Summary
and
Conclusion
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Islam and Arab Nationalism stand among the most dynamic concepts in the Arab world. These two concepts and ideologies are interrelated. It was the emergence of Islam, which united the tribe torn Arabs under one banner and a nation was born. But in theory Islam does not recognize any Nationalism.

In the mid nineteenth century, the Muslim world faced a new challenge from scientifically developed Europe. The development of technology gave birth to an industrial Europe which succeeded in conquering the Arab world. The European challenge exerted an enormous influence in the transformation of Muslim thought and the direct confrontation provoked the first generation of reformists of the nineteenth century to address the question about the rise and decay of Muslim nation. Most of the Muslim leaders and intellectuals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries were fully conscious of the backwardness of the Muslims for they were in a position to compare it with the advancing pace of the western societies, realize the weak political structure of the Ottoman empire and the aims of the imperialist powers to dominate the Arab world which was the heartland of Muslim empire. The Islamic activism in the nineteenth and twentieth century was not a new
phenomenon. The ground was prepared in eighteenth century by Abdul-al-wahhab of Nejid aimed at presenting Islam in its pure form so as to check and arrest the decline of Muslim society of the period. Again during nineteenth century, Jamal al-Din al-Afghani, waged a political battle against the growing penetration of the western powers into the Islamic world and, at the same time, he and his disciple Muhammad Abduh of Egypt carried on politico-religious reforms to uplift the Muslim society.

As long as the Ottoman rule lasted, the need to unite the Islamic world was not felt deeply, even though some efforts like pan Islamism by Sultan Abdul Hamid and al-Afghani, were made in this respect. Arabs like other Ottoman subjects remained loyal to the Muslim empire and it was definitely the Ottoman incompetence with the changing times that caused the unrest within Arabs.

During the crisis surrounding the abolition of Ottoman caliphate by Kemal Ataturk in 1924, Rashid Ridha formulated his view advocating a modernized Islamic state. Ridha was a follower of al-Afghani and Abduh and it was because of his efforts that their ideas were circulated among the Islamic circles. Though Ridha was a supporter of the Ottoman caliphate, he came to accept its demise as a symptoms of
Muslim decadence. The ideal caliph, according to Ridha, was an independent interpreter of law (*mujtahid*) who would work in concert with the *ulama*. In the absence of a suitable candidate, and of *ulama* versed in the modern sciences, the best alternative was Islamic state ruled by an enlightened elite in consultation with the people, and able to interpret *Shariah* and legislate when necessary.

At the time when Ottoman caliphate was abolished by secular forces in Turkey, the secularists were able to gain power in important Muslim countries including Egypt and Iran. These new realities of twentieth century shifted the concerns of reformers from the issue of external European challenge to the challenges of modern state in Muslim countries. The twentieth century Islamic thinkers and intellectuals were concerned about growing political ideologies such as nationalism, socialism and western liberalism. Out of these new challenges Islamic movements came into existence which were committed to the goal of transforming religion into an activist, purist, revolutionary and ambitious political and social programme. The most prominent of these movements originated in Egypt, where Hasan al-Banna, a school teacher, founded the Muslim Brotherhood in 1928. The Muslim Brotherhood grew out of deep concern of al- Banna about the effect of western secular
form of modernization up-on Islamic life and values and failure of the government to address adequately the widespread socio-economic disparities in Egyptian society. Al-Banna did not reject modernization and technology but rather the westernization and secularization of Muslim society. Internationally, the Brotherhood emphasized the unity of Muslim Community (ummah) and denounced the continued foreign domination of Egypt and other Muslim countries as well as the birth of neocolonialism in Palestine caused by the establishment of Israel in 1948.

Hasan al-Bana contended that the Brotherhood had two basic goals; "That Islamic nation (watan) be liberated from all foreign powers" and "that there arise in this free nation a free Islamic state that will function according to the rules of Islam".

The Muslim Brothers undertook large scale educational, social, charitable, and religious work in the towns and countryside and were engaged in some economic enterprises. They began political activity in 1936 after the signature of the Anglo Egyptian treaty in that year and by taking up the cause of Palestine Arabs against Zionism and British rule. Gradually, they were able to extend the range of the movement to other Arab countries. They sent volunteers to fight with the Arab armies in the war of 1948, and thereafter seem to have
controlled an armed force capable of playing some role in political affairs.

After Hasan al-Banna's death in 1949 the leadership of Muslim Brotherhood was in the hands of competent men like Hasan al-Hodeibi who was elected as the Murshid-e-Aam of the movement. Another prominent figure Abdul Kader Audah, became the secretary of the movement. However, one of the most important members of the movement at that time was Sayyid Qutb (1906-66) who can be considered as the ideologue of Muslim Brotherhood. His writings, next to Hasan al Banna's had a widespread influence on the mind of youth and is considered essential reading for any study of Muslim Brotherhood.

In 1954 he became the chief editor of journal Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimoon. By this time Qutb's political activities had not only drawn him into political arena but also into the conflict with the military regime of colonel Nasser. He opposed the Anglo Egyptian pact entered into by Nasser with the British in July 1954. The military reacted by banning the Ikhwan paper in September 1954. As the movement was further drawn into conflict with the military regime, the latter began to fear that its influence on the masses would corrode its own chances of remaining in power. A deadly conflict between the Ikhwan and
military was therefore inevitable. Sayyid Qutb was arrested and sentenced to 15 years imprisonment in 1955. Some of his most important works like *Fi Zilal al Quran* (under the shades of Quran) a commentary was completed under conditions of extreme pain and sufferings in the prison. In 1964 on request of Iraqi president Abdus Salam Arif, Nasser ordered his release. But the regime felt very uncomfortable with his release and after a year Qutb was again arrested on charges of conspiring to over throw the government. His last book *Ma Alim Fal Tareeq* (Milestones) was considered as inciting the people to revolution and military tribunal sentenced him to death. The death of Qutb was a great blow to Muslim Brotherhood but his writings have continued to be published in many languages.

Syed Qutb had made a thorough study of human societies and found that the only society whose foundation rested on the principles of Justice was the Islamic society. The other society was the *Jahiliyya* (state of ignorance) society.

Several years after the Qutb’s death, a number of groups arose within Arab world. These groups are the offshoot of Muslim Brotherhood though they emerged with different names. These neo-activist Islamic groups are named as ‘new brothers’ and are heavily influenced by Qutb’s thought. These young advocates of radical transformation of Egyptian society started
opposing the policies of Muslim Brotherhood. They believed that old Muslim Brotherhood has lost the revolutionary fervor. These young men who were previously working with Muslim Brotherhood started new militant groups, notably Islamic liberation Organization, society of Muslim and al-jihad.

The "old" Muslim Brothers believed in the importance of Arab Nationalism (qawmiyya), even though their understanding of term Arabism was quite different from the secular thought associated with pan Arabism. They considered Arab unity as an essential prerequisite for the revival of Islam. They believed that liberation of all Muslim lands, especially Arab lands, had to precede a truly Islamic renaissance. In serving the cause of Arabism, then the Muslim Brotherhood was "serving Islam and welfare of entire world".

This "Arab dimension" is absent in the recent writings of new brotherhood. In addition to the traditional attack on the secularism of Pan-Arabism, represented by the Ba'th party (which the brotherhood consider a toll of the Christian, colonial west), the new brotherhood views the Palestine issue as the conflict between Islam and Zionism which needs to be resolved as a part of a pan-Islamic solution.

No account of contemporary resurgence of Islam would be complete without attention to the major role played by Abul
Ala Mawdudi. Mawlana Mawdudi (1903-1979) received an early traditional religious education, which was supplemented by his self-taught knowledge of western thought. He pursued a carrier in Journalism and in 1933 assumed editorship of *Tarjuman al-Quran* (exegesis of the Quran), which throughout the year served as a vehicle of his thought. He has been perhaps the most systematic modern Muslim writer, and his many writings have been translated into English and Arabic and circulated throughout the Muslim world. In 1941 Mawdudi established the *Jamat-i-Islami* (The Islamic Association) an extremely well organized association committed to the reestablishment of an Islamic world order or society (Politically, legally and socially). Although originally against any form of nationalism and thus opposed to the establishment of Pakistan, Mawdudi nevertheless migrated to Pakistan, after the Partition.

Since the Second World War, the Muslim intelligentia and the political leaders have focused their attention on regaining the lost political freedom. Political parties were formed and the Muslim masses organized. Side by side the task of reforms was also carried on. And a number of intellectuals and writers aroused the conscience of the masses through their writings, appealing them to revive the original spirit of Islam and forge
ahead in society. Some of them even gave new interpretation of Islam so as to suit the need of modern Muslim society.

In 1980's there has been a veritable avalanche of literature on Islamic political activism in Egypt and the Arab world. Much of this literature has attributed the growth of contemporary Islamic militancy to ideological influences from Iranian Islamic revival and revolution. Islam dramatically re-emerged in politics across the Islamic world after Iranian revolution of 1979 and the assassination of Egyptian president Anwar Sadat in 1981.

The victory of Ayatullah al ozma Aga Syed Ruhallah Khomeini in Iran is a dramatic development, in the Islamic movement active in the different parts of the Muslim world, from North Africa to South East Asia. Khomeini can thus be seen as in the direct line of succession in the movement of Islamic revival. He advocated Pan-Islamism, not simply the revival of Islam in Iran but the revival of Islam in the whole Muslim world. Khomeini though a senior shi'ite leader played a great role as a healer of centuries-old and bloody rift between the sunni and shi'ite divisions of Islam. Khomeini emerged as a central figure in the revolution of Iran. He was one of the first to systematically elucidate clerical opposition to Reza Shah's
reforms. He was the staunch, uncompromising and outspoken opponent of Reaz Shah's regime.

The victorious return of Khomeini to Tehran in early 1979 seemed to mark an abrupt change in the logic and direction of events on the West Asian scene.

Though Khomeini emerged as the central figure of Iranian Islamic revolution, it was Dr. Ali Shariati who facilitated the transition of Iranian intellectuals and students to a commitment to a new revolutionary concept of Islam and to the Islamic revolutionary movement. Considered the 'Precursor' and the 'martyred teacher' of 1979 Iranian revolution, Shari'ati's writings and ideals became one of the main source for political awareness programmes on the radio during the revolution in Iran.

Iranian revolution and the ideology of Khomeni and Shariati had a deep impact over the Islamic groups active in Arab world. It was the result of Iranian revolution that in 1980, the Muslim Brotherhood of Syria joined with other Islamic groups to form the 'Islamic Front'. The aim of this front was to overthrow Asad's regime and the establishment of an Islamic state based on the Shariah. It was soon after the Iranian Revolution that the unrest broke out among the Shi'i population in the eastern Saudi Arabian province of al-Ahsa. They also
decided to hold the procession in the style of Islamic Revolution of Iran and occupied factories and banks. They demanded the proclamation of Islamic Republic. In 1980 the Shi’i groups again went for demonstrations against the Saudi regime on anniversary of Khomeini’s arrival in Tehran.

The foundation of Palestinian Islamic Jihad in 1979-80 by Palestinian students in Egypt was also an outcome of Iranian Revolution as its founders were admirers of Khomeini and Shariati. Its main founders Fathi Shaqaqi, Odah and Musa even advocated the same revolution in Arab world. Shaqaqi also wrote a book glorifying Khomeini and Iranian revolution. When the Egyptian authorities saw the popularity of this book they banned it.

Another famous Islamic militant group which came into existence after the Iranian revolution is *Hizbollah* of Lebanon. This group came into limelight in 1983, when its military wing attacked the western and Israeli targets.

The recent regeneration of Islamic ethos appears to have caught the non-Islamic world by surprise. The scholars and statesmen of non-Islamic world, tend to disregard or underestimate the regenerative capacity of Islam.

During the early eighties Islamic militants of Arab world came under heavy crackdown of their respective governments.
Majority of ideological and militant leadership shifted their bases to Saudi Arabia, which was not uncomfortable with their brand of Islam. The most prominent radical militant Islamists present in Saudi Arabia were Abdullah Azzam and Ayman al-Zahwahri. In Saudi Arabia they got a good chance to put their radical ideas in practice and started recruiting volunteers for Afghanistan, which was occupied by Soviet troops in 1979. Saudi regime and America fully supported this recruitment. Islamic scholars in Saudi Arabia were careful at that time not to talk in terms of jihad against any one other than Moscow. But soon after the Soviet withdrawal Arab militants who had fought in Afghanistan along with some Mujahideen groups turned against America. It was endless American support to Israel and the Gulf war of 1991 which caused distress among these militants for US. These militants transformed their old crusade into a new one against "illegitimate" Arab regimes, against Israel that occupied Palestine, against America that supports both the Arab rulers and Israel.

These Arab militant are believed to be behind the attacks on American embassies in Africa in 1998 and Pentagon and World Trade Center in September 2001. The point at which US perhaps realized the fallacy of its perception about encouraging
Arab youth to fight against former USSR were the attacks on Trade Centre and Pentagon. Alleged militant mastermind Osama Bin Laden who was staying in Afghanistan as a “guest” of Taliban regime, became the prime suspect for the attacks on the Trade Centre and Pentagon. To take revenge America attacked Afghanistan and toppled the Taliban government. These strikes caused a wave of anti-American sentiments in the masses of Muslim world.

One of the most significant attributes of contemporary Islamic revivalism is its pervasiveness. The movement of a return to Islamic roots is a transnational phenomenon; it has been occurring virtually in every Islamic society or community regardless of size or political, economic and cultural environment. The transnationalism and the Islamic revival is not limited to particular social and economic classes or occupations rather its grass root support has come from every class of society. The unique characteristic of Islamic rebirth movement is its polycentrism. Indeed, the emerging "transnational ummah" possesses no single revolutionary or organizational epicentre.

Contemporary Islamic political and militant activism is an expression of the fundamental unity of spiritual and temporal affairs that is the foundation of Islamic belief system. The
assumption of unity has been manifested throughout Islamic history in the social, political and cultural patterns of Islam as a way of life, signifying not only the unity of spiritual beliefs but also a pervasive orientation to the temporal world that constitutes a continuous, if ambiguous, cultural pattern across time and place in Islamic history. Popular Islamic political activism has become a dynamic force in West Asian politics. The Islamic political activist movement may merely be the harbinger of an Islamic ideological renaissance a reawakening of the political values manifested in Islamic political thought and a search for institutions that represent these values.

Political Islam and Militant activism today is constantly on the upward trend. Due to the inability of the ruling elites of the Arab states to cope with their economic and social problems, frustrated intellectuals and young students come to sympathise more and more with the antigovernment slogans of the radical Islamic groups. Massive urban migration enhances this trend. Masses uprooted from their home places find social shelters in big cities in charity organizations run by these radical islamists. Rapid increase of population and high composition rate of young people add to this situation. Marginalization of the Arab economy from globalization is seen to be continuing and the Arab-Israeli conflict is not expected to
cease in the near future. Taking in consideration all these factors, the growing unrest in Arab world is expected to keep its momentum at least in the near future.

However, the growth of radical Islam will accompany a serious political instability in the Arab world. The governments will try to crush there islamists by force. And even if any of the legal Islamic groups gains power, the western intervention will overthrow them.

Several studies have found that most Arabs dislike the United States, but not for the reasons often cited by American officials.

The negative perception of the US is based on American policies-particularly concerning Iraq and what is seen as US bias towards Israel in the West Asian conflict and not a dislike of western democracy and values.

The regimes and governments in Arab world have failed to make Arab economies more efficient or to provide the Arabs with realistic hope of achieving prosperity, i.e. Arab Socialism and Arab Nationalism have largely failed in the Arab world. The Arabs are in the state of great ideological flux after the end of cold war and emergence of U.S. as a sole superpower. Hoping to discover a renewed sense of identity and lift
themselves out of all economic and cultural crises they are turning to radical Islam.

Islamic militancy is a product of the Islamic revival. This revival was the result of an inability among Islamic societies to cope with the ideas of modernisation presented to them by West, despite encouragement by ruling regimes to merge Islamic social political and cultural traditions with the imported culture. Consequently a Jihadist doctrine developed, with the idea of a clash of civilizations at its centre. One of the biggest success of the Islamic revival groups was their ability to present this inevitable cultural clash as the cornerstone of an ideology of 'genuine Islam', thereby attracting support from relatively large propositions of the Muslim masses. The next stage of this revival process was the molding of the Muslim mindset to the idea that they were in a state of constant war, presented a part of the eternal global war between Muslim and the long line of enemies generated throughout the history of Islam. The twentieth century brought a sense of permanent retreat to many Muslims, besieged by the threat of western culture and secularisation and faced with the decline of Islamic political and social culture. Fear of the West and Communism created a mindset of self-defence, and Jihad was considered the only proper answer. Due to the sense of being under siege both
from the West and from secular Arab regime, the leadership of Islamic movements propagated that the Muslim ummah is under threat from all direction, internal as well as external.

The next stage involved the formation of Jihadi groups aiming to create a new generation of soldiers who viewed themselves as the oppressed and defenders of Islam. In recent decades, all of the Islamic revivalist groups have revived the memory of Islamic triumph over Christian Crusaders in the middle ages. This glorification of past has aroused hopes among the Muslims for a better and victorious future, which can be achieved through terrorizing the West. The roots of Islamic militancy therefore lie in the search of Islam’s glorious past in Middle ages.

This leads to the last phase of the development of such Islamist perception. The fall of Soviet Union allowed western societies to view Islamic revival as the new overriding threat to the free world. The US in particular seems to be on the verge of adopting the Islamic perception of global war. The analysis of the thought of Islamic revival in the West often reflects hostility towards Islam. There are people and government in the West, especially in the United States, who do not hide the sympathy for Christian or Jewish fundamentalism and yet preach secularism to Muslims. There are also those in the West
who use the situation of unrest in the Arab world to preach the incompatibility of Islam and democracy.

The immediate need is that the ruling regimes of Arab world and the international community should concentrate their very efforts to improve the political and socio-economic environment of the region in which radical Islam grows. If the attempts are made only to crush and suppress these groups, their efforts will not bring any long-term and comprehensive results. Crushing one militant group may lead to rise of several others.