which are related to the mundane and daily
life. He believed that with achieving freedom and independ­
ence the Muslims can overcome their ethical and cultural
freedom.

Despite their different approaches, prescriptions and
activities, the two have had a great impact on the Muslims
and influenced especially the young generation which was
struggling against the tyrant and imperialist powers of that
era and present age.

Rashid Redha was the most prominent and dedicated
disciple of Mohammad Abduh. Born in Tripoli in 1865, he
pursued religious studies and journalism in Syria until 1897
when he moved to Cairo. There he established a periodical,
al-Manar, through which he disseminated, integrated and
elaborated the ideas of Muhammad Abduh and others. Redha's
main contribution to Islamic political thought was his
dissemination of the ideas of Afghani and Abduh—the two
foremost reformers. He also championed the cause of Wahhabi
doctrine in his journal.

Apart from these reformists Kawakebi is also important
on the basis of his contribution to the Islamic revivalist
movement in Egypt and Syria. His revolutionary activism was
focussed on reforming the Egyptian and Syrian societies. Like other reformists, he diagnosed the Muslims' problems as follows: distance and gulf which was created between the Muslims and real Islam, despotism of the rulers, absence of consultation and thinking alike; absence of freedom; abandonment of *Amr-bil Ma'aruf, wa Nahy an al-Munker*; carelessness; ignorance and moral weakness; influence of official religious preachers on the Muslims; dominance of narrow opinion on religious science and inattention to the modern sciences and techniques; absence of efficient and devoted leaders; poverty and indigence; oppressive policies of *Mostakbirin* (oppressors); abandonment of Islamic regulations; and illiteracy among the Muslims in the world.

Kawakebi propagated the following prescriptions to solve the problems of the Muslims. First, he emphasized that fighting against backwardness and corruption in the Muslim societies is an indispensible task and stressed that ignorance and illiteracy must be eradicated. For doing so he said that the establishment of associations, organisations and educational institutions for educating the Muslims masses was necessary. In this connection, he encouraged the young generation to carry out educational activities in their societies and, finally, declared it an obligatory act for the Muslims. Kawakebi's ideas on correlation of poli-
tics and religion were the same as that of Seyed Jamaluddin and he advocated Islam as a political religion.

Meanwhile, outside the Arab world also there were other high ranking philosophers and Islamic reformers like Mohammad Iqbal, Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Mirza Mohammad Taqi Shirazi, Mirza Mohammad Kazim Khorasani, Shaikh Abdullah Behbahani, Seyed Mohammad Tabatabaeei, Shaikh Fazullah Nauri and Abul Ala Mowdudi who played vital role in spreading the Islamic movements against the despotic rulers and external forces. Their activities, by and large, led to the emergence of Islamic awareness and consciousness in the Muslim societies of Iran, Iraq, Indian subcontinent and Central Asia.

It was towards the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries that Islamic reformism widened its political scope and religious consciousness. This occurred at a time when nationalist movements were struggling for sweeping institutional changes or outright independence from foreign occupation.

The Islamic world has passed through different phases which had a great impact on Muslim masses especially the new generation. A major shift took place during the inter-war period and after in terms of religious consciousness. This could be seen in the emergence of numerous Islamic activist movements in the Islamic countries in response to the inten-
sification of imported ideologies such as nationalism, socialism and other isms. At first, these ideologies looked like spearheading a movement for uprooting colonization. Their ideologues, especially the nationalists, in order to gain popular support and mobilize the masses for combating the colonial power, not only used Islam but also promised social justice, economic well-being and freedom of press, expression and political parties and urged the people to fight against the enemy of Islam. Whether nationalism or socialism appeared as a motivating force or not for the Muslims, the motive of revolt was Islam and religious attachment.

With the import of alien ideologies the unity of Muslim umma faced a great setback as conflict and rift between the Muslims surfaced in the context of these ideologies. 'Nationalism' is an imported concept which was introduced by exploiting powers to disturb the unity of the Islamic World. Some Western thinkers and orientalists who have always striven to introduce Western political and cultural colonization in Asia and Africa provided the ground for its rise and the so-called enlightened groups depending on the West acted as its banner-bearers, propounding this school of
thought.\textsuperscript{23} In order to disrupt the idea of unity of Muslims which was called "Pan-Islamism," the colonial powers, through their agents and Arab-Turk thinkers, propagated the idea of nationalism. In course of time one can witness that they divided the great Ottoman Empire and replaced it with new small Shaikhdoms and states. Nationalism arose first in the regions which formed part of the Ottoman Empire namely Turkey, Egypt and the Arab lands. Its aim was to overthrow the Islamic system of government and bring an end to the idea of Islamic unity and Islamic spirit. In Egypt, Sa'ad Zaghloul, the leader of the Wafd Party, and in Turkey the nationalists who were receiving full support from imperialist powers propagated the superiority of Arabs and Turks. That paved the way for breakdown of Islamic forces and disunity surfaced between the Muslim Turks and Arabs.

The Arab and Turkist nationalist thinkers like Abdur Rahman Jabarti, Shaikh Hassan Attar, Tahtavi, Yaqoub Zowe, Taha Hussain, Fu'ad, Jowdat Pasha, Ali Savi, as well as some Jewish scholars like Arthur Lumbery David, David Leon Chen and Arminuis Vambery strove hard to spread the ideas and ideals of the imported ideology in the Islamic lands.\textsuperscript{24} As a


\textsuperscript{24} Ibid., pp. 32-33.
result of their works and activities and the support of Western imperialism, nationalist sentiments gradually developed and the ground for inciting differences and enmity between the Turks and Arabs developed. Meanwhile, during this time the Arab-Iranian thinkers were sharply divided in their attitudes towards the Western influence. One group insisted on the reinstatement of the ideal Islamic system while the other group which received Western education or came into contact with Western ideas and had attachment with the ruling class advocated the importation of Western ideologies as well as the idea of modernisation and Westernisation irrespective of their relevance to traditional concepts and values.

The Western educated groups, with the support of Western imperialism, incorporated the Western legal and cultural values and ideas into socio-political, economic, legal and cultural structures and institutions of their societies. Ideologies such as nationalism, socialism, liberalism and secularism were introduced in the Middle East region through the indigenous educated groups with the help of Western powers. These Western educated groups' perception of Islam was totally different and they considered Islam like Christianity and wanted to end its authority of interfering in state affairs. Like Christianity, Islam is a universal
religion which historically was closely tied with political authority. But in Christianity church was separated from state and it was also reformed. Since Islam has no church it is very difficult to separate this religion from politics. The Islamic principles and ethical values are inseparable part of the day-to-day life of Muslims. When the leaders of these imported ideologies finally succeeded in establishing themselves in power they paid only lip service to those religious doctrines which continued to play an important role in the life of the people and influence their behaviour. The Constitutions of these states i.e., Iran, Iraq, Egypt, Turkey, Tunisia and other Islamic states, took no notice of Islamic principles save for reference to Islam as the official religion of the state.25

The inclusion of Western ideas in the programmes laid down by the regimes were not relevant to the need and aspirations of the masses. Their dictatorial rules and failure of imported ideologies created dissatisfaction among the masses.

It is noteworthy to add that in the beginning the nationalist and socialist activists in the Islamic lands focussed their struggle on independence and since they also

touched religious sentiment of the masses they received a broad and popular support to fight against the alien threat. The masses could not comprehend the difference between patriotism and nationalism and to their unconscious mind both concepts seemed to denote the same ideas as those of Islamic 'umma'. When the threat of foreign rule was reduced new development in the pattern of Western systems took place in these societies. Political parties were mostly dominated by landlords and upper classes and they became the agents looking after the upper class interests. The middle class as well as the lower middle class were deprived of the right to participate in the new administration and decision making apparatus. Tyranny and discrimination became prevalent in these societies. Once in power the nationalist, Ba'thist socialist, secular nationalist, pan-Arabist and other imported ideologies failed to fulfil the promises of social justice, economic well-being, freedom of political parties and the inauguration of new Islamic golden age. Thereby they lost their appeal and were discredited in the eyes of the politically conscious Muslims.

As a result of the above mentioned factors and increasing repressive policies, injustice, corruption and economic depravity of the middle classes by the 1970s the masses lost their trust in the existing regimes and turned to Islam.
The most important outcome of that was the revolutionary movement in Iran in mid-1970s which eventually brought about the overthrow of the Shah in 1979 and which led to establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Modern education has had a significant impact on the re-emergence of Islamic consciousness. Virtually, public education systems in most of the states of the region were copied from Western models and administered in the same manner. Further, the ruling class, with the help of Western advisers, removed Islamic subjects from the public school curriculum. A great plunge was taken to acquire Western learning, apparently at the expense of Islam. Some of the shaikhs and rulers incorporated Islam in the educational institutions in their states. Introduction of new system and curriculum of education affected the traditional values and Islamic teachings. In schools, colleges and universities Islamic subjects were sidelined and more emphasis was laid on Arab and Iranian identity and secular nationalism. In response to these moves, the ulama, Islamic institutions and organisations set up their own educational centres which were distinct from the public, Western type government-sponsored schools. Families alternately sent their children to the public secular school in the morning and to the Islamic schools in the afternoon. In the Islamic centres
children were taught Islamic thought and the concept of jihad against the authoritarian regimes and Western imperialist influence in socio-political and cultural life of the Muslim societies. As a result the sentiments of the young generation were aroused against the ruling elites and Western imperialism as they were told that Muslims should not be subjected to the un-Islamic regimes. The teachers and professors of these schools, through their instruction, had a significant impact on the lives of their students and their parents. Besides the transmission of knowledge teachers consciously or otherwise transmitted their religious, political and social views to their students. Since teachers are often taken as models, with whom their students identify, the transmission of their ideas can not be ruled out. 26

While in these states public political expression is prohibited, the teachers and professors in the religious institutions-sponsored schools, colleges and universities promoted religious ideology especially in support of Islamic revival and establishment of Islamic government. The activities of the teachers and various Islamic associations and

organisations have had a significant impact on the mind and life of the young generation and led to increasing Islamic consciousness. Publication of books and news letters and call by the educated groups for prayer and practising Islamic principles, establishment of welfare societies, libraries, study circles have particularly invoked the sense of Islamic identity among the masses.

Besides this, economic factors also played an important role in the re-emergence of religious consciousness. In the beginning the Muslim rulers, for the internal development of their economy, were much inclined towards the Western economic system based on capitalism. Later on, because of capitalist association with the colonial and imperialist powers they turned towards the socialist system. With the adoption of these systems they could not mobilize all their resources for rapid progress. It is important to note that these systems were not suited to the genius of these societies. After gaining their political independence the Muslim countries made efforts to secure economic independence and to become self-reliant but their leaders failed to do the correct diagnosis of their economic ills. They could not disentangle themselves from the grip of Western models. Though in these countries there was much difference of opinion with regard to the form and pattern of the system to
be adopted, all were agreed on the necessity of selecting a system successfully experimented by the Western powers. 27

However, the efforts of the ruling elites could not bring a sound socio-economic result. The accumulation of wealth in the hands of one group led to a situation where the rich became richer and the poor poorer. The urbanization policies resulted in increasing migration of rural people to the big cities in search of jobs. Since the governments' measures could not come up to the expectation of the people the latter turned to Islam for solution.

From the Islamic point of view all Western economic systems, whatever be their form, are closely related to the colonialist and imperialist powers. The ruling elites, without considering the sentiments and the mental disposition of masses as well as their history and their special problems, chose systems which created suspicion of the people vis-a-vis every Western system. The vastly increasing economic gap between the upper class and the middle and lower classes in these societies led to general dissatisfaction. Therefore, the inequitable distribution of wealth and lack of political freedom and justice to the masses who had participated in the struggle against colonial or quasi-

colonial powers in these societies led to re-emergence of religious consciousness in the form of Islamic militant activities in almost all Islamic countries.

Another major factor which led to the re-emergence of Islamic consciousness was the eviction of the Palestinians and the establishment of the State of Israel with the full support of Western imperialism. This single development created deep distrust among the masses vis-a-vis existing political systems and their programme. The establishment of a Jewish state amidst Islamic states deeply troubled the Muslim masses. In general, they found that the rulers as well as the imperialist powers had little regard for the right and dignity of the Muslim indigenous people and they felt that the only way to recover their respect and also to protect themselves and their holy land from exploitation was to build their political system based on the Islamic values.

The US-backed Israeli occupation of the Palestinian homeland and the Palestinian struggle against Israeli forces and their rapid circulation of books, pamphlets and newsletters on Islamic ideology and jihad among the youth especially the students in the colleges and universities had a significant impact on Muslim masses and they increasingly became conscious about Islam. In the Middle East, class rooms, government offices and public meeting places as well
as mosques became the centre of debate on Islamic ideology and failure of imported ideologies. In the aftermath of their military defeats, the Muslim masses turned increasingly towards Islam and Islamic consciousness significantly spread all over the Middle East. The re-emergence of Islamic consciousness and the increasing appeal of Islam among the masses in the Middle East in general and the Persian Gulf region in particular was regarded as a serious challenge to the existing regimes and the West. Events in these countries and areas initially reinforced fears of an Islamic revolution.

In the 1970's, Islam emerged as a strong ideological political force more than that of 19th and early 20th centuries. The masses largely turned towards the ulama and revolutionary Islamic organisations such as Takfir Wal Hijra in Egypt, Al-Jihad, Hizbollah in the Lebanon, Islamic Jihad, Monazamat al-Thowrah al-Arabiyyah (Organisation of the Islamic Revolution in the Arabian Peninsula) in Saudi Arabia and al-Dawa party in Iraq.

The Islamic revolution of Iran, Iraqi suppression of Shi'i activists and other Sunni ulama organisations, uprising of the Muslim activists in the eastern province of Saudi Arabia and seizure of the grand Mosque in Mecca, the attempt to overthrow the regimes in Bahrain and Kuwait as well
as the assassination of Anwar Sadat of Egypt indicated that the Muslim masses had become more conscious and the demand for the establishment of true Islamic system of government (where only the Sharia would be applied, and the Sunnah of Prophet Mohammad would be the supreme example) had significantly increased. The victory of the Islamic Revolution of Iran further boosted the Islamic consciousness of the Muslims in the world particularly in the Persian Gulf region and encouraged their demand for the change of existing political systems.

Meanwhile, the heads of Muslim countries as well as opposition groups increasingly appealed to Islam for legitimacy to mobilize counter popular support. The most prominent rulers who self-consciously employed Islam to enhance their legitimacy and policies were Anwar Sadat of Egypt, Jafar Numayri of the Sudan and Zia ul-Haq of Pakistan. The Saudi regime also called on the Muslims to unite their forces to fight against the enemies of Islam and Muslims. In addition to this, as a motivated symbolic palliative King Fahd dropped the royal title and replaced it with Khadim al-Haramain ash-Sharifain.

The ulama and Islamic intellectuals also played a very important role in the re-emergence of Islamic consciousness and movements. The works and writings of the ulama and
Islamic intellectuals and activities of Islamic organisations and students created fresh consciousness among the masses of Muslims. They also urged university students and students of Islamic institutions to establish close contact with the masses and enlighten them about Islam and the anti-Islamic policies of the existing regimes. They realised that rulers had acted in un-Islamic manner and that imported ideologies were inimical to Islam and both violated the spirit of Sharia.

The works and writings of ulama and Islamic intellectuals were widely published in different languages and distributed in almost all states of the region and were eagerly read by the youth and university students. With the re-emergence of Islamic consciousness the regimes felt that a dangerous challenge was surfacing against their existence so they tried to silence it by adopting some superficial Islamic laws and practices. But these concession could not pacify the emerging Islamic forces because their demand was totally different from that of the aims of the regimes. These forces demanded reform programmes and insisted on applying Islamic principles as solution to contemporary dilemmas.

In the Persian Gulf region almost all the people except some small segment are Muslims and they believe in the same
faith. Nearly all the people of the region except Iran speak the Arabic language, and traditionally their culture is the same. Since the people of the region have strongly followed the Islamic teachings in their day-to-day life it is very difficult to argue that the masses had no reaction towards the socio-political and economic development which harmed their faith. There may have been suppression and brutal policies by the ruling class aimed at silencing the opposition groups, the ulama and the masses but it did not mean that the people forgot their religious beliefs and duties. The Islamic societies are totally different from those of the West. In the former, Islam has deeply influenced the norms and activities of the masses and they can not remain indifferent to the socio-political and economic happenings around them. For instance, following the launching of Westernisation programme and incorporation of Islamic laws and values with Western laws and values as well as the defeat of Muslim and Arab forces in 1967 and 1973 wars with Israel a variety of Islamic movements by the Islamic activists, masses, and the ulama developed within the Islamic World. The ulama began to criticise the regimes and called the masses to unite and fight against the un-Islamic rulers and colonial powers.
These developments coincided with the rise of Ayatollah Rouhollah Khomeini in Iran as a strong opponent of the Shah's regime who was busy in modernising Iran based on Western cultural values. The increasing Islamic activities by the Islamic organizations among the Arab, African and Iranian Muslims against the regimes and Western cultural and political influences further intensified the Islamic consciousness of common masses. These developments can not be considered as a sudden appearance of a radical form of Islam.

At the same time, the ulama and some intellectuals began to publish works on different aspects of Islam such as Islam and politics, Islamic economics, Islamic philosophy, Islamic government, Islamic culture, Islam and science, and Islamic societies and Western cultural, political and economic influence. They received a favourable response from the young generation. Later on, hundreds of books on Islam were published in different languages which were widely distributed among the masses throughout the Islamic world. At the outset, this trend disturbed the regimes. These works which projected different aspects of Islam largely strengthened the growing belief that Islam is the only vital force that can solve the existing problems and future demands of societies. Very soon, it was realised
that the religious and ethical values of Islam were so ingrained among the people of the region that they could not be ignored as a basic ingredient of emergence of Islam as a power. According to the Islamists, the only solution to the state of affairs which is prevailing in the region is a comprehensive re-Islamization of the region and restoration of all traditional values and socio-political institutions as originally constituted. Moreover, most or all vestiges of Western culture must be removed and purged from the contaminated societies of the area by draconian measures if necessary. To accomplish this objective Islamic activists and organisations exhorted the masses that for the establishment of Islamic government one must proclaim jihad as the primary mission and duty of all the Muslim ulama. 28

The concept of jihad in Islam means to strive and to struggle for survival which are the general laws governing human life and nature. The task of jihad is to provide liberty for the oppressed. jihad is an important pillar in Islam which means holy struggle for God's sake. It is a means by which Dar-al-Harb could be transformed into Dar-al-Islam. Thus the Islamic jihad is originally different from

wars recorded in the history of man. It is so because the aim of wars in general have been to gain access to material advantages but *jihad* is a battle for the cause of Allah and a war for the public welfare and the fulfilment of man's sacred ideals.  

Thus the message of *jihad* was carried by the ulama and Islamic organisations to the common people and it created a new Islamic consciousness which could eventually shape into a powerful Islamic movement not only in the states of the Persian Gulf region but also in the Islamic world as a whole.

It is noteworthy to add that in the Islamic societies, the ulama and Islamic intellectuals in their mass oriented speeches in the mosques and academic speeches in the university campuses openly criticised the regimes and called the masses to turn to Islam and urged them to fight (*jihad*) against the un-Islamic regimes. It is important to note here that in Islam the mosque enjoys a specific sanctity. Being a place for purification and education, the mosque became the most proper centre for indoctrination. Since the period of the prophet of Islam until today the mosque fulfilled both the functions: purification of soul and acqui-

sition of knowledge. Even today this tradition is maintained in almost all Muslim societies. Most of the social, political, economic, legal and cultural activities were launched from the mosques and they played an important role in the rise of various socio-political movements in the Islamic societies of the world especially the countries of the Middle East. Thus the mosques played a crucial role in the socio-political life of the Muslim masses who were mobilized and organized in these places to fight the internal tyranny and despotism as well as alien ideologies and Western influences.

Meanwhile the Muslim masses also not only demanded eradication of Western influences and ending their cultural invasion but they also insisted on transformation of the socio-political, economic, legal and cultural order under the Islamic principles (Qur'an and Sunnah). In recent years, Muslims making such demands are branded as "fundamentalist", "militant" or "Islamic terrorists". These terms are alien to Islam, Islamic teachings or theology. In fact, these terms are Western. "Fundamentalism" was coined for the Protestant movement which began in the Western societies in 1920s. The aim of the movement was to safeguard the basic values of Christianity. The five points on which the movement was based were: absolute accuracy of the Bible; virgin
birth of Christ; his atonement for the sins of humanity through crucifixion; his second coming; and the authenticity of the accounts of miracles of Jesus Christ. The Protestant fundamentalists, as their leaders and followers were called, were opposed to modernism because they thought that the radical and brisk changes taking place in the world endangered their beliefs. They literally interpreted Bible as fundamental to Christian life and teachings. They were labelled by modernists as orthodox, bigoted, retrogressive and extremists. Thus fundamentalism was given negative connotations. 30

The fundamental articles of faith in Islam are: faith in the unity of God (Towhid) and belief in the last prophethood of Hazrat Muhammad (Peace be upon him), in God's angles, in holy books of God, in the day of judgment and the life hereafter including Adl (Justice) and Imamat (according to the Shi'i belief). The fundamental practices in Islam are Ibadat or Namaz or prayers, fasting, pilgrimage to Makkah (Hajj) and zakat (giving away two-and-a-half per cent of savings to the poor and needy and jihad, khoms, and Amar bil Ma'rouf Wa Nahy an al-Monkar. All Muslims believe in

these fundamental articles though some may not practise them as faithfully as others.

According to a well known Pakistani intellectual, Dr. Safdar Mahmood:

"The Western media has, in a very clever way, changed the meaning of 'fundamentalism' as illiterate, bigoted, terrorist and has given it other fanatic connotations. They have blown the trumpet of this negative publicity to such an extent that every Muslim has started saying that I am not a fundamentalist, whereas in reality fundamentalism in Islam is quite different from terrorism and violence."

John L. Esposito, Professor of the Middle East Studies at the College of Holy Cross, believes that the term fundamentalism "tells everything and nothing". He says that the Western definition of fundamentalist does not fit on many so-called "fundamentalist" leaders and their followers who are educated in the modern sense, adapted to the changes in technology and can create viable modern institutions in all social and economic sectors. He admits that the West has equated fundamentalism with terrorism, political activism, fanaticism, extremism, Khomeinism and, above all, anti-Americanism. Prince Charles, the British Crown Prince, is categorical in this regard:

"We need to be careful of that emotive label 'fundamentalism' and distinguish as Muslims do, between revivalists, who choose to take the practice of their
religion most devoutly, and fanatics or extremists who use this devotion for political ends. Among the many religious, political and social causes of what we might accurately call the Islamic revival is a powerful feeling of the disenchantment of the realisation that the Western technology and material things are insufficient and that a deeper meaning to life lies elsewhere in the essence of Islamic belief. At the same time, we must not be tempted to believe that extremism is in some way the hallmark and essence of the Muslims. Extremism is no more the monopoly of Islam than it is the monopoly of other religions including Christianity.31

Fundamentalism, as one can see, is not the right word to describe these people, events and movements. The term militant Islam is also incorrect because the word "Islam" itself means peace and religion does not preach militancy. "Islamic revivalism", "Islamic resurgence", "Islamic renaissance" and "Islamic activism" may be appropriate expressions for the purpose of defining the phenomenon. These terms are less offensive and more realistic. One can also use the term "Islamic militancy" to describe certain groups of Muslims engaged in what they believe and identify as their struggle to achieve their political and economic rights.32

31. Ibid.
32. Ibid.
The Islamic political activities in the Islamic states are "fundamentalist" in the sense that they reject nationalism, colonialism, Pan-Arabism and secular, nationalist and other innovative ideologies which have disturbed the socio-political, economic, legal and cultural structure of their societies and they insist that the Muslim must be subject to Islamic law. They reject syncretism and accept as legitimate source of law only the holy Qur'an and Prophet's traditions and Sharia (Islamic Jurisprudence). The Islamic activists attempt to bring about Islamic government and they reject non-Islamic laws. They reject aggressive, atheist and pagan rulers but not modernism and change. Indeed, they strive for modern technology, modern education based on the Islamic values.

It is extremely important to study the Islamic renaissance especially its ideological, political, social and military aspects in the Islamic world particularly in the Persian Gulf region. In the Islamic world people have never been indifferent to events that occurred in their societies. Thus, people always resisted against governmental despotism and external colonization. Responding to the twin challenge a segment of people turned towards Islam as a redeeming course. Thus, Islamic consciousness appeared as a political force. Actually, what prepared the ground for the
emergence of Islam as a political force was the deep rooted commitment which the Muslims have had to Islam. The modern Islamic renaissance is essentially an ideological movement with far-reaching social, political and economic contexts. The basis of the movement rests on Islamic religious beliefs derived from the holy Qur'an. The imperialist powers and their agents, for several years, tried to deviate the masses from Islamic religion and the holy Qur'an by introducing alien culture, customs, feelings, outlooks and aspirations. But due to the effective and deep rooted influence of Islam and the holy Qur'an on the Muslims their activities did not succeed. The devotion of the ulama kept the masses attached to Islam.

As has already been said, the revival of Islamic consciousness, Islamic thinking and insight in the Islamic world, especially in the countries of the Middle East, is based on the historical conditions and influence of religious and creative standards which Islamic ideology has promoted in the Islamic societies in the process of history. Moreover, the volume of political, economic, industrial and social transition which has varied from place to place has

played its vital role. Overall, it can not be denied that the extent of revival of Islam or re-emergence of Islamic consciousness has deeply and effectively influenced the Muslims and it has covered almost the whole world as well.

In pursuance of the reformist and revolutionary activities of the reformists several Islamic organizations sprang up. Some prominent among them are: the Ikhwan Al-Muslimeen (Muslim Brotherhood); the Association of Algeria; Jund Allah (the Soldiers of God); Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Muslimin (the Islamic Liberation Organization); Jama'at al-Muslimin (the Group of Muslims); al-Jihad (Holy Struggle); Jihad Islami (Islamic Struggle); Hizb al-Dawa (Dawa Party); Hizbollah (Party of God); Islamic Jihad; Takfir Wal-Hijra; Munazzamat al-Thourah al-Islamiya fil Jazirat al-Arabiya (Organization of the Islamic Revolution in the Arabian Peninsula) and Hamas in Palestine.