ARAB5008M

Muslim Intellectual Encounter with Contemporary Thought

**Module summary**

Contemporary Muslim thought reflects a spectrum of intellectual trends and methodological frameworks which have developed in the post-industrial period and aim at reinvigorating the Muslim community and its intellectual tradition.

The module acquaints students with the ideas and contributions of some of the most dynamic contemporary thinkers and reformers who have sought to define what it means to be a Muslim and who have made substantial efforts to contemporize Islamic legal theory, politics and theology.

**Syllabus**  
The topics covered in this module include:  
- Thinking about interpretation  
- Muslim doctrinal and legal thinking in the pre-modern period   
- The challenge of modernity and the initial stages of intellectual reaction   
- Muslim Liberal Thought (Iqbal, Fazlur Rahman et al)  
- Alternative Paradigms (Arkoun, Shahrour, Wadud)  
- Political Islamist Thought (Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Shariati, Yassine)  
- Case Studies (Pakistan, Iran, Egypt, Turkey)  
- Militant Islamism  
- Islamic Economics   
- Future trends

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# 1. Esoteric interpretation of the Quran

An **esoteric interpretation of the Qur'an** is an [interpretation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exegesis) of the [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an) which includes attribution of [esoteric](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric) or [mystic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mysticism) meanings to the text by the interpreter. In this respect, its method is different from the conventional [exegesis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exegesis) of the [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an), called [tafsir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tafsir). Esoteric interpretations do not usually contradict the conventional (in this context called [exoteric](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exoteric)) interpretations; instead, they discuss the inner levels of meaning of the Qur'an. A [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) from [Prophet Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet_Muhammad) which states that the [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an) has an inner meaning, and that this inner meaning conceals a yet deeper inner meaning, and so on (up to seven levels of meaning), has sometimes been used in support of this view.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_note-0)

Esoteric interpretations are found in [Sufism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism) and in the sayings ([hadiths](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith)) of both [Twelver](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Twelver) and [Ismaili](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismaili) [Shi'a Imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Imam). In [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language), [*batin*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batin_(Islam)) refers to the inner or esoteric meaning of a sacred text, and [*zahir*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahir_(Islam)) to the apparent or exoteric meaning.

## 1.1 Islamic legitimacy

There is almost no dispute among [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) that the [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an) has concealed meanings. The existence of the [Qur'anic initial letters](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27anic_initial_letters) is often mentioned in connection with this belief.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_note-1) The authority of the person who extracts these meanings is a matter of debate.

Naturally, [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) is considered to be the authority on interpretation of the Qur'an in any form, but his interpretations, even when discussing esoteric matters, are actually standard [definitions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Definition) of Qur'anic concepts due to his position as [prophet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet) of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam).

There is a verse in Qur'an related to esoteric interpretations:

*He it is who has sent down to thee the Book: In it are verses basic (of established meaning); they are the foundation of the Book: others are allegorical. But those in whose hearts is perversity follow the part thereof that is allegorical, seeking discord, and searching for its hidden meanings, but no one knows its hidden meanings except God. And those who are firmly grounded in knowledge say: "We believe in the Book; the whole of it is from our Lord:" and none will grasp the Message except men of understanding.*([Sura 3](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sura_3):7[[1]](http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/003.qmt.html#003.007))

In the verse quoted above, there is a stop between *…except God* and *And those who..* and reading this way the verse attributes the knowledge of the Qur'an's hidden meanings to God alone. By removing the stop it becomes:" *...no one knows its hidden meaning except God and those who are firmly grounded in knowledge, they say…*" which suggests that *those firmly grounded in knowledge* can extract these hidden meanings.

Both forms are valid in the [Arabic language](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language); [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) Muslims usually read the verse with the stop, while [Shi'a](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a) Muslims usually read it without the stop, and consider their [Imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Imam), who, according to Shi'a belief, are the heirs of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad)'s knowledge, to be authorized to explain these hidden meanings.

* [A Sunni view](http://www.translatedquran.com/meaning.asp?pagetitle=AL+-+IMRAN&sno=3&tno=260)
* [A Shi'a view](http://quran.al-shia.org/en/books/quran/tafseer-of-holy-quran/light/html/003/3_7.htm)

In [Sufi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufi) tradition, it is believed that the esoteric meanings of the Qur'an can be extracted through mystic experiences, and as such, esoteric interpretations presented by [Sufi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufi) [Shaykhs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shaykh) are considered authentic. Today, the majority of Muslims (except [Salafis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafi)) respect Sufi interpretations at least as an alternative view of the Qur'an.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_note-2)

## 1.2 Sufism

Throughout its history, [Sufism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism) has widely used [esoteric](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric) interpretation of the Qur'an. The metaphysical basis of a Sufi interpretation is *Kashf* (unveiling) or *Zawq* (tasting). Sufi writings make frequent references to the Qur'an and present esoteric interpretations either explicitly or implicitly. Implicit forms being quoting a verse in a certain context which suggests that the meaning of the verse is related to the ideas presented.

There are some verses in the Qur'an whose conventional interpretations suggest mystic ideas and Sufis have commented extensively on them. While all Sufi interpretations are basically[mystic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mysticism), three major trends in Sufi interpretations can be recognized, [mystic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mysticism), [philosophic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophic), and [esoteric](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric).

The distinction is not always clear and sometimes these coexist in works of a particular Sufi author. Historically the mystic interpretations were the first to appear in Sufi writings, the second and third being philosophic and esoteric interpretations.

A famous Sufi commentary on the Qur'an, the [Persian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_language) book [Kashf Al Asrar](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kashf_Al_Asrar&action=edit&redlink=1) (The Unveiling of the Mysteries) by [Meybodi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Meybodi&action=edit&redlink=1), mentions conventional interpretations as the first level of meaning and esoteric interpretations as a deeper level. It is common in Sufi writings to explain three or four levels of meaning of a Qur'anic concept.

### 1.2.1 Mystic interpretations

These are purely mystical interpretations of the text and at times have a poetic nature which presents mystic insights to the meaning of the Qur'an.

Some examples include:

* Interpreting religious terms as describing inner qualities:

These interpretations are sometimes mystic comments on religious concepts. For example in " *Say: O unbelievers! I worship not that which you worship*"(109/1-2) *unbelievers* is taken to mean individual self, or the women of [paradise](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jannah), [houri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houri), are interpreted as divine visions.

* Interpreting Qur'anic stories from a mystic perspective:

These interpretations are aimed at explanation of the mystic meaning of the stories and are found frequently in Sufi poems and prose, for example in [The Conference of the Birds](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Conference_of_the_Birds), [Attar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farid_al-Din_Attar), in reference to the Qur'anic story of descent of [Adam and Eve](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adam_and_Eve) to Earth, writes that "*Adam was too lofty to be satisfied with paradise and an unseen messenger cried to him to leave his attachments to everything that hampers his journey towards God, be it paradise*".

* Poetic interpretations:

These interpretations view Qur'an from a poetic perspective and seek to find subtle meanings related to divine love in the verses , an example which is found frequently in Sufi writings, specially poems, being the interpretation of "*By the glorious morning light, And by the night when it is still*" (93/1-2) as God's reference to the face and hair of Mohammad.

* Interpreting a verse in a sense very different from its conventional meaning:

For example in his book [Tamheedat](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Tamheedat&action=edit&redlink=1), [Ayn-al-Qudat Hamadani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayn-al-Qudat_Hamadani) interprets "*The fire of God kindled ablaze, which doth mount to the hearts*"(104/6-7) which conventionally refers to the punishment in hell , as passion of divine love and interprets "*the day Earth becomes that which is not Earth*" which conventionally describes [the day of judgment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiyamah) as a description of the moment of [spiritual](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spirituality) awakening or [enlightenment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enlightenment_(spiritual)).

* Comments on [Qur'anic initial letters](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27anic_initial_letters):

Sometimes only a vague comment and sometimes a comment on each letter is given.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_note-3) Although Sufis insist that these initial letters conceal mysteries that can not be fully expressed in words and should be understood by means of mystic experiences.

* Mystic remarks concerning Qur'anic verses like the famous saying "*I am the dot (*[*Arabic alphabet*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_alphabet)*: ب) (*[*English*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_alphabet)*: B) of*[*Bismillah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bismillah)" attributed to various Sufis including [Shibli](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shibli_Nomani). Many Sufis have commented on it as description of a form of union with the [divine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divinity) [essence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Essence).

### 1.2.2 Philosophic interpretations

These interpretations have a philosophical structure and sometimes serve as the basis of a [mystic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mysticism) [philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophy).

[Hallaj](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hallaj) was one of the early Sufis who presented such interpretations .For example he deeply speculated on Qur'anic idea of creation by the word *Be!* , which appears frequently in Qur'an e.g. : "*...When He determines a matter, says to it, "Be", and it is.*"(19/35)

The most influential works in this area are those of [Ibn Arabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Arabi).Each chapter of his book *Fusus al-Hikam* (The Bezels of Wisdom) [[2]](http://www.questia.com/PM.qst?a=o&d=102546743) , is dedicated to a prophet mentioned in [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an)which he attributes to a particular *word* (logos) or [divine manifestation](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Divine_manifestation&action=edit&redlink=1) that is the subject of the chapter. Throughout the book (and all his works indeed) he proposes thoughtful and courageous esoteric interpretations of Qur'anic verses. He also wrote two commentaries of the Qur'an.

Many similar Sufi interpretations are inspired by [Ibn Arabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Arabi)' works, specially works of Akbari school.

### 1.2.3 Other esoteric interpretations

These are bodies of [esoteric knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_knowledge) associated with Qur'anic concepts which have practical importance for some Sufis, a famous example is the theories concerning *the six subtlities*or [lataif-e-sitta](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lataif-e-sitta).

## 1.3 Hadiths of Shi'a Imams

One of the essential characteristics of [Imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Imam) in [Shi'a](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Islam) belief is possession of knowledge of hidden meanings of Qur'an. Although it is believed by Shi'a Muslims that they revealed only a small portion of their knowledge. All hadiths of Imams are considered sources of conventional interpretation of Qur'an, [tafsir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tafsir), in Shi'a Islam.

Shi'a Muslims sometimes refer to the twelfth [Shi'a Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Imam) , [Mahdi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Mahdi), as *Baqiyyat Allah* ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): بقیه الله‎) literally meaning *that which is left by God*, the term is originally derived from a Qur'anic verse ([Sura 11](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sura_11):86 , [[3]](http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/quran/011.qmt.html#011.086)) according to an esoteric interpretation.[[4]](http://www.e-resaneh.com/English/Imam%20MAHDI/HAZRAT%20IMAM%20MAHDI%20(A.S.)%20-THE%20QURANIC%20VIEW.htm)

There are many esoteric interpretations presented by Shi'a Imams, most of them by [Ja'far al-Sadiq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27far_al-Sadiq) and [Muhammad Baqir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Baqir). These hadiths usually interpret certain verses in connection with Mohammad's house, [Ahlul Bayt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahlul_Bayt).[[5]](http://www.tebyan.net/english/Hadith/default.aspx?c=5%7CHadith&id=)

A Shi'a hadith attributed to [Ja'far al-Sadiq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27far_al-Sadiq), which is an esoteric comment on [sura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sura) [Al-Qadr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qadr):

* One who understands the true meaning of [*the night of fate*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laylat_al-Qadr), has understood the mystery concealed in [Fatima](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatima_Zahra).

## 1.4 References

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_ref-0) [The Teachings of the Qur'an](http://www.al-islam.org/quraninislam/2.htm) (<http://www.al-islam.org/quraninislam/2.htm>)
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_ref-1) [The Discussion of the Individual Letters](http://www.tafsir.com/default.asp?sid=2&tid=670)

(<http://www.tafsir.com/default.asp?sid=2&tid=670>)

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Esoteric_interpretation_of_the_Quran#cite_ref-2) [Sufi Tafsir and Isma'ili Ta'wil](http://www.arches.uga.edu/~godlas/suftaf/suftaftawil.html)

(<http://www.arches.uga.edu/~godlas/suftaf/suftaftawil.html> )

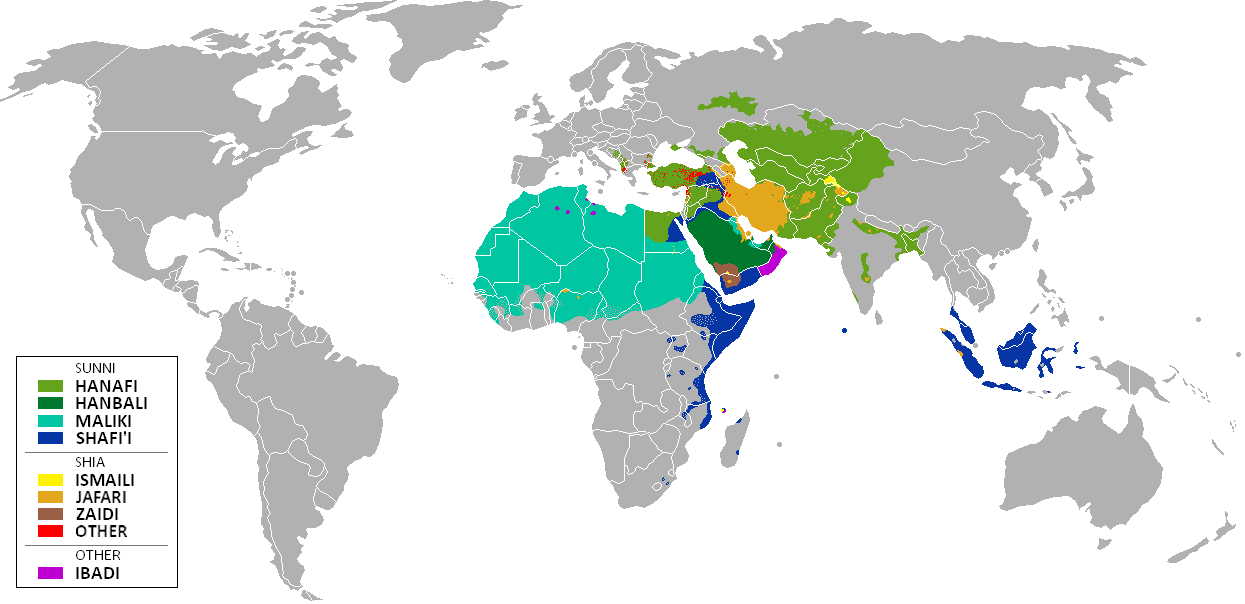
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(<http://www.altafsir.com/Tafasir.asp?tMadhNo=3&tTafsirNo=72&tSoraNo=2&tAyahNo=1&tDisplay=yes&UserProfile=0>)

# 2. Muslim doctrinal and legal thinking in the pre-modern period

***Madhhab*** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): مذهب‎ *maḏhab*, IPA: [[ˈmæðhæb]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:IPA_for_Arabic), "doctrine"; pl. مذاهب *maḏāhib*, [[mæˈðæːhɪb]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:IPA_for_Arabic); [transliterated Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_Urdu): ***mazhab*** or ***mezheb***) is a [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) school of law or [*fiqh*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) (religious [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurisprudence)). In the first 150 years of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam), there were many such "schools". In fact, several of the [*Sahābah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahaba), or contemporary "companions" of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad), are credited with founding their own. The prominent Islamic jurisprudence schools of [Damascus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Damascus) in Syria (often named [*Awza'iyya*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Rahman_al-Awza%27i)), [Kufa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kufa) and [Basra](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Basra) in Iraq, and [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina) in Arabia survived as the [Maliki](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki) *madhhab*, while the other [Iraqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) schools were consolidated into the [Hanafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi) *madhhab*. The [Shafi'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i), [Hanbali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali), [Zahiri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahiri) and [Jariri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jariri) schools were established later, though the latter school eventually died out.

**Established schools**



While most madh'hab are present in various regions, some regions has specific madh'hab school as their dominant or even official madh'hab.

The four mainstream schools of [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam) jurisprudence today, named after their founders (sometimes called the *A’immah Arba‘a* or four Imaams of Fiqh[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab#cite_note-0)), are not generally seen as distinct [sects](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_sects), as there has been harmony for the most part among their various scholars throughout Islamic history.

Generally, Sunni Muslims prefer one *madhhab* out of the four (normally a regional preference) but also believe that [*ijtihad*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad) must be exercised by the contemporary scholars capable of doing so. Most rely on [*taqlid*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqlid), or acceptance of religious rulings and epistemology from a higher religious authority in deferring meanings of analysis and derivation of legal practices instead of relying on subjective readings.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab#cite_note-1)[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab#cite_note-2)

Experts and scholars of *fiqh* follow the [*usul*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usul_al-fiqh) (principles) of their own native madhhab, but they also study the usul, evidences, and opinions of other madhhabs.

# 2.1 Hanafi

The **Hanafi** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): حنفي‎ *Ḥanafī* ) school is one of the four [*Madhhab*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhhab) (schools of law) in [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurisprudence) ([Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh)) within [Sunni Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam). The Hanafi madhhab is named after the [Persian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persia) scholar [Abu Hanifa an-Nu‘man](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ab%C5%AB_%E1%B8%A4an%C4%ABfa) ibn Thābit (Arabic: أبو حنيفة النعمان بن ثابت) (699 - 767CE /89 - 157AH), a[Tabi‘i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabi%E2%80%98un) whose legal views were preserved primarily by his two most important disciples, [Abu Yusuf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Yusuf) and [Muhammad al-Shaybani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Shaybani). This is the most prominent among all Sunni Schools and it has the most adherents in the Muslim world.

### 2.1.1 Overview

Among the four established [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) schools of legal thought in Islam, the Hanafi school is the oldest and by far, the largest. It has a reputation for putting greater emphasis on the role of reason and being more liberal than the other three schools. The Hanafi school also has the most followers among the four major Sunni schools. This is largely to its being adopted as the official madhab of The [Abbasid Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid_Caliphate), the[Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire) and the [Mughal Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mughal_Empire). As such, the influence of the Hanafi school is still widespread in the former lands of these empires. Today, the Hanafi school is predominant in [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan), [Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh), [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) as well as in [Mauritius](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritius), [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey), [Albania](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Albania),[Macedonia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Macedonia) in the [Balkans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Balkans). It is also practiced in large numbers in other parts of Muslim world, particularly in parts of the [Levant](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Levant) and [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq).

### 2.1.2 Sources and methodology

The sources from which the law is derived, in order of importance and preference, are: the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), the authentic narrations of the Prophet ([Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith)), Consensus ([ijma](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijma)), and analogical reasoning ([qiyas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiyas)), qiyas only being applied if direct material cannot be found in the Qur'an or Hadith. As the fourth Caliph, ['Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%27Ali), had transferred the Islamic capital to [Kufa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kufa), and many of the companions of the Prophet had settled there, the Hanafi School had based many of its rulings on Prophetic narrations (Hadith) transmitted by companions residing in Iraq, thus it came to be known as the Kufan or Iraqi school in earlier times. Hence ['Ali ibn Abi Talib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%27Ali_ibn_Abi_Talib) and 'Abdullah ibn Mas'ud formed much of the base of the school, as well as other personalities from the household of the Prophet with whom Abu Hanifa had studied such as [Muhammad al-Baqir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Baqir),[Ja'far al-Sadiq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27far_al-Sadiq), and Zayd ibn 'Ali. Many jurists and Hadith transmitters had lived in Kufa including one of Abu Hanifa's main teachers, Hammad ibn Sulayman.

According to Abdalhaqq Bewley:

"Hanafi methodology involved the logical process of examining the Book and all available knowledge of the Sunna and then finding an example in them analogous to the particular case under review so that Allah's deen could be properly applied in the new situation. It thus entails the use of reason in the examination of the Book and Sunna so as to extrapolate the judgments necessary for the implementation of Islam in a new environment. It represents in essence, therefore, within the strict compass of rigorous legal and inductive precepts, the adaptation of the living and powerful deen to a new situation in order to enable it take root and flourish in fresh soil. This made it an ideal legal tool for the central governance of widely varied populations which is why we find it in Turkey as the legacy of the Uthmaniyya Khilafa and in the sub-continent where it is inherited from the Moghul empire."

### 2.1.3 Some distinctive opinions of the school

* It is prohibited or disliked to eat some forms of non-fish seafood based on the hadith of Muhammad : "Two types of dead meat and two types of blood have been made lawful for your consumption [without being slaughtered]: fish and locust, liver and spleen". (Reported by Ahmed and Ibn Majah).
* Except for at [Hajj](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hajj), every [*salah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salah) (each of the five daily prayers) needs to be made in its regular time. (Some non-Hanafi scholars allow a person who is travelling to adjust certain prayer times for convenience).
* The beginning of the time for *asr* prayer (and the end of the time for *zuhr* prayer) is later than in the other schools (roughly when shadows are twice the length of their objects).
* The hands are not raised while going to ruku and after it, whereas this is practised in the Shafi'i and Hanbali schools
* A sixth daily prayer called [witr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Witr) is wajib/required (but not at the same level of obligation as the five daily prayers).
* [Abū Ḥanīfa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ab%C5%AB_%E1%B8%A4an%C4%ABfa), taking a literal view (*harfiyyah*), held that "wine" (خمر/*Khamr* in Quranic/classical Arabic), i.e. the fermented juice of dates or grapes, was absolutely prohibited but it was permissible to drink small non-intoxicating amounts of other alcoholic beverages (e.g. made from honey or grains). Later Hanafi scholars tend to rule that all alcoholic beverages are prohibited regardless of source.
* Bleeding can break one's [*wudu*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wudu)
* Merely touching a member of the opposite sex does not break one's wudu.
* A Muslim is allowed to work in Church construction and building thereof, whose wages considered lawful by Hanafis.

### 2.1.4 See also

* [Islamic schools and branches](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_schools_and_branches)

(<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_schools_and_branches> )

* [List of major Hanafi books](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Sunni_books#Hanafi)
  + [*Bahar-e-Shariat*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bahar-e-Shariat) by Mufti Amjad Ali Aazmi.
  + *Fatawa Rashidiya* by [Rashid Ahmad Gangohi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashid_Ahmad_Gangohi).
  + *Fatawa Razawiyya* by [Ahmed Raza Khan Barelvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Raza_Khan_Barelvi).
  + *Fatawa Mustafwiyah* by [Mustafa Raza Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mustafa_Raza_Khan).
  + [*Hidayah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hidayah) by [Burhan al-Din al-Marghinani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Burhan_al-Din_al-Marghinani).
  + [*Radd al-Muhtar ala al-Dur al-Mukhtar*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radd_al-Muhtar_ala_al-Dur_al-Mukhtar) by [Ibn Abidin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Abidin).
* [List of notable Hanafis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_notable_Hanafis)

The following is the list of religious personalities who followed the [Hanafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi) Islamic madhab, in chronological order:

* [Abu Hanifah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hanifah)
* [Abu Yusuf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Yusuf)
* [Muhammad al-Shaybani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Shaybani)
* [Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tahawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Muhammad_al-Tahawi)
* [Yahya ibn Ma'in](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yahya_ibn_Ma%27in)
* [al-Marghinani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Marghinani)
* [al-Maydani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Maydani)
* [Abu Mansur Al Maturidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Mansur_Al_Maturidi)
* [Ali al-Qari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_al-Qari)
* [Ali Hujwiri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Hujwiri)
* [Jalal ad-Din Muhammad Rumi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jalal_ad-Din_Muhammad_Rumi)
* [Farid al-Din Attar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farid_al-Din_Attar)
* [Ibn Abidin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Abidin)
* [Baha-ud-Din Naqshband Bukhari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baha-ud-Din_Naqshband_Bukhari)
* [Abd al-Ghani al-Nabulsi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Ghani_al-Nabulsi)
* [Shah Waliullah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shah_Waliullah)
* [Shah Ismail](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shah_Ismail)
* [Syed Ahmad Shaheed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syed_Ahmad_Shaheed)
* [Sir Syed Ahmad Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sir_Syed_Ahmad_Khan)
* [Stephen Suleyman Schwartz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stephen_Suleyman_Schwartz)
* [Maulana Ashraf Ali Thanvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Ashraf_Ali_Thanvi)
* [Muhammad Qasim Nanotvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Qasim_Nanotvi)
* [Maulana Mehmud Hasan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Mehmud_Hasan)
* [Shabbir Ahmad Usmani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shabbir_Ahmad_Usmani)
* [Maulana Anwar Shah Kashmiri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Anwar_Shah_Kashmiri)
* [Maulana Sarfaraz Khan Safdar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maulana_Sarfaraz_Khan_Safdar)
* [Yousuf Ludhianvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yousuf_Ludhianvi)
* [Fazl-e-Haq Khairabadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fazl-e-Haq_Khairabadi)
* [Ahmed Raza Khan Barelvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Raza_Khan_Barelvi)
* [Muhammad Abdul Qadeer Siddiqi Qadri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abdul_Qadeer_Siddiqi_Qadri)
* [Khayr al-Din al-Ramli](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khayr_al-Din_al-Ramli)
* [Allama Iqbal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allama_Iqbal)
* [Muhammad Ali Jinnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ali_Jinnah)
* [Muhammad Ilyas Qadri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ilyas_Qadri)
* [Turab-ul-Haq Qadri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turab-ul-Haq_Qadri)
* [Tahir ul qadri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tahir_ul_qadri)
* [Ahmad Saeed Kazmi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Saeed_Kazmi)

### 2.1.5 Further reading

* Branon Wheeler, [Applying the Canon in Islam: The Authorization and Maintenance of Interpretive Reasoning in Ḥanafī Scholarship](http://books.google.com.pk/books?id=slLpouSlzPcC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb), [SUNY Press](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SUNY_Press), 1996

### 2.1.6 External links

* [Hizmet Books](http://www.hizmetbooks.org/) (<http://www.hizmetbooks.org/>) Hanafi books in English (free online)
* [Hanafi Fiqh](http://qa.sunnipath.com/browse.asp?id=1) (<http://qa.sunnipath.com/browse.asp?id=1>) SunniPath Answers
* [Hanafi website](http://www.alsunnah.org/) (<http://www.alsunnah.org/>)
* [Shariah Board](http://www.shariahboard.org/) (<http://www.shariahboard.org/>) (Hanafi) Audio Fatawa in many languages (free online)
* [Sahih al Islam](http://rightislam.com/) (<http://rightislam.com/>) Over 2,000 Collection of Islamic Information
* [Islami Education](http://www.islamieducation.com/) (<http://www.islamieducation.com/>)

## 2.2 Hanbali

The **Hanbali** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): **حنبلى**‎) school ([madhhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhhab)) is one the schools of [Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) or [religious law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shariah) within [Sunni Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam). The jurisprudence school traces back to [Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Hanbal) (d. 855) but was institutionalized by his students. Hanbali jurisprudence is considered very strict and conservative, especially regarding questions of dogma and cult. It is mainly prevalent in [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia), although currently it is being revived in western countries, with new books and classes being taught for English-speaking people. It is also the main madh'hab of the important Islamic pilgrimage sites of [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca) and [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina).

### 2.2.1 Principles

#### 2.2.1.1 God's attributes

Hanbal refuted and rejected the Jahmites' and the Mu`tazilites' views of God. For Hanbal, both the [Jahmites](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jahmites) and the Mu`tazilites erred in conceiving of God without eternal attributes. Hanbal believed that God has many attributes and names as mentioned in the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) and the[Prophetic Traditions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophets_of_Islam) and that God is One. Hanbal asserted that [God's Oneness](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tawhid) was not understood by the Jahmites and the Mu`tazilites. Hanbal stated that the ahl al-sunnah wa-al-jama`ah, or Sunnis, believe that God is eternal with His power and light and that He speaks, knows, and creates eternally.

#### 2.2.1.2 Annihilation of the eternals

Hanbal disagreed with the Jahmites' and the Mu`tazilites' view that no other eternals exist except God because the eternal is God and God is One. Hanbal believed that [Hell](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hell) and [Paradise](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paradise) are eternal because God made them eternal.

[[edit](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hanbali&action=edit&section=4)]**The beatific vision**

Hanbal believed that the people or the inhabitants of Paradise are able to see God and that God will make them see Him as their highest reward. He did not allow a beatific vision in this world - only in the Hereafter will this vision be bestowed upon the beloved of God. The Mu`tazilites and the Jahmites totally reject the beatific vision of God even in Paradise.

#### 2.2.1.3 God's word

Hanbal believed that God's word is eternal, that God Himself spoke to [Moses](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses) the [prophet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet) and Moses heard His words, and that God did not create His words when He communicated with Moses. Since the speech of God is an Attribute, and God is eternal, all of God's Attributes are eternal as well. The Jahmites and the Mu`tazilites believe that God created His words to make Moses able to understand His words.

#### 2.2.1.4 The Qur'an

Hanbal believed that the Koran is uncreated because the Koran is the word of God and the word of God is not created, and thus the Koran is God's word or speech and His revelation. The Mu`taziltes and the Jahmites believe that the Koran, which is readable and touchable, is created like other created creatures and beings. Ibn Hanbal maintained that the Koran is indeed a thing, but that it is not created like other created things. Hanbal refused to include the Koran in the category of the created creatures of God like the [earth](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth) and the [heavens](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Heavens). There are other existing things not mentioned by God that they are created by God. Among those things are the Chair, the Throne and the Guarded Tablet (Lawh-i-Mahfuz).[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-Chair-0) They are not among the created creatures like the earth and the heavens. Hence Hanbal asserted that the Koran is uncreated.

### 2.2.2 Notable rulings

* **Wudu** - One of the seven things which nullifies the minor purification includes, touching a woman for the purpose of *carnal desire*.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-TMCJ-1) This ruling is similar to the [Maliki](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki) opinion, however the Shafi'i opinion is that merely touching a woman will break the wudu, while the Hanafi opinion is that merely touching a woman doesn't break the wudu.
* **Al-Qayyam** – The hands are positioned below the navel while standing in prayer,[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-TMCJ-1) similar to the Hanafis, though others state a person has a choice ie. either above the navel or near the chest
* **Ruku** – The hands are to be raised (Rafa al-Yadayn) before going to ruku, and standing up from ruku,[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-TMCJ-1) similar to the Shafi'i school. While standing up after ruku, a person has a choice to place their hands back to the position as they were before.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-2) Other madh'habs state the hands should be left on their sides.
* [**Tashahhud**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tashahhud) – The finger should be pointed and not moved, upon mentioning the name of *Allah*.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-3)[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-4)[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-TMCJ-1)
* **Tasleem** – Is considered obligatory by the Madh'hab.[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-alislam-5)
* [**Salat-ul-Witr**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Witr) – Hanbalis pray Two Rak'ats consecutively then perform Tasleem, and then One Rak'at is performed separately. Dua [Qunoot](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qunoot) is recited after the [Ruku'](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruku%27) during [Witr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Witr), and Hands are raised during the Dua.[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_note-alislam-5)

### 2.2.3 List of Hanbali scholars

* [Al-Hasan ibn 'Ali al-Barbahari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Hasan_ibn_%27Ali_al-Barbahari) (d. 329A.H.)
* [Ibn Aqil](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Aqil) (d. 488A.H.) – One of the most intelligent jurists the Hanbalis ever had within their ranks.
* [Abdul-Qadir Gilani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdul-Qadir_Gilani) (d. 561A.H.) A Hanbali theologian, great preacher.
* [Abu-al-Faraj Ibn Al-Jawzi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu-al-Faraj_Ibn_Al-Jawzi) (d. 597A.H.) A famous jurist, exegete, critic, preacher and a prolific author, with works on nearly all subjects.
* [Hammad al-Harrani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hammad_al-Harrani) (d. 598A.H.) A jurist, critic and preacher who lived in Alexandria under the reign of Salah al-Din al-Ayyubi.
* [Abd al-Ghani al-Maqdisi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Ghani_al-Maqdisi) (d. 600A.H.) A prominent hadith master from Damascus and a cousin of Ibn Qudamah
* [Ibn Qudamah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Qudamah) (d. 620A.H.) One of the major Hanbali authorities and the author of the profound and voluminous book on Law, [*al-Mughni*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Mughni&action=edit&redlink=1), which became popular amongst researchers from all juristic backgrounds.
* [Taqi al-Din Ibn Taymiyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqi_al-Din_Ibn_Taymiyah) (d. 728A.H.) – A well known figure in the Islamic history, known by his friends and foes for his expertise in all Islamic sciences.
* [Ibn al-Qayyim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_al-Qayyim) (d. 751A.H.) – The closest companion and a student of Ibn Taymiyah who shared with him the moments of ease and hardship, until the latter’s death in the citadel.
* [Ibn Rajab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Rajab) (d. 795A.H.) – A prominent jurist, traditionist, ascetic and preacher, who authored several important works, largely commenting upon famous collections of traditions.
* [Muhammad ibn Abd-al-Wahhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Abd-al-Wahhab)
* [Ibn Humaid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Humaid) (d. 1295A.H.) – A Hanbali jurist, traditionist , historian.
* [Ibn al-Sa'di](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_al-Sa%27di) (d. 1376A.H.) – A prominent jurist, exegete, grammarian with a great interest in poetry.
* [Ibn al-Uthaymeen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_al_Uthaymeen) (d. 1421A.H.) – A leading jurist, grammarian, linguist, and a popular preacher.
* [Ibn Baz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Aziz_ibn_Abd_Allah_ibn_Baaz) (d. 1420A.H.)

### 2.2.4 References

1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-Chair_0-0) ["Al-Ghazali, The Alchemy of Happiness, Chapter 2"](http://muslim-canada.org/sufi/ghach2.html). Retrieved 2006-04-09.
2. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-TMCJ_1-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-TMCJ_1-1) [***c***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-TMCJ_1-2) [***d***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-TMCJ_1-3) [Imam Muwaffaq ibn Qudama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Qudama). *The Mainstay Concerning Jurisprudence (Al Umda fi 'l Fiqh)*.
3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-2) *Shaikh Tuwaijiri*. pp.18-19.
4. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-3) Al-Buhuti, Al-Raud al-murbi`, p72.
5. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-4) Al-Mughni (1/524).
6. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-alislam_5-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali#cite_ref-alislam_5-1) ["Salat According to Five Islamic Schools of Law"](http://www.al-islam.org/encyclopedia/chapter7/6.html) from Al-Islam.org

* Abd al-Halim al-Jundi, *Ahmad bin Hanbal Imam* *Ahl al-Sunnah*, published in Cairo by Dar al-Ma`arif
* Dr. `Ali Sami al-Nashshar, *Nash`ah al-fikr al-falsafi fi al-islam*, vol. 1, published by Dar al-Ma`arif, seventh edition, 1977
* Makdisi, George. "Hanābilah." *Encyclopedia of Religion*. Ed. Lindsay Jones. Vol. 6. 2nd ed. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2005. 3759-3769. 15 vols. Gale Virtual Reference Library. Thomson Gale. (Accessed December 14, 2005)
* Vishanoff, David. "Nazzām, Al-." [Ibid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibid).
* Iqbal, Muzzafar. Chapter 1, "The Beginning", [Islam and Science](http://www.cis-ca.org/muzaffar/Book/chap-1-final.pdf), Ashgate Press, 2002.
* Leaman, Oliver, ["Islamic Philosophy"](http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ip/rep/H009.htm). *Routledge Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, v. 5, p. 13-16.

### 2.2.5 External links

* [Hanbali-forum Files](http://www.hanbali.org/) (<http://www.hanbali.org/>) Hanbali Fiqh by Shaykh Musa Furber
* [Hanbaliyyah](http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/sunni/hanb.html) (<http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/sunni/hanb.html>) at Overview of World Religions

## 2.3 Maliki

The **Mālikī** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): مالكي‎) [madhhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhhab) is one of the schools of [Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) or religious law within [Sunni Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam). It is the second-largest of the four schools, followed by approximately 25% of [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim), mostly in [North Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Africa), [West Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Africa), the [United Arab Emirates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Arab_Emirates), [Kuwait](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuwait), and in some parts of [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia). In the past, it was also followed in parts of [Europe under Islamic rule](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_Europe), particularly [Islamic Spain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Andalus) and the [Emirate of Sicily](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emirate_of_Sicily).

### 2.3.1 The basis for the School of the City of Light, Medina Munawwarah

The Mālikī school derives from the work of [Mālik ibn Anas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malik_ibn_Anas), primarily the [*Muwaṭṭah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muwatta_Imam_Malik) and the [*Mudawwanah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mudawana). The *Muwaṭṭah* is a collection of[hadiths](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) which are regarded as sound and find their place in [al-Bukhārī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahih_al-Bukhari) with some commentary from Mālik regarding the *‘amal* "practices" of the people of Medina and where the *‘amal* is in compliance with or in variance with the hadiths reported. This is because Mālik (and what would later be the school after his name) regarded the *‘amal* of Medina (the first three generations) to be a superior proof of the "living"*sunnah* than isolated, although sound, hadiths.

The second main source, *al-Mudawwanah al-Kubrā*, is the collaborator work of Mālik's longtime student, [Ibn Qāsim](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ibn_Q%C4%81sim&action=edit&redlink=1) and his [mujtahid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujtahid) student,[Saḥnūn](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahnun). The *Mudawwanah* consists of the notes of Ibn Qāsim from his sessions of learning with Mālik and answers to legal questions raised by Saḥnūn in which Ibn Qāsim quotes from Mālik, and where no notes existed, his own legal reasoning based upon the principles he learned from Mālik. These two books, i.e. the *Muwaṭṭah* and *Mudawwanah*, along with other primary books taken from other prominent students of Mālik, would find their way into the [Mukhtaṣar Khalīl](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mukhta%E1%B9%A3ar_Khal%C4%ABl&action=edit&redlink=1), which would form the basis for the later Mālikī madhhab.

It differs from the three other schools of law most notably in the sources it uses for derivation of rulings. All four schools use the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) as primary source, followed by the [sunnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah) of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad), transmitted as hadiths. In the Mālikī madhhab, *sunnah* includes not only what was recorded in hadiths, but the legal rulings of the four rightly guided caliphs ([Rāshidūn](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun)), primarily [‘Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar), [ijmā‘](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijma) (consensus of the scholars), [qiyās](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiyas) (analogy) and [‘urf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urf) (local custom which is not in direct conflict with established Islamic principles). The Mālikī school, in addition, relies heavily upon the practice of the [salaf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salaf) people of [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina) as a source (composed of the [Ṣaḥābah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahaba), [tābi‘īn](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabi%E2%80%98in), and the older successors, i.e. the best of generations as reported in the authentic [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith)). This is because their collective practice, along with the derivative rulings from the *salaf* scholars, are considered [mutawātir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith_terminology#Mutawatir), or known and practiced by so many people that it can only be of the sunnah. In other words, the practice of the first three generation of Muslims who resided in Medina, i.e. the [salaf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salaf) or righteous predecessors form the normative practice of the "living sunnah" that was preserved from Muḥammad.

When forced to rely upon conflicting authenticated hadiths to derive a ruling, Mālikīs would then choose the hadith that has a Medinan origin, meaning the transmitter(s) resided in Medina. To summarize, in the Mālikī madhhab the "living sunnah" of the salaf of Medina substantiates the single reported hadith, not the other way around. This is probably what distinguishes the Mālikī madhab the most from the Shāfi‘ī, Ḥanbalī, and Ḥanafī*madhāhib* respectively.

This source, according to Mālik, sometimes supersedes [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith), because the practice of the people of Medina was considered "living sunnah," in as much as Muhammad migrated there, lived there and died there, and most of his companions lived there during his life and after his death. The result is what would appear to be a much more limited reliance upon [ṣaḥīḥ](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith_terminology#.E1.B9.A2a.E1.B8.A5.C4.AB.E1.B8.A5) hadiths than is found in other schools, but in actuality, serves to strengthen hadiths related to actual practice.

Mālik was particularly scrupulous about authenticating his sources when he did appeal to them, however, and his comparatively small collection of aḥādith, known as *al-Muwaṭṭah* "The Approved", is highly regarded. Mālik is said to have explained the title as follows: "I showed my book to seventy jurists of Medina, and every single one of them approved me for it, so I named it "The Approved".

### 2.3.2 Notable differences in prayer from other madhabs

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Madrasah_pupils_in_Mauritania.jpg)

School children in Mauritania

There are slight differences in the preferred methods of [ṣalāt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salah), or prayer, in the Māliki school.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_note-1)

* *Qiyām* (the standing position in prayer) - The dominant (*mashhūr*) position is to leave the hands to dangle at one's sides during prayer. It has erroneously been ascribe that the reason was Imam Mālik prayed this way because his arms were dislocated due to the public lashing he received as mentioned above.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_note-2) The actual reason for this practice, i.e. *sadl*, being the dominant position in the school was when Saḥnūn asked Ibn Qāsim about the hadith of placing the right hand over the left mentioned in the Muwaṭṭah, Ibn Qāsim quoted Imam Mālik as saying, 'I do not know of this practice (i.e. qabḍ) in the obligatory prayer (i.e., I did not see the people of Medina practicing this), however it is allowed in the supererogatory prayers if the standing has been prolonged'. The common Sunnī practice of joining the hands beneath the chest (or below the naval as is the case with the [Hanafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi) madhhab) right hand over left, does not invalidate the prayer, since leaving the hands down is a *recommended* act (while placing them together is regarded as offensive in the obligatory prayer, except for those who regard doing so to be sunnah).
* Looking straight ahead at eye-level (i.e. literally "facing" the Ka‘bah) during the standing and sitting parts of the prayer, rather than looking down towards the place of prostration (there is disagreement on this point, with many famous Mālikī scholars holding that one should look at the place of prostration, however, these are minor points related to concentration and humility before [Allah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allah) and in any case, one's posture should not be compromised).
* Not reciting any supplications before the Fātiḥah in obligatory prayers (the [Bismillah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bismillah), reciting "in the name of Allah, the most Gracious, the most Merciful" before the Fātiḥah.).
* [*Tashahhud*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tashahhud) - Turning the right-handed fist onto its side (so that the smallest finger is touching the thigh) and the right index finger is moved from side to side.
* *Taslīm* - Saying the ending *taslīm* only once ("al-salāmu ‘alaykum" while turning the head to the right); In other madhhabs it is common to say the *taslīm* twice, once to your right shoulder and once to the left.
* *Qunūt* is to be recited only in the morning prayer.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_note-oneummah-3)

### 2.3.3 Notable Mālikīs

* [Malik ibn Anas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malik_ibn_Anas) (714-796), Sunnī jurist
* [Sahnun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahnun) (AH 160/776-7 - AH 240/854-5), Sunnī jurist and author of the [*Mudawwanah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mudawwanah&action=edit&redlink=1), one of the most important works in Mālikī law
* [Ibn Abi Zayd](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Abi_Zayd) (310/922-386/996), Sunnī jurist and author of the *Risālah*, a standard work in Mālikī law
* [Yusuf ibn abd al-Barr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf_ibn_abd_al-Barr) (978–1071), Andalusian scholar
* [Ibn Tashfin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Tashfin) (1061-1106), one of the prominent leaders of the Almoravid dynasty
* [Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sheikh_Zayed_bin_Sultan_Al_Nahyan), 1st president of the UAE (1918 – 2 November 2004)
* [Mohammed bin Rashid Al Maktoum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_bin_Rashid_Al_Maktoum), Prime Minister of the UAE and ruler of Dubai emirate
* [Ibn Rushd](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Rushd) ([Averroes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Averroes)) (1126-1198), philosopher and scholar
* [Al-Qurtubi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qurtubi) (1214-1273)
* [Mohammed I ibn Nasr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_I_ibn_Nasr), ruler of Granada (1237–1273)
* [Shihab al-Din al-Qarafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shihab_al-Din_al-Qarafi) (1228–1285), Moroccan jurist and author who lived in Egypt
* [Khalil ibn Ishaq al-Jundi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khalil_ibn_Ishaq_al-Jundi) (d. ca. 1365), Egyptian jurist, author of [Mukhtasar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mukhtasar)
* [Ibn Battuta](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Battuta) (February 24, 1304-1377, explorer
* [Ibn Khaldūn](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khald%C5%ABn) (1332/AH 732-1406/AH 808), scholar, historian and author of the [Muqaddimah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muqaddimah)
* [Usman dan Fodio](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usman_dan_Fodio) (1754-1817), founder of the Sokoto Caliphate
* [Omar Mukhtar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omar_Mukhtar) (1862–1931), Libyan resistance leader
* [Ahmad al-Alawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_al-Alawi) (1869–1934), Algerian Sufi leader
* [Abu Ishaq al-Shatibi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Ishaq_al-Shatibi) (d. 1388), a famous Andalusian Maliki jurist
* [Qadi Iyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi_Iyad)
* [Muhammad Ash-Shanqeeti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ash-Shanqeeti)
* [Shaykh Abdalqadir as-Sufi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shaykh_Abdalqadir_as-Sufi)
* [Timothy Winter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timothy_Winter)
* [Hamza Yusuf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamza_Yusuf)
* [Sherman Jackson](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sherman_Jackson)
* [Haariss Ilyas Al-Maliki](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Haariss_Ilyas_Al-Maliki&action=edit&redlink=1)

### 2.3.4 Notes

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_ref-0) [Roland Anthony Oliver and Anthony Atmore, *Medieval Africa, 1250-1800*, Cambridge University Press, 2001, page 36](http://books.google.fr/books?id=4o-OZ5w-BmMC&pg=PA36&dq=mosqu%C3%A9e+de+kayrawan&hl=fr&ei=S5ahTaC-LMnYsgbd78TrDA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=3&ved=0CDcQ6AEwAg#v=onepage&q&f=false)
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_ref-1) The Risala of 'Abdullah ibn Abi Zayd al-Qayrawani: A Treatise on Maliki Fiqh. *Chapter 10: On How to Do the Fard Prayers and the Sunna and Nafila Prayers Connected with Them*
  3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_ref-2) *al-Intiqā’*, p. 44, which mentions that Ja‘far ibn Sulaymān (the governor of Medina) lashed the Imam in the year AH 146 (763 CE) and stretched out his arms until his hands became dislocated and so he was not able to place his hands one over the other in prayer. Imam Mālik wrote *al-Muwaṭṭah* two years after this happened.
  4. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki#cite_ref-oneummah_3-0) ["Salat According to Five Islamic Schools of Law"](http://www.oneummah.net/islam/salat.html) from Oneummah.net

### 2.3.5 External links

* [Biography of Imam Malik](http://www.haqislam.org/biographies/imam-malik.htm)

(<http://www.haqislam.org/biographies/imam-malik.htm>)

* [Translation of Mālik's *Muwaṭṭah*](http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/fundamentals/hadithsunnah/muwatta/)

(<http://www.usc.edu/dept/MSA/fundamentals/hadithsunnah/muwatta/>)

* [Aisha Bewley's homepage](http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/ABewley/) - includes translations of a variety of important Mālikī source texts (<http://ourworld.compuserve.com/homepages/ABewley/>)
* [Biographical summary of Imam Mālik](http://www.sunnah.org/publication/khulafa_rashideen/malik.htm)

(<http://www.sunnah.org/publication/khulafa_rashideen/malik.htm>)

## 2.4 Shafi'i

The **Shafi'i** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): شافعي‎ *Šāfiʿī* ) [madhhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab) is one of the schools of [fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh), or religious law, within the [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam) branch of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam). The Shafi'i school of fiqh is named after [Imām ash-Shafi'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Idris_ash-Shafi%27i).

### 2.4.1 Principles

The Shafi'i school of thought stipulates authority to four sources of [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurisprudence), also known as the [Usul al-fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usul_al-fiqh). In hierarchical order, the*usul al-fiqh* consist of: the Quran, the [Sunnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah) of the Islamic prophet [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad), [*ijmā'*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijma) ("consensus"), and [*qiyas*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiyas) ("analogy").

The Shafi'i school also refers to the opinions of Muhammad's companions (primarily [*Al-Khulafa ar-Rashidun*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rightly_Guided_Caliphs)). The school, based on Shafi'i's books *ar-Risala fi Usul al-Fiqh* and [*Kitab al-Umm*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kitab_al-Umm), which emphasizes proper *istinbaat* (derivation of laws) through the rigorous application of legal principles as opposed to speculation or conjecture.

Shafi'i's treatise *ar-Risala fi Usul al-Fiqh* is not to be mistaken or confused with the al-Risala of Imam Malik.

Imam Shafi'i approached the imperatives of the Islamic [Shariah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) (Canon Law) distinctly in his own systematic methodology. Imam Shafi'i, Imam Malik and Imam Ahmad ibn Hanbal almost entirely exclude the exercise of private judgment in the exposition of legal principles. They are wholly governed by the force of precedents, adhering to the Scripture and Traditions; they also do not admit the validity of a recourse to analogical deduction of such an interpretation of the Law whereby its spirit is adopted to the circumstances of any special case.

Shafi'i is also known as the "First Among Equals" for his exhaustive knowledge and systematic methodology to religious science.

### 2.4.2 The Imam

[*Muhammad ibn Idris ash-Shafi`i*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Idris_ash-Shafi%60i)

Shafi'i's [150 – 206 AH] full name is Abū ‘Abdu l-Lāh Muhammad ibn Idrīs ibn al-Abbās ibn ‘Uthmān ibn Shāfi‘ ibn as-Sa'ib ibn ‘Ubayd ibn ‘Abd al-Yazīd ibn al-Muttalib ibn ‘Abd Manaf. ‘Abd Manaf was the great great grandfather of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad). Based on this lineage, he is from the [Quraish](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quraysh_(tribe)) tribe.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_note-0) He was born in 150 AH (760 CE) in [Gaza](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza) in the same year [Imam Abu Hanifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Abu_Hanifa) died.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_note-1) [Al-Nawawī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yahya_ibn_Sharaf_al-Nawawi), a prominent Shāfiʻī scholar, cited [Sufyan ibn `Uyaynah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufyan_ibn_%60Uyaynah), one of al-Shafi`i's teachers, as being from "the grandfathers of the Shāfiʻī scholars in their methodology in [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh)".[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_note-Tahdhib-2)

As a member of the school of [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina), ash-Shafi'i worked to combine the pragmatism of the [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina) school with the contemporary pressures of the Traditionalists. The Traditionalists maintained that jurists could not independently adduce a practice as the *sunnah* of Muhammad based on [ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad) "independent reasoning" but should only produce verdicts substantiated by authentic [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith).

Based on this claim, ash-Shafi'i devised a method for systematic reasoning without relying on personal deduction. He argued that the only authoritative *sunnah* were those that were both of Muhammad and passed down from Muhammad himself. He also argued that *sunnah* contradicting the Quran were unacceptable, claiming that sunnah should only be used to explain the Quran. Furthermore, ash-Shafi'i claimed that if a practice is widely accepted throughout the Muslim community, it cannot be in contradiction of *sunnah*.

Ash-Shafi'i was also a significant poet. His poetry is noted for its beauty, wisdom, despite the fact that during his lifetime he stood off becoming a poet because of his rank as an [Islamic scholar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema). He said once:

**و لولا الشعر بالعلماء يزري**

**لكنت اليوم أشعر من لبيد**

*For scholars, if poetry did not degrade,*

I would have been a finer poet than [Labīd](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lab%C4%ABd).

However, the beauty of his poetry made people collect it in one famous book under the name [Diwān](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diwan_(poetry)) Imām al-Shafi'i. Many verses are popularly known and repeated in the Arab world as proverbs:

**نعيب زماننا و العيب فينا**

**و ما لزماننا عيب سوانا**

**و نهجو ذا الزمان بغير ذنب**

**و لو نطق الزمان لنا هجانا**

*We blame our time though we are to blame.*

No fault has time but only us.

We scold the time for all the shame.

Had it a tongue, it would scold us.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_note-3)

The al-Quran has brought a transformation to the Arab language especially in Arabic poetry,prose,etc thus shaping the from and essence of modern/contemporary Arabic poetry.

### 2.4.3 Importance of the Shafi'i School

#### 2.4.3.1 Demographics

The Shafi`i [madhhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab) is predominant in[Kurdistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdistan), [Northeast Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horn_of_Africa), parts of the [Arabian Peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabian_Peninsula) and [Southeast Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southeast_Asia).

The Shafi'i school is followed throughout the [Ummah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ummah) and is the official school of thought of most traditional scholars and leading [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam) authorities. It is also recognized as the official school of thought by the governments of [Brunei Darussalam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brunei) and [Malaysia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia). In addition, the government of [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia) uses this madhab for the Indonesian compilation of [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law.

It is the dominant school of thought in [Yemen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yemen), Lower [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria), the [Palestinian Territories](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian_territories), [Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan), [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia), [Malaysia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia), majority of the [North Caucasus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/North_Caucasus) (notably in [Chechnya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chechnya), [Dagestan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dagestan) and [Ingushetia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ingushetia)), [Kurdistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdistan) (East Turkey, North west Iran, North Iraq, Northern Syria), [Djibouti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Djibouti), [Eritrea](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eritrea), [Somalia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia), [Sudan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudan), [Maldives](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maldives), [Malaysia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia), [Brunei Darussalam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brunei) and [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia).

It is also practised by large communities in [Kuwait](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuwait), [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia) (in the [Hejaz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hejaz) and [Asir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/%27Asir_Province)), the [United Arab Emirates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Arab_Emirates), [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel), the [Swahili Coast](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Swahili_Coast), [Mauritius](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mauritius), [Singapore](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singapore), [South Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Africa), [Thailand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thailand), [Vietnam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vietnam), [Cambodia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cambodia), the [Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines), [Sri Lanka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sri_Lanka), [Ethiopia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethiopia), [Kazakhstan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakhstan) (by [Chechens](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chechen_people)) and Indian States of [Kerala](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerala) (most of the [Mappilas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mappila)), [Karnataka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karnataka) ([Bhatkal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bhatkal), [Mangalore](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mangalore) and [Coorg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coorg)districts), [Maharashtra](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maharashtra) (by [Konkani Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Konkani_Muslims)) and [Tamil Nadu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_Nadu).

The Shafi`i madhhab is second largest school, after the Hanafi madhab, of the Sunni branch of Islam in terms of followers. It is practiced by approximately a third (32%) of Sunni Muslims, or around 29% of all Muslims worldwide.

#### 2.4.3.2 Historical

The Shafi'i madhab was adopted as the official madhab during periods of the [Abbasid Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid_Caliphate), in the first century of the [Great Seljuq Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Seljuq_Empire), [Zengid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zengid) dynasty, [Ayyubid dynasty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayyubid_dynasty) and later the [Mamluk Sultanate (Cairo)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamluk_Sultanate_(Cairo)), where it saw its greatest development and application. It was also adopted by the [Kathiri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kathiri) state in [Hadhramawt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadhramawt) and most of rule of the [Sharif of Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharif_of_Mecca) and[Hijaz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hijaz).

Early European explorers speculated that T'ung-kan ([Hui people](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hui_people), called "Chinese Mohammedan") in [Xinjiang](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xinjiang) originated from Khorezmians who were transported to China by the Mongols, and that they were descended from a mixture of Chinese, Iranians, and Turkic peoples. They also reported that the T'ung-kan were [Shafi'ites](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27ite), which the Khorezmians were as well.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_note-4)

#### 2.4.3.3 Famous Shafi'i's

The Shafi'i Madhab is distinguished among all the Sunni Schools in having the most illustrious Islamic scholars in history, in all fields, among its followers. As Imam [al-Shafi'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Shafi%27i) emphasized the importance of muttasil [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) (connected) and undermined the relevance of mursal (skipped) [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith), his [madhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhab) found particular favour among hadith scholars.

[**Polymaths**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polymaths):

* Imam [Al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali), Authority in [Sufism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism), [Aqidah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqidah), [Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh), [Usul al-Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usul_al-Fiqh), and Logic.
* [Yahya ibn Sharaf al-Nawawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yahya_ibn_Sharaf_al-Nawawi), Sunni's second highest authority in Hadith, principal Shafi'i jurist; author of the *Sahih Muslim* commentary.
* [Suyuti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suyuti), Sunni authority in history, Quran, Fiqh, Tafsir, and Hadith
* [Fakhr al-Din al-Razi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fakhr_al-Din_al-Razi)
* [Ibn al-Nafis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_al-Nafis)

**In**[**Hadith**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith):

* [Muhammad al-Bukhari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Bukhari), Sunni's most prominent Hadith authority in verification
* [Muslim ibn al-Hajjaj](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_ibn_al-Hajjaj), student of Imam Bukhari.
* [Al-Tirmidhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Tirmidhi), Sunni authority in Hadith
* [al-Nasa'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Nasa%27i), Sunni authority in Hadith.
* [Al-Bayhaqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Bayhaqi), Sunni authority in Hadith; Shafiite authority in Fiqh
* [Ibn Majah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Majah), Sunni authority in Hadith
* [Hakim al-Nishaburi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hakim_al-Nishaburi), Sunni authority in Hadith
* [al-Daraqutni](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Daraqutni&action=edit&redlink=1), Sunni authority in Hadith
* [al-Tabarani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Tabarani), Sunni authority in Hadith
* [Ibn Khuzaymah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khuzaymah)
* [Ibn al-Salah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_al-Salah), hadith specialist
* [Yusuf ibn Abd al-Rahman al-Mizzi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf_ibn_Abd_al-Rahman_al-Mizzi)
* Shams al-Din [Dhahabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhahabi), Sunni authority in Hadith
* [Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hajar_al-Asqalani), Sunni's foremost authority in Hadith, author of the authoritative commentary of *Sahih Bukhari*.
* [Al-Sakhawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Sakhawi)
* [Al-Khatib al-Baghdadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Khatib_al-Baghdadi), A renowned Sunni expert in Hadith methodology and jurisprudence
* [Abd al-Rahim ibn al-Husain al-'Iraqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Rahim_ibn_al-Husain_al-%27Iraqi)

**In**[**Tafsir**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tafsir):

* [Ibn Jarir al-Tabari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Jarir_al-Tabari), Sunni most respected exegete
* [Ibn Kathir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Kathir), top-notch Sunni expert in Tafsir, Hadith, Biography and Fiqh.
* [Al-Baghawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Baghawi), Also known as "Reviver of Sunnah", well-known for his Ma'alim Al-Tanzil in Tafsir.
* [Baidawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baidawi)
* [Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Tha'labi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Muhammad_al-Tha%27labi)

**In**[**Fiqh**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh):

* [Al-Mawardi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mawardi), Sunni authority in Legal ordinances, history and Islamic governance.
* [Al-Juwayni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Juwayni)
* [Abu Ishaq al-Shirazi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Abu_Ishaq_al-Shirazi&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Ibn Daqiq al-'Id](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ibn_Daqiq_al-%27Id&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Zakariyah al-Ansari](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Zakariyah_al-Ansari&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Ibn Hajar al-Haytami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hajar_al-Haytami)
* [Shihab al-Din al-Ramli](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Shihab_al-Din_al-Ramli&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Shams al-Din al-Ramli](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Shams_al-Din_al-Ramli&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Sayf al-Din al-Amidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayf_al-Din_al-Amidi)
* [Siraj al-Din al-Bulqini](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Siraj_al-Din_al-Bulqini&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Ibn al-Mulaqqin](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ibn_al-Mulaqqin&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Al-Isnawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Isnawi&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Naqib_al-Misri)
* [Zainuddin Makhdoom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zainuddin_Makhdoom) al-Mallibari I and II, The Jurist and Historian (respectively) of [Kerala](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kerala)

**In**[**Aqidah**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqidah):

* [Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_al-Hasan_al-Ash%27ari), Leader of [Ash'ari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ash%27ari) [Aqidah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqidah).

**In**[**Sufism**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism)

* [Harith al-Muhasibi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harith_al-Muhasibi)
* [Junayd al-Baghdadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Junayd_al-Baghdadi)
* Sari al-Saqati
* [Ibn Khafif](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khafif)
* [Abd al-Karīm ibn Hawāzin Qushayri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Kar%C4%ABm_ibn_Haw%C4%81zin_Qushayri)
* [Abu Talib al-Makki](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Talib_al-Makki)
* [Imam al-Haddad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_al-Haddad)
* [Ahmad Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Ghazali)
* [Ayn al-Quzat Hamadani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayn_al-Quzat_Hamadani)
* [Abu al-Najib Suhrawardi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_al-Najib_Suhrawardi)
* [Shahab al-Din Suhrawardi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shahab_al-Din_Suhrawardi)
* [Yusuf Hamdani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf_Hamdani)
* [Ahmed ar-Rifa'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_ar-Rifa%27i)
* [Shams Tabrizi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shams_Tabrizi)
* [Safi-ad-din Ardabili](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Safi-ad-din_Ardabili) Is'haq Ardabili
* [Kamal Khujandi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kamal_Khujandi)

**In**[**History**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History)

* [Ali ibn al-Athir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_ibn_al-Athir)
* [Ibn 'Asakir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_%27Asakir)
* [Ibn Khallikan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khallikan)

**In**[**Arabic Language**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_Language)**Studies**

* [Raghib Isfahani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raghib_Isfahani)
* [Fairuzabadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fairuzabadi)
* Ibn Hisham al-Ansari

[**Statesmen**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Statesmen)

* [Saladin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saladin)
* [Nizam al-Mulk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nizam_al-Mulk)

### 2.4.4 Contemporary Shafi'i Scholars

* [Wahba Zuhayli](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahba_Zuhayli) - Professor of Jurisprudence at Damascus University.
* [Muhammad Sa'id Ramadan al-Buti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Sa%27id_Ramadan_al-Buti) - Head of Theology at Damascus University.
* [Muhammad Hasan Hitu](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Muhammad_Hasan_Hitu&action=edit&redlink=1), Leading Syrian scholar in Usul al-Fiqh.
* [Ali Gomaa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Gomaa) - [Grand Mufti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Mufti) of [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt).
* [Habib Umar bin Hafiz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habib_Umar_bin_Hafiz) - Founder of Dar al-Mustafa, a leading Islamic educational institute in Tarim, Yemen.
* [Habib Ali al-Jifri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habib_Ali_al-Jifri) - Popular scholar from [Yemen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yemen).
* [Abdullah al-Harari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_al-Harari) (1910 – September 2, 2008) - Started the Ahbash or Habashi movement, also known as the Association of Islamic Charitable Projects at [AICP.org](http://www.aicp.org/).
* Mustafa al-Bagha - A leading jurist from [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria).
* Mustafa al-Khinn - A leading jurist from [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria).
* [Afifi al-Akiti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afifi_al-Akiti) - University Research Lecturer in Islamic Studies at [University of Oxford](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Oxford).
* Taha Karan - A leading scholar and teacher from [South Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Africa).
* KH Said Aqil Siradj - Chairman of [Nahdlatul Ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nahdlatul_Ulama), the largest Islamic organisation in [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia).
* Achmad [Hasyim Muzadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasyim_Muzadi) - Former chairman of [Nahdlatul Ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nahdlatul_Ulama), the largest Islamic organisation in [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia).
* [Aboobacker Ahmad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aboobacker_Ahmad) - A. P. Sunni leader in Kerala and General Secretary of the Sunni Scholars’ Organisation of India.
* [Nuh Ha Mim Keller](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nuh_Ha_Mim_Keller) - Translator of [Imam Nawawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yahya_ibn_Sharaf_al-Nawawi)'s [Al-Maqasid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Maqasid) and [Ahmad ibn Naqib al-Misri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Naqib_al-Misri)'s [Umdat al-Salik wa Uddat al-Nasik](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umdat_al-Salik_wa_Uddat_al-Nasik).
* Munira Qubeysi - Leader of the Qubeysi movement in [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria).
* M Din Syamsuddin - Chairman of the Muhammadiyah movement in [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia).
* [Mohammad Salim Al-Awa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Salim_Al-Awa) - Leading Islamist thinker from [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt).
* Nuh Ali Salman al-Quda - Former Grand Mufti of [Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan).
* Abd al-Karim al-Khasawni - Mufti of [Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan).
* [Ahmed Kuftaro](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Kuftaro) - Former Grand Mufti of [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria).
* Seraj Hendricks - Mufti of Cape Town, South Africa.
* Omar Idris - Mufti of Ethiopia.
* Awang Abdul Aziz bin Juned - Mufti of Brunei.
* Abdullah Gymnastiar - Popular preacher in [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia)
* [Ahmad Syafi'i Maarif](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Syafi%27i_Maarif) - Prominent Indonesian intellectual.
* [Syed Muhammad Naquib al-Attas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syed_Muhammad_Naquib_al-Attas) - Leading Malaysian intellectual.
* [Taha Jabir Alalwani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taha_Jabir_Alalwani) - Leading scholar in the United States.
* [Zaid Shakir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaid_Shakir) - Prominent American scholar.
* Dato' Haji Nik Abdul Aziz Nik Mat - Malaysian spiritual leader.
* Ahmad al-Kubaysi - Iriqi scholar and preacher based in [Abu Dhabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Dhabi).
* Abd al-Salam al-Abbadi - Head of the International Islamic Fiqh Academy.
* Sayyid Hasan al-Saqqaf - Jordanian scholar and publisher.
* Azyumard Azra - A leading Indonesian scholar.
* Dato Osman Bakar - A leading Malaysian scholar.
* Ibrahim Kassim - The leading scholar in [Singapore](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singapore).
* Maarof Salleh - A leading scholar in [Singapore](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Singapore).

### 2.4.5 Notes

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_ref-0) Ibn Hazm, Jamharah Ansab al-'Arab
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_ref-1) al-Zubaidi, Taj al-'Urus under the header 'Shafa'a'. However, there are also early reports of his having been born in Ashkelon and Yemen, for which see Yahia (2009), 89-90.
  3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_ref-Tahdhib_2-0) al-Nawawi, Yahya ibn Sharaf (2005). Ali Mu`awwad and Adil Abd al-Mawjud. ed (in Arabic). *Tahdhib al-Asma wa al-Lughat*. **al-Asma**. Beirut: Dar al-Nafaes. pp. 314–6.
  4. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_ref-3) *Diwān Imām al-Shāfi‘ī*. Damascus, Syria: Karam Publishing House Verses are translated by Salma al-Helali.
  5. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i#cite_ref-4) Roerich Museum, George Roerich (2003). [*Journal Of Urusvati Himalayan Research Institute, Volumes 1-3*](http://books.google.com/books?id=yBO3pmzzhWkC&pg=PA526&dq=erh-hun-tze+a+mongols+chinese+inhabit&hl=en&ei=81-GTazoJYHQgAfrnfDYCA&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CD0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=erh-hun-tze%20a%20mongols%20chinese%20inhabit&f=false). Vedams eBooks (P) Ltd. p. 526. [ISBN](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Standard_Book_Number) [8179360113](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/8179360113). Retrieved 2010-6-28.

### 2.4.6 References

* Yahia, Mohyddin (2009). *Shafi'i et les deux sources de la loi islamique*, Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, [ISBN 978-2-503-53181-6](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/9782503531816)
* Rippin, Andrew (2005). *Muslims: Their Religious Beliefs and Practices* (3rd ed.). London: Routledge. pp. 90–93. [ISBN 0-415-34888-9](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/0415348889).
* Calder, Norman, Jawid Mojaddedi, and Andrew Rippin (2003). *Classical Islam: A Sourcebook of Religious Literature*. London: Routledge. Section 7.1.
* Schacht, Joseph (1950). *The Origins of Muhammadan Jurisprudence*. Oxford: Oxford University. pp. 16.
* Khadduri, Majid (1987). *Islamic Jurisprudence: Shafi'i's Risala*. Cambridge: Islamic Texts Society. pp. 286.
* Abd Majid, Mahmood (2007). *Tajdid Fiqh Al-Imam Al-Syafi'i*. Seminar pemikiran Tajdid Imam As Shafie 2007.
* al-Shafi'i,Muhammad b. Idris,"The Book of the Amalgamation of Knowledge" translated by A.Y. Musa in *Hadith as Scripture: Discussions on The Authority Of Prophetic Traditions in Islam*, New York: Palgrave, 2008

### 2.5.7 External links

* [Shafi'i Fiqh Legal Resource with Questions and Answers etc.](http://www.shafiifiqh.com/)

(<http://www.shafiifiqh.com/>)

* [Detailed Biography of Imam Shafi'i](http://www.sunnah.org/publication/khulafa_rashideen/shafii.htm)

(<http://www.sunnah.org/publication/khulafa_rashideen/shafii.htm>)

* [Short Biography of Imam Shafi'i](http://www.haqislam.org/biographies/imam-shafiee.htm)

(<http://www.haqislam.org/biographies/imam-shafiee.htm>)

* [Concise Summary of Imam Shafi'i](http://www.al-inaam.com/library/shaafiee.htm)

(<http://www.al-inaam.com/library/shaafiee.htm>)

* [Contribution of Imam Shafi'i](http://muslim-canada.org/contribution_shafi.html)

(<http://muslim-canada.org/contribution_shafi.html>)

* [Urdu Translation of Imam Shafi'is Kitaab-ur-Risala by Mubashir Nazir](http://www.mubashirnazir.org/ER/L0017-00-Risala.htm)

(<http://www.mubashirnazir.org/ER/L0017-00-Risala.htm>)

* [Review of Imam Shafi'i's al-Risala](http://consideredbookreviews.blogspot.com/2009/09/al-risala-imam-al-shafii.html)

(<http://consideredbookreviews.blogspot.com/2009/09/al-risala-imam-al-shafii.html>)

## 2.5 Ja'fari jurisprudence

**Jaʿfarī school of thought**, **Ja`farite School**, **Jaʿfarī jurisprudence** or **Jaʿfarī**[**Fiqh**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh)[[note A]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#endnote_A) is the school of [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) of most [Shi'a](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a) Muslims, derived from the name of [Jaʿfar as-Ṣādiq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27far_al-Sadiq), the 6th [Shi'a Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imamah_(Shi%27a_doctrine)). Jafaris are also know as [Twelvers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Twelvers)

It differs from the four schools or [madhhabs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhhab) of Sunni [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) in its reliance on [ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad), as well as on matters of inheritance, religious taxes, commerce, personal status and the allowing of temporary marriage or [mutʿa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikah_mut%E2%80%98ah).[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_note-0) However, despite these differences, there have been numerous fatwas regarding the acceptance of Jaʿfarī *fiqh* as an acceptable Muslim *madhhab* by Sunni religious bodies. These include the [Amman Message](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amman_Message) and a [fatwa by Al-Azhar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Azhar_Shia_Fatwa).

### 2.5.1 Branches

#### 2.5.1.1 Usuli

This school of thought utilizes [Ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad) by adopting reasoned argumentation in finding the laws of Islam. [*Usulis*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usuli) emphasize the role of [Mujtahid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujtahid) who was capable of independently interpreting the sacred sources as an intermediary of the [Hidden Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Mahdi)as and , thus, serve as a guide to the community.This meant that legal interpretations were kept flexible to take account of changing conditions and the dynamics of the times.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_note-Oxfordconcise-1) This school of thought is predominant among most of Shi'a.

According to idea developed by Ayatollah [Ruhollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruhollah_Khomeini), two kinds of Ja'fari jurisprudence can be recognized. One as [Conventional Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conventional_Fiqh) and another as [Dynamic Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dynamic_Fiqh). In Dynamic Fiqh, which is backed by the famous text book [Javaher-al-Kalem](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Javaher-al-Kalem&action=edit&redlink=1) ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): جواهر الكلم‎), one should consider the concept of time, era, and age ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): زمان‎) as well as the concept of place, location and venue ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): مکان‎). He stated that these two concepts have key role in the understanding and extraction of commandments.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_note-2)

#### 2.5.1.2 Akhbari

This school of thought takes a restrictive approach to ijtihad. This school has almost dead now and has very few followers left to this day. Although, some neo-Akhbaris have emerged in indian subcontinent but they do not belong to the old akhbari movement of bahrain. [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_note-Oxfordconcise-1)

### 2.5.2 Sub-articles

#### 2.5.2.1 Non-controversial fields

* [Ja'fari Islamic banking](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_Islamic_banking)

**Islamic banking** (or **participant banking**) ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): المصرفية الإسلامية‎) is [banking](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banking) or banking activity that is consistent with the principles of [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) (*Sharia*) and its practical application through the development of [Islamic economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics). Sharia prohibits the fixed or floating payment or acceptance of specific interest or fees (known as [Riba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) or [usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury)) for loans of money. Investing in businesses that provide goods or services considered contrary to Islamic principles is also [Haraam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haraam) (forbidden). While these [principles](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principles) may have been applied to historical Islamic economies, it is only in the late 20th century that a number of Islamic banks were formed to apply these principles to [private](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Private_bank) or semi-private [commercial](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commercial_bank) institutions within the Muslim community.

#### 2.5.2.2 Controversial fields

These are the fields of the Ja'fari jurisprudence that are controversial among Muslims.

* [Nikah Mut'ah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikah_Mut%27ah)

**Nikāḥ al-Mutʿah** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): نكاح المتعة‎ "pleasure marriage"), is a fixed-term marriage in Shi'a Islam. The duration of this type of marriage is fixed at its inception and is then automatically dissolved upon completion of its term. The marriage is contractual and is subject to renewal. Financial payments may be made between the couple, usually with the male paying the female known as [*mahr*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahr) or [dower](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dowry).

Nikāḥ al-Mut‘ah should not be confused with [Nikāḥ-e-Misyar (المسيار)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nikah_Misyar), or Misyar marriage, one of the forms of non-conventional marriage in [Sunni Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam) .

* [Taqiya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqiya)

**Taqiyya** (alternate spellings *taqiya*, *taqiyah*, *tuqyah*), meaning **religious** [**dissimulation**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dissimulation),[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqiya#cite_note-Momen-0) is a practice emphasized in [Shi'a Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Islam) whereby adherents may conceal their religion when they are under threat, [persecution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims), or compulsion. This means a legal dispensation whereby a believing individual can deny his faith or commit otherwise illegal or blasphemous acts while they are under those risks.

Taqiyya was developed to protect Shi'ites who were usually in minority and under pressure. In the Shi'a view, taqiyya is lawful in situations where there is overwhelming danger of loss of life or property and where no danger to religion would occur thereby.

The majority [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam) Muslims rarely found it necessary to hide their beliefs. However, there are examples of practicing Taqiyya among Sunnis where it was necessary. In the Sunni view, denying your faith under duress is "only at most permitted and not under all circumstances obligatory".

* [Wilayah al Faqih](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guardianship_of_the_Islamic_Jurists)

**Guardianship of the Jurist** or **Providence of the Jurist** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): **ولاية الفقيه**, [Persian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_language): **ولایت فقیه**, [Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urdu_language): **ولایت فقیه**, *Wilayat al Faqih*) is a post-Age-of-Occultation theory in [Shi'a Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Islam) which holds that Islam gives a [*faqih*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faqih) ([Islamic jurist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia)) or *fuqaha* (jurists) custodianship over people. [Ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama) supporting the theory disagree over how encompassing custodianship should be. One interpretation - **limited Guardianship of the Jurist** - holds that guardianship should be limited to [non-litigious matters](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#Sub-articles) (al-omour al-hesbiah) including religious endowments ([Waqf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf))[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guardianship_of_the_Islamic_Jurists#cite_note-autogenerated4-1) judicial matters and the property which no specific person is responsible for it. Another - "**Absolute Guardianship of the Jurist**" - maintains that Guardianship should include all issues for which [Prophet of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet_of_Islam) and [Shi'a Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Imam) have responsibility, including governance of the country. The idea of guardianship as rule was advanced by the Ayatollah [Ruhollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruhollah_Khomeini) in a [series of lectures in 1970](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hokumat-e_Islami_:_Velayat-e_Faqih_(book_by_Khomeini)) and now forms the basis of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran). The constitution of Iran calls for a *faqih*, or *Vali-ye faqih* (Guardian Jurist), to serve as the [Supreme Leader](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supreme_Leader) of the government. In the context of Iran, guardianship of the jurist is often referred to as "rule by the jurisprudent," or "rule of the Islamic jurist".

* [Bada'](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bada%27)
* **Badā'** (meaning: *"revealing after concealing"*, or "alteration in the divine will") is a [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) concept regarding [God](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/God). It refers to God revealing His true will about a decision, wherein the people thought His will had already been made on that issue. The Shia do **not** believe that God had no knowledge of the ultimate outcome.

The Shi’a concept of Bada’ can be thoroughly explained through the words of Ayatollah [Morteza Motahhari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morteza_Motahhari) (a disciple of [Ayatollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayatollah_Khomeini)):

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **“** | “In Islam there is an issue called bada' (revision). The concept of bada' has an apparent meaning which few would regard as acceptable. Some have even criticized the Shi'ah for believing in bada'. The meaning of bada' is revision in Divine Destiny (qada'), meaning that God has not fixed a definite and final form for the course of human history. In other words, God Says to man: "You yourselves are in charge of the fulfilment of Divine Destiny, and it is you who can advance, stop or reverse the course of history." There is no blind determinism either on the part of nature or the means of life or from the viewpoint of Divine Destiny, to rule over history.” | **”** |

Furthermore, bada' does not occur in the knowledge of God (which is absolute and unchanging, and is described as "al-lawh al-mahfûz” – i.e. the protected tablet), it can only occur in the knowledge of humans and angels (which is not necessarily absolute, and is described as "lawhu 'l-mahw wa 'l-ithbat” – i.e. the tablet that can be erased and re-written). An example of this is stated by Imam Ali:

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| **“** | "You read the Book (i.e., the Qur'an) at night as well as day; so is there anyone among you who knows what was revealed in it? If it had not been for a verse in the Book of Allah, I would have informed you of what has happened (in the past), what will happen, and what shall happen until the Day of Resurrection. And that is the verse: 'Allah erases and confirms what He Wishes, and with Him is the Mother of the Book.' [Surah [Ar-Ra'd](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ar-Ra%27d): 39]..." | **”** |

This last passage is significant; in it, although Imam 'Ali claims to have the access to 'ilmu 'l-ghayb (knowledge of the unseen) he acknowledges that it is totally dependent upon the will of Allah.

### 2.5.3 Notes

* [**^A**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#ref_A) In Arabic script: جعفري, [strict transcriptions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_romanization): Jaʻfarī or Ǧaʿfarī, /d͡ʒaʕfariː/; from the name: جعفر, Jaʻfar/Ǧaʿfar, /d͡ʒaʕfar/.

1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_ref-0) Nasr, Vali (2006), *The Shia Revival*, Norton, p. 69
2. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_ref-Oxfordconcise_1-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_ref-Oxfordconcise_1-1) [Oxford concise dictionary of Politics,2003:487]
3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ja%27fari_jurisprudence#cite_ref-2) ([Persian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_language): صحيفه نور) <http://www.tebyan.net/Html1/Sahife/html/21/289.htm>

* Oxford concise dictionary of Politics,2003

### 2.5.4 External links

* ["Jafari: Shii Legal Thought and Jurisprudence" from Oxford Islamic Studies Online](http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1153)

(<http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t125/e1153>)

* [Some of Shi'a Islamic Laws books](http://books.shiachat.com/)

(<http://books.shiachat.com/>)

* [Islamic Laws of G.A. Sayyid Abulqasim al-Khoei](http://www.al-islam.org/laws/al-khui/)

(<http://www.al-islam.org/laws/al-khui/>)

* [Islamic Laws of G.A. Fazel Lankarani](http://www.lankarani.org/eng/index.html)

(<http://www.lankarani.org/eng/index.html>)

* [Islamic Laws of G.A. Syed Ali al-Husaini Seestani](http://al-islam.org/laws/)

(<http://al-islam.org/laws/>)

* [Towards an Understanding of the Shiite Authoritative Sources](http://www.islamonline.net/English/artculture/2003/09/article03.shtml)

(<http://www.islamonline.net/English/artculture/2003/09/article03.shtml>)

## 2.6 Zaidiyyah

**Zaidiyya**, or **Zaidism** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic): الزيدية *az-zaydiyya*, adjective form **Zaidi** or **Zaydi**) is a [Shi'a](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a) [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) school of thought named after [Zayd ibn ʻAlī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zayd_ibn_Ali), the grandson of [Husayn ibn ʻAlī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husayn_ibn_Ali). Followers of the Zaydi [Islamic jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) are called Zaydi Shi'a. The Zaydi Shi'a have a unique approach within Shi'a Islamic thought that renders similarities with orthodox [Sunni Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni_Islam).

### 2.6.1 Five Zaidi Imāms

The Zaydis, [Twelvers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Twelvers) and [Ismailis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismailis) recognize the same first four Imāms of [Shi'a Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a_Islam), however, the Zaydis recognize [Zayd ibn Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zayd_ibn_Ali) as the Fifth Imām. After Zayd ibn Ali, the Zaydis recognize other descendants of [Hasan ibn ʻAlī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_ibn_Ali) or [Husayn ibn ʻAlī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husayn_ibn_Ali) as their Imāms. Other well known Zaydi Imāms in history were Yahya ibn Zayd, Muhammad al Nafs az-Zakiyah and Ibrahim ibn Abdullah.

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| [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) | Prophet of Islam |
| [Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_ibn_Abu_Talib) | 1st Imam |
| [Al-Hasan ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Tālib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_ibn_Ali) | 2nd Imam |
| [Hussein ibn ‘Alī ibn Abī Ṭālib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husayn_ibn_Ali) | 3rd Imam |
| [Zayn al-‘Ābidīn](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zayn_al-%E2%80%98%C4%80bid%C4%ABn) *(*[*Alī ibn Hussein ibn ‘Alī*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_ibn_Husayn)*)* | 4th Imam |
| [Zayd ibn ‘Alī ibn Hussein](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zayd_ibn_Ali) | 5th Imam |

### 2.6.2 Law

In matters of Islamic jurisprudence, the Zaydis follow Zayd ibn Ali's teachings which are documented in his book *Majmu'l Fiqh* (in [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): مجموع الفِقه). The Zaydi [*fiqh*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) is similar to the [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) [Hanafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi) school of Islamic jurisprudence.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-Sayyid_2005-0)

#### 2.5.2.1 Theology

In matters of theology, the Zaydis are close to the [Mu'tazili](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mu%27tazili) school, though they are not Mu'tazilite. There are a few issues between both schools, most notably the Zaydi doctrine of the [Imamah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imamah), which is rejected by the Mu'tazilites. Of the Shi'a, Zaydis are the most similar to [Sunnis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) and Zaydis utilize the jurisprudential tradition of the renowned Muslim jurist [Abu Hanifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hanifa).[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-1) Since Zaydi shares similar doctrines and jurisprudential opinions with Sunni Islamic scholars, Zaydis are even described by some analysts as the *fifth school of Sunni Islam*.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-2)

#### 2.5.2.2 Beliefs

Like all [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslims), the Zaydi Shi'a affirm the fundamental tenet of Islam known as the [Shahadah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shahadah) or testament of faith - *There is no deity worthy of worship except the One God (*[Allah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allah)*), and Muhammad is the messenger and servant of God*. Traditionally, the Zaydi Shi'a believe that Muslims who commit major sins without remorse should not be considered [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) nor be considered [Kaafir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kaafir), but rather be categorized in neither groups.

In the context of the Shi'a Muslim belief in spiritual leadership or [Imamah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imamah), Zaydis believe that the leader of the Muslim community (*Ummah*) must be a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad through his only surviving daughter [Fatimah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimah), whose sons were [Hasan ibn ʻAlī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_ibn_Ali) and [Husayn ibn ʻAlī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husayn_ibn_Ali).

The Zaydi Shi'a Muslims called themselves Zaydi so they could differentiate themselves from other Shi'a who refused to take up arms with Zayd ibn Ali and the later Zaydi Imams against oppression.

Zaydis believe Zayd ibn Ali was the rightful successor to the Imamate because he led a rebellion against the [Umayyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad) Dynasty, who he believed were tyrannical and corrupt. Muhammad al-Baqir did not engage in political action and the followers of Zayd believed that a true Imām must fight against corrupt rulers.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-Arab_East_1996.2C_p97-3) It is said the renowned Muslim jurist Imam [Abu Hanifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hanifa) delivered a [fatwa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatwa) or legal statement in favour of Imam Zayd in his rebellion against Umayyad ruler of his time.

In contrast to other Shi'a Muslims, the Zaydis do not believe in the infallibility of Imāms or that the Imāms receive divine guidance. Zaydis also do not believe that the Imāmate must pass from father to son but believe it can be held by any descendant from either Hasan ibn ʻAlī and Husayn ibn ʻAlī. It should be noted that the orthodox Shi'a [Ithna Ashari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ithna_Ashari) school, which constitutes the majority of Shi'a Muslims, does not necessarily believe in Imamate passing from father to son either, as can be seen from the transition of Imamate from the second Imam, Hasan ibn Alī, after his death to his brother, Husayn ibn Alī.

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| **“** | *The death of Imam Ali Zayn ul Abidin triggered the struggle for leadership between his two sons,* [*Muhammad al Baqir*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al_Baqir) *and Zayd... Zayd rejected the principle of hereditary succession to the Imamat, and asserted his own right to it on the ground that he was better qualified for it, because he fulfilled all the necessary conditions for this purpose including the one that the Imam must rise in revolt against the unjust, oppressive rulers.* | **”** |
| —Abdul Ali in Islamic dynasties of the Arab East: state and civilization during the later medieval times[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-Arab_East_1996.2C_p97-3) | | |

Zaydis, like Sunni Muslims, further reject the notion of [Occultation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Occultation) (*ghayba*) of the Hidden Imām. Like the [Ismā'īlīs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismaili), they believe in a living visible Imām.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-4)

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| **“** | *Of all the Shi'a schools of thought the Zaydis are the most moderate and tolerant as well as the nearest to Sunni Islam. They differ fundamentally from other Shi'a sects, especially the Twelvers and the Seveners, on the issue of Imamah.* | **”** |
| —Abdul Ali in Islamic dynasties of the Arab East: state and civilization during the later medieval times[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-5) | | |

In fact, the 8th Shi'a Twelver Imam, Ali al-Rida, narrated how his grandfather Jafar as-Sadiq (Patron of both Twelver and Ismaili Shi'a groups) also supported Zayd bin Ali's struggle:

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| **“** | he was one of the scholars from the Household of Muhammad and got angry for the sake of the Honorable the Exalted God. He fought with the enemies of God until he got killed in His path. My father Musa ibn Ja’far narrated that he had heard his father Ja’far ibn Muhammad say, *"May God bless my uncle Zayd...He consulted with me about his uprising and I told him,* "O my uncle! Do this if you are pleased with being killed and your corpse being hung up from the gallows in the al-Konasa neighborhood." After Zayd left, As-Sadiq said, "Woe be to those who hear his call but do not help him!". | **”** |
| —Imam [Ali ar-Ridha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_ar-Ridha)[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-6) | | |

Imam Jafar Sadiq's love for Zayd ibn Ali was so immense, he broke down and cried upon reading the letter informing him of his death and proclaimed:

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| **“** | *From God we are and to Him is our return. I ask God for my reward in this calamity. He was a really good uncle. My uncle was a man for our world and for our Hereafter. I swear by God that my uncle is a martyr just like the martyrs who fought along with God’s Prophet (s) or Ali (s) or Al-Hassan (s) or Al-Hussein(s)* | **”** |
| —Uyun Akhbar al-Reza- The Source of Traditions on Imam [*Ali ar-Ridha*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_ar-Ridha)[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-7) | | |

### 2.6.3 History

#### 2.6.3.1 Status of caliphs and sahaba

There was a difference of opinion amongst the companions and supporters of Zaid bin 'Ali, such as Abu'l Jarud Ziyad ibn Abi Ziyad, Sulayman ibn Jarir, Kathir an-Nawa Al-Abtar and Hasan ibn Salih, concerning the status of the first three [Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphs) of Islam who succeeded to the political and administrative authority of the Prophet Muhammad. The earliest group, called **Jarudiyya** (named for *Abu'l Jarud Ziyad ibn Abi Ziyad*), was opposed to the approval of certain [companions of Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahaba). They held that there was sufficient description given by the Prophet that all should have recognised [Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam) ['Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali). They therefore consider the Companions wrong in failing to recognise Imam 'Ali as the legitimate [Caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph). Thus, they deny real legitimacy to [Abu Bakr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Bakr), ['Umar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar) and ['Uthman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uthman); however, they avoid denouncing them.

They further condemn two other companions of Muhammad, [Talha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Talhah), [Zubair](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Zubayr), for their initial uprising against Caliph Ali.

This group was active during the late [Umayyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad) and early ['Abbasid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid) period. Its views, although predominant among the later Zaydis, especially in Yemen under the Hadawi sub-sect, [became extinct](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_extinct_Shia_sects) in Iraq and Iran due to forced conversion to Ithna' Ashariyya by the [Safawids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Safawid).

The second group, **Sulaimaniyya** (for *Sulayman ibn Jarir*), held that the Imamate should be a matter to be decided by consultation. They felt that the companions, including Abu Bakr and 'Umar, had been in error in failing to follow Imam 'Ali but it did not amount to sin. The third group is **Tabiriyya**, **Butriyya** or **Salihiyya** (for *Kathir an-Nawa Al-Abtar* and *Hasan ibn Salih*). Their beliefs are virtually identical to those of the Sulaimaniyya, except they see Uthman also as in error but not in sin.[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-Sayyid_2005_p.50.2C_51-8)

#### 2.6.3.2 Dynasties

##### 2.6.3.2.1 Idrisid dynasty

The [Idrisid dynasty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idrisid_dynasty) was a mostly Berber Zaydi dynasty centered around modern-day Morocco. It was named after its first leader [Idriss I](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss_I).

##### 2.6.3.2.2 Banu Ukhaidhir

The [Banu Ukhaidhir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banu_Ukhaidhir) was a dynasty that ruled in [al-Yamamah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yamamah) (central [Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabia)) from 867 to at least the mid-eleventh century.

##### 2.6.3.2.3 Hammudid dynasty

The [Hammudid dynasty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hammudid_dynasty) was a Zaydi synasty in modern day southern Spain.

#### 2.6.3.3 Community and former States

Since the earliest form of Zaydism was of the Jarudiyya group,[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-Sayyid_2005_p.50.2C_51-8) many of the first Zaidi states, like those of the [Alavids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alavids), [Buyids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buyids), [Ukhaidhirids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ukhaidhirids)[[*citation needed*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)] and [Rassids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rassids), were inclined to the Jarudiyya group.

The [Idrisids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idrisids) ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): الأدارسة‎) were [Arab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab)[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-9) [Zaydi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaydi) [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia)[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-10)[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-11)[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-12)[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-13)[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-14)[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-15) dynasty in the western [Maghreb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maghreb) ruling from [788](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/788) to [985](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/985) C.E., named after its first [sultan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan), [Idriss I](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Idriss_I).

A Zaydi state was established in [Daylaman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilan) and [Tabaristan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabaristan) (northern [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran)) in 864 C.E. by the [Alavids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alavids);[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-16) it lasted until the death of its leader at the hand of the Samanids in 928 C.E. Roughly forty years later the state was revived in [Gilan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilan) (north-western Iran) and survived under Hasanid leaders until 1126 C.E. After which from the 12th-13th centuries, the Zaydis of [Daylaman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilan), [Gilan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilan) and [Tabaristan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tabaristan) then acknowledge the Zaydi [Imams of Yemen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imams_of_Yemen) or rival Zaydi Imams within [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran).[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-17)

The [Buyids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buyids) were initially Zaidi[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-18) as well as the [Ukhaidhirite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banu_Ukhaidhir) rulers of [al-Yamama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Yamama) in the 9th and 10th centuries.[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-19)

The leader of the Zaidi community took the title of [Caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph). As such, the ruler of Yemen was known as the Caliph, [al-Hadi Yahya bin al-Hussain bin al-Qasim ar-Rassi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Hadi_ila%27l-Haqq_Yahya) [Rassids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rassids) (a descendant of Imam [al-Hasan](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Hasan_ibn_ali&action=edit&redlink=1)) who, at Sa'da, in c. 893-7 C.E., founded the Zaidi Imamate and this system continued until the middle of the 20th century, until the revolution of 1962 C.E. that deposed the Zaidi Imam (see [Imams of Yemen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imams_of_Yemen)). The founding Zaidism of Yemen was of the Jarudiyya group,[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-Sayyid_2005-0) however with the increasing interaction with Hanafi and Shafi'i Sunni Islam, there was a shift from the Jarudiyya group, especially the Hadawi sub-sect, to the Sulaimaniyya group.

Currently the most prominent Zaidi movement is the [Shabab Al Mu'mineen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shabab_Al_Mu%27mineen) (also known as [*Houthis*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houthis)) who have been engaged in an uprising against the Yemeni Government in which the Army has lost 743 men and thousands of innocent civilians have been killed or displaced by Houthi and government forces causing a grave humanitarian crisis in north Yemen. [Shia Population of the Middle East](http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/images/maps/MidEastReligionCore_lg.jpg)[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-20)

Some Persian and Arab legends record that Zaidis fled to [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) from the Umayyads during the 8th century ce.[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_note-21)

### 2.6.4 See also

[Dukayniyya Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dukayniyya_Shia) : the **Dukayniyya Shia** (named for one of its leaders, Abu Nu'aym al-Fadl ibn al-Dukayn) were a sect of the [Zaidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah) branch of [Shia Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia_Islam). The Dukayniyya Shia were led by Abu Nu'aym al-Fadl ibn al-Dukayn and Ibrahim ibn al-Hakam.

[Khalafiyya Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khalafiyya_Shia) : the **Khalafiyya Shia** (named for its founder Khalaf ibn Abd al-Samad) were a subsect of the [Zaidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah) branch of [Shia Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia_Islam).

[Khashabiyya Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khashabiyya_Shia) : the **Khashabiyya Shia** (named for their exclusive use of pieces of wood as weapons in their revolt against the [Ummayads](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ummayads) under the leadership of [Al-Mukhtar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mukhtar)) are an extinct subsect of the [Zaidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah) branch of [Shia Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia_Islam), even though they originated as followers of Al-Mukhtar and hence would have been expected to be categorized under the [Kaysanite Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kaysanites_Shia) sect. The Khashabiyya Shia were later known in [Khurasan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Khorasan) as the Surkhabiyya (named for their leader Surkhab al-Tabari).

### 2.6.5 References

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[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-1) [Sunni-Shi’i Schism: Less There Than Meets the Eye](http://www.wrmea.com/backissues/0591/9105024.htm) 1991 Page 24

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^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-Arab_East_1996.2C_p97_3-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-Arab_East_1996.2C_p97_3-1) *Islamic dynasties of the Arab East: state and civilization during the later medieval times* by Abdul Ali, M.D. Publications Pvt. Ltd., 1996, p97

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-4) *The Arab lands under Ottoman rule, 1516-1800* Jane Hathaway, Karl K. Barbir, 2008, p47

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[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-6) *UYUN AKHBAR AL-REZA -The Source of Traditions on Imam Reza* Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Hussein ibn Musa ibn Babawayh al-Qummi (Sheikh Sadooq), p466

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-7) *UYUN AKHBAR AL-REZA -The Source of Traditions on Imam Reza* Abu Ja'far Muhammad ibn Ali ibn Hussein ibn Musa ibn Babawayh al-Qummi (Sheikh Sadooq), p472

^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-Sayyid_2005_p.50.2C_51_8-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-Sayyid_2005_p.50.2C_51_8-1) Article by Sayyid 'Ali ibn 'Ali Al-Zaidi, A short History of the Yemenite Shi‘ites (2005) Referencing: Momen, p.50, 51. and S.S. Akhtar Rizvi, "Shi'a Sects"

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-9) Hodgson, Marshall (1961), *Venture of Islam*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, pp. 262

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-10) Ibn Abī Zarʻ al-Fāsī, ʻAlī ibn ʻAbd Allāh (1340), [*Rawḍ al-Qirṭās: Anīs al-Muṭrib bi-Rawd al-Qirṭās fī Akhbār Mulūk al-Maghrib wa-Tārīkh Madīnat Fās*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rawd_al-Qirtas), ar-Rabāṭ: Dār al-Manṣūr (published 1972), pp. 38

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-11) [*http://hespress.com/?browser=view&EgyxpID=5116*](http://hespress.com/?browser=view&EgyxpID=5116), <http://hespress.com/?browser=view&EgyxpID=5116>

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-12) [Introduction to Islamic theology and law, By Ignác Goldziher, Bernard Lewis, pg.218](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=6zeStDQZOSgC&pg=PA218&dq=Idrisid+dynasty+zaydi&as_brr=3&cd=1#v=onepage&q=Idrisid%20dynasty%20zaydi&f=false)

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-13) [Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics, Part 24, By James Hastings, pg.844](http://books.google.com.au/books?id=XBwOF6jXBdIC&pg=PA844&dq=Idrisid+dynasty+zaidi&as_brr=3&cd=1#v=onepage&q=&f=false)

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-14) [The Idrisids](http://www.iis.ac.uk/view_article.asp?ContentID=101310)

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-15) [Shi'ah tenets concerning the question of the imamate](http://www.muslimphilosophy.com/ik/Muqaddimah/Chapter3/Ch_3_25.htm)

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-16) Article by Sayyid 'Ali ibn 'Ali Al-Zaidi, A short History of the Yemenite Shi‘ites (2005) Referencing: Iranian Influence on Moslem Literature

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-17) Article by Sayyid 'Ali ibn 'Ali Al-Zaidi, A short History of the Yemenite Shi‘ites (2005) Referencing: Encyclopedia Iranica

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[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-19) Madelung, W. "al-Uk̲h̲ayḍir." Encyclopaedia of Islam. Edited by: P. Bearman, Th. Bianquis, C.E. Bosworth, E. van Donzel and W.P. Heinrichs. Brill, 2007. Brill Online. 07 December 2007 [[1]](http://www.brillonline.nl/subscriber/entry?entry=islam_SIM-7693)

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-20) [The](http://gulf2000.columbia.edu/maps.shtml) [Gulf 2000 Project](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_2000_Project) SIPA Columbia University

[**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zaidiyyah#cite_ref-21) Donald Daniel Leslie (1998). ["The Integration of Religious Minorities in China: The Case of Chinese Muslims"](http://www.islamicpopulation.com/asia/China/China_integration%20of%20religious%20minority.pdf). The Fifty-ninth George Ernest Morrison Lecture in Ethnology. p. 6. <http://www.islamicpopulation.com/asia/China/China_integration%20of%20religious%20minority.pdf>. Retrieved 30 November 2010. .

### 2.6.6 External links

[Zayiddiyah](http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/shia/zaydi.html) (<http://philtar.ucsm.ac.uk/encyclopedia/islam/shia/zaydi.html>)

[Zaydism](http://www.princeton.edu/~batke/itl/denise/zaydism.htm) (<http://www.princeton.edu/~batke/itl/denise/zaydism.htm>)

[Majlais Al Mohammed](http://www.al-majalis.com) (<http://www.al-majalis.com/>)

## 2.7 Ibadi

The **Ibāḍī movement**, **Ibadism** or **Ibāḍiyya** (Arabic: الاباضية al-Ibāḍiyyah) is a form of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) distinct from the [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) and [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) denominations. It is the dominant form of Islam in [Oman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oman) and [Zanzibar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zanzibar). Ibadis can also be found in parts of [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria), [Tunisia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunisia), as well as [Libya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya).

Believed to be an off-shoot of one of the earliest schools, [Khawarij](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khawarij), it is said to have been founded less than 50 years after the death of the prophet [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad). Historians as well as mainstream Muslims believe that the denomination is a reformed Islamic sect, formally known as the [Khawarij](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kharijites) or Kharijites. However, Ibadis continue to deny any relation to the Kharijites (Khawarij).

### 2.7.1 Origin

The school derives its name from [Abdullah ibn Ibadh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_ibn_Ibadh) [at-Tamīmī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bani_Tamim). Followers of this sect, however, claim its true founder was Jabir ibn Zaid al-'Azdi from Nizwa, Oman.

### 2.7.2 Views

Ibadi communities are generally regarded as conservative, for example Ibadiyya rejects the practice of [*qunut*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qunut) or supplications while standing in prayer.

Their views assimilate that of the Ibadin, in which they believe that the attitude of a true believer to others is expressed in three religious obligations:

* *walāyah*: friendship and unity with the practicing true believers, and with the Ibadi Imams.
* *barā'ah*: dissociation (but not hostility) towards unbelievers and sinners, and those destined for Hell.
* *wuqūf*: reservation towards those whose status is unclear.

The only noticeable difference between the Ibadi and traditional Kharijites is that the Ibadi have abandoned labelling other Muslims as [Kafir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kafir), although they still dissociate themselves from the Non-Muslims.

#### 2.7.2.1 Doctrinal differences with Sunni Islam

Ibadis also have several doctrinal differences with orthodox Sunni Islam, chief among them:

* Muslims will not see God on the [Day of Judgment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_view_of_the_Last_Judgment). This is derived from the Qur'an where [Musa (Moses)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moses) is told upon asking to see God, "You shall not see me." This is contrary to the mainstream Sunni belief that Muslims will see God with their eyes on the day of Judgment.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibadi#cite_note-0) This matches the beliefs of [Shia Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia_Islam). The [Imam Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Ali) said in [Nahj al-Balagha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nahj_al-Balagha): "Eyes cannot see Him, but he can be seen by the realities of faith".
* Whosoever enters the Hellfire, will live therein forever. This is contrary to the Sunni belief that those Muslims who enter the Hellfire will live therein for a fixed amount of time, to purify them of their shortcomings, after which they will enter Paradise. Sunnis also believe, however, that unbelievers in "One God" (Ahad-Allah, meaning the oneness of God, without association of others with God) will be in the Hellfire forever. (This may be compared to the differing Christian opinions on [purgatory](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Purgatory).)
* The Qur'an was created by God at a certain point in time. The Sunni community holds that the Qur'an is the speech of Allah, as exemplified by the suffering of Imam [Ahmad ibn Hanbal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_ibn_Hanbal) during the [*Mihna*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mihna). Much of the Shi'a community also holds that the Qur'an was created, one of many theological beliefs that they share with the [Mu'tazilah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mu%27tazili).

#### 2.7.2.2 Views on Islamic history and caliphate

Ibadis agree with Sunnis in approving of [Abu Bakr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Bakr) and [Umar ibn al-Khattab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar_ibn_al-Khattab), whom they regard as the two rightly-guided [Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph). They regard [Uthman ibn Affan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uthman_ibn_Affan) as having introduced [*bid'ah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bid%27ah) "innovations" into Islam, and approve of the revolt which overthrew him. They also approve of the first part of [Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali)'s caliphate, and, like Shi'as, disapprove of [Aisha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aisha)'s rebellion against him and also disapprove of [Muawiya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muawiya)'s revolt. However, they regard Ali's acceptance of arbitration at the [Battle of Siffin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Siffin) against Muawiya's rebels as un-Islamic and as rendering him unfit for the Imamate, and they condemn Ali for killing the Muslims of *an-Nahr* in the [Battle of Nahrawan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Battle_of_Nahrawan).

In their belief, the fifth legitimate [Caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph) was [Abdullah ibn Wahb al-Rasibi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Abdullah_ibn_Wahb_al-Rasibi&action=edit&redlink=1). All [Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph) from Muawiya onwards are regarded as tyrants except [Umar ibn Abdul Aziz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar_ibn_Abdul_Aziz), on whom opinions differ. However, various later Ibadi leaders are recognized as true [imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam), including [Abdullah ibn Yahya al-Kindi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Abdullah_ibn_Yahya_al-Kindi&action=edit&redlink=1) of South Arabia and the imams of the [Rustamid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rustamid) dynasty in North Africa.

#### 2.7.2.3 View of hadith

Ibadis accept as authentic far fewer hadith than do Sunnis, and some hadith accepted by Ibadis are rejected by Sunnis. Ibadi jurisprudence, naturally, is based only on the hadith accepted by Ibadis. Several of Ibadism's founding figures – in particular Jabir ibn Zayd – were noted for their hadith research, and Jabir ibn Zayd is accepted as a reliable narrator by Sunni scholars as well as by Ibadi ones.

The principal hadith collection accepted by Ibadis is [*al-Jami'i al-Sahih*](http://www.islamfact.com/books-htm/ibadi/39.htm)*[*[*dead link*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Link_rot)*]*, also called *Musnad al-Rabii ibn Habib*, as rearranged by Abu Ya'qub Yusuf b. Ibrahim al-Warijlani. Ibadi jurists use the rules set by Abu Ya'qub al-Warijlani to determine the reliability of a hadith. These are largely similar to those used by Sunnis.

Ibadi jurists, however, criticize some of [Muhammad's companions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahaba), believing that some were corrupted after the reign of the first two caliphs. Still, they accept hadith narrating the words of the companions as a third basis for legal rulings, alongside the Qur'an and hadith relating Muhammad's words.

### 2.7.3 Demographics

Ibadi Muslims make up a majority (roughly 75%) of the population in [Oman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oman).[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibadi#cite_note-1) They are also found in the [Nafusa Mountains](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nafusa_Mountains) in [Libya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya), [M'zab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%27zab), Aures in [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria),[Zanzibar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zanzibar) islands of [Pemba Island](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pemba_Island) and [Unguja](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unguja) and [Djerba Island](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Djerba) in [Tunisia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunisia). The early medieval [Rustamid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rustamid) dynasty in [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria) was Ibadi, and refugees from its capital [Tahert](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tahert) founded the North African Ibadi communities which exist today in the [Mozabite Valley](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M%27zab).

### 2.7.4 References

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibadi#cite_ref-0) Muhammad ibn Adam al-Kawthari. ["Seeing God in dreams, waking, and the afterlife."](http://qa.sunnipath.com/issue_view.asp?HD=7&ID=6259&CATE=24). <http://qa.sunnipath.com/issue_view.asp?HD=7&ID=6259&CATE=24>.
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibadi#cite_ref-1) <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/mu.html#People>

### 2.7.5 External links

* [Ibadi Islam: an introduction](http://www.uga.edu/islam/ibadis.html) (<http://www.uga.edu/islam/ibadis.html>)
* [A Concise History of al-Ibadiyyah](http://www.angelfire.com/ok5/ibadhiyah/history.html) (<http://www.angelfire.com/ok5/ibadhiyah/history.html>)
* [Ibn-Ibad and the Ibadi School of Islamic Law](http://www.muslimheritage.com/topics/default.cfm?TaxonomyTypeID=107&TaxonomySubTypeID=-1&TaxonomyThirdLevelID=-1&ArticleID=483) (<http://www.muslimheritage.com/topics/default.cfm?TaxonomyTypeID=107&TaxonomySubTypeID=-1&TaxonomyThirdLevelID=-1&ArticleID=483>)

## 2.8 Ẓāhirī

**Ẓāhirī** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): ظاهري‎), is a [school of thought](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab) in [Islamic jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) and [Aqida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aqida). The school is named after one of its early prominent jurists, **Dawud ibn Khalaf al-Zahiri** (d. 270/883),[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahiri#cite_note-0) and is known for its insistence on sticking to the manifest (*zahir*) or literal meaning of expressions in the Qur'an and the Sunnah; the followers of this school are called *Zahiriyah*.

### 2.8.1 History

While those outside the school of thought often point to Dawud Al-Zahiri as the "founder" of the school, followers of the school themselves tend to look to earlier figures such as [Sufyan al-Thawri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufyan_al-Thawri) and [Ishaq Ibn Rahwayh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ishaq_Ibn_Rahwayh) as the forerunners of Zahiri principles.

In history, the Zahiri understanding has been persecuted by those preferring to interpret the texts by their inward meanings; this happened to such an extent that many of the scholars of [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) and [Shi'ite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27ite) sects have labeled the Zahiri school extinct, although it is not clear that this is the case.

### 2.8.2 Principles

The Zahiri school of thought recognizes three sources of the [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) or Islamic law, known as [Usul al-fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usul_al-fiqh) or the principles of [jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurisprudence). The first is the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), considered by Muslims to be the word of [God](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/God); the second is the [Sunnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah), which consists of the sayings and actions of the [prophets in Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_prophet) [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad); the last is [Ijma](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijma), or absolute consensus of the Muslim community.

The school differs from the more prolific schools of Islamic thought in that it restricts consensus in jurisprudence to the consensus of the [Sahaba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahaba), the first generation of Muslims who lived alongside Muhammad, only. While [Ahmad bin Hanbal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_bin_Hanbal) agreed with them in this, the followers of the [Hanbali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali) school do not, nor do the other three Sunni schools. Additionally, the Zahiri school does not accept [Qiyas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiyas) or analogical reasoning as a source of Islamic law, nor do they accept the practice of [Istihsan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istihsan); while [Shafi'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%27i) and followers of his school agree with the Zahiris in rejecting the latter, all other Sunni schools accept the former, but at varying levels.

It should be known that the name Zahiri itself is not endorsed by the adherents of this method, using other textual proof to suggest that there is no name to be known by except what has been mentioned thereby in the religious texts. God said, "He named you submitters [Arabic *muslimeen*] from before and in this." ([Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) 22:76) [Ibn Hazm](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hazm), a well-known practitioner and teacher of this school, would refer to himself and those who followed this view as *ashab al-zahir*, or "the people of the literal sense," defining rather than labeling.

### 2.8.3 Notable Zahiris

Discerning who exactly is an adherent to the Zahiri school of thought can be difficult because many followers of other schools of thought adopted certain viewpoints of the Zahiris, holding "Zahirite leanings" without actually adopting the school of thought.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahiri#cite_note-1) Some followers of other schools of thought would adopt Zahiri positions such as negation of analogical reasoning or the restriction of consensus to the consensus of the first generation of Muslims exclusively, for example, without leaving their own schools of thought.

#### 2.8.3.1 Sympathizers with the Zahiri School

* [Muhammad al-Bukhari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Bukhari) (d. 870AD)
* [Muhammad ibn Jarir al-Tabari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Jarir_al-Tabari) (d. 923AD)
* [Muhammad ash-Shawkani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ash-Shawkani) (d. 1834AD)
* [Ahmad Muhammad Shakir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Muhammad_Shakir) (d. 1958AD)
* [Muhammad Nasiruddin al-Albani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Nasiruddin_al-Albani) (d. 1999AD)

#### 2.8.3.2 Followers of the Zahiri School

* [Ibn Hazm](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hazm) (d. 1064AD)
* [Abu Hayyan Al Gharnati](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hayyan_Al_Gharnati) (d. 1344AD)
* [Muhammad Taqi-ud-Din al-Hilali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Taqi-ud-Din_al-Hilali) (d. 1987AD)
* [Badee-ud-Deen Shah as-Sindhee](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Badee-ud-Deen_Shah_as-Sindhee) (d. 1996AD)
* [Muqbil bin Haadi al-Waadi'ee](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muqbil_bin_Haadi_al-Waadi%27ee) (d. 2001AD)

### 2.8.4 See also

[Zahir (Islam)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahir_(Islam)) : According to some [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) groups, **zahir** is the [exoteric](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exoteric) or apparent meaning of the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran). In other words, this refers to interpretations of Quranic doctrine that are conducted by normal human beings. The other component of the Quran is the [Batin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Batin_(Islam)), or the underlying, esoteric dimension of the Quran, which can only be interpreted by a figure of esoteric knowledge, who for Shi'a Muslims is [the Imam of the Time](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imamah_(Shi%27a_doctrine)).

[Ismaili](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismaili) Muslims adhere to the Sufi principle of balance between the Zahir and the spirit or the intellect that the Zahir represents

### 2.8.5 References

1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahiri#cite_ref-0) Wael B. Hallaq, *The Origins and Evolution of Islamic Law* (Cambridge University Press, 2005), p. 124.
2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zahiri#cite_ref-1) [Zaharism by Omar A. Farrukh, Ph.D, Member of the Arab Academy, Damascus (Syria)](http://www.al-islam.org/historyofmuslimphilosophy/17.htm)

# 3 The Challenge of modernity and the initial stages of intellectual reaction

[Globalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization) has been internalized in Arabic as “awlaama” [[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-fawcett-0) and refers to the spread throughout the globe of ideas, customs, institutions, and attitudes originated in one part of the world [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) which are usually [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_culture) in origin. For this reason it has often been perceived as largely equivalent to [Westernization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westernization) and is still widely regarded as an external threat rather than as an opportunity[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-fawcett-0). In the [Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East) the decade of globalization was marked by endless wars, intrusive US [hegemony](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hegemony), renewed economic dependency and continuing insecurity.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-hinnebusch-2) Globalization was ushered into the [Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East) by a war which gave the [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) victors excessive power over the region [[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-hinnebusch-2) and created a violent [anti-globalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-globalization) struggle. As some authors argue, it has strengthened [Islamic fundamentalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism) [[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-griffel-3) and, due to its ambiguity created a contradictory and tension filled situation.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) Globalization thus often acted as an obstacle rather than an impetus to [democratization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratization).

Against most expectations, the processes of globalization hence proved highly turbulent and have generated new conflicts, hostilities and exclusions throughout the world.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4)Oppositional individuals and groups are now able to participate in global culture and politics through gaining access to global communication and media networks and to circulate local struggles and oppositional ideas through these media. Initially globalization was expected to spread the zone of peace by delivering economic prosperity which people would not want to sacrifice in conflicts.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-hinnebusch-2) Instead the imposition of [structural adjustment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Structural_adjustment), of unpopular and inequitable peace treaties together with the US campaign against [terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism), led to more unrest and instability. This helped to create a chain reaction as the victims of [economic liberalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_liberalization) appear to be among the main constituents of Islamic opposition movements. [[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-hinnebusch-2)

## 3.1 Views on globalization

### 3.1.1 The [Arab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab) and Muslim intellectuals

[Cultural identity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_identity) is at great value in the Middle East. For this reason, Arab and Muslim intellectuals have been deeply concerned about maintaining their cultural identity and independence in the face of globalization, especially as it is seen by most as equivalent to [Americanization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Americanization).[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5) [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslims) have always been proud and sensitive about their religion because [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) is not only a faith but also a law, a “[sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia)” that regulates all aspects of their life, including economic transactions, marriage and divorce, and matters of state. According to Fauzi Najjar, [[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5)the Arab intelligentsia is divided into three different attitudes toward globalization:

* The first group consists of those who reject it as “the highest stage of [imperialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperialism)” and a “cultural invasion” threatening to dominate people and destroy their cultural heritage and national identity.
* The second group of Arab thinkers welcomes globalization as the age of modern science, advanced technology and global communications. It calls for interaction with globalization in order to benefit from its “positive opportunities” without necessarily losing the Arab-Islamic cultural individuality.
* The third group he says “naively” calls for finding a middle ground, an appropriate form of globalization that is compatible with the national and cultural interests of people.

There is also a minority who strongly advocates globalization. In their opinion, globalisation has become the “discourse of the age” [[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5)and Dr. Fuad Zakariya, an Egyptian professor of philosophy, is amongst them. He argues that those who oppose globalization in fact do not understand its meaning and implications fully and reminds his compatriots that there are certain problems that can only be tackled at a global level.

### 3.1.2 The Jihadists

[Radical Islamists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_Islamist) view globalization as a new [dawah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dawah)(call) for the elimination of the boundaries between [Dar al-Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dar_al-Islam) (domain of Islam) and Dar al-Kufr (domain of infidelity).[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5) Globalization is thought to lead to unrestricted freedom in the name of [human rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights), as understood in the West, and to [libertinism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libertinism), the distinguishing characteristics of the decadence of [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_culture) civilization. The inability to separate religious and mundane matters or religion and state [[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5) has therefore created resistance and rigidity which at times has culminated in a defensive call for a fight against the enemy. Globalized organizations inspired by globalization are now fighting against it. In their view, the use of violence or [terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism) will supposedly allow Muslims to see through the West’s lies and to force the seemingly powerful but cowardly West to retreat from the Islamic world and await its final defeat.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-walton-6) The imperialistic domination of the Muslim world, the support for [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel) and the current invasions of [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) and [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) have intensified Muslim fears and increased hatred towards the West, making them “view globalization with terror.” [[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-fawcett-0) Globalization threatens to undermine Islam and to remove it from the everyday “thought and actions” of Muslims. [Human rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights), [freedom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_freedom) and [democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy) are perceived as hidden instruments of power which serve the interests of [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) nations, and of [America](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States), in particular.[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5)

## 3.2 Reactions to globalization

Some authors [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) claim that the general reaction to globalization among the Arab states has been a negative or a defensive one. The key reason for the rejection [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) may be the lack of previous cultural penetration of the Islamic Middle East by [Western culture](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_culture), institutions and ideas. In this context globalization was seen as a form of surrender to a dominant, non-indigenous standpoint.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) Islam, a religion governed by its own set of laws, developed an alternate world view with many of the elements of globalization contradicting it. It has a powerful and cohesive community which at times acts like a cultural defence wall [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) against the [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) influence and, as a result, limits the use of [European languages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_languages) in the [Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East). The rejection of globalization also appeared due to the political systems that governed the Middle East.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) Mostly [autocratic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Autocratic), the Middle Eastern [regimes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regimes) have learned how to survive and mobilize mass support against globalization. [Repression](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_repression) and [demagoguery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demagoguery) were some of the tools used to convince the masses that anti-globalization was the only way of defending the Arab nation and Islam. People were thus discouraged from supporting elements of globalization like democracy, free enterprise, civil and human rights.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1)

In his book ‘The West and the Rest: Globalisation and the Terrorist Threat’, [Roger Scruton](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roger_Scruton) [[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-scruton-7) contests that by imposing itself and its values on the entire world through the globalization process, the West is creating the conditions for conflict to occur between other cultures. It has made itself impossible to ignore and was at the very cause of an anti-[Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) movement and an international [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad). Globalization brought face to face two very confident and incompatible ideas and the battle for dominance has been transformed into what is known as terrorism or “the dark side of globalization”.

Rather than reflecting a specific [ideology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ideology), [terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism) represents nostalgia (for pre-modern civilisation) and has been the result of a clash between [modernization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modernization) and [tradition](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tradition).[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-Campbell-8) Though violent, it can also be seen as an unacceptable response to destructive imperial national policies which themselves must be transformed if a world without terror is possible.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) [Bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bin_Laden)’s [Al Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Qaeda) network represents bad globalization and the perverted use of technology but in a sense the Al Qaeda [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) is the reverse image of [McWorld](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/McWorld), [[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-barber-9) which imposes its Jihad on local culture and tradition, wanting to create the world in its own image. Just as Al Qaeda dreams of imposing a radical Islam on the world, taking over and destroying [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_culture) infidel culture, [McDonald’s](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/McDonald%E2%80%99s) wants to destroy local and traditional eating habits and cuisine and replace them with a globalized and universalized menu.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4)

A more balanced view on the Arab response [[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-walton-6) is that rather than creating a unified anti-[Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) block, globalization is feeding a great debate within the Islamic civilization about how Muslims should adjust to modernity. Much more than being against the West, Muslims are interested in re-establishing an Islamic unity and incorporating [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) technology and science into Islam.[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-alamdari-10)

## 3.3 Who is influencing whom?

There is considerable debate about Middle Eastern participation in globalization and about who is influencing whom along the way. While some critics argue that the Arab world is opposing globalization some others feel that it has strengthened [Islamic fundamentalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism) by facilitating extensive networks of formerly dissociated Muslims.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-griffel-3) In this view the Middle East can even be considered as one of its driving forces. The increase in the flow of information, communication and mobility has served Muslim [fundamentalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fundamentalism) but in a different way from the West. Whereas the latter is more profit –driven, the Islamists ideal of a globalized society is a network-connection of all Muslims in order to promote their definition of the world.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-griffel-3)

One example showing how Muslims use globalization to strengthen and promote their community can be found in [Abu Basir](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Abu_Basir&action=edit&redlink=1)’s book of rulings, where he uses the Islamic principle of "the necessities allow the prohibited".[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-paz-11) Here he claims that, just as Muslims can drink wine or eat pork in order to save themselves from starving, they can also migrate to the [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) ‘infidel countries’ to save themselves from the oppressive governments of their homelands. He goes even further stating that immigration is allowed also ‘in order to enforce the Muslims and weaken the infidels. One of the goals of immigration is the revival of the duty of Jihad and enforcement of their power over the infidels. Immigration and Jihad go together: one is the consequence of the other and dependent upon it. The continuance of the one is dependent upon the continuation of the other.’

From this point of view [globalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization) and [Westernization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westernization) are no longer counterparts. Islamist movements are themselves the driving forces behind globalization [[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-griffel-3) influencing its direction and final outcome. Probably one of the most important outcomes of this process has been the creation of a standard understanding for what the words “Islam” and “Islamic” mean. Prior to the changes that accompanied globalization each community had the opportunity to determine its own interpretation of the Islamic message, whereas now the norms are increasingly imposed by conservative Islamic groups.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-griffel-3) Given the circumstances, it seems that rather than opposing globalization, the Islamic world has found its own way of leading the process in a totally different direction. Therefore globalization means ‘many things to many people.’[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-12)

## 3.4 Terrorism made easy: 9/11

The experiences of September 11th categorized by President [George W. Bush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush) as ‘the first war of the twenty-first century’ and the first major war in the age of globalization [[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-Campbell-8) brought into focus the contradictions generated by this phenomenon. We are now experiencing an extremely complex phenomenon which both divides and unifies the world we live in.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) While connecting parts of the world that were previously cut off it also ignores and bypasses other regions, and along with this produces enemies whilst it incorporates participants. The circulation of commodities, technology, money and ideas facilitate networks of terror as well as trade and travel.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4)Although it was supposed to promote democracy it was often the case that globalization forces inhibited it [[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) leading to an intensification of local and global political conflicts as was the case of the Middle East.

Technological achievements, capital mobility and free movement of people that resulted from the process thus allowed terrorism to express its local grievances and attack key symbols of American power in a way that had never been done before. In the case of 9/11 Al Qaeda presented an example of the unpredictable nature of a globally connected and networked society [[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) where a hidden network dedicated its whole activity to attacking the US. According to Hinnebusch [[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-hinnebusch-2) it is no accident that the Middle East has witnessed by far the highest number of international terrorist incidents, or that the US is increasingly becoming the target for these attacks. Osama Bin Laden and his following of ‘[Arab Afghans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Afghans)’ were partly a US creation and it was not the religious or cultural differences that turned them against the US but its continuous presence in [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia), its perceived control over the Arab oil, the siege of [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) and the support for Israeli oppression of the [Palestinians](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinians). In her book, Laura Guazzone [[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-guazzone-13) points out the paradox of US hegemony in the region: while at the military level it stabilizes the Middle East against revisionist states, its biased and inequitable application continually stimulates the nationalist and Islamic reaction at the societal level that keeps the regional pot boiling.

Worldwide terrorism was thus partly born out of the conflict that globalization promoted by dividing the world and also from the new interactions it brought along. As Hinnebusch notes [[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-hinnebusch-2) Bin Laden’s multi-national Al Qaeda was a function of the acceleration of global transportation, communications, and immigration which together led to a ‘post-modern’ terrorist network. September 11 was a clear statement of the effectiveness of the newly globalized jihad.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-griffel-3) It used the Internet, as it used globalization, to transmit its messages and move its money, people, [propaganda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Propaganda) and terror. In a similar vein, Scruton [[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-scruton-7) argues that the techniques and [infrastructure](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infrastructure) on which al-Qa’eda depends are the gifts of the new global institutions. Just as globalization came to affect many countries throughout the world, Al Qaeda’s followers and cells are now established in more than 60 countries.[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-Campbell-8) Moreover, the new form of globalized Islam is undeniably threatening since it satisfies a hunger for membership that globalization itself has created.

Global terrorism and terror events were made possible due to the availability of new powerful and sometimes [lethal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lethal) technology to groups and individuals that previously had no or restricted access to. Conventional instruments of mass transport or communication have been, and can be at any time converted into [weapons of mass destruction](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Weapons_of_mass_destruction), or at least of mass terror producing a situation of [asymmetrical war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asymmetrical_war) [[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) where weaker individuals and groups can attack [superpowers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Superpower). This led to a general increase in fear and anxiety and September 11 was probably the most powerful alarm towards the danger that globalization carries within: new technologies empower angry disempowered people [[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-kellner-4) with technologies of mass destruction.

## 3.5 Globalization in the future

West’s ideals inevitably will circulate throughout the world and as Rubin argues [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) even the most extreme rejection of globalization does not mean that it fails to infiltrate into society. A good example of this is [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), where attempts to block foreign influences have often not succeeded. Still, given the incompatibility that characterizes the two views, neither Islamic terrorists nor the West can come to an intellectual compromise.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-walton-6) Moreover, the Anglo-American invasion and occupation of Iraq have inhibited the chance for gradual change to occur in the region. The war polarised regimes and Islamist oppositions not only in Saudi Arabia but also in [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria), [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) and [Tunisia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunisia), countries where the freedom scores diminished the most in the last couple of years.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-fawcett-0) It is thus probable that the American “[War on Terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terrorism)” following the attacks of 11 September 2001 will lead to further [polarization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polarization_(politics)).[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-fawcett-0)

The terrorists who believe that the very existence of the West is a threat will continue to use violence to fight a foe which cannot be ignored. Their understanding of the concept of globalization will continue to be affected by negative factors like high illiteracy rates, [marginalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marginalization) of women, disparities between rich and poor, corrupt [authoritarian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Authoritarian) regimes and the absence of democracy and human rights [[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-najjar-5) It may be the case that the next generation will be even more closed after experiencing much more intense and systematic [indoctrination](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indoctrination) on both the Islamist and nationalist fronts.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1) The idea is sustained by the fact that students who have studied in the West often return home to reinforce even further a rejection of the society they have experienced. They may focus on the shortcomings of the [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) system and fear the effects of such ideas or institutions in their own countries.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-rubin-1)

In conclusion, the same place which once fuelled the world’s first truly global industry with its vast reserves of oil may also become the centre of forces that reverse the globalizing tendencies of the states.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_note-fawcett-0) The more open society has become a [Pandora's Box](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pandora%27s_Box) which unlocked the possibilities of destruction and violence as well as democracy, free trade, and cultural and social exchange. In effect, decisions of the states to open up to international traffic and capital flows are reversible and may occur given the threats that globalization carries.

## 3.6 See also

[Globalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization)

[Western culture](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_culture)

[Western world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world)

[Middle East economic integration](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_economic_integration)

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14. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East_and_globalization#cite_ref-guazzone_13-0) Guazzone, Laura (1997). *“The Middle East in Global Change: The Politics and Economics of Interdependence versus Fragmentation”*. London: Macmillan Press. pp. pp.237–258. [ISBN](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Standard_Book_Number) [0 333 67079 5](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/0_333_67079_5).

# 4 Islam and modernity

**Islam and modernity** is a topic of discussion in contemporary [sociology of religion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociology_of_religion). Neither [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) nor [modernity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modernity) are simple or unified entities. They are abstract quantities which could not be reduced into simple categories. The [history of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Islam), like that of other religions, is a history of different interpretations and approaches. "There is no a-historical Islam that is outside the process of historical development." Similarly, modernity is a complex and multidimensional phenomenon rather than a unified and coherent phenomenon. It has historically had different schools of thoughts moving in many directions.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-0)

## 4.1 Islam's First Encounters with European Modernity

In the 18th century [Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europe) was undergoing major transformations as the new ideas of [the Enlightenment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Enlightenment), which stressed the importance of science, rationality, and human reason, and the new technologies of the [Industrial Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial_Revolution) were sweeping through much of Europe. This proved to be a turning point in world history as Europe began to gain power and influence. In the last quarter of the 18th century “the gap between the technical skills of some western and northern European countries and those of the rest of the world grew wider.”[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-1) The rise of modern Europe coincided with what many scholars refer to as the decline of the [Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire), which by the 18th century was facing political, military, and economic breakdown.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-2) While prior to the 18th century the Ottomans had regarded themselves to be either of superior or, by the mid-18th century, of equal strength to Europe, by the end of the 18th century the power relationship between the Ottoman Empire and Europe began to shift in Europe’s favor.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-3)

In 1798 the army of [Napoleon Bonaparte](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Napoleon_Bonaparte) occupied the Ottoman province of [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt). Although the occupation lasted only three years, it exposed the people of Egypt to the ideas of the Enlightenment and the new technology of Europe.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-The_Arabs:_A_History-4) The values of the European Enlightenment, which challenged the authority of religion, were alien to the local Muslim population. [Al-Jabarti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Rahman_al-Jabarti), a Muslim intellectual and theologian who witnessed the occupation, wrote critically of the French calling them “materialists, who deny all God’s attributes.”[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-The_Arabs:_A_History-4) Nevertheless, the exposure to European power and ideas would later inspire the new governor of Egypt, [Muhammad Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ali_of_Egypt), to draw on European ideas and technology in order to modernize Egypt setting an example for the rest of the Ottoman Empire. From the end of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire began to open embassies and send officials to study in Europe. This created conditions for the “gradual formation of a group of reformers with a certain knowledge of the modern world and a conviction that the empire must belong to it or perish.”[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-5)

One of the scholars sent by Muhammad Ali to Europe in 1826 was [Rifa'a Rafi' al-Tahtawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rifa%27a_el-Tahtawi). The five years he spent in Paris left a permanent mark on him. After his return to Egypt he wrote about his impressions of France and translated numerous European works into Arabic. Tahtawi was impressed with Europe’s technological and scientific advancement and political philosophy.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-6) Having studied Islamic law, he argued that “it was necessary to adapt the [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) to new circumstances” and that there was not much difference between “the principles of Islamic law and those principles of ‘natural law’ on which the codes of modern Europe were based.”[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-7)

Like Tahtawi, Khayr al- Din was also sent to Paris where he spent four years. After his return from Europe he wrote a book, in which he argued that the only way to strengthen the Muslim States was by borrowing ideas and institutions from Europe and that this did not contradict the spirit of the Sharia.[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-8)

### 4.1.1 Modernization Reforms in the Ottoman Empire

In the period between 1839 and 1876 the Ottoman government began instituting large-scale reforms as a way to modernize and strengthen the empire. Known as the [Tanzimat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzimat), many of these reforms involved adopting successful European practices. In addition to military and administrative reforms, Ottoman rulers implemented reforms in the sphere of education, law, and the economy:

"New universities and curricula were created and modern curricula were introduced to allow students to acquire the knowledge necessary to modernize. European legal codes became the basis for legal reforms, and Islamic law was restricted to personal status or family law (marriage, divorce, inheritance). Modern economic systems and institutions were established."[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-oxfordislamicstudies.com-9)

Some conservative Muslims denounced the Tanzimat reforms for “introducing un-Islamic innovations into state and society.”[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-10)

## 4.2 Islamic Modernism

“The reformist spirit of the times was especially evident in the emergence from Egypt to Southeast Asia of an Islamic modernist movement that called for a “reformation” or reinterpretation ([ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad)) of Islam.”[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-oxfordislamicstudies.com-9)

Islamic modernism was both an attempt to provide an Islamic response to the challenges presented by European colonial expansion and an effort to reinvigorate and reform Islam from within as a way to counter the perceived weakness and decline of Muslim societies in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Islamic modernists argued that Islam and modernity were compatible and “asserted the need to reinterpret and reapply the principles and ideals of Islam to formulate new responses to the political, scientific, and cultural challenges of the West and of modern life.”[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-oxfordislamicstudies.com-9) The reforms they proposed challenged the status quo maintained by the conservative Muslims scholars ([ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama)), who saw the established law as the ideal order that had to be followed and upheld the doctrine of [taqlid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqlid) (imitation / blind following). Islamic modernists saw the resistance to change on the part of the conservative ulama as a major cause for the problems the Muslim community was facing as well as its inability to counter western hegemony.

[Jamal al-Din al-Afghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_al-Din_al-Afghani) (1838–97) is regarded as one of the pioneers of Islamic modernism. He believed that Islam was compatible with science and reason and that in order to counter European power the Muslim world had to embrace progress.[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-11)

[Muhammad Abduh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abduh) (1849–1905) was a disciple and collaborator of al-Afghani. He was even more influential than his master and is often referred to as the founder of Islamic modernism. Abduh was born and raised in Egypt and was a scholar of Islam (alim). He taught at [al-Azhar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Azhar) and other institutions and in 1899 became [Mufti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mufti) of Egypt. Abduh believed that the Islamic world was suffering from an inner decay and was in need of a revival.[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-12) Asserting that “Islam could be the moral basis of a modern and progressive society"[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-13), he was critical of both [secularists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularists) and the conservative ulama. He called for a legal reform and the reinterpretation (ijtihad) of Islamic law according to modern conditions. While critical of the West, he believed that it was necessary to borrow or assimilate what was good from it.[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-14)

Other notable Islamic modernists include [Rashid Rida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashid_Rida) (1869–1935), and [Sayyid Ahmad Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Ahmad_Khan) (1817–98) and [Muhammad Iqbal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Iqbal) (1877–1938) in the Indian subcontinent. Like al-Afghani and Abduh they rejected the doctrine of taqlid and asserted the need for Islam to be reinterpreted according to modern conditions.[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-oxfordislamicstudies.com-9)

Although Islamic modernists were subject to the criticism that the reforms they promoted amounted to westernizing Islam, their legacy was significant and their thought influenced future generations of reformers.[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-oxfordislamicstudies.com-9)

## 4.3 History of Islamic modernism

### 4.3.1 Islamic modernists until 1918

[Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey_(country)) was the first [Muslim country](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_country) where modernity surfaced, with major shifts in scientific and legal thought.[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._970-15) In 1834, [Ishak Efendi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ishak_Efendi&action=edit&redlink=1) published *Mecmua-i Ulum-i Riyaziye*, a four volume text introducing many modern scientific concepts to the Muslim world. [Kudsi Efendi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kudsi_Efendi&action=edit&redlink=1) also published *Asrar al-Malakut* in 1846 in an attempt to reconcile [Copernican astronomy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Copernican_revolution) with Islam. The first modern Turkish chemistry text was published in 1848, and the first modern Biology text in 1865.[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._971-16) Eventually, the Turks adopted the metric system in 1869. These shifts in scientific thought coincided with [Tanzimat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzimat), a reform policy undertaken by the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire that was inspired by French [civil law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_law_(legal_system)). This reform confined [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) to family law.[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._970-15) The key figure in the Turkish modernist movement was [Namik Kemal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Namik_Kemal), the editor of a journal called *Freedom*. His goal was to promote [freedom of the press](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Freedom_of_the_press), the [separation of powers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Separation_of_powers), [equality before the law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equality_before_the_law), scientific freedom, and a reconciliation between [parliamentary democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Parliamentary_democracy) and the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an).[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._970-15)

In 19th century [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), [Mirza Malkom Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mirza_Malkom_Khan) arrived after being educated in [Paris](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paris). He created a newspaper called *Qanun*, where he advocated the [separation of powers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Separation_of_powers), secular law, and a [bill of rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bill_of_rights).[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._971-16) [Jamal al-Din al-Afghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_al-Din_al-Afghani), also educated in France, proclaimed that Europe had become successful due to its laws and its science. He became critical of other Muslim scholars for stifling scientific thought,[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._972-17) and hoped to encourage scientific inquiry in the [Muslim world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_world).

[Muhammad Abduh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abduh) became a leading judge in [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), after political activities and studies in Paris. He pushed for secular law, religious reform, and education for girls.[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._972-17) He hoped that Egypt would ultimately become a free republic, much like how France had transformed from an absolute monarchy.[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._973-18) [Muhammad Rashid Rida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Rashid_Rida) also became active in the Egyptian modernization movement, although he was born and educated in [Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon). *Al-Manar* was his journal, through which he advocated greater openness to science and foreign influence.[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._973-18) He also stated that sharia was relatively silent about agriculture, industry, and trade, and that these areas of knowledge needed renewal.[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._973-18) [Qasim Amin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qasim_Amin) was another reformer in Egypt heavily concerned with the rights of women.

Khayr al-Din al-Tunisi was similarly educated in Paris around the same time. He surveyed the political systems of 21 European countries in an effort to reform [Tunisia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunisia).[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._971-16)

Other major Islamic modernists included [Mahmud Tarzi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmud_Tarzi) of [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan), [Chiragh Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chiragh_Ali) of [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), [Achmad Dachlan](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Achmad_Dachlan&action=edit&redlink=1) of [Java](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Java), and [Wang Jingshai](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wang_Jingshai&action=edit&redlink=1) of [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China).[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._971-16)

### 4.3.2 Impact of early Islamic modernists

The influence of modernism in the Islamic world resulted in a cultural revival.[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._973-18) Dramatic plays became more common, as did newspapers. Notable European works were analyzed and translated.

Legal reform was attempted in Egypt, Tunisia, the Ottoman Empire, and Iran, and in some cases these reforms were adopted.[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._974-19) Efforts were made to restrict the power of government. Polygamy was ended in India.[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._975-20) Azerbaijan granted suffrage to women in 1918 (before several European countries).[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._975-20)

At the recommendations of reform-minded Islamic scholars, western sciences were taught in new schools.[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._974-19) Much of this had to do with the intellectual appeal of [social Darwinism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_Darwinism), since it led to the conclusion that an old-fashioned Muslim society could not compete in the modern world.[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._974-19)

### 4.3.3 1918-1968

The aftermath of World War I resulted in the [fall of the Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partitioning_of_the_Ottoman_Empire) and the [domination](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_middle_east#European_domination) of the Middle East by European powers such as Britain and France. Intellectual historians such as [Peter Watson](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Watson_(intellectual_historian)) suggest that World War I marks the end of the main Islamic modernist movements, and that this is the point where many Muslims “lost faith with the culture of science and materialism”.[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._1096-21) He goes on to note that several parallel streams emerged after this historical moment.

#### 4.3.3.1 Continued modernization

In some parts of the world, the project of Islamic modernity continued from the same trajectory before the great war. This was especially the case in the new [Republic of Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Republic_of_Turkey), under [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mustafa_Kemal_Atat%C3%BCrk).

In Egypt, [Hassan al-Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_al-Banna) founded the [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood).

#### 4.3.3.2 Arab socialism

Main article: [*Arab socialism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_socialism)

On the other hand, [Arab socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_socialism) of [Arab Socialist Ba'ath Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baath_Party) and [Nasserite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasserism) movement emerged as a stream of thought that played down the role of religion.[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._1096-21)

### 4.3.4 1968-present

*Further information:* [*Islamic revival*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival)

The [Six-Day War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six-Day_War) between [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel) and its neighbours ended in a decisive loss for the Muslim side. Many in the Islamic world saw this as the failure of socialism. It was at this point that "fundamental and militant Islam began to fill the political vacuum created".[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-Watson_2001_p._1096-21)

Turkey has continued to be at the forefront of modernising Islam. In 2008 its Department of Religious Affairs launched a review of all the [hadiths](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith), the sayings of [Mohammed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed) upon which most of [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) is based The School of Theology at [Ankara University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ankara_University) undertook this forensic examination with the intent of removing centuries of often conservative cultural baggage and rediscovering the spirit of reason in the original message of Islam. One expert at London's [Chatham House](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chatham_House) compared these revisions to the Christian [Protestant Reformation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Protestant_Reformation). Turkey has also trained hundreds of women as theologians, and sent them senior [imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam) known as *vaizes* all over the country, away from the relatively liberal capital and coastal cities, to explain these re-interpretations at town hall meetings.[[23]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-22)

## 4.4 The Middle East, Modernity and the proliferation of Islamic fundamentalism

In recent years the world has witnessed the proliferation of [Islamic extremist groups](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_extremist_groups) all over the world and in the [Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East), who are voicing their dislike of concepts such as [democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy) and modernity. This is due to the fact that democracy and modernity as concepts in the [Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East), are most commonly associated with imposing Western secular beliefs and values. If considering that about 95% of the population of the Middle East are Muslims and keeping in mind the imperial past of the region, it should come as no surprise that the spread of secularism has caused great concerns among many [Islamic political groups](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_political_groups). It has indeed been the reasoning for the Islamisation of politics and protest.[[24]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-23) which has been seen happening across the region. To reiterate, for Islamic countries in the Middle East, there is not necessarily a problem as such with modernity, however, ‘the problem is when modernity comes wrapped with wersternisation, with absolutely and utterly rampant materialism’.[[25]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-24)  
In the book, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*(1994), the author N. Ayubi continues this debate by explaining, what he believes to be the two main concerns of Islamic political movements and extremist groups in the Middle East; namely the Western belief in a bureaucratic state and secondly, what is mentioned above, the secular values and beliefs associated with concepts such as modernity.[[26]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-25)

These concerns are exemplified in an interview with the well-known Islamic fundamentalist, Osama [Bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bin_Laden) who states, after being asked about the message he wants to send to the West:

Their presence [in the Middle East] has no meaning save one and that is to offer support to the Jews an Palestine who are in need of their Christian brothers to achieve full control over the [Arab peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_peninsula), which they intend to make an important part of the so called Greater Israel…They rip us of our wealth and of our resources and of our oil. Our religion is under attack. They kill and murder our brothers. They compromise our honor and our dignity and if we dare to utter a single word of protest against the injustice, we are called terrorists.[[27]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-26)

After the [September 11 attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks), the Western media often has its focus on personalities such as [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden) for condemnation, and exaggerate what are often unknown terrorists into forerunners of "Islamic jihad." This causes the creation of stereotypes of Muslims in the Middle East and moreover, results in the grants of prominence to Islamic fundamentalists who might otherwise have been insignificant political characters, and legitimises extremist opinions and views which might otherwise have been shunned by mainstream Muslims. However, as John Esposito notes:

The tendency to judge the actions of Muslims in splendid isolation, to generalize from the actions of the few to the many, to disregard similar excesses committed in the name of other religions and ideologies…is not new.[[28]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-27)

Yet the number of militant Islamic movements ‘calling for an Islamic state and the end of Western influence is relatively small’.[[29]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-28) Nevertheless, these groups are causing great fear among people in the Middle East and in the West. According to various polls, the majority of world's Muslim want to be governed by Islamic Law (Sharia).[[30]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-29)[[31]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity#cite_note-30)

## 4.5 People

* [Namik Kemal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Namik_Kemal)
* [Ishak Efendi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ishak_Efendi&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Kudsi Efendi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kudsi_Efendi&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Mirza Malkom Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mirza_Malkom_Khan)
* [Khayr al-din al-Tunisi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Khayr_al-din_al-Tunisi&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Qasim Amin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qasim_Amin)
* [Mahmud Tarzi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmud_Tarzi)
* [Sayyid Ahmad Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Ahmad_Khan)
* [Kijai Hadji Ahmad Dachlan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kijai_Hadji_Ahmad_Dachlan)
* [Wang Hingshai](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Wang_Hingshai&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Jamal al-Din al-Afghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_al-Din_al-Afghani)
* [Muhammad Abduh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abduh)
* [Muhammad Rashid Rida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Rashid_Rida)
* [Al-Saykh Tartawi Jawhari](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Saykh_Tartawi_Jawhari&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Bu Koko Namaya](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Bu_Koko_Namaya&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Majamabad Roqaya](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Majamabad_Roqaya&action=edit&redlink=1)

## 4.6 See also

* [Islam and secularism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_secularism)
* [Islam and democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_democracy)
* [Islamic Modernism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Modernism)
* [Tanzimat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzimat)
* [Religious intellectualism in Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious_intellectualism_in_Iran)
* [Religious traditionalism in Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious_traditionalism_in_Iran)
* [Liberal movements within Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam)
* [Islamic feminism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_feminism)
* [What Went Wrong](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/What_Went_Wrong) by [Bernard Lewis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Lewis)
* [List of Muslim reformers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Muslim_reformers)
* [Modernism (Roman Catholicism)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modernism_(Roman_Catholicism))
* [Modern Orthodox Judaism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_Orthodox_Judaism)
* [Buddhist modernism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhist_modernism)

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## External links

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# 5 Muslim Liberal Thoughts

[Progressive](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progressivism) [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslims) have produced a considerable body of [liberal thought](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberalism) within [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam)[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Liberal_Muslim_Conference-0)[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Essays_by_Muslims-1) or "progressive Islam" ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): الإسلام التقدمي‎); but some consider progressive Islam and liberal Islam as two distinct movements[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-differences_prog_liberal-2)). The methodology of reform can be classified into two groups, one depending on re-interpreting the traditional texts which constitutes Islamic law ([ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad));[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-ijtihad-3) this varies widely from little deviation from the traditional interpretation, to the more liberal which considers only the meaning of Qur'an as a divine inspiration, while the wording is believed to be from the prophet Muhammad intended by him to suit his time and situation, therefore interpreting the problematic verses in modern times allegorically or even not considering them. The second is questioning the authentic status applied to texts by the Traditional Islamic Scholars, resulting in the most liberal case as of the [Qur'an Alone](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an_Alone) Muslims in rejecting the Islamic narratives of the sayings and practises of [Prophet Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet_Muhammad), namely the [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) completely.

The most liberal Muslim intellectuals who focused on religious reform include [Sayyid al-Qimni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_al-Qimni), [Nasr Abu Zayd](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nasr_Abu_Zayd), [Abdolkarim Soroush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdolkarim_Soroush), [Mohammed Arkoun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Arkoun), [Mohammed Shahrour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Shahrour), [Ahmed Subhy Mansour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Subhy_Mansour), [Edip Yuksel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edip_Yuksel), [Gamal al-Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gamal_al-Banna), [Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullahi_Ahmed_An-Na%27im), [Ahmed Al-Gubbanchi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Al-Gubbanchi), [Mahmoud Mohammed Taha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmoud_Mohammed_Taha), and [Faraj Foda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faraj_Foda), the last two were killed after [apostasy claims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam) which most of them have been accused of by traditional Islamic scholars.

Some liberal Muslims claim that they are returning to the principles of the early [Ummah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ummah) and to the ethical and pluralistic intent of their scripture, the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an).[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Imam_speech_against_extremism-4) They distance themselves from some traditional and less liberal interpretations of Islamic law, as they consider these to be culturally based and without universal applicability. The reform movement uses [monotheism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monotheism) (*tawhid*) "as an organizing principle for human society and the basis of religious knowledge, history, metaphysics, aesthetics, and ethics, as well as social, economic and world order."[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-5)

## 5.1 Reform

These are movements within Islam, rather than an attempt at schism. As such, they believe in the basic tenets of Islam, such as the [Six Elements of Belief](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six_articles_of_belief) and the [Five Pillars of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Pillars_of_Islam). They consider their views to be fully compatible with the teachings of Islam. Their main differences with more conservative Islamic opinion are two, the first is, in differences of interpretation of how to apply the core Islamic values to modern life,[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Islam_in_the_modern_world-6) the second includes a more reactionary dialectic which criticizes traditional narratives or even rejects them, hence, denying any obligation to follow them while also allowing greater freedoms in interpreting Qur'an regardless of the [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith).[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-7)

Muslim liberals focus on individual autonomy in the interpretation of the Qur'an and ethics rather than focusing on the literal interpretation of the Qur'an. This thinking may have a precedent in the traditions of [Sufi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufi) and Islamic mysticism[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Sufis_and_anti-Sufis-8) although different in many ways, including the purpose of interpretation.

## 5.2 Central tenets

Several generally accepted tenets have emerged:

* The autonomy of the individual in interpreting the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) and [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith).[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-About_Liberal_Islam_Network-9) More liberal trends include rejecting [Hadiths](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) completely (like [Qur'an Alone](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an_Alone) Muslims) or partially (including hadiths considered authentic ([Sahih](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahih)) by traditionalists) like [Gamal Al-Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gamal_Al-Banna).
* A more critical and diverse examination of religious texts, as well as traditional Islamic precedents.
* Complete gender equality in all aspects, including ritual prayer and observance.
* A more open view on modern culture in relation to customs, dress, and common practices. Certain rules on modesty amongst men and women are still self-enforced in response to the Qur'an's injunction against immodest dress.
* The individual use of [ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad) (interpretation) and [fitrah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fitrah) (natural sense of right and wrong) is advocated.

## 5.3 Contemporary and controversial issues

Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, in accordance with their increasingly modern societies and outlooks, liberal Muslims have tended to reinterpret many aspects of the application of their religion in their life in an attempt to reconnect with the original message, untouched by harmful cultural influences. This is particularly true of Muslims who now find themselves living in non-Muslim countries.[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Being_a_Muslim_in_the_U.S.-10)

Such people may describe themselves variously as liberal, progressive, or reformist (in application but not in the tenets of the faith); but rather than implying a specific agenda, these terms tend to incorporate a broad spectrum of views which contest conservative, traditional interpretations of Islam in many different ways. Although there is no full consensus amongst liberal Muslims on their views, they tend to agree on some or all of the following beliefs:

### 5.3.1 Ijtihad

This means that liberal Muslims often drop traditional interpretations of the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) which they find too culturally conservative and relative, preferring instead readings which are more adaptable to modern society (see [ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad)). Most liberal Muslims reject derivation of Islamic laws from literal readings of single Qur'anic verses. They generally claim that a holistic view which takes into account the 7th century Arabian cultural context allows deeper insight into the manner in which the commands of God (Allah) are carried out.

### 5.3.2 Human rights

Further information: [*Human rights in Islamic countries*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights_in_Islamic_countries)

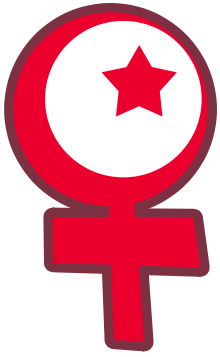
Moderate Islamic political thought contends that the nurturing of the Muslim identity and the propagation of values such as democracy and Human rights are not mutually exclusive, but rather should be promoted together.[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-giovannini-11)

Most liberal Muslims believe that Islam promotes the notion of absolute equality of all humanity, and that it is one of its central concepts. Therefore, a breach of [human rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_rights) has become a source of great concern to most liberal Muslims.[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-human_rights-12) Though [Human Rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_Rights) is perceived to be of the utmost concern of all devoted adherents to the Islamic faith, liberal Muslims differ with their culturally conservative counterparts in that they believe that all humanity is represented under the umbrella of [Human Rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_Rights). Many Muslim majority countries have signed international human rights treaties, but the impact of these largely remains to be seen in local legal systems.[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-Soft_Power_for_the_Islamic_Movement-13)

Muslim liberals often reject traditional interpretations of Islamic law, which allows [Ma malakat aymanukum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ma_malakat_aymanukum) and [Slavery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery). They see that [Slavery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slavery) opposed Islamic principles which they believe to be based on justice and equality and verses relating to slavery or "Ma malakat aymanukum" now cannot be applied due to the fact that the world has changed.[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-14)[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-15)

Within the framework of justice and equality for all, Muslim liberals include gay rights as a human right.

### 5.3.3 Feminism

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Islamic_Feminism_Symbol.svg)

Islamic Feminism Symbol

The place of [women in Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_in_Islam), traditional [gender roles in Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender_roles_in_Islam) and [Islamic feminism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_feminism) are likewise major issues.[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-16) For this reason, liberal Muslims are often critical of traditional Islamic law interpretations which allow [polygyny](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polygyny) for men but not [polyandry](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Polyandry) for women, as well as the traditional [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) of [inheritance](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inheritance) under which daughters receive less than sons. Traditional Muslims believe this is balanced by the right of a wife to her husband's money, whereas the husband does not have a right to his wife's money.

It is also accepted by most liberal Muslims that a woman may lead the state, and that women should not be segregated from men in society or in masjids. Some traditional Muslims also accept a woman as a leader of state so long as it does not conflict with her obligation to family. A small minority of liberal Muslims accept that a woman may lead a mixed group in prayers, despite the established custom for women to pray behind or in a separate space. However, this issue remains controversial; see [women as imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women_as_imams). Some Muslim [feminists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feminism) are also opposed to the traditional dress requirements for women (commonly called [hijab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hijab)), claiming that any modest clothing is sufficiently Islamic for both men and women.

Other Muslim feminists embrace hijab, pointing out its tendency to de-sexualize women and therefore assist them in being treated less as an object and more as a person. Furthermore, some Muslim feminists prefer to wear the hijab as an obvious sign that they are indeed Muslim, while also feminists. Most -but not all- schools of Islamic law require women to cover all but the hands and the face, while men are only required to cover from the navel to the knee. Traditional reports of the prophet, called hadith, are used to support the idea of covering everything on a woman except her face and hands. The reported story is told that the prophet saw Asma clothed in a thin garment, at which he proclaimed: "when a woman reaches the age of menstruation, she should cover everything but"- and he then pointed to his face and hands. The Qur'an itself requires men and women to dress modestly (see: Qur'an 24:30-31). The words "bosom/chest" and "modest" are found in 24:31, however the word "hair" is absent. In the same verse woman are advised to not "strike their feet" as to draw attention to their hidden adornment. This leaves "adornment" (sometimes translated as beauty) open to interpretation, as to whether it includes the hair.

### 5.3.4 Secularism

Main article: [*Secularism in the Middle East*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism_in_the_Middle_East)

Some liberal Muslims favor the idea of modern [secular](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism) democracy with [separation of church and state](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Separation_of_church_and_state), and thus oppose [Islam as a political movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_as_a_political_movement).

The existence or applicability of [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) is questioned by many liberals. Their argument often involves variants of the [Mu'tazili](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mu%27tazili) theory that the Qur'an was created by God for the particular circumstances of the early Muslim community, and reason must be used to apply it to new contexts.

### 5.3.5 Tolerance and non-violence

[Tolerance](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Toleration) is another key tenet of Liberal Muslims, who are generally open to interfaith dialogue and conflict resolution with such communities as Jews, Christians, Hindus, and the numerous factions within Islam.

Liberal Muslims are more likely to reflect the idea of [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) in terms of the widely accepted "internal spiritual struggle" rather than an "armed struggle." The ideals of [non-violence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-violence) are prevalent in Liberal Muslim ideology and backed by Qu'ranic text; "permission to fight is given only to those who have been oppressed... who have been driven from their homes for saying, 'God is our Lord'" (22:39)

### 5.3.6 Reliance on secular scholarship

Liberal Muslims tend to be skeptical about the validity of [Islamization of knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamization_of_knowledge) (including [Islamic economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics), [Islamic science](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_science), [Islamic history](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_history) and [Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_philosophy)) as separate from mainstream fields of inquiry. This is usually due to the often secular outlook of Muslim liberals, which makes them more disposed to trust mainstream secular scholarship. They may also regard the propagation of these fields as merely a propaganda move by Muslim conservatives.[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam#cite_note-The_Viability_of_Islamic_Science-17)

### 5.6.7 Anarchism

**Islamic anarchism** is based on an interpretation of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) as "submission to God" which either prohibits or is highly critical of the role of human authority.

#### 5.6.7.1 Historical anarchist tendencies in Islam

Throughout Islamic history there have been Muslim groups, movements, and individuals which could be described as anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist, egalitarian, or opposed to the rule of specific governments. Among these, only a few are properly associated with the [anarchist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarchism) label.

##### 1. Kharijites

An early example of anti-authoritarianism in Islam is [Kharijism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kharijites) which dates back to the time of the split between Sunnis and Shias. The Shias claimed [Ali Ibn Abu Talib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Ibn_Abu_Talib) and his descendents were the rightful successors of the [prophet Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet_Muhammad). The Sunnis believed (at least initially) that the leader of all the Muslims had to be from the tribe of Quraysh but could be chosen by the Muslim community. Sunnism also tended to be conservative in the sense that as long as certain minimal functions were being carried out, it was wrong to rebel against the lawful Muslim ruler, even when they were being sinful. The [Kharijites](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kharijites) were a third group who initially supported the leadership of Ali but then turned against him when they disagreed with some of his decisions. The Khawarij claimed that any qualified Muslim could be an Imam. They were also more willing to rebel against Muslim rulers.

##### 2. Najdiyya

At least one sect of Kharajites, the [Najdiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Najdiyya&action=edit&redlink=1), believed that if no suitable [imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam) was present in the community, then the position could be dispensed with. A strand of Mutazalite thought paralleled that of the Najdiyya: if rulers inevitably became tyrants, then the only acceptable course of action was to stop installing rulers.

##### 3. Sheikh Bedrettin

[Sheikh Bedrettin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sheikh_Bedrettin) (1359–1420) ([Ottoman Turkish](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Turkish_language): شیخ بدرالدین) was a proto-[Socialist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist) revolutionary [Sufi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism) theologian and charismatic preacher who led a rebellion against the [Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire) in 1416. His full name was Şeyh Bedrettin Mahmud Bin İsrail Bin Abdülaziz.

His writings were condemned by a number of Ottoman religious scholars such as [Ismail Hakki Bursevi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ismail_Hakki_Bursevi&action=edit&redlink=1). Others instead praise the Sheikh. He is a popular figure among Turkey's [left](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Left-wing_politics). [Nazim Hikmet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nazim_Hikmet) was jailed for inciting rebellion after encouraging military cadets to read Bedreddin's work. The musicians [Cem Karaca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cem_Karaca) and [Zulfu Livaneli](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zulfu_Livaneli) composed a song based on a Hikmet's epic poem, the Şeyh Bedrettin Destanı. In Hikmet's work, Bedrettin and his companions emphasize that all things must be shared "except the lips of the beloved."

Sheikh Bedrettin's proto-socialist ideas emphasised direct action, direct democracy, international and interfaith human solidarity, equality and communal life. He is highly respected among the Turkish anarchists.

##### 4. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan

[Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khan_Abdul_Ghaffar_Khan) (1890 – 20 January 1988) ([Pashto](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashto_language) : خاں عبدالغفار خاں,) was a [Pashtun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashtun_people) political and spiritual leader known for his [non-violent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nonviolence) opposition to [British Rule](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_India) in India. A lifelong [pacifist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pacifism), a devout [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim), and a close friend of [Mahatma Gandhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahatma_Gandhi), he was also known as *Badshah Khan* (also *Bacha Khan*, [Pashto](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashto_language): lit., "King Khan"), Fakhr-e-Afghan (pride of Afghans) and *Sarhaddi Gandhi* ([Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urdu), [Hindi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindi) lit., "Frontier Gandhi").

Ghaffar Khan's Muslim pacifism was based on the [anarcho-pacifist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anarcho-pacifism) ideas of [Henry Thoreau](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_David_Thoreau) and [Leo Tolstoy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leo_Tolstoy).

##### 5. Ali Shariati

An important and influential figure in the 20th century was [Ali Shariati](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Shariati), one of the ideologues of the [Islamic Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution) in [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran). After the Shah's regime took on a particularly vicious authoritarian note, Shariati was imprisoned for his lectures, which were extremely popular with the students, and was forced to flee Iran. He was assassinated shortly afterwards.

Although Shariati was not an anarchist, his vision of Islam was one of a revolutionary religion siding with the poor. He believed that the only true reflection of the Islamic concept of [Tawhid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tawhid) (unity and oneness of God) is a [classless society](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Classless_society).

##### 6. Hardline

[Hardline](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hardline_(subculture)) was a radical violent deep ecology movement with Islamist tendencies. It ultimately led to the creation of several more explicitly Muslim organizations like Ahl-i-Allah (The People of Allah) and Taliyah al-Mahdi (The Vanguard of the Mahdi)

#### 5.6.7.2 Contemporary Movements and Figures

##### 1. Hakim Bey

[Peter Lamborn Wilson](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Lamborn_Wilson), who writes under the pen-name [Hakim Bey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hakim_Bey), is a self-identified Anarchist who has traveled extensively in the Muslim world and has practiced Islam as a [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) and as a member of the [Moorish Orthodox Church of America](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moorish_Orthodox_Church_of_America). He is most known for his concept of [Temporary Autonomous Zones](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Temporary_Autonomous_Zone). He has written a great deal about Muslim heretical movements, pirate utopias, [antinomianism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antinomianism) and the concept of the Imam-of-one's-own-being.

##### 2. Yakoub Islam

On June 20, 2005, [Yakoub Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yakoub_Islam), a British-based convert to Islam, published his online Muslim Anarchist Charter. The charter asserted a set of basic principles for anarchist thought and action founded on a Muslim perspective. These reaffirm some of the core principles of Islam, including a belief in God, the prophecy of Muhammad and the human soul, but assert the possibility that a Muslim's spiritual path might be achieved by refusing to compromise with institutional power in any form, be it judicial, religious, social, corporate or political.

## 5.7 Movements

### 5.7.1 Ahmadiyya

**Ahmadiyya** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): **أحمدية**‎;[Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urdu): **احمدِیہ**) is an Islamic religious revivalist movement founded in India near the end of the 19th century, originating with the life and teachings of [Mirza Ghulam Ahmad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mirza_Ghulam_Ahmad) (1835–1908), who claimed to have fulfilled the prophecies about the world reformer of the [end times](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/End_times), who was to herald the [Eschaton](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eschatology) as predicted in the traditions of various [world religions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_religions) and bring about the final triumph of Islam as per Islamic prophecy. He claimed that he was the [Mujaddid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujaddid) (divine reformer) of the 14th [Islamic century](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_century), the promised [Messiah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Messiah) and [Mahdi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahdi) awaited by Muslims. The adherents of the Ahmadiyya movement are referred to as Ahmadis or Ahmadi Muslims. Ahmadi emphasis lay in the belief that Islam is the final dispensation for humanity as revealed to [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) and the necessity of restoring to it its true essence and pristine form, which had been lost through the centuries. Thus, Ahmadis view themselves as leading the revival and peaceful propagation of Islam. The Ahmadis were among the earliest Muslim communities to arrive in [Britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Britain) and other Western countries.

Mirza Ghulam Ahmad founded the movement on 23 March 1889 and termed it the [*Ahmadiyya Muslim Jama'at*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya_Muslim_Community) (community), envisioning it to be a revitalisation of Islam. Ahmadis consider themselves [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) and claim to practice [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) in its pristine form; however, Ahmadiyya views on certain beliefs in Islam have been controversial to orthodox Muslims since the movement’s birth. Orthodox Muslims do not consider Ahmadis to be Muslims, citing in particular the Ahmadiyya viewpoint on the death and [return of Jesus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jesus_in_Ahmadiyya_Islam) (see [Jesus in Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jesus_in_Islam)), the Ahmadiyya concept of [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad_(Ahmadiyya)) in a peaceful format and the community’s view of the [finality of prophethood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seal_of_the_prophets) with particular reference to the interpretation of [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) [33:40](http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/quran/verses/033-qmt.php#033.040). In several Islamic countries today Ahmadis have been marginalised by the majority religious community; severe [persecution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Ahmadiyya) and often systematic oppression have led many Ahmadis to emigrate and settle elsewhere.

### 5.7.2 Quranism

**Quranism** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): قرآنيون‎ **Quraniyoon**) is an [Islamic denomination](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_schools_and_branches) that holds the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) to be the only canonical text in [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam). Quranists reject the religious authority of [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) and often [Sunnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah), libraries compiled by later scholars who catalogued narratives of what the [Prophet Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet_Muhammad) is reported to have said and done, which orthodox Muslims such as [Shias](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) and [Sunnis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) consider essential for the Islamic faith.

#### 5.7.2.1 Etymology

Quranists may be referred to in various ways, for example *Qur'āniyūn* / *Quraniyoon* ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): قرآنيون‎ *Qurʾāniyyūn*) and *ʾAhl al-Qurʾān* (أهل القرآن) / *Ahle Qur'an*, both translating to "Quranites" (which is also used in English), *Submitters*, and usually by their opponents *munkirū al-ḥadīṯ* (منكروا الحديث) (i.e. "negators of [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith)" / "hadith rejectors"), or *Quranism*, or *Quran aloner*s, as well as other terms. Quranists may deride Sunni and Shia Muslims by referring to them as 'hadithists' and 'hadith-followers'.

#### 5.7.2.2 Doctrine

Quranists generally consider themselves to simply be "Muslims", a term directly from the Quran. They do not think of themselves as belonging to a sect, like [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) or [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia), as they do not accept any of the narratives beside the Qur'an, thereby universally rejecting the authoritative status applied to hadith by orthodox Muslims as encoded in the various Sunnahs of the [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni), [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) and other hadith-following sects in Islam. The extent to which Quranists reject the authenticity of the Sunnah varies, but the more established groups have thoroughly criticised the authenticity of the [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) and refused it for many reasons, the most prevalent being that hadith is not mentioned in the Quran as a source of [Islamic theology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_theology) and practice, was not recorded in written form until more than two centuries after the death of the prophet Muhammed, its perceived internal errors and contradictions, and repudiate fatwas on a hadith's authenticity and issues emanating from them.

Because of a lack of authoritative clergy in Quranism, [ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad) (independent reasoning) rather than institutionalised [taqleed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqleed) (imitation) is the most common method in use by Quranists.

#### 5.7.2.3 Examples

##### 1. Quranist rejection of orthodox Muslim theology

Differences in doctrine between Quranists and orthodox Muslims are extant from minor matters to the core of central beliefs such as the five pillars of Islam. Example areas of difference are:

1. A menstruating Quranist woman may perform salat (prayer), enter a mosque and touch a quran, as the quran only forbids menstruating women from sexual intercourse or marrying a new man within the first three menstrual cycles of leaving her husband, the Quran offering no further mention of menstruation-related prohibitions.
2. Some Quranists combine 5 prayers into 3 prayers like [Shias](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia), although some pray 5 times like [Sunnis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni). Quranists also do not pray the [Tarawih](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarawih).
3. The amount of [zakat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) (alms). Hadithists provide 2.5% of their wealth in a prescribed manner and formulas based on secondary-sources, whilst a quranist is free to donate as much or little as they wish.
4. [Circumcision](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Circumcision), either male or female, plays no role in Quranist theology, per ayahs [95:4](http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/quran/verses/095-qmt.php#095.004) and [4:119](http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/quran/verses/004-qmt.php#004.119).
5. Orthodox Muslims are encouraged to dress in the way of the prophet Muhammad or his wives. Clothing rules plays no part in Quranist theology other than that the person dress modestly as [surah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sura) 24:30–31 says. For example [hijabs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hijab) or beards are not necessary.
6. Quranists do not hold that breastfeeding a non-related adult male will make him [mahram](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahram), whilst some Sunni Muslim scholars have said it does; see [rada (fiqh)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rada_(fiqh))
7. Quranists generally do not believe in the emergence of the Imam [Mahdi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahdi) or [dajjal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dajjal), since they're not mentioned in the Quran.
8. Quranists can eat food produced by Christians and Jews, as instructed in surah 5:5.
9. Quranists do not touch the black stone of the [kaaba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kaaba) during hajj or umrah.

##### 2. Quranist rejection of orthodox Muslim punishments

Major punishments approved and applied by the orthodox Sunni and Shi'a [madhabs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madhabs) for over a millennia that Quranists reject include:

* The death penalty for [apostates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam), as this punishment is absent in the Quran; and discouraged in [suras](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sura) such as 2:256 or 18:29.
* [Stoning](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stoning#In_Islam) for adultery. Instead, Quranists follow the quran's prescribed punishment of 100 lashings as the Quran does not differentiate between fornicators or adulterers in this punishment, by use of the word 'Zina' (Arabic: الزنا ) in surah 24:2. The orthodox [Shariah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shariah) law applies lashings only to fornicators as per the Quran, but stoning to adulterers as per Sunnah;
* The requirement that the four witnesses of [*zina*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zina_(Arabic)) must have seen clear penetration during the coitus (though this stringent requirement is rarely applied in practice), as the Quran only requires four witnesses to zina.
* Death penalty of homosexuals. The Quran mentions no [punishment for homosexuality](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality_in_Islam) other than in a specific reference to prophet Lut's community, a punishment which God alone administers. Quranists instead tend to view homosexuality as a sin that is punishable by God alone in the afterlife;
* Death penalty for practitioners of witchcraft or sorcerers.

#### 5.7.2.4 Overview

Quranists consider themselves to follow original Islam; whereas [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) theology developed over time till the 10th century, and [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) theology developed after the killing of Ali's son Husayn in 680.

[Liberal movements within Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam) include Quranists who interpret Islam as "a belief system committed to the liberal values of a democratic world" under narrow Hudud (Arabic حدود). Other quranists remain orthodox in their approach to human rights and broader in the application of rules and punishments, supporting punishments such as amputation of the hand for theft, cruficixion, amputation and execution of enemies

Most Quranists accept the same Arabic Quran used by other Muslims, with only the minority '[submitter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Submitter)' sect reverting to what they claim is the original Quran by removing ayats 9:128-9 to fit their '[Quran Code 19](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran_Code_19)' theology.

Quranist groups are increasingly translating the Arabic Quran themselves into other languages, because most translations by orthodox Muslim groups contain perceived innovations and mistranslations to fit the orthodox ideology. Orthodox Qurans are replete with bracketed comments — based on the sunnah — throughout the ayats to lead the reader to interpret the Quran by the way of the translator, even though the bracketed comments are absent from the Arabic Quran, and such bracketed comments appear less frequently — if at all — in Quranist translations.

"So far from the Quran alone being the *sole* rule of faith and practice to Muslims, there is not one single sect amongst them whose faith and practice are based on it alone". Edward Sell, 1880

Some Muslims have suggested that the original prohibition against Hadith led to the [Golden Age of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_Age_of_Islam), as the Quran was able to stand up to critical thinking and questioning; and Muslims were thus schooled to be inquisitive and seek answers to every quandary. They posit that the increased reliance on Hadith, which was allegedly illogical and required the [suspension of disbelief](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suspension_of_disbelief), led to the eventual downfall of scholastic pursuits in the religion.

#### 5.7.2.4 Notable

[Umar ibn al-Khattab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar_ibn_al-Khattab) was one of the earliest staunch opponenets of hadith. In the [hadith of Umar's ban on hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith_of_Umar%27s_ban_on_hadith) he forbade the writing down of hadiths.

[Syed Ahmed Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syed_Ahmed_Khan) (1817–1898) is often considered the founder of the modernist movement within Islam, noted for his application of "rational science" to the Quran and Hadith and his conclusion that the Hadith were not legally binding on Muslims. His student, [Chiragh ‘Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Chiragh_%E2%80%98Ali&action=edit&redlink=1), went further, suggesting all the hadith were fabrications.

[Ahmed Subhy Mansour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Subhy_Mansour) is a recognised [Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) scholar and cleric, with expertise in Islamic history, culture, theology, and politics. He founded a small group of Quranists, but was [exiled](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exile) from Egypt and is now living in the United States as a political refugee. One of his followers, Egyptian blogger Reda Abdel-Rahman was freed on January 2009 after being detained for a year. Abdel-Rahman was imprisoned for writing blogs that reject the sunnah and hadith, and claimed he was tortured in order to reveal the password to his e-mail. Sheikh Mansour was fired from [Al-Azhar University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Azhar_University) after expressing his hadith rejector views. One of Mansour's fellow Islamic scholars at Al Azhar University Sheik Jamal Tahir took up the same Quran alone stance.

[Edip Yuksel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edip_Yuksel) is a Turkish advocate for the Quraniyoon movement and has gained much attention through his books and speeches.

[Mohammed Shahrour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Shahrour) also rejects [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) and has his own methods of interpreting the Qur'an.

[Shabbir Ahmed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shabbir_Ahmed_(writer)) is the author of “The Qur’an As It Explains Itself”, or QXP, a non-literal translation of the meaning of the Qur'an in plain English. He [interprets](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tafseer) the meaning of the words and phrases in Quran by comparing them to other instances where they are used elsewhere in the Qur'an.

The 1986 Malaysian book "Hadith: A Re-evaluation" by [Kassim Ahmad](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Kassim_Ahmad&action=edit&redlink=1) was met with controversy and some scholars declared him an [apostate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostate) from Islam for suggesting that "“the hadith are sectarian, anti-science, anti-reason and anti-women". His students currently run a Quranist magazine.

As many Quranists have a very individualistic interpretation of the Qur'an, rejecting sectarianism and organised religion as a general rule, it is difficult to gather an accurate estimate of the number of Quranists in the world today by doing a study of the Quranist organisations that exist. Another difficulty in determining their prevalence is the possible fear of persecution due to being regarded as [apostates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam) and therefore deserving of the death penalty by many traditional scholars like Yousef Elbadry, Mahmoud Ashour, Mohammed Ra'fat Othman and Mustafa Al-Shak'a. The students of Kassim Ahmed

Non-Muslim scholars of Islam, such as [Maurice Bucaille](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maurice_Bucaille), [John Esposito](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Esposito), [Joseph Schacht](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Schacht) and [Cyrus Hamlin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cyrus_Hamlin) also criticise Hadith.

#### 5.7.2.5 Quranist organisations and communities

##### 1. The Ahle Qur'an

"Ahle Qur’an" is an organisation formed by [Abdullah Chakralawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Abdullah_Chakralawi&action=edit&redlink=1), rely entirely on the chapters and verses of the [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an). Chakralawi's position was that the [Qur’an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%E2%80%99an) itself was the most perfect source of tradition and could be exclusively followed. According to Chakralawi, [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) could receive only one form of revelation ([wahy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahy)), and that was the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an). He argues that the Qur'an was the only record of divine wisdom, the only source of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad)'s teachings, and that it superseded the entire corpus of [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith), which came later. Ahle Quran scholars may use [Tafsir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tafsir) when pursuing the interpretations of the Quran.

##### 2. Tolu-e-Islam

*Main article:* [*Tolu-e-Islam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tolu-e-Islam)

Tolu-e-Islam ("Resurgence of Islam") is an organization based in Pakistan, with followers throughout the world. The movement was initiated by [Ghulam Ahmed Pervez](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghulam_Ahmed_Pervez), a Qur'anic scholar. In his writings and speeches, he re-interpreted Qur'anic verses with little or no emphasis on hadith. Tolu-e-Islam followers do not reject all hadiths; however, they only accept hadiths which "are in accordance with the Quran or do not stain the character of the Prophet or his companions". The organization is loosely controlled. The organization publishes and distributes books, pamphlets, and recordings of Pervez's teachings.

##### 3. United Submitters International

*Main article:* [*United Submitters International*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Submitters_International)

Although different from other Quranists nowadays in many ways, like having faith that Rashad Khalifa was the Messenger of the Covenant mentioned in chapter 3 verse 81 and chapter 33 verse 7 of the Quran, the term Quranists was closely associated with the late [Rashad Khalifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashad_Khalifa), founder of the [United Submitters International](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Submitters_International). The group popularized the phrase: The Qur'an, the whole Qur'an, and nothing but the Qur'an. After Khalifa declared himself the [Messenger of the Covenant](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Messenger_of_the_Covenant), he was rejected by orthodox scholars as an apostate of Islam. Later, he was assassinated in 1990 by a [sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) terrorist group. His followers believe that there is a mathematical structure in the Qur'an, based on the number 19.

#### 5.7.2.6 Criticism

According to Sunni Orthodoxy, the hadith literature is an integral part of the Muslim faith. The 11th century Andalusian [Maliki](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki) theologian and scholar [Ibn Abd al-Barr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf_ibn_abd_al-Barr) wrote in his Jami' Bayan al-'Ilm wa Fadlihi (Compendium Exposing the Nature of Knowledge and Its Immense Merit):

The Sunna is divided into two types. The first is the consensus transmitted from the masses to the masses. This is one of the proofs that leave no excuse for denial and there is no disagreement concerning them. Whoever rejects this consensus has rejected one of Allah's textual stipulations and committed apostasy. The second type of Sunna consists in the reports of established, trustworthy lone narrators with uninterrupted chains. The congregation of the ulamas of the Community have said that this second type makes practice obligatory. Some of them said that it makes both knowledge and practice obligatory.

Contemporary scholars such as [Gibril Haddad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gibril_Haddad) have commented on the apostatic nature of a wholesale denial of the probativeness of the Sunnah according to Sunni Orthodoxy, writing "it cannot be imagined that one reject the entire probativeness of the Sunna and remain a Muslim". In his essay, "The Probativeness of the Sunna", Haddad explains that the foundation of Islam is the Qur'an, which cannot be described as God's word when one unconditionally rejects the probativeness of the Sunna (since the fact that the Qur'an is God's Word was not established by other than Muhammad's explicit statement that this was God's Word and His Book). As this statement is part of the Sunna/Hadith Literature, to say that the Sunna is no proof is no different than a denial of an integral part of the religion according to Haddad. He also quotes from [Yusuf ibn abd al-Barr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yusuf_ibn_abd_al-Barr), [Ibn Hazm](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hazm) as well as other renowned early traditional scholars such as [al-Shafi'i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Idris_ash-Shafi%60i), [al-Nawawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yahya_ibn_Sharaf_al-Nawawi), [Qadi Ayyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi_Ayyad) and [Ibn Hajar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hajar_al-Asqalani).

The Grand Mufti of Pakistan [Muhammad Rafi Usmani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Rafi_Usmani) has also criticised Quranists in his lecture *Munkareen Hadith* (refuters of Hadith); he states:

The Qur’aan, which they claim to follow, denies the faith of the one who refuses to obey the Messenger (peace and blessings of Allaah be upon him) and does not accept his ruling: “But no, by your Lord, they can have no Faith, until they make you (O Muhammad) judge in all disputes between them, and find in themselves no resistance against your decisions, and accept (them) with full submission.” [al-Nisa’ 4:65 – interpretation of the meaning]

In response to criticisms such as the above, Qur'anists point out that the judgments of Muhammad were based solely on the Qur'an (verses 5:48 and 4:105) and that it is what distinguishes right from wrong (verse 2:185), arguing that the need for Hadith and Sunnah are redundant because of their possession of the Qur'an.

### 5.7.3 North America

*Main articles:* [*Muslims for Progressive Values*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Muslims_for_Progressive_Values&action=edit&redlink=1)*,* [*Progressive Muslim Union*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progressive_Muslim_Union)*,* [*Muslim Canadian Congress*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Canadian_Congress)*, and* [*Canadian Muslim Union*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Canadian_Muslim_Union)

The **Progressive Muslim Union of North America** (PMU) was a [liberal Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam) organization. The group officially launched on November 15, 2004 in [Manhattan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manhattan) but was disbanded in December 2006. In May 2007, a new organization—[Muslims for Progressive Values](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Muslims_for_Progressive_Values&action=edit&redlink=1)—was launched with the support of hundreds of PMU community members.

*The Progressive Muslim Union (PMU) is the result of almost two years of conversation and collaboration between a group of North American Muslims who are committed to representing and renewing our community in all its social, ideological and political diversity. PMU members range from deeply religious to totally secular, sharing in common a commitment to learning, political and social empowerment, a commitment to justice and freedom and a concern and love for the Muslim community.*

### 5.7.4 Russia and CIS

*Main articles:* [*Jadid*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jadid) *and* [*Ittifaq al-Muslimin*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ittifaq_al-Muslimin)

**Ittifaq al-Muslimin** (*The Union of the Muslims*; [Tatar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tatar_language): Иттифак әл-мөслимин, *İttifaq âl-Möslimin*, [Russian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_language): Иттифа́к аль-Муслими́н) was a liberal-democratic party of [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslims) in [Russian Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Empire). The party was formed after *The First Congress of Muslims of Russia* and the party line was similar to [Kadets](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kadets). It was dominated by [Volga Tatar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Volga_Tatars) intellectuals, but also included [Azeri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azerbaijani_people) and [Crimean Tatar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crimean_Tatars) representatives.

The main elements of Ittifaq's program were constitutional monarchy, recognition of [democratic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democratic) [freedoms](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_freedom), distribution of state available land and [landowners](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alpaw%C4%B1t)' redeemable land to peasants, equality of [religions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion), restitution of [mosques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosque) and [madrassas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrassa) belongings to Muslims, etc.

The founders of Ittifaq were Äbüsoğud Äxtämev, [Yosıf Aqçura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yos%C4%B1f_Aq%C3%A7ura), Säyetgäräy Alkin, [Ismail Gasprinski](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismail_Gasprinski), R. İbrahimov, [Alimardan Topchubashov](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alimardan_Topchubashov), Sälimgäräy Canturin, Äxmäthadi Maqsudi, etc. Permanently worked Central Committee and Central Bureau were elected. Ittifaq played a major part within Muslim fraction of [State Duma of the Russian Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_Duma_of_the_Russian_Empire).

### 5.7.5 Europe

*Main article:* [*Progressive British Muslims*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progressive_British_Muslims)

**Progressive British Muslims** (PBM) is a group of [Liberal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Islam) [British Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Muslims) that formed following the [London terrorist attacks of July 7, 2005](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_July_2005_London_bombings).

The organisation was founded and is chaired by Farmida Bi, an expert in Islamic Finance to provide a voice for [progressive](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progressivism) Muslims who she felt were unrepresented by existing faith organisations. Since its foundation in 2005, PBM has produced policy papers, produced short films on Muslim participation in the [2008 US Presidential Election](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_US_Presidential_Election) and is currently working on a project with young people in [London](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London) and the British [Sudanese](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudanese) community.

Progressive British Muslims do not claim to speak for all Muslims, or any particular group of Muslims.

The organisation has [David Lammy MP](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Lammy) as a patron.

## 5.8 See also

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| * [Divisions of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Divisions_of_Islam) * [European Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Islam) * [Islamic feminism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_feminism) * [Islam Hadhari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_Hadhari) * [Criticism of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism_of_Islam) * [Reform Judaism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reform_Judaism) * [Reconstructionist Judaism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reconstructionist_Judaism) * [Liberal Christianity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_Christianity) * [Al-Mawrid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mawrid) * [List of Muslim reformers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Muslim_reformers)  5.8.1 Thinkers and activists  * [Rashad Khalifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashad_Khalifa) * [Jamal Khwaja](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_Khwaja) * [Tarek Heggy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tarek_Heggy) * [Fethullah Gülen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fethullah_G%C3%BClen) * [Mohammad Khatami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Khatami) * [Louay M. Safi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Louay_M._Safi) * [Shirin Ebadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shirin_Ebadi) * [Muhammad Ali of Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ali_of_Egypt) * [Tahir Abbas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tahir_Abbas) * [Khaled Abou El Fadl](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khaled_Abou_El_Fadl) * [Alireza Alavitabar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alireza_Alavitabar) * [Abdul Hadi Palazzi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdul_Hadi_Palazzi) * [Mohammed Abed al-Jabri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Abed_al-Jabri) * [Mehdi Bazargan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mehdi_Bazargan) * [Luthfi Assyaukanie](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luthfi_Assyaukanie) * [Ahmad Ghabel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Ghabel) * [Ghulam Ahmed Pervez](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ghulam_Ahmed_Pervez) * [Syed Ahmed Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syed_Ahmed_Khan) * [Muhammad Ali Jinnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ali_Jinnah) * [Shabbir Ahmed (writer)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shabbir_Ahmed_(writer)) * [Mohsen Kadivar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohsen_Kadivar) * [Abul Kalam Azad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abul_Kalam_Azad) * [Irshad Manji](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irshad_Manji) * [Edip Yuksel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edip_Yuksel) * [M. A. Muqtedar Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._A._Muqtedar_Khan) * [Fazlur Rahman Malik](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fazlur_Rahman_Malik) * [Ziauddin Sardar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ziauddin_Sardar) * [Abdolkarim Soroush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdolkarim_Soroush) * [Mohammad Mojtahed Shabestari](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Mojtahed_Shabestari) * [Yousef Saanei](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yousef_Saanei) * [Ali Shariati](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Shariati) * [Nasser Suleiman-Gabryel](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Nasser_Suleiman-Gabryel&action=edit&redlink=1) * [Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullahi_Ahmed_An-Na%27im) * [Irfan Habib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irfan_Habib) * [Javed Ahmad Ghamidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Javed_Ahmad_Ghamidi) * [Morad El Hattab](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Morad_El_Hattab&action=edit&redlink=1) (France) * [Pervez Hoodbhoy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Hoodbhoy) * [Mostafa Malekian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mostafa_Malekian) * [Raquel Evita Saraswati](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raquel_Evita_Saraswati) * [Mahmoud Taleghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmoud_Taleghani) * [Mahmoud Mohammed Taha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmoud_Mohammed_Taha) * [Ahmed Al-Gubbanchi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmed_Al-Gubbanchi) * [Iyad Jamal Al-Din](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iyad_Jamal_Al-Din) * [Bassam Tibi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bassam_Tibi) * [Amina Wadud](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amina_Wadud) * [Chekannur Maulavi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chekannur_Maulavi) * [Hameed Chennamangaloor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hameed_Chennamangaloor) * [Sayyid Al-Qemany](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Al-Qemany) * [Khaleel Mohammed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khaleel_Mohammed) * [Tashbih Sayyed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tashbih_Sayyed) * [Tawfik Hamid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tawfik_Hamid) * [Reza Aslan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reza_Aslan) * [Khalil Abdel-Karim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khalil_Abdel-Karim) * [Zuhdi Jasser](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zuhdi_Jasser) * [Ani Zonneveld](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ani_Zonneveld&action=edit&redlink=1) | 5.8.2 Ideologies and institutions  * [Modern Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_Islamic_philosophy) * [Islam and modernity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_modernity) * [Woman imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Woman_imam) * [Al-Fatiha Foundation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Fatiha_Foundation) * [99 Precepts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/99_Precepts) * [Qur'an-Alone Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an_alone) * [Committee for the Defense of Legitimate Rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Committee_for_the_Defense_of_Legitimate_Rights) * [Progressive British Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Progressive_British_Muslims) * [Jaringan Islam Liberal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaringan_Islam_Liberal) * [Tolu-e-Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tolu-e-Islam) * [LGBT topics and Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/LGBT_topics_and_Islam) * [American Islamic Forum for Democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Islamic_Forum_for_Democracy) |

## 5.9 References

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## 5.10 Further reading

* *Qur'an and Woman* by [Amina Wadud](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amina_Wadud).
* *American Muslims: Bridging Faith and Freedom* by [M. A. Muqtedar Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._A._Muqtedar_Khan).
* *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* Edited by [Charles Kurzman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charles_Kurzman).
* *Progressive Muslims: On Justice, Gender, and Pluralism* edited by [Omid Safi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omid_Safi).
* "Debating Moderate Islam" edited by [M. A. Muqtedar Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._A._Muqtedar_Khan).
* *Qur'an, Liberation and Pluralism* by [Farid Esack](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farid_Esack).
* *Revival and Reform in Islam* by [Fazlur Rahman Malik](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fazlur_Rahman_Malik).
* *The Unthought in Contemporary Islamic Thought*, by [Mohammed Arkoun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Arkoun).
* *Unveiling Traditions: Postcolonial Islam in a Polycentric World* by Anouar Majid.
* *Islam and Science: Religious Orthodoxy and the Battle for Rationality* by [Pervez Hoodbhoy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pervez_Hoodbhoy)
* [The Viability of Islamic Science](http://www.epw.org.in/showArticles.php?root=2004&leaf=06&filename=7273&filetype=html) by S. Irfan Habib, Economic and Political Weekly, June 5, 2004.
* [The Reformist Islamic Thinker Muhammad Shahrur:In the Footsteps of Averroes](http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-575/_nr-30/_p-1/i.html)
* [A Liberal Muslim Blog](http://www.chron.com/channel/houstonbelief/commons/aliberalmuslimblog.html?plckBlogPage=Blog&plckBlogId=Blog:a85cee4e-2a0d-4f7f-86fb-89c76240a84f&plckScript=blogScript&plckController=Blog&plckElementId=blogDest&newspaperUserId=a85cee4e-2a0d-4f7f-86fb-89c76240a84f)

## 5.11 External links

* [Charles Kurzman's Liberal Islam links](http://www.unc.edu/~kurzman/LiberalIslamLinks.htm) compiled by the author of *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* (published 1998 by Oxford University Press, USA. [ISBN 0-19-511622-4](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Special:BookSources/0195116224)).
* ["Can Islam change?"](http://www.newstatesman.com/200409130016), Ziauddin Sardar, [*New Statesman*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Statesman), 13 September 2004
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* [In the Footsteps of Averroes - The Reformist Islamic Thinker Muhammad Shahrur by Loay Mudhoon - Qantara](http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-478/_nr-882/i.html)
* [Martha Nussbaum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martha_Nussbaum) on [Islamic liberalism under fire in India](http://bostonreview.net/BR34.2/nussbaum.php), published in the [*Boston Review*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Boston_Review)

# 6 Political Islamist Thoughts

**Political aspects of Islam** are derived from the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), the [Sunna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah) (the sayings and living habits of Muhammad), Muslim history, and elements of [political movements](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_movement) outside Islam.

Traditional political concepts in Islam include leadership by successors to the Prophet known as [Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph), ([Imamate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imamate) for [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia)); the importance of following Islamic law or [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia); the duty of rulers to seek [Shura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shura) or consultation from their subjects; and the importance of rebuking unjust rulers but not encouraging rebellion against them.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-0) A sea change in the Islamic world was the abolition of the [Ottoman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire) caliphate in 1924, which some believed meant an end to the Islamic state both in "symbolic and practice terms".[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-1)

In the 19th and 20th century a common theme has been resistance to Western [imperialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperialism), particularly the [British Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Empire), and sometimes the perceived [racist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racist) policies that discriminated against some Muslims. The defeat of Arab armies in the [Six Day War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six_Day_War), the collapse of the [Soviet Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union) and the end of [communism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism) as a viable alternative with the end of the [Soviet Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union) and the [Cold War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War) has increased the appeal of [Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism) and [Islamic fundamentalist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalist) movements, especially in the context of popular dissatisfaction with ruling regimes in the Muslim world

## 6.1 Introduction

Islam is a religion that has existed for over fourteen centuries, in many different countries. As such, diverse political movements in many different contexts have used the banner of Islam to lend legitimacy to their causes. Not surprisingly, many aspects of Islamic politics are subject to much disagreement and contention between different interpretations, particularly between conservative [Islamists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) and [liberal movements within Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam). Islam is the third biggest religion in the world.

[Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) or [Islamic parties](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_parties) exist in almost every [democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy) with a Muslim majority. This term has many different meanings which this article will explore, along with links to other political trends.

The controversial term [Islamofascism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Neofascism_and_religion#Islam) has also been coined by some non-[Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) to describe the political and religious philosophies of some [militant Islamic groups](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Militant_Islamic_groups). Both terms lump together a large variety of groups with varying histories and contexts. The articles on [militant Islamic groups](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Militant_Islamic_groups), [Islamic parties](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_parties) and [modern Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_Islamic_philosophy) explain some of their actual views in detail.

### 6.1.1 Muhammad, the Medinan state and Islamic political ideals

[Islamists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamists) claim that the origins of Islam as a political movement are to be found in the life and times of Islam's prophet, [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) and his successors, (depending on the Islamist). In 622 CE, in recognition of his claims to prophethood, Muhammad was invited to rule the city of [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina). At the time the local Arab tribes of [Aus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banu_Aus) and [Khazraj](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khazraj) dominated the city, and were in constant conflict. Medinans saw in Muhammad an impartial outsider who could resolve the conflict. Muhammad and his followers thus moved to Medina, where Muhammad drafted the [Medina Charter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Constitution_of_Medina). This document made [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) the ruler, and recognized him as the Prophet of [Allah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allah). The laws Muhammad established during his rule, based on the revelations of the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) and doing of Muhammad, are considered by Muslims to be [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) or Islamic law, which Islamic movements seek to replicate in the present day. Muhammad gained a widespread following and an army, and his rule expanded first to the city of [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca) and then spread through the [Arabian peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabian_peninsula) through a combination of diplomacy and military conquest.

### 6.1.2 Early Caliphate and political ideals

See also: [*Caliphate*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate) and [*Islamic ethics*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_ethics)

After death of Muhammad, his community needed to appoint a new leader, giving rise to the title [Caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph), meaning "successor". Thus the subsequent Islamic empires were known as [Caliphates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate). Alongside the growth of the [Umayyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad) empire, the major political development within Islam in this period was the **sectarian split between** [**Sunni**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) **and** [**Shi'ite**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27ite) **Muslims**; this had its roots in a dispute over the succession of the Caliphate. Sunni Muslims believed the caliphate was elective, and any member of the Prophet's tribe, Quraysh, might serve as one. Shi'ites, on the other hand, believed the caliphate should be hereditary in the line of the Prophet, and thus all the caliphs, with the exception of [Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali), were usurpers.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-2) However, the Sunni sect emerged as triumphant in most of the Muslim world, and thus most modern Islamic political movements (with the exception of [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran)) are founded in Sunni thought.

Muhammad's closest companions, the four "[rightly guided](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun)" Caliphs who succeeded him, continued to expand the state to encompass [Jerusalem](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerusalem), [Ctesiphon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ctesiphon), and [Damascus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Damascus), and sending armies as far as the [Sindh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sindh).[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-3) The Islamic empire stretched from [Al-Andalus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Andalus) (Muslim Spain) to [Persia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_Empire) under the reign of the [Umayyad dynasty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad_Caliphate). The conquering Arab armies took the system of [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) laws and courts to their new military camps and cities, and built [mosques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosque) for Friday [jam'at](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Jam%27at&action=edit&redlink=1) (community prayers) as well as [Madrasahs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrasah) to educate local Muslim youth. These institutions resulted in the development of a class of [ulema](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) (classical Islamic scholars) who could serve as [qadis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi) (Sharia-court judges), [imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam) of mosques and madrasah teachers. These classical scholars - who lived and earned their livelihoods in the expansionist Islamic empire - gave legal and religious sanction to militarist interpretations of jihad. The political terminology of the Islamic state was all the product of this period. Thus, medieval legal terms such as [khalifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph), [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), [fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh), [maddhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maddhab), [jizya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jizya), and [dhimmi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhimmi) all remain part of modern Islamic vocabulary.

Since the scholarly and legal traditions of the ulema were well-established by the time of the [Abbasids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid), the later Middle Eastern empires and kingdoms (including the [Ayyubid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayyubid), [Seljuk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seljuk_Turks), [Fatimid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimid), [Mamluk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mamluk) and [Mongol](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mongol)) had little impact on modern Islamist political ideals.

One Islamic concept concerning the structure of ruling is [shura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shura), or consultation, which is the duty of rulers mentioned in two verses in the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran), 3:153, and 42:36, and contrasted by Muslims with arbitrary personal rule. It is mentioned by Islamic traditionalists, commentators, and contemporary writers but is not commanded by Islamic law only recommended.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-4)

One type of ruler not part of the Islamic ideal was the [king](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/King), which was disparaged in [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran)'s mentions of the [Pharaoh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pharaoh), "the prototype of the unjust and tyrannical ruler" (18:70, 79) and elsewhere. (28:34)[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-5)

#### 6.1.2.1 Election or appointment

[Al-Mawardi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mawardi), a Muslim jurist of the [Shafii](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafii) school, has written that the caliph should be [Qurayshi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quraysh_(tribe)). [Abu Bakr Al-Baqillani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Baqillani), an Ashari Islamic scholar and [Maliki](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki) lawyer, wrote that the leader of the Muslims simply should be from the majority. [Abu Hanifa an-Nu‘man](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hanifa_an-Nu%E2%80%98man), the founder of the Sunni [Hanafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi) school of fiqh, also wrote that the leader must come from the majority.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-2muslims-6) Western scholar of Islam, [Fred Donner](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Donner),[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-7) argues that the standard Arabian practice during the early Caliphates was for the prominent men of a kinship group, or tribe, to gather after a leader’s death and elect a leader from amongst themselves, although there was no specified procedure for this [shura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shura), or consultative assembly. Candidates were usually from the same lineage as the deceased leader but they were not necessarily his sons. Capable men who would lead well were preferred over an ineffectual direct heir, as there was no basis in the majority Sunni view that the head of state or governor should be chosen based on lineage alone.

#### 6.1.2.2 Majlis ash-Shura

Traditional Sunni Islamic lawyers agree that [*shura*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shura), loosely translated as 'consultation of the people', is a function of the caliphate. The [Majlis ash-Shura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majlis-ash-Shura) advise the caliph. The importance of this is premised by the following verses of the Quran:

“...those who answer the call of their Lord and establish the prayer, and who conduct their affairs by Shura. [are loved by God]”[[42:38](http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/quran/verses/042-qmt.php#042.038)]

“...consult them (the people) in their affairs. Then when you have taken a decision (from them), put your trust in Allah”[[3:159](http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/quran/verses/003-qmt.php#003.159)]

The [majlis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majlis) is also the means to elect a new caliph. Al-Mawardi has written that members of the majlis should satisfy three conditions: they must be just, they must have enough knowledge to distinguish a good caliph from a bad one, and must have sufficient wisdom and judgment to select the best caliph. Al-Mawardi also said in emergencies when there is no caliphate and no majlis, the people themselves should create a majlis, select a list of candidates for caliph, then the majlis should select from the list of candidates.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-2muslims-6) Some modern interpretations of the role of the Majlis ash-Shura include those by Islamist author [Sayyid Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb) and by [Taqiuddin al-Nabhani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqiuddin_al-Nabhani), the founder of a transnational political movement devoted to the revival of the Caliphate. In an analysis of the shura chapter of the Quran, Qutb argued Islam requires only that the ruler consult with at least some of the ruled (usually the elite), within the general context of God-made laws that the ruler must execute. [Taqiuddin al-Nabhani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqiuddin_al-Nabhani), writes that Shura is important and part of "the ruling structure" of the Islamic caliphate, "but not one of its pillars," and may be neglected without the Caliphate's rule becoming un-Islamic. Non-Muslims may serve in the majlis, though they may not vote or serve as officials.

### 6.1.3 Rulers, ulama and the traditional Islamic state

See also: [*Ulema*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema), [*Sharia*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), and [*Islamic ethics*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_ethics)

One scholar argues that for hundreds of years until the twentieth century, Islamic states followed a system of government based on the coexistence of [sultan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan) and [ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama) following the rules of the [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law. This system resembled to some extent some Western governments in possessing an [unwritten constitution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unwritten_constitution) (like the [United Kingdom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom)), and possessing separate, countervailing branches of government (like the [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States)) — which provided [Separation of powers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Separation_of_powers) in governance. While the United States (and some other systems of government) has [three branches of government](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Separation_of_powers_under_the_United_States_Constitution) — executive, legislative and judicial — Islamic states had two — the [sultan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan) and [ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama). A symbol of the success of this system is the current popularity of the Islamist movement which seeks to restore the Islamist state.[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-8)

### 6.1.4 Separation of religion and state

Main article: [*Islam and secularism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_secularism)

Some Muslims argue that unlike Christianity, Islam does not separate religion from state, and that for example it is apolitical Islam not political Islam that requires explanation and that is an historical fluke of the "shortlived heyday of secular Arab nationalism between 1945 and 1970."[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-ICGUnderstandingIslam-9)

In contrast, scholar [Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy_(professor)) argues that "a defacto separation between political power" of sultans and emirs and religious power of the caliph was "created and institutionalized ... as early as the end of the first century of [the hegira](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_calendar)," what has been lacking in the Muslim world is "political thought regarding the autonomy of this space." No positive law was developed outside of sharia. The sovereign's religious function was to defend the Islamic community against its enemies, institute the sharia, ensure the public good (*maslaha*). The state was instrument to enable Muslims to live as good Muslims and Muslims were to obey the [sultan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan) if he did so. The legitimacy of the ruler was "symbolized by the right to coin money and to have the Friday prayer ([*Jumu'ah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jumu%27ah) [*khutba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khutba)) said in his name."[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-10)

### 6.1.5 Shi’a tradition

In Shia Islam three attitudes towards rulers predominated — political cooperation with the ruler, political activism challenging the ruler, and aloofness from politics — with “writings of Shi’I ulama through the ages” showing “elements of all three of these attitudes.”[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-11))

#### 6.1.5.1 Qur'an

According to scholar Moojan Momen, "One of the key statements in the Qur'an around which much of the exegesis" on the issue of what Islamic doctrine says about who is in charge is based on the verse

`O believers! Obey God and obey the Apostle and those who have been given authority [uulaa al-amr] among you`(Qur'an 4:59).

For Sunnis, uulaa al-amr are the rulers (Caliphs and kings) but for Shi'is this expression refers to the Imams."[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-12)

According to scholar Bernard Lewis, this [Qur'anic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) verse has been

elaborated in a number of sayings attributed to Muhammad. But there are also sayings that put strict limits on the duty of obedience. Two dicta attributed to the Prophet and universally accepted as authentic are indicative. One says, "there is no obedience in sin"; in other words, if the ruler orders something contrary to the divine law, not only is there no duty of obedience, but there is a duty of disobedience. This is more than the [right of revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Right_of_revolution) that appears in Western political thought. It is a duty of revolution, or at least of disobedience and opposition to authority. The other pronouncement, "do not obey a creature against his creator," again clearly limits the authority of the ruler, whatever form of ruler that may be.[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-13)

However, [Ibn Taymiyyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Taymiyyah) -- an important scholar of the Hanbali school —- says in Tafseer for this verse "there is no obedience in sin"; that people should ignore the order of the ruler if it would disobey the divine law and shouldn't use this as excuse for revolution because it will spell Muslims bloods.

#### 6.1.5.2 Accountability

Sunni Islamic lawyers have commented on when it is permissible to disobey, [impeach](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Impeachment) or remove rulers in the Caliphate. This is usually when the rulers are not meeting public responsibilities obliged upon them under Islam. Al-Mawardi said that if the rulers meet their Islamic responsibilities to the public, the people must obey their laws, but if they become either unjust or severely ineffective then the Caliph or ruler must be impeached via the [Majlis ash-Shura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majlis-ash-Shura). Similarly Al-Baghdadi believed that if the rulers do not uphold [justice](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justice), the ummah via the majlis should give warning to them, and if unheeded then the Caliph can be impeached. [Al-Juwayni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Juwayni) argued that Islam is the goal of the ummah, so any ruler that deviates from this goal must be impeached. Al-Ghazali believed that [oppression](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oppression) by a caliph is enough for impeachment. Rather than just relying on impeachment, [Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hajar_al-Asqalani) obliged [rebellion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rebellion) upon the people if the caliph began to act with no regard for Islamic law. Ibn Hajar al-Asqalani said that to ignore such a situation is [*haraam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haraam), and those who cannot revolt inside the caliphate should launch a struggle from outside. Al-Asqalani used two [ayahs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayah) from the Qur'an to justify this:

“...And they (the sinners on [qiyama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_view_of_the_Last_Judgment)) will say, 'Our Lord! We obeyed our leaders and our chiefs, and they misled us from the right path. Our Lord! Give them (the leaders) double the punishment you give us and curse them with a very great curse'...”[[33:67–68](http://www.cmje.org/religious-texts/quran/verses/033-qmt.php#033.067)]

Islamic lawyers commented that when the rulers refuse to step down via successful impeachment through the Majlis, becoming dictators through the support of a corrupt army, if the majority agree they have the option to launch a [revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolution) against them. Many noted that this option is only exercised after factoring in the potential cost of life.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-2muslims-6)

#### 6.1.5.3 Rule of law

The following [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) establishes the principle of [rule of law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rule_of_law) in relation to [nepotism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nepotism) and accountability[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-14)

Narrated ‘[Aisha](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aisha): The people of Quraish worried about the lady from [Bani Makhzum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banu_Makhzum) who had committed theft. They asked, "Who will intercede for her with Allah's Apostle?" Some said, "No one dare to do so except Usama bin Zaid the beloved one to Allah's Apostle." When Usama spoke about that to Allah's Apostle Allah's Apostle said: "Do you try to intercede for somebody in a case connected with Allah’s Prescribed Punishments?" Then he got up and delivered a sermon saying, "What destroyed the nations preceding you, was that if a noble amongst them stole, they would forgive him, and if a poor person amongst them stole, they would inflict Allah's Legal punishment on him. By Allah, if [Fatima](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimah), the daughter of Muhammad (my daughter) stole, I would cut off her hand."

Various Islamic lawyers do however place multiple conditions, and stipulations e.g. the poor cannot be penalised for stealing out of poverty, before executing such a law, making it very difficult to reach such a stage. It is well known during a time of drought in the [Rashidun caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun_Empire) period, [capital punishments](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_punishment) were suspended until the effects of the drought passed.

[Islamic jurists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) later formulated the concept of the rule of law, the equal subjection of all classes to the ordinary law of the land, where no person is above the law and where [officials](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Official) and private [citizens](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citizen) are under a [duty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Duty) to obey the same law. A [Qadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi) (Islamic judge) was also not allowed to discriminate on the grounds of [religion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion), [race](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Race_(classification_of_human_beings)), [colour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_skin_color), [kinship](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kinship) or [prejudice](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prejudice). There were also a number of cases where [Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph) had to appear before judges as they prepared to take their verdict.[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-15)

According to Noah Feldman, a law professor at [Harvard University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harvard_University), the legal scholars and jurists who once upheld the [rule of law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rule_of_law) were replaced by a law governed by the state due to the [codification](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Codification_(law)) of Sharia by the [Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire) in the early 19th century:[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-Feldman-16)

How the scholars lost their exalted status as keepers of the law is a complex story, but it can be summed up in the adage that partial reforms are sometimes worse than none at all. In the early 19th century, the Ottoman empire responded to military setbacks with an internal reform movement. The most important reform was the attempt to codify Shariah. This Westernizing process, foreign to the Islamic legal tradition, sought to transform Shariah from a body of doctrines and principles to be discovered by the human efforts of the scholars into a set of rules that could be looked up in a book.

Once the law existed in codified form, however, the law itself was able to replace the scholars as the source of authority. Codification took from the scholars their all-important claim to have the final say over the content of the law and transferred that power to the state.

## 6.2 Reaction to European colonialism

In the 19th century European encroachment on the Muslim world came with the retreat of the Ottoman Empire, the arrival of the French in Algeria (1830), the disappearance of the Moghul Empire in India (1857), the Russian incursions into the Caucasus (1857) and Central Asia.

The first Muslim reaction to European encroachment was of "peasant and religious", not urban origin. "Charismatic leaders", generally members of the [ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama) or leaders of religious orders, launched the call for jihad and formed tribal coalitions. [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) in defiance of local common law was imposed to unify tribes. Examples include [Abd al-Qadir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Qadir_al-Jaza%27iri) in Algeria, the [Mahdi in Sudan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ahmad), [Shamil in the Caucasus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Shamil), the [Senussi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senussi) in Libya and in Chad, Mullah-i Lang in Afghanistan, the [Akhund of Swat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akhund_of_Swat) in India, and later, Abd al-Karim in [Morocco](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morocco). All these movements eventually failed "despite spectacular victories such as the [destruction](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Massacre_of_Elphinstone%27s_army) of the British army in Afghanistan in 1842 and the taking of [Kharoum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Ahmad#Khartoum) in 1885."[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-17)

The second Muslim reaction to European encroachment later in the century and early 20th century was not violent resistance but the adoption of some Western political, social, cultural and technological ways. Members of the urban elite, particularly in [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), and [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey) advocated and practiced "Westernization".

The failure of the attempts at political westernization, according to some, was exemplified by the [Tanzimat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzimat) reorganization of the Ottoman rulers. Sharia was codified into law (which was called the [Mecelle](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecelle)) and an elected legislature was established to make law. These steps took away the [Ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama)'s role of "discovering" the law and the formerly powerful scholar class weakened and withered into religious functionaries, while the legislature was suspended less than a year after its inauguration and never recovered to replaced the Ulama as a separate "branch" of government providing [Separation of powers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Separation_of_powers).[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-18) The "paradigm of the executive as a force unchecked by either the sharia of the scholars or the popular authority of an elected legislature became the dominant paradigm in most of the Sunni Muslim world in the twentieth century."[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-19)

### 6.2.1 Modern political ideal of the Islamic state

In addition to the legitimacy given by medieval scholarly opinion, nostalgia for the days of successful Islamic empire simmered under later Western colonialism. This nostalgia played a major role in the Islamist political ideal of Islamic state, a state in which Islamic law is preeminent.[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-20) The Islamist political program is generally to be accomplished by re-shaping the governments of existing Muslim nation-states; but the means of doing this varies greatly across movements and circumstances. Many Islamist movements, such as the [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami) in Bangladesh, have found that they can use the democratic process to their advantage, and so focus on votes and coalition-building with other political parties. Other more radical movements such as [Jama'atul Mujahideen Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jama%27atul_Mujahideen_Bangladesh) embrace [militant Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Militant_Islam) ideology.

In the face of the tremendous poverty, corruption and disillusionment with conventional politics, the political ideal of the Islamic state has been criticized by many espousing [liberal movements within Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam) and for example by [Ziauddin Sardar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ziauddin_Sardar), as being [utopian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Utopia) and not offering real solutions.

## 6.3 20th century

Following [World War I](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I) and the dissolution of the [Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire), and the subsequent dissolution of the [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate) by [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mustafa_Kemal_Atat%C3%BCrk) (founder of [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey)), many Muslims perceived that the political power of their religion was in retreat. There was also concern that Western ideas and influence were spreading throughout Muslim societies. This led to considerable resentment of the influence of the European powers. The [Baath Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baath_Party) was created in Syria and in [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) as a movement to resist and harry the British.

During the 1960s, the predominant ideology within the Arab world was [pan-Arabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Arabism) which deemphasized religion and emphasized the creation of socialist, secular states based on [Arab nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_nationalism) rather than [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam). However, governments based on [Arab nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_nationalism) have found themselves facing economic stagnation and disorder. Increasingly, the borders of these states were seen as artificial colonial creations - which they were, having literally been drawn on a map by European colonial powers.

Now from Cairo to Tehran, the crowds that in the 1950s demonstrated under the red or national flag now march beneath the green banner. The targets are the same: foreign banks, nightclubs, local governments accused of complacency toward the West. The continuity is apparent not only in these targets but also the participants: the same individuals who followed Nasser or Marx in the 1960s are Islamists today.[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-21)

### 6.3.1 Contemporary movements

Some common political currents in Islam include

* Traditionalism, which accepts traditional commentaries on the Quran and Sunna and "takes as its basic principle imitation (taqlid), that is, refusal to innovate", and follows one of the four legal schools or [Madh'hab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madh%27hab) (Shaf'i, Maliki, Hanafi, Hanbali) and, may include Sufism. An example of Sufi traditionalism is the [DEobandi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=DEobandi&action=edit&redlink=1) school in India.[[23]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-22)
* Reformist fundamentalism, which "criticizes the tradition, the commentaries, popular religious practices (maraboutism, the cult of saints)", deviations, and superstitions; it aims to return to the founding texts. This reformism generally developed in response to an external threat (the influence of Hinduism on Islam, for example. 18th-century examples are [Shah Wali Allah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shah_Wali_Allah) in India and [Muhammad ibn Abd-al-Wahhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Abd-al-Wahhab) (who founded [Wahhabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabism)) in the Arabian Peninsula.[[24]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-23) A modern example may be [Salafism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafism) (*Salafiyya*).
* [Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism) or political Islam, both follows and departs from reformist fundamentalism, embracing a return to the [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), but adopting Western terminology such as [revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Revolution) and [ideology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ideology) and taking a more liberal attitude towards women's rights.[[25]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-24) Contemporary examples include the [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami), [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood) and the [Iranian Islamic Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution), [Masyumi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masyumi) party .
* [Liberal movements within Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberal_movements_within_Islam) generally define themselves in opposition to Islamic political movements, but often embrace many of its anti-imperialist elements.

### 6.3.2 Sunni and Shia differences

According to scholar [Vali Nasr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vali_Nasr), political tendencies of [Sunni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunni) and [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) Islamic revival differ, with Sunni fundamentalism "in Pakistan and much of the Arab world" being "far from politically revolutionary", while Shia fundamentalism is strongly influenced by [Ruhollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruhollah_Khomeini) and his talk of the oppression of the poor and class war. Sunni fundamentalism "was rooted in conservative religious impulses and the bazaars, mixing mercantile interests with religious values." ... Khomeini's version of fundamentalism engaged the poor and spoke of class war.

This

Cleavage between fundamentalism as revivalism and fundamentalism as revolution was deep and for a long while coincided closely with the sectarian divide between the Sunnis - the Muslim world's traditional `haves`, concerned more with conservative religiosity - and the Shia - the longtime outsiders,` more drawn to radical dreaming and scheming."[[26]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-25)

Graham Fuller has also noted that he found "no mainstream Islamist organization (with the exception of [shia] Iran) with radical social views or a revolutionary approach to the social order apart from the imposition of legal justice."[[27]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_note-26)

## 6.4 Modern debates

Once the common opposition to [colonialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism), [corruption](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_corruption) and [racism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racism) was established as a focus, debates on political Islam became generally focused on several core questions through the 1970s:

* The status of women and integration of priorities of [feminism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feminism) into a renewed [fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh).
* [Islamic economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics) and the role of [debt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Debt) in oppression and stagnation of Muslim states.
* [Zionism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zionism) and the response to the formation of the Jewish state of Israel and the question of statehood.
* Self governance in Muslims nations or in nations with significant Muslim minorities.
* Control of oil revenues in the Middle East.

[United Nations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations) cooperation was pivotal in this view - as was cooperation with secular forces and allies. The agenda of secular and Islamist movements during this period was all but indistinguishable. However, some rural movements were finding progress made here to be symbolic and unsatisfactory. In 1979 the political situation drastically changed, with [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) making peace with [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel), the [Iranian Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution), and the Soviet invasion of [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) - all three events had wide-ranging effects on how Islam was perceived as a political phenomenon.

To understand this, consider the variety of attitudes Muslims with a fervent belief in [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) as a universal solution to political problems, took to the events of the 1980s and the 1990s:

### 6.4.1 Perception of persecution

Some Muslims place the blame for all flaws in Muslim societies on the influx of "foreign" ideas including debt-based [capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism), [communism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism), and even [feminism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feminism); a return to the principles of Islam is seen as the natural cure. This is however interpreted in very many ways: [socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism) and [Marxism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxism) as a guide to adapting Islam to the modern world was in decline by the 1980s as the [USSR](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union) invaded [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) and polarized attitudes against [Communism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism) and other secular variants of socialism. [Capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism) was often discredited by plain corruption.

One persistent theme that both proponents and opponents of Islam as a political movement note is that Muslims are actively persecuted by the West and other foreigners. This view is of course not distinguishable from a critique of [imperialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imperialism) including [oil imperialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oil_imperialism), since many Muslim nations are sitting on relatively vast [oil reserves](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oil_reserves). [Colonialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonialism) is often identified as the force which is 'against Islam', and seems to neatly encompass [British Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/British_Empire) experiences as well as those of modern times.

### 6.4.2 Reactive Islam

It was largely through reactive measures that the movement that is labeled Islamist came to be visible to the West, where it was labeled as being a distinct movement from [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam), [pan-Arabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Arabism) and resistance to [colonization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Colonization). The legitimacy of this kind of distinction is very much in doubt. [Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy_(professor)) holds that the primary motive of all of this activity is resistance to colonialism and control of the [Islamic World](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_World) by outsiders. In this view, the movement called Islamist is wholly reactive and incidental, just a convenient rationale used to justify what is in fact resistance of a cultural and economic sort.

However, there are many overt similarities. Those militants who follow a version of [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) based on the classical [fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) ("[jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurisprudence)") as interpreted by local [ulema](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) ("[jurists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurist)"), were the most prominent of several competing trends in [modern Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_Islamic_philosophy) in the 1970s and 1980s. It was at this time that they became visible - and a concern - to the West, as they challenged the modernist dictators that the West had generally put trust in.

See [militant Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Militant_Islam) for a detailed review of some modern movements that are often labeled Islamist by their opponents. This article is only about the reactive definition of the West, leading to the label. Trends which led to this are summarized by [Ziauddin Sardar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ziauddin_Sardar).

### 6.4.3 Cold War exploitation

Such cross-cultural exchanges, polite activism and moderate views were very often suppressed by the funders of more militant strains who sought to exploit them against the [Soviet Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union). The [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States), for instance, in the 1980s supplied university-authored textbooks to the [mujahedeen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujahedeen) of [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) that encouraged militant attitudes and even taught [arithmetic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arithmetic) using examples involving hand grenades and "dead [infidels](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infidel)".

There was also pressure against secular [socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism) in the [Islamic World](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_World), and especially in [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq), [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria) and [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), until the [Iranian Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution) of 1979 proved it could well be counter-productive and lead to a backlash that put regimes in place that would be hostile to the Western, secular, world.

### 6.4.4 Role in terrorism

Some militant Islamist forces have been implicated in [terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism) and have become targets in a series of military initiatives justified by the US rhetoric of "[War on Terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terrorism)", which has been adopted by [Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia), [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel) and other countries. This has led Muslims and the opponents of these initiatives (in the [peace movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_movement)) to characterize it sometimes as actually a [War on Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Islam).

As part of this war, they claim, literally every political interpretation of Islam, from classical fiqh to [Marxist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxist) to such moderate views as those of Dr. Shakir, are [all being classified as part of one "enemy" movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Subject-object_problem)?

### 6.4.5 Movements described as 'Islamist'

What these groups have in common tends to be opposition to the [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) and [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel). They vary widely in terms of the form of [Islamic Law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Law) they prefer.

### 6.4.6 Globalization

Along with many other cultural phenomena, Islamic political thought has undergone its own globalization as adherents of many different strains have come together. Even in such strictly controlled, secretive groups as [Al-Qaida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaida), there were believing Muslims of drastically varying backgrounds coming together, some of whom accepted the tactics and priorities of the group, and some not. While violent fanatics deployed by cynical leaders make highly visible attacks on Western interests and even on 'homelands', this is thought by many to be no more than backlash for an entire 20th century full of cynical attempts by German, British, and American Empires to deploy Islamic idealists as a mere tactic.

When [Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia) joined the [Council of the Islamic Conference](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Council_of_the_Islamic_Conference&action=edit&redlink=1) in 2003, it emphasized that it had a long history of successful co-existence with Muslims, and a large integrated population of Muslims (few of which are in any sense Islamist). President [Vladimir Putin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vladimir_Putin), despite a long and bloody confrontation with rebels in [Chechnya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chechnya), offered to act as a bridge or neutral broker in dealings between Muslims and [NATO](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NATO), the [EU](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/EU) and [USA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USA). This was a quite different rhetoric, a more pragmatic one likely reflecting the reality that the ex-Soviet republics of [Uzbekistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uzbekistan), [Kazakhstan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kazakhstan), [Turkmenistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkmenistan), [Azerbaijan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Azerbaijan) had substantial Islamic political movements - similar to those in [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey) and [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), relatively modern in tone and willing to participate in the US [War on Terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terrorism) to some degree, although not as direct combatants.

Some analysts believe that the old Cold War battlelines have been redrawn, with Russia choosing new allies - those with a record of success in forcing US withdrawals from strategic territories ([Beirut](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beirut), [Somalia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia) and - depending on interpretation - [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) and [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq)) with Muslim populations. In this view, the old Marxist alliance against colonialism is the dominant rhetoric.

Others accept the Russian pledge as sincere, and believe that Islamist movements of all stripes will eventually come to accommodation with domestic secular forces, and Islam as a global anti-corruption, anti-colonialism, and anti-racism movement, less focused on [Zionism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zionism) and Palestine. [George W. Bush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush) for instance has noted the real need as economic development in Muslim countries, to break the [cycle of poverty](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cycle_of_poverty) that tends to feed into extremist movements. In [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan), [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey) and [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq), the Bush administration has worked closely with nominally Islamic forces and ruling political parties in government. It denies intensely that it is involved in a [War on Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Islam). However, polls of Muslim nations indicate these denials are not trusted. Any accommodation will not be quick in coming.

### 6.4.7 Internationalism

Political Islam in a strictly non-evangelical sense cannot be described as Islamist. In a strictly political sense, born out of the struggles against colonialism and the war on terror, Islamic resistance movements can be seen to be analogous to other resistance movements, such as Latin American struggles against US "imperialism". In this sense political Islam falls within the scope of internationalism, which has many other branches - Maoist, Marxist and of course Latin American. The Latin American struggles have been reported for example in the magazine [*New Internationalist*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_Internationalist) and likewise the struggles in the Islamic world have been reported in the magazine *Islamic Internationalist*.

## 6.5 See also

* [Islamic Peace](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Peace)
* [Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism)
* [Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Majlis-e-Ahrar-e-Islam)
* [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami)
* [Hizb ut-Tahrir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizb_ut-Tahrir) Islamic political party
* [Tanzeem-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tanzeem-e-Islami) Islamic revolutionary party working for establishing khilafah.
* [Ayatollah Mohamed Hossein Kazemini Borujerdi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayatollah_Mohamed_Hossein_Kazemini_Borujerdi) Islamic activist for separation of politics from Islam

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  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-1) Feldman, Noah, *Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*, Princeton University Press, 2008, p.2
  3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-2) Lewis, Bernard, *The Middle East : a Brief History of the last 2000 Years,* Touchstone, (1995), p.139
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  6. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-5) Lewis, *The Middle East*, (1995), p.141
  7. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-2muslims_6-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-2muslims_6-1) [***c***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-2muslims_6-2) [Process of Choosing the Leader (Caliph) of the Muslims: The Muslim Khilafa: by Gharm Allah Al-Ghamdy](http://www.2muslims.com/directory/Detailed/225505.shtml)
  8. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-7) *The Early Islamic Conquests* (1981)
  9. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-8) Feldman, Noah, *Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*, Princeton University Press, 2008, p.6
  10. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-ICGUnderstandingIslam_9-0) [Understanding Islamism](http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=3301)[[*dead link*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Link_rot)] Middle East/North Africa Report N°37 2 March 2005
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  15. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-14) Sahih Bukhari, Volume 4, Book 56, Number 681
  16. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-15) ([Weeramantry 1997](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#CITEREFWeeramantry1997), pp. 132 & 135)
  17. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-Feldman_16-0) Noah Feldman (March 16, 2008). ["Why Shariah?"](http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/16/magazine/16Shariah-t.html?ei=5070&em=&en=5c1b8de536ce606f&ex=1205812800&pagewanted=all). New York Times. <http://www.nytimes.com/2008/03/16/magazine/16Shariah-t.html?ei=5070&em=&en=5c1b8de536ce606f&ex=1205812800&pagewanted=all>. Retrieved 2008-10-05.
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  19. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-18) Feldman, Noah, *Fall and Rise of the Islamic State*, Princeton University Press, 2008, p.71-76
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  26. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-25) *Shia Revival : How conflicts within Islam will shape the future* by Vali Nasr, Norton, 2006, p.148-9
  27. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam#cite_ref-26) Fuller, Graham E., *The Future of Political Islam*, Palgrave MacMillan, (2003), p.26

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* "Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook" Charles Kurzman, Oxford University Press, 1998
* "The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder" Bassam Tibi, Univ. of California Press, 1998

However, the following sources challenge that argument:

* [Edward Said](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Edward_Said), [*Orientalism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orientalism_(book))
* [Merryl Wyn Davies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merryl_Wyn_Davies), [*Beyond Frontiers: Islam and Contemporary Needs*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Beyond_Frontiers:_Islam_and_Contemporary_Needs&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [G. H. Jansen](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=G._H._Jansen&action=edit&redlink=1), [*Militant Islam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Militant_Islam_(book)&action=edit&redlink=1), 1980
* [Hamid Enyat](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Hamid_Enyat&action=edit&redlink=1), [*Modern Islamic Political Thought*](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Modern_Islamic_Political_Thought&action=edit&redlink=1)

These authors in general locate the issues of Islamic political intolerance and fanaticism not in Islam, but in the generally low level of awareness of Islam's own mechanisms for dealing with these, among modern believers, in part a result of Islam being suppressed prior to modern times.

## 6.8 Further reading

Democracy in the Middle East, the role of Islamist political parties, and the war on terrorism:

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* Robert Blecher, [Free People Will Set the Course of History: Intellectuals, Democracy and American Empire](http://www.merip.org/mero/interventions/blecher_interv.html), *Middle East Report* (March 2003).
* Robert Fisk, [What Does Democracy Really Mean In The Middle East? Whatever The West Decides](http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article9888.htm), [*The Independent*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Independent), 8 August 2005.
* Fawaz Gergez, [Is Democracy in the Middle East a Pipedream?](http://yaleglobal.yale.edu/display.article?id=5622)[[*dead link*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Link_rot)], *Yale Global Online*, April 25, 2005.
* [Masood Ashraf Raja](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masood_Ashraf_Raja). "Muslim Modernity: Poetics, Politics, and Metaphysics.” *Muslim Societies and the Challenge of Secularization: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Gabriele Marranci. Ed. Aberdeen: Springer, 2010: 99-112.

## 6.9 External links

* [Liberal Democracy and Political Islam: The Search for Common Ground](http://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=1475928)
* [The Ideology of Terrorism and Violence in Saudi Arabia: Origins, Reasons and Solution](http://www.salafimanhaj.com/pdf/SalafiManhaj_Terrorism_In_KSA.pdf)
* [Evaluating the Islamist movement](http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/0994/9409021.htm) - written by Greg Noakes, an American Muslim who works at the Washington Report
* [Muslim scholars face down fanaticism](http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/0695/9506017.htm) - written by Aicha Lemsine, an Algerian journalist and author.
* [Peter Krogh discuses Islam and politics with John L. Esposito and Mary Jane Deeb](http://cdm164001.cdmhost.com/krogh/item_viewer.php?CISOROOT=/p164001coll21&CISOPTR=195&CISOBOX=1&REC=2) On *Great Decisions*,1994

# 7 Islamism

**Islamism** ([Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist)+[*-ism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/-ism); [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): الإسلامية *al-ʾislāmiyyah*) also [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): إسلام سياسي‎ *ʾIslām siyāsī* , lit., "Political Islam" is set of [ideologies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ideologies_of_parties) holding that [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) is not only a [religion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion) but also a [political system](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_system). Islamism is a controversial term, and definitions of it sometimes vary. Leading Islamist thinkers emphasized the enforcement of [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) (Islamic law); of [pan-Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Islamic) political unity; and of the elimination of non-Muslim, particularly [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) military, economic, political, social, or cultural influences in the [Muslim world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_world), which they believe to be incompatible with Islam.[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-0)

Some observers suggest Islamism's tenets are less strict, and can be defined as a form of [identity politics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Identity_politics) or "support for [Muslim] identity, authenticity, broader regionalism, revivalism, [and] revitalization of the community".[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-1)

Many of those described as "Islamists" oppose the use of the term, and claim that their political beliefs and goals are simply an expression of Islamic religious belief. Similarly, some experts favor the term **activist Islam**[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-ICG-2)[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated2-3), **militant Islam**[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-4) or **political Islam** instead.[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-5)

Central figures of modern Islamism include [Sayyid Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb), [Hasan al-Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_al-Banna), [Abul Ala Maududi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abul_Ala_Maududi),[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-6) [Taqiuddin al-Nabhani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqiuddin_al-Nabhani), and Ayatollah [Ruhollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruhollah_Khomeini).[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)

## 7.1 Definitions

Islamism has been defined as:

* "the belief that Islam should guide social and political as well as personal life",[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-8)
* "the [Islamic] ideology that guides society as a whole and that [teaches] law must be in conformity with the Islamic sharia",[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-9)
* an unsustainably flexible movement of ... everything to everyone: an alternative social provider to the poor masses; an angry platform for the disillusioned young; a loud trumpet-call announcing `a return to the pure religion` to those seeking an identity; a "progressive, moderate religious platform` for the affluent and liberal; ... and at the extremes, a violent vehicle for rejectionists and radicals.[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-Osman.p111-10)
* an Islamic "movement that seeks cultural differentiation from the West and reconnection with the pre-colonial symbolic universe",[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-11)
* "the organised political trend, owing its modern origin to the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, that seeks to solve modern political problems by reference to Muslim texts",[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated1-12)
* "the whole body of thought which seeks to invest society with Islam which may be integrationist, but may also be traditionalist, reform-minded or even revolutionary",[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated1-12)
* "the active assertion and promotion of beliefs, prescriptions, laws or policies that are held to be Islamic in character,"[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-ICG-2)
* a movement of "Muslims who draw upon the belief, symbols, and language of Islam to inspire, shape, and animate political activity;" which may contain moderate, tolerant, peaceful activists, and/or those who "preach intolerance and espouse violence."[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-13)
* a term "used by outsiders to denote a strand of activity which they think justifies their misconception of Islam as something rigid and immobile, a mere tribal affiliation."[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-14)

Islamism takes different forms and spans a wide range of strategies and tactics, and thus is not [a united movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Islamism).

Moderate reformists who accept and work within the democratic process include the [Justice and Development Party of Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justice_and_Development_Party_(Turkey)), [Tunisian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics_of_Tunisia) author and reformer [Rashid Al-Ghannouchi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashid_Al-Ghannouchi) and Malaysian opposition leader [Anwar Ibrahim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar_Ibrahim). The Islamist group [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah) in [Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon) participates in both elections and armed attacks, seeking to abolish the state of [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel).

Groups such as the [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami) of Pakistan and the [Sudanese Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_al-Turabi) favored a top-down road to power by military [coup d'état](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coup_d%27%C3%A9tat).[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-15) The [radical Islamists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Radical_Islam) [al-Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda) and [Egyptian Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_Islamic_Jihad) reject entirely [democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy) and [self-proclaimed Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takfir) they find overly moderate, and preach violent [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad), urging and conducting [attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism) on a religious basis. This is not of the normal religion, and is responded to with outrage by the public.

Another major division within Islamism is between the fundamentalist "guardians of the tradition" of the [Salafism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafism) or [Wahhabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabi) movement, and the "vanguard of change" centered on the [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood).[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-16) [Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy) argues that "Sunni pan-Islamism underwent a remarkable shift in the second half of the 20th century" when the [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood) movement and focus on Islamistation of [pan-Arabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Arabism) was eclipsed by the [Salafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafi) movement with its emphasis on "sharia rather than the building of Islamic institutions," and rejection of Shia Islam.[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-17)

## 7.2 History of usage

The term *Islamism* was coined in eighteenth-century France as a way of referring to [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam). Earliest known use of the term identified by the [Oxford English Dictionary](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oxford_English_Dictionary) is 1747.[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-18) By the turn of the twentieth century it had begun to be displaced by the shorter and purely Arabic term Islam and by 1938, when Orientalist scholars completed *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, seems to have virtually disappeared from the English language.[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)

The term Islamism is considered to have first begun to acquire its contemporary connotations in French academia between the late 1970s and late 1980s. From French, it began to migrate to the English language in the mid-1980s, and in recent years has largely displaced the term [Islamic fundamentalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism) in academic circles.[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)

The use of the term Islamism was at first "a marker for scholars more likely to sympathize" with new Islamic movements; however, as the term gained popularity it became more specifically associated with political groups such as the [Taliban](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban) or the Algerian [Armed Islamic Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Islamic_Group), as well as with highly publicized acts of violence.[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)

"Islamists" who have spoken out against the use of the term insisting they are merely "Muslims", include [Ayatollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayatollah) [Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Hussein_Fadlallah), the spiritual mentor of [Hizbullah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizbullah), and [Abbassi Madani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbassi_Madani), leader of the Algerian [Islamic Salvation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Salvation_Front).[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)

A 2003 article in *Middle East Quarterly* states:

In summation, the term Islamism enjoyed its first run, lasting from Voltaire to the [First World War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_War_I), as a synonym for Islam. Enlightened scholars and writers generally preferred it to [Mohammedanism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed). Eventually both terms yielded to Islam, the Arabic name of the faith, and a word free of either pejorative or comparative associations. There was no need for any other term, until the rise of an ideological and political interpretation of Islam challenged scholars and commentators to come up with an alternative, to distinguish Islam as modern ideology from Islam as a faith.

—[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-KramerTerms-7)

## 7.3 Relation with Islam

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Al-Liwaa.svg) [](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Jihad.svg)

*Al-Liwaa*, the "state flag of the Islamic [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Islamism)" The [*Raya*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-raya) or "black flag of [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad)"

The concept *Islamism* is controversial, not just because it posits a political role for Islam, but also because its supporters believe their views merely reflect Islam, while the contrary idea that Islam is, or can be, apolitical is an error. Scholars and observers who do not believe that Islam is a political ideology include [Fred Halliday](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Halliday), [John Esposito](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Esposito) and Muslim intellectuals like [Javed Ahmad Ghamidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Javed_Ahmad_Ghamidi).

Islamists have asked the question, "If Islam is a way of life, how can we say that those who want to live by its principles in legal, social, political, economic, and political spheres of life are not Muslims, but Islamists and believe in Islamism, not [just] Islam?"[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-19) Similarly, a writer for the [International Crisis Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Crisis_Group) maintains that "the conception of 'political Islam'" is a creation of Americans to explain the [Iranian Islamic Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution). In reality, apolitical Islam was an historical fluke of the "shortlived heyday of secular Arab nationalism between 1945 and 1970," and it is [quietist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_quietism)/non-political Islam, not Islamism, that requires explanation[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-ICGUnderstandingIslam-20)

On the other hand, Muslim-owned and run media have used the terms "Islamist" and "Islamism" — as distinguished from Muslim and Islam — to distinguish groups such as the [Islamic Salvation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Salvation_Front) in Algeria[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-21) or [Jamaa Islamiya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Gama%27a_al-Islamiyya) in Egypt,[[23]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated4-22) which actively seek to implement Islamic law, from mainstream Muslim groups.

Another source distinguishes Islamist from Islamic "by the fact that the latter refers to a religion and culture in existence over a millennium, whereas the first is a political/religious phenomenon linked to the great events of the 20th century". Islamists have, at least at times, defined themselves as "Islamiyyoun/Islamists" to differentiate themselves from "Muslimun/Muslims".[[24]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-23)

According to historian [Bernard Lewis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Lewis), Islamism, (or as he terms it "activist" Islam), along with "quietism," form two "particular ... political traditions" in Islam.

The arguments in favor of both are based, as are most early Islamic arguments, on the [Holy Book](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) and on the actions and sayings of the [Prophet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad).

The [quietist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Quietism) tradition obviously rests on the Prophet as sovereign, as judge and statesman. But before the Prophet became a head of state, he was a rebel. Before he travelled from [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca) to [Medina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medina), where he became sovereign, he was an opponent of the existing order. He led an opposition against the pagan oligarchy of Mecca and at a certain point went into exile and formed what in modern language might be called a "government in exile," with which finally he was able to return in triumph to his birthplace and establish the Islamic state in Mecca.

...

The Prophet as rebel has provided a sort of paradigm of revolution—opposition and rejection, withdrawal and departure, exile and return. Time and time again movements of opposition in Islamic history tried to repeat this pattern, a few of them successfully.

—Bernard Lewis, *Islamic Revolution*[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated2-3)

## 7.4 Influence

Few observers contest the influence of Islamism. Following the collapse of the Soviet Union, political movements based on the liberal ideology of free expression and democratic rule have led the opposition in other parts of the world such as [Latin America](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_America), [Eastern Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eastern_Europe) and many parts of [Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asia); however "the simple fact is that political Islam currently reigns as the most powerful ideological force across the Muslim world today".[[25]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-24)

Even some of those who see Islamism as fraught with contradictions believe "the socioeconomic realities that sustained the Islamist wave are still here and are not going to change: poverty, uprootedness, crises in values and identities, the decay of the educational systems, the North-South opposition, and the problem of immigrant integration into the host societies".[[26]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-25)

The strength of Islamism draws from the strength of religiosity in general in the Muslim world. Compared to Western societies, "[w]hat is striking about the Islamic world is that ... it seems to have been the least penetrated by [irreligion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Irreligion)".[[27]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-cook-26)

Where other peoples may look to the physical or social sciences for answers in areas which their ancestors regarded as best left to scripture, in the Muslim world, religion has become more encompassing, not less, as "in the last few decades, it has been the fundamentalists who have increasingly represented the cutting edge of the culture".[[27]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-cook-26)

In Egypt and the rest of the Muslim world "the word secular, a label proudly worn 30 years ago, is shunned" and "used to besmirch" political foes.[[28]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-27) The small secular opposition parties "cannot compare" with Islamists in terms of "doggedness, courage," "risk-taking" or "organizational skills".[[29]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-28)

In the Middle East and Pakistan, religious discourse dominates societies, the airwaves, and thinking about the world. Radical mosques have proliferated throughout Egypt. Book stores are dominated by works with religious themes ... The demand for sharia, the belief that their governments are unfaithful to Islam and that Islam is the answer to all problems, and the certainty that the West has declared war on Islam; these are the themes that dominate public discussion. Islamists may not control parliaments or government palaces, but they have occupied the popular imagination.

—[[30]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-29)

Moderate strains of Islamism have been described as "competing in the democratic public square in places like Turkey and Indonesia.[[31]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-30) In [Morocco](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morocco), the Islamist [Justice and Development Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justice_and_Development_Party) (PJD) supported [King Muhammad VI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_VI_of_Morocco)'s "Mudawana", a "startlingly progressive family law" which grants women the right to a divorce, raises the minimum age for marriage to 18, and, in the event of separation, stipulates equal distribution of property.[[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-multiref1-31)

Islamists in Egypt and other Muslim countries have been described as "not politically dominant today, but ... extremely influential. ... They determine how one dresses, what one eats. In these areas, they are incredibly successful. ... Even if the Islamists never come to power, they have transformed their countries." [[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-multiref1-31)

## 7.5 Sources of strength

Amongst the various reasons for the global strength of Islamism are:

### 7.5.1 Alienation from the West

Muslim alienation from [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) ways, including its political ways.[[33]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-32)

* The memory in Muslim societies of the many centuries of "cultural and institutional success" of Islamic civilization that have created an "intense resistance to an alternative 'civilizational order'", such as Western civilization,[[34]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-33)

Outside Islamdom, [Christian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian) [missionaries](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Missionary) from [Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europe) usually succeeded in making converts. Whether for spiritual reasons or for material ones, substantial numbers of [Native American](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indigenous_peoples_of_the_Americas), [Africans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/African), [Hindus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu), [Buddhists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buddhist), and [Confucians](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Confucian) accepted the [Gospels](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gospel). But Muslims did not."[[35]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-34)

* The proximity of the core of the Muslim world to Europe and Christendom where it first conquered and then was conquered. [Iberia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Andalus) in the seventh century, the [Crusades](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crusades) which began in the eleventh century, then for centuries the [Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire), were all fields of war between Europe and Islam.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-35)

The Islamic world was aware of European fear and hatred:

For almost a thousand years, from the first Moorish landing in Spain to the second Turkish siege of Vienna, Europe was under constant threat from Islam. In the early centuries it was a double threat — not only of invasion and conquest, but also of conversion and assimilation. All but the easternmost provinces of the Islamic realm had been taken from Christian rulers, and the vast majority of the first Muslims west of Iran and Arabia were converts from Christianity ... Their loss was sorely felt and it heightened the fear that a similar fate was in store for Europe.[[37]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-36)

and also felt its own anger and resentment at the much more recent technological superiority of westerners who,

are the perpetual teachers; we, the perpetual students. Generation after generation, this asymmetry has generated an [inferiority complex](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inferiority_complex), forever exacerbated by the fact that their innovations progress at a faster pace than we can absorb them. ... The best tool to reverse the inferiority complex to a [superiority complex](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Superiority_complex) ... Islam would give the whole culture a sense of dignity.[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-37)

For Islamists, the primary threat of the West is cultural rather than political or economic. Cultural dependency robs one of faith and identity and thus destroys Islam and the Islamic community ([*ummah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ummah)) far more effectively than political rule.[[39]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-Haddad.2FEsposito1-38)

* The end of the [Cold War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War) and Soviet occupation of Afghanistan has eliminated the common atheist [Communist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism) enemy uniting some religious Muslims and the capitalist west.[[40]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-39)

### 7.5.2 Patronage of the West

During the 1970s and sometimes later, Western and pro-Western governments often supported sometimes fledgling Islamists and Islamist groups that later came to be seen as dangerous enemies.[[41]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-Berman-40) Islamists were considered bulwarks against—what were thought to be at the time—more dangerous [leftist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leftist)/[communist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communist)/[nationalist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalist) insurgents/opposition, which Islamists were correctly seen as opposing. The US spent billions of dollars to aid the [mujahideen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_war_in_Afghanistan#Foreign_involvement_and_aid_to_the_mujahideen) Muslim Afghanistan enemies of the [Soviet Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union), and non-Afghan [veteran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Arabs#Attitude_to_the_West) of the war returned home with their prestige, "experience, ideology, and weapons", and had considerable impact.[[42]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-ForeignAffairsNovember2005-41)

Although now a strong opponent of Israel's existence, [Hamas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamas) has been called "[Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel)'s creation." In the 1970s and 1980s Israel tolerated and supported the group as preferable to the secular and then more powerful [al-Fatah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Fatah) and the [PLO](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/PLO).[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-42)[[44]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-43)

Egyptian president [Anwar Sadat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar_Sadat), in his struggle against leftists, released Islamists from prison and welcomed home exiles in tacit exchange for political support. His "encouraging of the emergence of the Islamist movement" was said to have been "imitated by many other Muslim leaders in the years that followed." [[45]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-44)[[46]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-45) This "gentlemen's agreement" ceased in 1975 but not before Islamists completely dominated university student unions. Islamists later assassinated Sadat and went on to form a [formidable insurgency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism_in_Egypt) in Egypt in the 1990.) The French government has also been reported to have promoted Islamist preachers "in the hope of channeling Muslim energies into zones of piety and charity."[[41]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-Berman-40)

### 7.5.3 Resurgence of Islam

Further information: [*Islamic revival*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival)

* The resurgence of Islamic devotion and the attraction to things Islamic can be traced to several events. A tenet of the Quran is that Islam will deliver victory and success. For example 23:1: "Successful indeed are the believers";[[47]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-46) Sura 9:14 "Fight them and God will punish them at your hands ... God will make you victorious over them";[[48]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-47) 22:40: "God will certainly aid those who aid His (cause): for verily God is Full of Strength, Exalted in Might."[[49]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-48)[[50]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-49)[[51]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-50)

Yet,

by the end of World War I, there was scarcely such a thing left as a Muslim state not dominated by the Christian West. How could this happen? Only two answers were possible. Either the claims of Islam were false and the Christian or post-Christian West had finally come up with another system that was superior, or Islam had failed through not being true to itself.

Obviously, a redoubling of faith and devotion by Muslims was called for to reverse this tide.[[52]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-51)

* The connection between the lack of an Islamic spirit and the lack of victory was underscored by the disastrous defeat of Arab nationalist-led armies fighting under the slogan "Land, Sea and Air" in the 1967 [Six Day War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six_Day_War), compared to the (perceived) near-victory of the [Yom Kippur War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yom_Kippur_War) six years later. In that war the military's slogan was "God is Great".[[53]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-52)
* Along with the Yom Kippur War came the [Arab oil embargo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_oil_crisis) where the (Muslim) Persian Gulf oil-producing states' dramatic decision to cut back on production and quadruple the price of oil, made the terms oil, Arabs and Islam synonymous – with power – in the world, and especially in the Muslim world's public imagination.[[54]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-53) Many Muslims believe as Saudi Prince Saud al Faisal did that the hundreds of billions of dollars in wealth obtained from the Persian Gulf's huge oil deposits were nothing less than a gift from God to the Islamic faithful.[[55]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-54)
* As the [Islamic revival](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival) gained momentum, governments such as Egypt's, which had previously repressed (and was still continuing to repress) Islamists, joined the bandwagon. They banned alcohol and flooded the airwaves with religious programming,[[56]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-55) giving the movement even more exposure.

### 7.5.4 Saudi Arabian funding

Starting in the mid-1970s the Islamic resurgence was funded by an abundance of money from Saudi Arabian oil exports.[[57]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-56) The tens of billions of dollars in "petro-Islam" largess obtained from the recently heightened price of oil funded an estimated "90% of the expenses of the entire faith."[[58]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-57)

Throughout the Muslim world, religious institutions for people both young and old, from children's [maddrassas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrasah) to high-level scholarships received Saudi funding,[[59]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-58) "books, scholarships, fellowships, and mosques" (for example, "more than 1500 [mosques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosque) were built and paid for with money obtained from public Saudi funds over the last 50 years"),[[60]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-59) along with training in the Kingdom for the preachers and teachers who went on to teach and work at these universities, schools, mosques, etc.[[61]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-60)

The funding was also used to reward journalists and academics who followed the Saudis' strict interpretation of Islam; and satellite campuses were built around Egypt for [Al Azhar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Azhar), the world's oldest and most influential Islamic university.[[62]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-61)

The interpretation of Islam promoted by this funding was the strict, conservative Saudi-based [Wahhabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabism) or [Salafism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafism). In its harshest form it preached that Muslims should not only "always oppose" infidels "in every way," but "hate them for their religion ... for Allah's sake," that [democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Democracy) "is responsible for all the horrible wars of the 20th century," that [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) and other non-Wahhabi Muslims were [infidels](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam), etc.[[63]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-62) While this effort has by no means converted all, or even most, Muslims to the Wahhabist interpretation of Islam, it has done much to overwhelm more moderate local interpretations, and has set the Saudi-interpretation of Islam as the "gold standard" of religion in Muslims' minds.[[64]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-63)

#### 7.5.4.1 Grand Mosque Seizure

Further information: [*Grand Mosque Seizure*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Mosque_Seizure)

The strength of the Islamist movement was manifest in an event which might have seemed sure to turn Muslim public opinion against [fundamentalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fundamentalism), but did just the opposite. In 1979 the [Grand Mosque](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Masjid_al-Haram) in [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca) [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia) was seized by an armed fundamentalist group and held for over a week. Scores were killed, including many pilgrim bystanders[[65]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-64) in a gross violation of one of the most holy sites in Islam (and one where arms and violence are strictly forbidden).[[66]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-65)[[67]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-66)

Instead of prompting a backlash against the movement from which the attackers originated, however, Saudi Arabia, already very conservative, responded by shoring up its fundamentalist credentials with even more Islamic restrictions. Crackdowns followed on everything from shopkeepers who did not close for [salah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salah) and newspapers that published pictures of women, to the selling of dolls, teddy bears (images of animate objects are considered [haraam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haraam)), and dog food (dogs are considered unclean).[[68]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-67)

In other Muslim countries, blame for and wrath against the seizure was directed not against fundamentalists, but against Islamic fundamentalism's foremost geopolitical enemy – the United States. Ayatollah [Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khomeini) sparked attacks on American embassies when he announced:

It is not beyond guessing that this is the work of criminal American imperialism and international Zionism

despite the fact that the object of the fundamentalists' revolt was the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, America's major ally in the region. Anti-American demonstrations followed in the [Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines), [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey), [Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh), [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), the [UAE](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UAE), [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), and [Kuwait](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuwait). The US Embassy in [Libya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya) was burned by protesters chanting pro-Khomeini slogans and the embassy in [Islamabad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamabad), Pakistan was burned to the ground.[[69]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-68)

### 7.5.5 Dissatisfaction with the status quo

* The original heart of the Muslim world – the [Arab world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_world) – has been afflicted with [economic stagnation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_stagnation). For example it has been estimated that the exports of [Finland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finland), a European country of five million, exceeded those of the entire 260 million-strong Arab world, excluding oil revenue.[[70]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-69) This economic stagnation is argued to have commenced with the demise of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924, with trade networks being disrupted and societies torn apart with the creation of new nation states; prior to this, the Middle East had a diverse and growing economy and more general prosperity.[[71]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated8-70)
* Strong population growth combined with economic stagnation has created urban conglomerations in [Cairo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairo), [Istanbul](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istanbul), [Tehran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehran), [Karachi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karachi), [Dhaka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhaka), and [Jakarta](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakarta) each with well over 12 million citizens, millions of them young and unemployed or underemployed.[[72]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-71) Such a demographic, alienated from the [westernized](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westernization) ways of the urban elite, but uprooted from the comforts and more passive traditions of the villages they came from, is understandably favourably disposed to an Islamic system promising a better world[[73]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-72) – an ideology providing an "emotionally familiar basis for group identity, solidarity, and exclusion; an acceptable basis for legitimacy and authority; an immediately intelligible formulation of principles for both a critique of the present and a program for the future."[[74]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-73)

### 7.5.6 Shelter of the mosque

While dictatorial regimes can preempt opposition [nationalist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalist) or [socialist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist) campaigns by closing down their networks and headquarters, the centre for Islamist political organizing is the [mosque](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosque). It is exempt from government crackdowns in the Muslim world (and often in the non-Muslim world) by virtue of its sacredness. "It is in the mosque where [Islamists] canvas neighbourhoods in the course of providing social services, spread their political messages and campaign for votes where permitted to participate."[[75]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-74)[[76]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-75)

### 7.5.7 Charitable work

Islamist movements such as the [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood), "are well known for providing shelters, educational assistance, free or low cost medical clinics, housing assistance to students from out of town, student advisory groups, facilitation of inexpensive mass marriage ceremonies to avoid prohibitively costly dowry demands, legal assistance, sports facilities, and women's groups." All this compares very favourably against incompetent, inefficient, or neglectful governments whose commitment to social justice is limited to rhetoric.[[77]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-76)

### 7.5.8 Power of identity politics

Islamism can also be described as part of [identity politics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Identity_politics), specifically the religiously-oriented nationalism that emerged in the Third World in the 1970s: "[resurgent Hinduism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu_nationalism) in [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), [ultra-Orthodox Judaism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haredi_Judaism) in [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel), [militant Buddhism in Sri Lanka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Origins_of_the_Sri_Lankan_civil_war), resurgent [Sikh nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jarnail_Singh_Bhindranwale) in the [Punjab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Punjab_region), '[Liberation Theology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liberation_Theology)' of [Catholicism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Catholicism) in [Latin America](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_America), and of course, Islamism in the Muslim world."[[78]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-77) (This is distinguished from ethnic or linguistic-based nationalism which Islamism opposes.) These all challenged Westernized ruling elites on behalf of 'authenticity' and tradition.

## 7.6 Criticism

Main article: [*Criticism of Islamism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism_of_Islamism)

Islamism, or elements of Islamism, have been criticised for: repression of free expression and individual rights, rigidity, hypocrisy, lack of true understanding of Islam, misinterpreting the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) and [Sunna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunna), and for innovations to Islam ([bid'ah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bid%27ah)), notwithstanding Islamists' proclaimed opposition to any such innovation.

## 7.7 History

### 7.7.1 Predecessor movements

Some Islamic revivalist movements and leaders pre-dating Islamism include

* Shaikh [Ahmad Sirhindi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmad_Sirhindi) (~1564–1624) was part of "a reassertion of orthodoxy within [Sufism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufism)" and was known to his followers as the 'renovator of the second millennium'. It has been said of Sirhindi that he 'gave to Indian Islam the rigid and conservative stamp it bears today.'[[79]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-78)
* [Ibn Taymiyyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Taymiyyah), a Syrian Islamic jurist during the 13th and 14th centuries who is often quoted by contemporary Islamists. Ibn Taymiyya argued against the shirking of [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law, and against practices such as the celebration of Muhammad's birthday or the construction of mosques around the tombs of Sufi sheikhs, believing that these were unacceptable borrowings from Christianity: Many Muslims 'do not even know of the Christian origins of these practices.'[[80]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-79)
* [Shah Waliullah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shah_Waliullah) of India and [Muhammad ibn Abd-al-Wahhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Abd-al-Wahhab) of Arabia were contemporaries who met each other while studying in [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca). [Muhammad ibn Abd-al-Wahhab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_Abd-al-Wahhab) advocated doing away with the later accretions like grave worship and getting back to the letter and the spirit of Islam as preached and practiced by [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad). He went on to found [Wahhabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabism). Shah Waliullah was a forerunner of reformists like [Muhammad Abduh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abduh) in his belief that there was "a constant need for new [ijtihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijtihad) as the Muslim community progressed and expanded and new generations had to cope with new problems" and in his interest in the social and economic problems of the poor.[[81]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-80)
* [Sayyid Ahmad Barelvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Ahmad_Barelvi) was a disciple and successor of Shah Waliullah's son and emphasized the 'purification' of Islam from un-Islamic beliefs and practices. He anticipated modern Islamists by leading a [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) movement and attempted to create an Islamic state with strict enforcement of Islamic law. While he waged jihad against [Sikhs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikh) in North-Western India, his followers fought the British after his death and allied itself with the [Indian Mutiny](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Mutiny).[[82]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-81)

After the failure of the Indian Mutiny some of Shah Waliullah's followers turned to more peaceful methods of preserving the Islamic heritage and founded the [Dar al-Ulum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dar_al-Ulum) seminary in 1867 in the town of [Deoband](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deoband). From the school developed the [Deobandi movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deobandi) which became the largest [philosophical movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophical_movement) of traditional Islamic thought in the subcontinent and led to the establishment of thousands of [madrasahs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrasah) throughout modern-day [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) and [Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh). Today, Deobandism is represented in Pakistan by the [Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamiat_Ulema-e-Islam) organization/political party and its splinter groups.[[83]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-82)

### 7.7.2 Early history

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:HypnoDude.jpg)

Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī

The end of the 19th century saw the dismemberment of most of the Muslim [Ottoman Empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire) by non-Muslim European colonial powers.[[84]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-83) The empire spent massive sums on Western civilian and military technology to try to modernize and compete with the encroaching European powers, and in the process went deep into debt to these powers.[[85]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-84)

In this context, the publications of Jamal ad-din [al-Afghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Afghani) (1837–97), [Muhammad Abduh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abduh) (1849–1905) and [Rashid Rida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashid_Rida) (1865–1935) preached Islamic alternatives to the political, economic, and cultural decline of the empire.[[86]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-85) Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida formed the beginning of the [Salafist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafism) movement,[[87]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-86)[[88]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-87)[[89]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-88)[[90]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-89)[[91]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-90) as well as the Islamic modernist/secularist movement.[[92]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated7-91)

Their ideas included the creation of a truly Islamic society under sharia law, and the rejection of [taqlid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqlid), the blind imitation of earlier authorities, which they believed deviated from the true messages of Islam.[[93]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-92) Unlike some later Islamists, [Salafists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafism) strongly emphasized the restoration of the [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate).[[94]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-93)

### 7.7.3 Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi

*Main article:* [*Abul Ala Maududi*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abul_Ala_Maududi)

[Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Abul_Ala_Maududi) was a "alumni"[[95]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated5-94)[[96]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-95) and an important early twentieth-century figure in the Islamic revival in [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), and then after independence from [Britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom), in [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan). Trained as a lawyer he chose the profession of journalism, and wrote about contemporary issues and most importantly about Islam and Islamic law.

In the struggle for the creation of a separate Muslim state in South Asia Maudidi and his party first opposed the establishment of the state of Pakistan but later supported the idea. He was an inspirational figure for modern Islamist groups in South Asia and elsewhere.

Maududi founded the [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami) party in 1941 and remained its leader until 1972. Although Maududi was educated at Deobandi institution(s)[[95]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated5-94)[[97]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-96) his party is a long-time rival of the Deobandi party/group [Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamiat_Ulema-e-Islam).

Maududi had much more impact through his writing than through his political organising. His extremely influential book,[*Towards Understanding Islam*](http://www.witness-pioneer.org/vil/Books/M_tui/) (*Risalat Diniyat* in [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language)), placed Islam in a modern context and influenced not only conservative [ulema](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) but liberal modernisers such as [al-Faruqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Faruqi), whose "[Islamisation of Knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Islamisation_of_Knowledge&action=edit&redlink=1)" carried forward some of Maududi's key principles.

Maududi believed that Islam was all emcompassing "Everything in the universe is 'Muslim' for it obeys God by submission to His laws... The man who denies God is called [Kafir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kafir) (concealer) because he conceals by his disbelief what is inherent in his nature and embalmed in his own soul."[[98]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-97)

Maududi also believed that Muslim society could not be Islamic without Sharia, and Islam required the establishment of an Islamic state. This state should be a "theo-democracy,"[[99]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-98) based on the principles of: [*tawhid*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tawhid) (unity of God), [*risala*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Risala) (prophethood) and [*khilafa*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khilafa) (caliphate).[[100]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-99)[[101]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-100)[[102]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-101)

Although Maududi talked about Islamic revolution,[[103]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-102) he was both less revolutionary and less politically/economically populist than later Islamists like Qutb.[[104]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-103)

### 7.7.4 Muslim Brotherhood

*Main article:* [*Muslim Brotherhood*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood)

Roughly contemporaneous with Maududi was the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in Ismailiyah, Egypt in 1928 by [Hassan al Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_al_Banna). His was arguably the first, largest and most influential modern Islamic political/religious organization. Under the motto "the Qur'an is our constitution,"[[105]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-104) it sought Islamic revival through preaching and also by providing basic community services including schools, mosques, and workshops.

Like Maududi, Al Banna believed in the necessity of government rule based on [Shariah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shariah) law implemented gradually and by persuasion, and of eliminating all non-Muslim imperialist influence in the Muslim world. [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) was declared against European colonial powers.[[*citation needed*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)]

Some elements of the Brotherhood, though perhaps against orders, did engage in violence against the government, and its founder [Al-Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_al_Banna) was assassinated in 1949 in retaliation for the assassination of Egypt's premier Mahmud Fami Naqrashi three months earlier.[[106]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-105) The Brotherhood has suffered periodic repression in Egypt and has been banned several times, in 1948 and several years later following confrontations with Egyptian president [Gamal Abdul Nasser](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gamal_Abdul_Nasser), who jailed thousands of members for several years.

In recent years its status has usually been described as "semi-legal."[[107]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-106) Despite periodic repression, the Brotherhood has become one of the most influential movements in the [Islamic world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_world),[[108]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-107) particularly in the [Arab world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_world). Along with being the only opposition group in Egypt able to field candidates during elections, (which pundits estimate would receive at least 30% of the vote in free elections),[[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-multiref1-31) it has fostered several offshoot organizations in many other countries.[[109]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-108)

### 7.7.5 Sayyid Qutb

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Qutb.jpg)

[http://bits.wikimedia.org/skins-1.18/common/images/magnify-clip.png](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Qutb.jpg)

Sayyid Qutb

*Main article:* [*Sayyid Qutb*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb)

*See also:* [*Qutbism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qutbism) *and* [*Ma'alim fi-l-Tariq*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ma%27alim_fi-l-Tariq)

Maududi's political ideas influenced [Sayyid Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb), one of the key philosophers of Islamism, and a leading member of the [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood) movement. Qutb believed things had reached such a state that the Muslim community had literally ceased to exist. It "has been extinct for a few centuries,"[[110]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-109) having reverted to Godless ignorance ([Jahiliyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jahiliyya)).

To eliminate jahiliyya, Qutb argued [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), or Islamic law, must be established. Sharia law was not only accessible to humans and essential to the existence of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam), but also all-encompassing, precluding "evil and corrupt" non-Islamic ideologies like socialism, nationalism, or liberal democracy.

Qutb preached that Muslims must engage in a two-pronged attack of converting individuals while also waging [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) to forcibly eliminate the "structures" of Jahiliyya – not only from the Islamic homeland but from the face of the earth.

Qutb was both a member of the brotherhood and enormously influential in the Muslim world at large. Qutb is considered by some to be "the founding father and leading theoretician" of modern jihadis, such as [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden).[[111]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-110)[[112]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-111) Ironically, the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and in Europe has not embraced his vision of armed jihad, something for which they have been denounced by more radical Islamists.[[113]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-112)

### 7.7.6 Six Day War of 1967

*Main article:* [*Six-Day War*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Six-Day_War)

The quick and decisive defeat of the Arab troops during the Six-Day War by Israeli troops constituted a pivotal event in the Arab Muslim world. The defeat along with economic stagnation in the defeated countries, was blamed on the Arab nationalism of the ruling regimes.

A steep and steady decline in the popularity and credibility of both secular and nationalist politics ensued. [Ba'athism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ba%27athism), [Arab Socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Socialism), and [Arab Nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Nationalism) suffered, and Islamist movements inspired by Mawlana [Maududi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maududi), and [Sayyid Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb) gained ground.[[114]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-Mayer1-113)

### 7.7.7 Islamic Republic in Iran

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Portrait_of_Imam_Khomeini.jpg)

Imam Khomeini

*See also:* [*Iranian Revolution*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution) *and* [*Guardianship of the Islamic Jurists*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guardianship_of_the_Islamic_Jurists)

*Main article:* [*History of fundamentalist Islam in Iran*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_fundamentalist_Islam_in_Iran)

The first Modern Islamic state (with the possible exception of Zia's [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan)[[115]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-114)) was established among the [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) of [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran). In a major shock to the rest of the world, [Ayatollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayatollah) [Ruhollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruhollah_Khomeini) led the Iranian Revolution of 1979 to overthrow the oil-rich, well-armed, Westernized and pro-American secular monarchy ruled by Shah [Muhammad Reza Pahlavi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Reza_Pahlavi).

Khomeini's beliefs were similar to Sunni Islamic thinkers like Mawdudi and Qutb: He believed that imitation of the early Muslims and the restoration of [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law were essential to Islam, that secular, Westernizing Muslims were actually agents of the West serving Western interests, and that the "plundering" of Muslim lands was part of a long-term conspiracy against Islam by the Christian West.[[116]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated6-115)

But they also differed:

* As a [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia), the early Muslims whom Khomeini looked to were [Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali) ibn Abī Tālib and [Husayn ibn Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Husayn_ibn_Ali), not Caliphs [Abu Bakr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Bakr), [Omar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Omar) or [Uthman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uthman).
* Khomeini talked not about restoring the [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate), but about establishing an Islamic state where the leading role was taken by Islamic jurists ([*ulama*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama)) as the successors of [Shia Imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imamah_(Shi%27a_twelver_doctrine)) until the [Mahdi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_al-Mahdi) returned from occultation. His concept of [*velayat-e-faqih*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Velayat-e-faqih) ("guardianship of the [Islamic] jurist"), held that the leading Shia Muslim cleric in society – which Khomeini and his followers believed to be himself – should serve as head of state in order to protect or "guard" Islam and *Sharia* law from "innovation" and "anti-Islamic laws" passed "by sham parliaments."[[116]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated6-115)
* The revolution was influenced by [Marxism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxism) through Islamist thought and also by writings that sought either to counter Marxism ([Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Baqir_al-Sadr)'s work) or to integrate socialism and Islamism ([Ali Shariati](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Shariati)'s work). A strong wing of the revolutionary leadership was made up of leftists or "radical populists", such as [Ali Akbar Mohtashami-Pur](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Akbar_Mohtashami-Pur).[[117]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-116)

While initial enthusiasm for Islamism in the Muslim world was intense, it has waned as "purges, executions, and atrocities tarnished its image".[[118]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-117)

The Islamic Republic, as an Islamist regime, has implemented Sharia into the law[[119]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-118), and has also maintained its hold on power in Iran. It has created or assisted like-minded Shia Islamist groups in Iraq ([SCIRI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SCIRI))[[120]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-119)[[121]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-120) and Lebanon ([Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah)),[[122]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-121) (two Muslim countries that also have large Shiite populations). During the [2006 Israel-Lebanon conflict](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Israel-Lebanon_conflict), the Iranian government enjoyed something of a resurgence in popularity amongst the predominantly Sunni "Arab street,"[[123]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-122) due to its support for [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah) and to President [Mahmoud Ahmadinejad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmoud_Ahmadinejad)'s vehement opposition to the United States and his call that [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel) shall vanish.[[124]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-123)

### 7.7.8 Pakistan

[Zia-ul-Haq's Islamization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zia-ul-Haq%27s_Islamization)

The [Objectives Resolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Objectives_Resolution) was a resolution adopted on 12 March 1949 by the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. The resolution, proposed by the Prime Minister, [Liaquat Ali Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Liaquat_Ali_Khan), proclaimed that the future constitution of Pakistan would not be modelled entirely on a European pattern, but on the ideology and democratic faith of Islam. The Objectives Resolution proclaimed

"Sovereignty belongs to Allah alone but He has delegated it to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him as a sacred trust"

In July 1977 General [Zia-ul-Haq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zia-ul-Haq) overthrew Prime Minister [Ali Bhutto](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Bhutto)'s regime in Pakistan. Ali Bhutto, a leftist in political competition with Islamists, had banned alcohol, horse-racing, and nightclubs, and announced that the "sharia would be fully applied" within six months, shortly before he was overthrown.[[125]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-124) Ul-Haq was much more committed to Islamism, and "[Islamization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zia-ul-Haq%27s_Islamization)" or implementation of Islamic law (AKA [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia)), became a cornerstone of his eleven-year military dictatorship and Islamism became his "official state ideology". An admirer of [Mawdudi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mawdudi), Mawdudi's party [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami) became the "regime's ideological arm", and its members prospered under ul-Haq.[[126]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-125)

Under his leadership anyone which showed to oppose his form 'Islam', was persecuted and legitimized to be a victim. The [Ahmadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya_Muslim_Community) Community was severely persecuted under his dictatorial rule by various Islamist movements, who due to the non-action of the government rallied support and immensely grew in numbers and influence. The decades of build up and current Islamist wave in Pakistan is a result of ul-Haq's support for the various Islamist movements. In Pakistan this Islamization from above was "probably" more complete "than under any other regime except those in Iran and Sudan," but Ul-Haq was also criticized by some Islamists for imposing "symbols" rather than substance, and using Islamization to legitimize his means of seizing power.[[127]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-126) The program was a dramatic reversal of the traditional [secularism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism) of Pakistan's founding [Muslim League](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_League_(Pakistan)) and its leader [Mohammad Ali Jinnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Ali_Jinnah), but unlike neighboring Iran, ul-Haq's policies were intended to "avoid revolutionary excess", and not to strain relations with his American and Persian Gulf state allies.[[128]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-127)

Ul-Haq was killed in 1988 but Islamization remains an important element in Pakistani politics and society.[[129]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-128)

### 7.7.9 Afghanistan

In 1979 the [Soviet Union deployed its 40th Army into Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_invasion_of_Afghanistan), attempting to suppress an Islamic rebellion against an allied Marxist regime in the [Afghan Civil War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Civil_War). The conflict, pitting indigenous impoverished Muslims ([mujahideen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mujahideen)) against an anti-religious superpower, galvanized thousands of Muslims around the world to send aid and sometimes to go themselves to fight [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad). Leading this pan-Islamic effort was Palestinian sheikh [Abdullah Yusuf Azzam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_Yusuf_Azzam#Life_in_Pakistan_and_Afghanistan). While the military effectiveness of these "[Afghan Arabs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Arabs)" was marginal, Azzam's group is said to have organized paramilitary training for more than 20,000 Muslim recruits, from about 20 countries around the world.

When the Soviet Union abandoned the Marxist Najibullah regime and withdrew from Afghanistan in 1989 (the regime finally fell in 1992), the victory was seen by many Muslims as the triumph of Islamic faith over superior military power and technology that could be duplicated elsewhere.

The jihadists gained legitimacy and prestige from their triumph both within the militant community and among ordinary Muslims, as well as the confidence to carry their jihad to other countries where they believed Muslims required assistance.

—[[130]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-129)

The "veterans of the guerrilla campaign" returning home to [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria), [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) and other countries "with their experience, ideology, and weapons," were often eager to continue armed jihad.

The collapse of the Soviet Union itself in 1991, was seen by many Islamists, including Bin Laden, as the defeat of a superpower at the hands of Islam, the $6 billion in aid given by the US to the mujahideen having nothing to do with the victory. As bin Laden opined:[[131]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-130) "[T]he US has no mentionable role" in "the collapse of the Soviet Union ... rather the credit goes to God and the mujahidin" of Afghanistan.[[132]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-131)

### 7.7.10 Persian Gulf War

Another factor in the early 1990s that worked to radicalize the Islamist movement was the [Gulf War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_War), which brought several hundred thousand US and allied non-Muslim military personnel to Saudi Arabian soil to put an end to [Saddam Hussein](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saddam_Hussein)'s occupation of Kuwait. Prior to 1990 Saudi Arabia played an important role in restraining the many Islamist groups that received its aid. But Saddam embraced Islamic rhetoric and attacked Saudi Arabia, his enemy in the war, for violating Islamic unity and its role as custodian of the two holy cities by allowing non-Muslims on its soil (traditional Muslim belief holds that non-Muslims must not be allowed on the Arabian peninsula), and he also accused the Kingdom of being a puppet of the west.

These attacks resonated with conservative Muslims and the problem did not go away with Saddam's defeat either, since American troops remained stationed in the kingdom, and a defacto cooperation with the Palestinian-Israeli peace process developed. Saudi Arabia attempted to compensate for its loss of prestige among these groups by repressing those domestic Islamists who attacked it (bin Laden being a prime example), and increasing aid to Islamic groups (Islamist madrassas around the world and even aiding some violent Islamist groups) that did not, but its pre-war influence on behalf of moderation was greatly reduced.[[133]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-132) One result of this was a campaign of attacks on government officials and tourists in [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Gama%27a_al-Islamiyya), a bloody civil war in [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Algerian_massacres_of_the_1990s) and [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden)'s terror attacks climaxing in [9/11 attack](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11,_2001_attacks).[[134]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-133)

### 7.7.11 Jihad movements of Egypt

While Qutb's ideas became increasingly radical during his imprisonment prior to his execution in 1966, the leadership of the Brotherhood, led by [Hasan al-Hudaybi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hasan_al-Hudaybi), remained moderate and interested in political negotiation and activism. Fringe or splinter movements inspired by the final writings of Qutb in the mid-1960s (particularly the manifesto "Milestones," aka [Ma'alim fi-l-Tariq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ma%27alim_fi-l-Tariq)) did, however, develop and they pursued a more radical direction.[[135]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-134) By the 1970s, the Brotherhood had renounced violence as a means of achieving its goals.

The path of violence and military struggle was then taken up by the [Egyptian Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_Islamic_Jihad) organization responsible for the assassination of [Anwar Sadat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anwar_Sadat) in 1981. Unlike earlier anti-colonial movements, Islamic Jihad directed its attacks against what it believed were "apostate" leaders of Muslim states, leaders who held secular leanings or who had introduced or promoted Western/foreign ideas and practices into Islamic societies. Its views were outlined in a pamphlet written by Muhammad Abd al-Salaam Farag, in which he states:

...there is no doubt that the first battlefield for jihad is the extermination of these infidel leaders and to replace them by a complete Islamic Order...

Another of the Egyptian groups which employed violence in their struggle for Islamic order was [al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Gama%27a_al-Islamiyya) (Islamic Group). Victims of their campaign against the Egyptian state in the 1990s included the head of the counter-terrorism police (Major General Raouf Khayrat), a parliamentary speaker ([Rifaat al-Mahgoub](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rifaat_al-Mahgoub)), dozens of European tourists and Egyptian bystanders, and over 100 Egyptian police.[[136]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-135) Ultimately the campaign to overthrow the government was unsuccessful, and the major jihadi group, Jamaa Islamiya (or [al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Gama%27a_al-Islamiyya)), renounced violence in 2003.[[23]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated4-22) Other lesser known groups include the Islamic Liberation Party, Al-Najun min al-nar and Al-Takfir wa al-Hijra and these groups have variously been involved in activities such as attempted assassinations of political figures, arson of video shops and attempted takeovers of government buildings.[[137]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-136)

### 7.7.12 Sudan

For many years [Sudan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudan) had an Islamist regime under the leadership of [Hassan al-Turabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_al-Turabi). His [National Islamic Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Islamic_Front) first gained influence when strongman General [Gaafar al-Nimeiry](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaafar_al-Nimeiry) invited members to serve in his government in 1979. Turabi built a powerful economic base with money from foreign Islamist banking systems, especially those linked with Saudi Arabia. He also recruited and built a cadre of influential loyalists by placing sympathetic students in the university and military academy while serving as minister of education.[[138]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-137)

After al-Nimeiry was overthrown in 1985 the party did poorly in national elections but in 1989 it was able to overthrow the elected post-al-Nimeiry government with the help of the military. Turabi was noted for his commitment to the democratic process and a liberal government before coming to power, but strict application of [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law, and an intensification of the long-running war in southern Sudan,[[139]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-138) human rights abuses, once in power. The NIF regime also harbored [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden) for a time (before 9/11), and worked to unify Islamist opposition to the American attack on Iraq in the 1991 [Gulf War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_War).

*Main article:* [*National Islamic Front*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Islamic_Front)

After Sudanese intelligence services were implicated in an [assassination attempt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hosni_Mubarak#Assassination_attempt_in_Ethiopia) on the President of Egypt, UN economic sanctions were imposed on Sudan, a very poor country, and Turabi fell from favor.[[140]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-139) He was imprisoned for a time in 2004-5. Some of the NIF policies, such as the war with the non-Muslim south, have been reversed, though the National Islamic Front (now named the [National Congress Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Congress_(Sudan))) still holds considerable power in the Sudanese government.

### 7.7.13 Algeria

*See also:* [*Algerian Civil War*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algerian_Civil_War)

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Islamic_Salvation_Front_logo.jpg)

The FIS emblem

An Islamist movement influenced by Salafism and the jihad in Afghanistan, as well as the Muslim Brotherhood, was the FIS or Front Islamique de Salut (the [Islamic Salvation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Salvation_Front)) in Algeria. Founded as a broad Islamist coalition in 1989 it was led by Abbassi Madani, and a charismatic radical young preacher, Ali Belhadj. Taking advantage of liberalization by the unpopular ruling leftist/nationalist FLN regime, it used its preaching to advocate the establishment of a legal system following [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law, education in Arabic rather than French, and gender segregation, with women staying home to alleviate the high rate of unemployment among young Algerian men. The FIS won sweeping victories in local elections and it was going to win national elections in 1991 when voting was canceled by a military coup d'état.

As Islamists took up arms to overthrow the regime, the FIS's leaders were arrested and it became overshadowed by Islamist guerilla groups particularly the [Islamic Salvation Army](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Salvation_Army), MIA and [Armed Islamic Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Islamic_Group) (or GIA). A bloody and devastating [civil war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algerian_Civil_War) ensued in which between 150,000 and 200,000 people were killed over the next decade. Civilians – including foreigners, University academics, intellectuals, writers, journalists, and medical doctors – were targeted by Islamist extremists.[[141]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-140)[[142]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-141) although government forces were also accused of killing civilians and of manipulating the brutal [takfiri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takfir) [GIA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Islamic_Group)

*Main article:* [*List of Algerian massacres of the 1990s*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Algerian_massacres_of_the_1990s)

The civil war was not a victory for Islamism. By 2002 the main guerrilla groups had either been destroyed or had surrendered. The popularity of Islamist parties has declined to the point that "the Islamist candidate, Abdallah Jaballah, came a distant third with 5% of the vote" in the 2004 presidential election.[[143]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-142)

### 7.7.14 Afghanistan Taliban

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Flag_of_Taliban.svg)

Flag of Taliban

*Main article:* [*Taliban*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban)

In Afghanistan the mujahideen's victory did not lead to justice and prosperity but to a vicious and destructive [civil war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_Civil_War) between warlords, making Afghanistan one of the poorest countries on earth. In 1996, a new movement known as the [Taliban](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban), rose to power, defeated most of the warlords and took over roughly 80% of Afghanistan.

The Taliban were spawned by the thousands of [madrasahs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrasah) the [Deobandi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deobandi) movement established for impoverished [Afghan refugees](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghan_refugees) and supported by governmental and religious groups in neighboring Pakistan.[[144]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-143)

The Taliban differed from other Islamist movements to the point where they might be more properly described as [Islamic fundamentalist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_fundamentalism) or neofundamentalist, interested in spreading "an idealized and systematized version of village customs to an entire country."[[145]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-144) Despite Afghanistan's great poverty, they had little interest in social, economic and technological development – at one time explaining that "we Muslims believe God the Almighty will feed everybody one way or another."[[146]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-145)

Their ideology was also described as being influenced by Pashtunwali tribal law, [Wahhabism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabism), and the [jihadism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihadism) [pan-Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Islamism) of their guest [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden).[[147]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-146)[[148]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-147)

The Taliban considered "politics" to be against [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) and thus did not hold elections. They were led by Mullah [Mohammed Omar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Omar) who was given the title "[Amir al-Mu'minin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amir_al-Mu%27minin)" or Commander of the Faithful, and a pledge of loyalty by several hundred Taliban-selected [Pashtun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashtun_people) clergy in April 1996. Like most Islamists, the Taliban enforced strict prohibitions on women, but these were so severe – for example effectively forbidding most employment and schooling – that they created an international outcry.[[149]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-148)

The Taliban also banned other activities – music, TV, videos, photographs, pigeons, kite-flying, beard-trimming, etc. – and for the energy and the resources which they used to enforce the bans, including hundreds perhaps thousands of religious police officers armed with "whips, long sticks and Kalashnikovs."[[150]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-149)

The Taliban also opposed [Shi'ism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27ism) and have been accused by human rights groups of indiscriminately killing thousands of Shia.[[151]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-150) They were also overwhelmingly Pashtun and were accused of not sharing power with the approximately 60% of Afghanis who belonged to other ethnic groups. (see: [Taliban#Ideology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban#Ideology))[[152]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-151)

The Taliban's hosting of [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden), despite the attacks he organized against the United States, led to an American-organized attack against which drove them from power following the [9/11 attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/9/11_attacks).[[153]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-152) Taliban are still very much alive and fighting a vigorous [insurgency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban#Resurgence) from bases in the frontier regions of Pakistan with suicide bombings and armed attacks being launched against [NATO](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NATO), Afghan government targets and civilians.

### 7.7.15 Attacks on civilians

*Main article:* [*Islamic terrorism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism)

Some Islamist groups call for and/or engage in attacks on not only police/military enemies, but non-combatants as well. These groups include several mentioned above: [al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Gama%27a_al-Islamiyya) (Islamic Group) of Egypt, Islamist groups in Algeria, [Hamas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamas) and [Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Jihad_Movement_in_Palestine) in Gaza and the West Bank, and [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden) and his [al-Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda) group.

Both Muslims and non-Muslims have been among the targets and victims. Some of the groups have proudly proclaimed the attacks, others have been silent or denied involvement.

Justification for attacks on Muslims often comes as [takfir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takfir), an implicit death threat since under traditional Sharia law the punishment for [apostasy in Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam) is death. Justification for attacks on non-Muslims is often the allegation that the targets had "waged war against God," are occupiers of Muslim land, or tourists unwelcome on Muslim land.

Suicide or "martyrdom operations" are a lethal technique among radical Islamists, sometimes motivated by the much disputed explanation that "God will give" those who kill themselves in the path of [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) 70 or 72 female "[virgins](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houri)" and "everlasting happiness."[[154]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-153)

Religious or sectarian attacks in situations where Islamists are active have been particularly serious following 2004. In [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#Iraq), 8,262 people were killed in terror attacks in 2005 and 13,340 in 2006,[[155]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-154) although not all of theses casualties came from attacks by Islamist groups. Islamist or fundamentalist attacks are also on the increase in Afghanistan[[156]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-155)[[157]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-156) and in Pakistan, where hundreds have been killed in 2006 and 2007,[[158]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-157) although in both countries not all of the attacks have been on civilians.

### 7.7.16 Hizb ut-Tahrir

*Main article:* [*Hizb ut-Tahrir*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizb_ut-Tahrir)

An influential international Islamist movement is the 'party' [Hizb ut-Tahrir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizb_ut-Tahrir), founded in 1953 by an Islamic [Qadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi) *(judge)* [Taqiuddin al-Nabhani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taqiuddin_al-Nabhani). HT is unique from most other Islamist movements in that the party focuses not on local issues or on providing social services, but on unifying the Muslim world under its vision of a new Islamic [caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate) spanning from North Africa and the Middle East to much of central and South Asia.

To this end it has drawn up and published a constitution for its proposed caliphate state. The constitution's 187 articles specify specific policies such as [sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law, a "unitary ruling system" headed by a caliph elected by Muslims, an economy based on the [gold standard](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gold_standard), public ownership of utilities, public transport, and energy resources, and [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic) as the "sole language of the State."[[159]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-158)

In its focus on the Caliphate, HT takes a different view of Muslim history than some other Islamists such as [Muhammad Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Qutb). HT sees Islam's pivotal turning point as occurring not with the death of [Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali), or one of the other four [rightly guided Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun) in the 7th century, but with the 1918 or 1922 [abolition](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph#Abolition_of_the_institution) of the [Ottoman Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Caliphate).

This is believed to have ended the true Islamic system, something for which it blames "the disbelieving (Kafir) colonial powers" working through Turkish modernist [Mustafa Kemal Atatürk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mustafa_Kemal_Atat%C3%BCrk).[[160]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-159)

HT does not engage in armed [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) or vote-getting, but works to take power through "ideological struggle" to change Muslim public opinion, and in particular through elites who will "facilitate" a "change of the government," i.e. launch a bloodless [coup](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Coup_d%27%C3%A9tat). It allegedly attempted and failed such coups in 1968 and 1969 in [Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan), and in 1974 in [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), and is now banned in both countries.[[161]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-160) But many HT members have gone on to join terrorist groups and many Jihadi terrorists have cited HT as their key influence.[[*citation needed*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)]

The party is sometimes described as "Leninist" and "rigidly controlled by its central leadership,"[[162]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated3-161) with its estimated one million members required to spend "at least two years studying party literature under the guidance of mentors *(*[*Murshid*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Murshid)*)*" before taking "the party oath."[[162]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-autogenerated3-161) HT is particularly active in the ex-soviet republics of [Central Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Asia) and in [Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europe).

In the [UK](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom) its rallies have drawn thousands of Muslims,[[163]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-162) and the party is said to have outpaced the Muslim Brotherhood in both membership and radicalism.[[164]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-163) But it has suffered key defections in recent years and their support base is declining fast.

### 7.7.17 Turkey

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Necmettin-Erbakan.jpg)

[Necmettin Erbakan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Necmettin_Erbakan), was the first Islamist Prime Minister of Turkey elected in 1996, but was removed from power by a ["postmodern coup d'état"](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1997_military_memorandum_(Turkey)) in 1997.

In [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey), there is a strong Islamist tradition among political parties. [Necmettin Erbakan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Necmettin_Erbakan) was the leader of the Islamist parties, [National Order Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Order_Party) (*Milli Nizam Partisi*), [National Salvation Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Salvation_Party) (*Milli Selamet Partisi*), [Welfare Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_Party) (*Refah Partisi*) which all have been banned by the constitutional court for its anti-secular activities, he is also a member of the [Felicity Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Felicity_Party) (*Saadet Partisi*).

[Ismet Özel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismet_%C3%96zel), an ex-Marxist convert and the most prominent Islamist intellectual, argued that it was Atatürk's reforms that, ironically Islamicized Turkey by forcing people to internalize and value their religious identity and not simply take it for granted as in the past. He has drawn upon his knowledge of Western philosophy, Marxist sociology, and radical Islamist political theory to advocate a modern Islamic perspective that does not hesitate to criticize genuine societal ills while simultaneously remaining faithful to the ethical values and spiritual dimensions of religion. He says "As a political system in Turkey, socialism is possible, Turkism is probable, Islam is certain."

### 7.7.18 London

*Main article:* [*Londonistan (term)*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Londonistan_(term))

[Greater London](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_London) has over 600,000 [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim),[[165]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-164) (most of South Asian origins and concentrated in the [East London](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_End_of_London) boroughs of [Newham](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Borough_of_Newham), [Tower Hamlets](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tower_Hamlets) and [Waltham Forest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waltham_Forest)), and among them are some Muslims with a strong [Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) outlook. Their presence, combined with a perceived British policy of allowing them free rein,[[166]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-165)[[167]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-166) heightened by exposés such as the 2007 Channel 4 documentary programme [*Undercover Mosque*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Undercover_Mosque), has given rise to the term [Londonistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Londonistan_(term)). Following the 9/11 attacks, however, [Abu Hamza al-Masri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hamza_al-Masri), the [imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_(Sunni_Islam)) of the [Finsbury Park Mosque](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finsbury_Park_Mosque), and others were interned without charge which has caused many Islamists to leave the UK to avoid internment.

A February 2006 [demonstration in London](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist_demonstration_outside_Danish_Embassy_in_London) protesting the [Jyllands-Posten Muhammad cartoons](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jyllands-Posten_Muhammad_cartoons_controversy), featured banners calling for Muslims to "[Behead](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Behead) those who insult [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam)." Five of the protesters were later arrested.[[168]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-167)

Among the proportion of Muslims who hold the position that Western military involvement in Afghanistan and Iraq justify attacks on civilians in Western countries (often considered to be [terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism)),[[169]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-168) include the perpetrators of several bombing and planned bombing, the most deadly being the [7 July 2005 London bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_July_2005_London_bombings).

## 7.8 Counter-response

Several governments, including the U.S. government have engaged in efforts to counter Islamism, or violent Islamism, since 2001. These efforts were centered in the U.S. around [public diplomacy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_diplomacy) programs conducted by the State Department. There have been calls to create an independent agency in the U.S. with a specific mission of undermining Islamism and jihadism. [Christian Whiton](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Christian_Whiton&action=edit&redlink=1), an official in the [George W. Bush administration](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush_administration), called for a new agency focused on the nonviolent practice of "political warfare" aimed at undermining the ideology.[[170]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-169) U.S. Defense Secretary Robert Gates called for establishing something similar to the defunct [U.S. Information Agency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._Information_Agency), which was charged with undermining the communist ideology during the [Cold War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cold_War).[[171]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-170)

## 7.9 Other countries

[Malaysia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia) is described as a "soft" Islamist state, whereas Iran is considered a "hard" Islamist state.[[172]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-171)

A considerable effort has been made against [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West) targets, especially the [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States). The United States, in particular, was made an Islamist target because of its support for Israel and its presence on Saudi Arabian soil, perceptions of aggression against Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan and because of its support of the pro-American anti-democratic regimes such as Egypt, Saudi Arabia and Bahrain.

In addition, some Islamists have concentrated their activity against Israel; nearly all Islamists view Israel as hostile to their cause. Osama bin Laden was one such figure who believed that the violent attacks were of necessity due to the historical conflict between Muslims and Jews.

The moderate [Muhammadiyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadiyah) movement in Indonesia has stated that it is concerned with "far more important issues than the application of Sharia," namely strengthening the education, health, economy and society the country, a task they maintain represents "the greater Shari'a" or path of God.[[173]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-172)

Other moderate Islamist groups include the [Justice and Development Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Justice_and_Development_Party) (PJD) in [Morocco](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morocco), which supports [Mohammad VI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_VI)'s "*Mudawana*," a progressive family law which grants women the right to a divorce, raises the minimum age for marriage to 18 and, in the event of separation, stipulates equal distribution of property.[[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_note-multiref1-31)

## 7.10 Parties of non-state movements

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Country or scope** | **Movement or movements** |
| [United Nations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations)International | [Al-Qaida](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaida) **·** **·**[Hizb ut-Tahrir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizb_ut-Tahrir) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9a/Flag_of_Afghanistan.svg/22px-Flag_of_Afghanistan.svg.png[Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) | [Taliban](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban) **·**[Hezb-e-Islami Gulbuddin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezb-e-Islami_Gulbuddin) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/7/77/Flag_of_Algeria.svg/22px-Flag_of_Algeria.svg.png[Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria) | [Groupe Islamique Armé](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Islamic_Group) **·**[Islamic Salvation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Salvation_Front) **·**[Groupe Salafiste pour la Prédication et le Combat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafist_Group_for_Preaching_and_Combat) **·**[Movement of Society for Peace](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Movement_of_Society_for_Peace) **·**[Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Qaeda_in_the_Islamic_Maghreb) also in Morocco, Tunisia, Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Libya |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/2/2c/Flag_of_Bahrain.svg/22px-Flag_of_Bahrain.svg.png[Bahrain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bahrain) | [Al Wefaq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Wefaq) (*Shia*) **·**[Al Asalah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Asalah) (*Sunni*) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f9/Flag_of_Bangladesh.svg/22px-Flag_of_Bangladesh.svg.png[Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh) | [HuJI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HuJI) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/fa/Flag_of_the_People%27s_Republic_of_China.svg/22px-Flag_of_the_People%27s_Republic_of_China.svg.png[China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) | [East Turkestan Liberation Organization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Turkestan_Liberation_Organization) **·**[East Turkestan independence movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Turkestan_independence_movement) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/fe/Flag_of_Egypt.svg/22px-Flag_of_Egypt.svg.png[Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) | [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood) **·** [Gama'at Islamiya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gama%27at_Islamiya) **·** [Labour Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist_Labour_Party_(Egypt)) **·**[Egyptian Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_Islamic_Jihad) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/bc/Flag_of_Finland.svg/22px-Flag_of_Finland.svg.png[Finland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finland) | [Finnish Islamic Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finnish_Islamic_Party) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/9f/Flag_of_Indonesia.svg/22px-Flag_of_Indonesia.svg.png[Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia) | [Nahdlatul Ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nahdlatul_Ulama) **·** [Muhammadiyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammadiyah) **·**[United Development Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Development_Party) **·**[Prosperous Justice Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prosperous_Justice_Party) **·**[Jemaah Islamiyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jemaah_Islamiyah) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/c/c0/Flag_of_Jordan.svg/22px-Flag_of_Jordan.svg.png[Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan) | [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood#Jordan) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/59/Flag_of_Lebanon.svg/22px-Flag_of_Lebanon.svg.png[Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon) | [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah) (*Shia*) **·**[Islamic Jihad Organization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Jihad_Organization) (*Sunni*) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/4/41/Flag_of_India.svg/22px-Flag_of_India.svg.png[India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India) | [SIMI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Students_Islamic_Movement_of_India) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f6/Flag_of_Iraq.svg/22px-Flag_of_Iraq.svg.png[Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) | [Islamic Movement in Kurdistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Movement_in_Kurdistan) **·**[Islamic Group of Kurdistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Group_Kurdistan) **·**[Islamic Union of Kurdistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kurdistan_Islamic_Union) **·**[SCIRI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/SCIRI) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/c/ca/Flag_of_Iran.svg/22px-Flag_of_Iran.svg.png[Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran) | [Khabat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khabat) **·**[Jundullah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jundullah) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/d/d4/Flag_of_Israel.svg/22px-Flag_of_Israel.svg.png[Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel) | [Islamic Movement in Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Movement_in_Israel) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/c/c7/Flag_of_Kyrgyzstan.svg/22px-Flag_of_Kyrgyzstan.svg.png[Kyrgyzstan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kyrgyzstan) | [Ata-Zhurt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ata-Zhurt) |
| [Libya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libya) | [Libyan Islamic Fighting Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Libyan_Islamic_Fighting_Group) ((Muslim brotherhood)) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/6/66/Flag_of_Malaysia.svg/22px-Flag_of_Malaysia.svg.png[Malaysia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia) | [Pan-Malaysian Islamic Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Malaysian_Islamic_Party) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/92/Flag_of_Mali.svg/22px-Flag_of_Mali.svg.png[Mali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mali) |  |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/f4/Flag_of_Niger.svg/22px-Flag_of_Niger.svg.png[Niger](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Niger) |  |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/3/32/Flag_of_Pakistan.svg/22px-Flag_of_Pakistan.svg.png[Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) | [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami) **·**[Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-ul-Mujahideen) **·** [Lashkar-e-Taiba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lashkar-e-Taiba) **·**[HUJI](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harkat-ul-Jihad-al-Islami) **·**[MMA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muttahida_Majlis-e-Amal) **·**[Tehreek-e-Taliban Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehreek-e-Taliban_Pakistan) **·**[Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sipah-e-Sahaba_Pakistan) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/00/Flag_of_Palestine.svg/22px-Flag_of_Palestine.svg.png[Palestine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinian_territories) | [Hamas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamas) **·**[Islamic Jihad Movement in Palestine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Jihad_Movement_in_Palestine) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/9/99/Flag_of_the_Philippines.svg/22px-Flag_of_the_Philippines.svg.png[Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines) | [Moro Islamic Liberation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moro_Islamic_Liberation_Front) **·**[Moro National Liberation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moro_National_Liberation_Front) **·**[Abu Sayyaf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Sayyaf) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/f/f3/Flag_of_Russia.svg/22px-Flag_of_Russia.svg.png[Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia) | [Caucasian Mujhedeen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caucasian_Front_(Chechen_War)) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/0d/Flag_of_Saudi_Arabia.svg/22px-Flag_of_Saudi_Arabia.svg.png[Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia) | [Hezbollah Al-Hejaz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah_Al-Hejaz) also in Bahrain (*Shia*) **·** (*Sunni*) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a0/Flag_of_Somalia.svg/22px-Flag_of_Somalia.svg.png[Somalia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia) | [Islamic Courts Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Courts_Union) **·**[Al-Shabaab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Shabaab_(Somalia)) **·**[Hizbul Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hizbul_Islam) **·**[Ahlu Sunna Waljama'a](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahlu_Sunna_Waljama%27a) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/0/01/Flag_of_Sudan.svg/22px-Flag_of_Sudan.svg.png[Sudan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudan) |  |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/5/53/Flag_of_Syria.svg/22px-Flag_of_Syria.svg.png[Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria) | [Muslim Brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_Brotherhood#Syria) (*Sunni*) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/a/a9/Flag_of_Thailand.svg/22px-Flag_of_Thailand.svg.png[Thailand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thailand) | [Patani United Liberation Organization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patani_United_Liberation_Organization) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/b/b4/Flag_of_Turkey.svg/22px-Flag_of_Turkey.svg.png[Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey) | [Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Eastern_Islamic_Raiders%27_Front) **·**[Turkish Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_Hezbollah) **·**[Turkish Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkish_Islamic_Jihad) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/en/thumb/a/ae/Flag_of_the_United_Kingdom.svg/22px-Flag_of_the_United_Kingdom.svg.png[United Kingdom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom) | [Ahlus Sunnah wal Jamaah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahlus_Sunnah_wal_Jamaah_(organisation)) |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/84/Flag_of_Uzbekistan.svg/22px-Flag_of_Uzbekistan.svg.png[Uzbekistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uzbekistan) | [Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Movement_of_Uzbekistan) currently operates mainly in Pakistan, but with goals in Kyrgzstan as well |
| http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/8/89/Flag_of_Yemen.svg/22px-Flag_of_Yemen.svg.png[Yemen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yemen) | [Islamic Jihad of Yemen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Jihad_of_Yemen) **·**[Al-Shabab al-Muminin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Shabab_al-Muminin) **·**[Al-Islah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Islah) **·**[Al Qaeda in the Arabian Peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Qaeda_in_the_Arabian_Peninsula) |

## 7.11 See also

* [Clash of Civilizations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clash_of_Civilizations)
* [Islamofascism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamofascism)

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  3. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_ref-ICG_2-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_ref-ICG_2-1) "Understanding Islamism", International Crisis Group, <http://merln.ndu.edu/archive/icg/Islamism2Mar05.pdf>, [Archived](http://www.webcitation.org/5sunFyPbv) 21 September 2010 at [WebCite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/WebCite)
  4. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_ref-autogenerated2_3-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_ref-autogenerated2_3-1) [Islamic republic](http://www.nybooks.com/articles/4557) by [Bernard Lewis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Lewis)
  5. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_Islam#cite_ref-4) Wright, Robin, *Sacred Rage: The Wrath of Militant Islam,*
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* *The Al Qaeda Connection: International Terrorism, Organized Crime, And the Coming Apocalypse* by [Paul L. Williams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_L._Williams)
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* [Paul Berman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paul_Berman): *Terror And Liberalism* W. W. Norton & Company, New York 2003
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* Mayer, Ann Elizabeth, "The Fundamentalist Impact on Law, Politics and Constitution in Iran, Pakistan and the Sudan", In: *Fundamentalism and the State*, Martin Marty & S. Appleby (eds.)

## 7.14 External links

* [Evaluating the Islamist movement](http://www.washington-report.org/backissues/0994/9409021.htm) – written by Greg Noakes, an American Muslim who works at the Washington Report
* [Islamist.Com Documenting the rise of Islam and Islamists on the world stage. Lots of links on Islamist political prisoners](http://www.islamist.com)
* [Islamism, fascism and terrorism (Part 1)](http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Middle_East/DK05Ak01.html)
* [Qantara.de-Dossier: Islamism](http://www.qantara.de/webcom/show_article.php/_c-651/i.html/)
* **(English)** [Asabiyya: Re-Interpreting Value Change in Globalized Societies](http://ideas.repec.org/p/iza/izadps/dp4459.html)
* **(English)** [Why Europe has to offer a better deal towards its Muslim communities. A quantitative analysis of open international data](http://ideas.repec.org/b/erv/ebooks/b001.html)

# 8 Islamic terrorism

**Islamic terrorism** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): إرهاب إسلامي‎ *ʾirhāb ʾislāmī*) is acts of [terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Terrorism) committed by [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) for the purpose of achieving varying political and/or religious ends. [Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) terrorism has been identified as taking place in the [Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_East), [Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Africa), [Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Europe), [Southeast Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Southeast_Asia), and the [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) since the 1970s. One of the most well-known militant organizations is [al-Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda), which was founded by [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden) for the stated goals of ending [American](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) military presence in the Middle East and the [Arabian Peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabian_Peninsula),[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-pbs.org-0)[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-ReferenceA-1) overthrowing Arab regimes he considers corrupt and insufficiently religious,[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-pbs.org-0)[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-ReferenceA-1) ending [American](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States) support for [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel),[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Israel_National_News_2010-2)[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-3) and returning [East Timor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Timor) and [Kashmir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashmir) to Muslim rule.[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-4) Islamic terrorist organizations have been known to engage in tactics including [suicide attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide_attack), [hijackings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aircraft_hijacking), [kidnapping](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kidnapping) and recruiting new members through the [Internet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet).

## 8.1 Debate over terminology

Although the term "Islamic terrorism," or discourses using the term, have sometimes been attacked as "counter-productive", "unhelpful", "highly politicized", "intellectually contestable" and "damaging to community relations,"[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-www3.interscience.wiley.com-5) its usage is widespread throughout the English-speaking world. Many Muslims[[*weasel words*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Avoid_weasel_words)] object to the term because it juxtaposes Islam (which they would regard as a peaceful religion) with a contrary concept. However, [Bernard Lewis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Lewis) notes that "Islam, as a religion" is "particularly conducive to terrorism or even tolerant of terrorism," in his own words:

Islam has had an essentially political character (...) from its very foundation (...) to the present day. An intimate association between religion and politics, between power and cult, marks a principal distinction between Islam and other religions. (...) In traditional Islam and therefore also in resurgent [fundamentalist Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fundamentalist_Islam), God is the sole source of sovereignty. God is the head of the state. The state is God's state. The army is God's army. The treasury is God's treasury, and the enemy, of course, is God's enemy.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-6)

This argument is countered by [Jamal Nassar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamal_Nassar) and Karim H. Karim, who contend that because there are over a billion adherents of the religion, the phenomenon is more precisely regarded as "[Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) terrorism"[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-nassar-7)[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-8) because it describes political ideologies rooted in interpretations of Islam.[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-nassar-7) In this vein, describing terrorism as "Islamic" may confirm "a prejudicial perspective of all things Islamic".[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-9)

Yet another scholar, [Karen Armstrong](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karen_Armstrong) contends that "fundamentalism is often a form of [nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalism) in religious disguise", and that using the phrase "terrorism" is dangerously counterproductive, as it suggests those in the west believe that such atrocities are caused by Islam, and hence reinforces the viewpoint of some in the [Muslim world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_world) that the west is an implacable enemy.[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-labels-10) Armstrong believes that the terrorists in no way represent mainstream Islam, and suggests the use of other terms such as "[Wahhabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabi) terrorism" and "[Qutbian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb) terrorism".[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-labels-10)

## 8.2 History

Mark Burgess of the [Center for Defense Information](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Center_for_Defense_Information) traces the roots of Islamic terrorism back to the 11th-century [Assassins](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assassins), an order of Isma’ili Shi’ism that targeted political and religious opponents who stood in the way of the Assassins’ sectarian ideology. In positing a continuity between Islamic terrorism’s medieval and modern manifestations, Burgess identifies both a common underlying motive, namely loyalty to a divine imperative, and similar tactics, such as actively seeking out martyrdom. The modern resurgence of Islamic terrorism, Burgess writes, has its roots in three pivotal events circa 1979 – the Iranian Revolution, the post-Cold War global religious revival, and the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. These events, Burgess goes on to argue, were factors that fueled a recourse to religious terrorism.[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-11)[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-12)

## 8.3 Motivations and Islamic terrorism

The Muslim world has been afflicted with economic stagnation for many centuries. In 2011, U.S. President [Barack Obama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Barack_Obama) himself stated that apart from crude oil, the exports of the entire [Greater Middle East](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Middle_East) with its 400 million population roughly equals that of [Switzerland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Switzerland).[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-13) It has also been estimated that the exports of [Finland](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Finland), a European country of only five million, exceeded those of the entire 260 million-strong [Arab world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_world), excluding oil revenue. This economic stagnation is argued to have commenced with the demise of the [Ottoman Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Caliphate) in 1924, with trade networks being disrupted and societies torn apart with the creation of new nation states; prior to this, the Middle East had a diverse and growing economy and more general prosperity.

Obama gave a major public speech in the United States in response to the 2011 [Arab Spring](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Spring). In a message to Muslim leaders around the world, Obama urged reform and stated "that in a global economy based on knowledge, based on innovation, no development strategy can be based solely upon what comes out of the ground (oil). He also stated that people can not reach their potential when they cannot start a business without paying a bribe. Throughout the region, many young people have a solid education, but closed economies leave them unable to find a job. Muslim entrepreneurs are brimming with excellent ideas, but corruption, lack of funding, lack of support or inadequate infastructure leaves them unable to develop and profit from those ideas."

Strong population growth combined with economic stagnation has created urban conglomerations in [Cairo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cairo), [Istanbul](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istanbul), [Tehran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehran), [Karachi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karachi), [Dhaka](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dhaka), and [Jakarta](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jakarta) each with well over 12 million citizens, millions of them young and unemployed or underemployed. Such a demographic, alienated from the westernized ways of the urban elite, but uprooted from the comforts and more passive traditions of the villages they came from, is understandably favourably disposed to an Islamic system promising a better world – an ideology providing an "emotionally familiar basis for group identity, solidarity, and exclusion]; an acceptable basis for legitimacy and authority; an immediately intelligible formulation of principles for both a critique of the present and a program for the future."

Former [CIA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Intelligence_Agency) analyst [Michael Scheuer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Scheuer), who led the CIA's hunt for [Osama Bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_Bin_Laden), states that terrorist attacks (specifically [al-Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda) attacks on America) are *not* motivated by a religiously inspired hatred of [American culture](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Culture_of_the_United_States) or religion, but by the belief that [U.S. foreign policy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_policy_of_the_United_States) has oppressed, killed, or otherwise harmed Muslims in the Middle East,[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Scheuer_2004_9-14) condensed in the phrase "They hate us for what we do, not who we are." U.S. foreign policy actions Scheuer believes are fueling Islamic terror include

* Unconditional [U.S. support to Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel_%E2%80%93_United_States_relations)
* [U.S. troops on Muslim 'holy ground'](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_withdrawal_from_Saudi_Arabia) in [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia)
* U.S. support for "[apostate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam)" [police states](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Police_state) in Muslim nations such as [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia), [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria), [Morocco](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morocco), and [Kuwait](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuwait)[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-15)
* The U.S.-led intervention in [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) and invasion of [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq)
* U.S. support for [the creation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Nations_Transitional_Administration_in_East_Timor) of the Christian state of [East Timor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Timor) from territory previously held by Muslim [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia)
* Perceived U.S. approval or support of actions against Muslim insurgents in [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), the [Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines), [Chechnya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chechnya), [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) ([East Turkestan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Turkestan)), and [Palestine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestine)[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-16)
* Historical justification, such as in the [Crusades](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crusades)
* The [Western world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world)'s religious discrimination against Muslim immigrants.

Some other academics argue that terrorism should be seen as a strategic reaction to American power: that America is an [empire](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Empire), and empires provoked resistance in the form of terrorism. The [Russian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_Empire), [Ottoman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire), and [Habsburg](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Habsburg_Empire) Empires, for example, all suffered from terrorist attacks and had terrorist organizations – the [Black Hand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Black_Hand), [Young Bosnia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Young_Bosnia), [Narodnaya Volya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Narodnaya_Volya) – spawned from their multiple ethnic groups, religions and national identities.[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-17)

Islamic terrorism, according to [critics of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism_of_Islam), is linked to the practice of divinely sanctioned warfare against [apostates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Apostasy_in_Islam).[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-18)[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-19) Many Muslims argue that references to violence in Muslim sources have been taken out of context.[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-20) These [ayahs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayahs) are only for the situation when non-believers attack the Muslims' life; and only to protect themselves.

[Robert Pape](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Pape), has argued that at least terrorists utilizing suicide attacks — a particularly effective[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-21) form of terrorist attack—are driven not by Islamism but by "a clear strategic objective: to compel modern democracies to withdraw military forces from the territory that the terrorists view as their homeland."[[23]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-22) However, [Martin Kramer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin_Kramer), who debated Pape on origins of suicide bombing, countered Pape's position that the motivation for suicide attacks is not just strategic logic but also an interpretation of Islam to provide a moral logic. For example, [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah) initiated suicide bombings after a complex reworking of the [concept of martyrdom](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martyrdom_in_Islam). Kramer explains that the [Israeli occupation of Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Lebanon_conflict_(1982%E2%80%932000)) raised the temperature necessary for this reinterpretation of Islam, but occupation alone would not have been sufficient for suicide terrorism.[[24]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-23) "The only way to apply a brake to suicide terrorism," Kramer argues, "is to undermine its moral logic, by encouraging Muslims to see its incompatibility with their own values."

Scholar [Scott Atran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scott_Atran), research director and involved in [NATO](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NATO) group studying suicide terrorism, points out that there is no single root cause of terrorism. Greatest predictors of suicide bombings, Atran concludes, is not religion but group dynamics: "small-group dynamics involving friends and family that form the [diaspora](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diaspora) cell of [brotherhood](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fraternity) and [camaraderie](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Camaraderie) on which the rising tide of martyrdom actions is based".[[25]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-24)

### 8.3.1 Profiles

Forensic psychiatrist and former foreign service officer [Marc Sageman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marc_Sageman) made an "intensive study of biographical data on 172 participants in the jihad," in his book *Understanding Terror Networks*.[[26]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-25) He concluded [social networks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_network), the "tight bonds of family and friendship" rather than [emotional and behavioral disorders](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emotional_and_behavioral_disorders) of "poverty, trauma, madness, [or] ignorance," inspired [alienated](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alienation) young Muslims to join the jihad and kill.[[27]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-26)

Author [Lawrence Wright](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lawrence_Wright) described the characteristic of "[displacement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Displacement)" of members of the most famous Islamic terrorist group, al-Qaeda:

What the recruits tended to have in common – besides their urbanity, their [cosmopolitan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cosmopolitanism) backgrounds, their education, their facility with languages, and their computer skills – was displacement. Most who joined the jihad did so in a country other than the one in which they were reared. They were [Algerians](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algerians) living in [expatriate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Expatriate) enclaves in [France](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/France), [Moroccans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moroccans) in [Spain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spain), or [Yemenis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yemenis) in [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia). Despite their accomplishments, they had little standing in the host societies where they lived."[[28]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-27)

Scholar [Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy_(professor)) describes the background of the hundreds of *global* (as opposed to local) terrorists who were incarcerated or killed and for whom authorities have records, as being surprising for their Westernized background; for the lack of [Palestinians](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Palestinians), [Iraqis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraqis), [Afghans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) "coming to avenge what is going on in their country"; their lack of religiosity before being "born again" in a foreign country; the high percentage of converts to Islam among them; their "de-territorialized backgrounds" – "For instance, they may be born in a country, then educated in another country, then go to fight in a third country and take refuge in a fourth country"; their nontraditional belief that jihad is permanent, global, and "not linked with a specific territory."[[29]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-28)

This profile differs from that found among recent local Islamist suicide bombers in Afghanistan, according to a 2007 study of 110 suicide bombers by Afghan pathologist Dr. Yusef Yadgari. Yadgari found that 80% of the attackers studied had some kind of physical or mental disability. The bombers were also "not celebrated like their counterparts in other Arab nations. Afghan bombers are not featured on posters or in videos as martyrs."[[30]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-29) Daniel Byman, a Middle East expert at the [Brookings Institute](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brookings_Institute), and Christine Fair, an assistant professor in peace and security studies at [Georgetown University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Georgetown_University) say that many of the Islamic terrorists are foolish and untrained, perhaps even untrainable.[[31]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Byman-30)

### 8.3.2 Ideology

*See also:* [*Islamism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism) *and* [*Political aspects of Islam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_aspects_of_Islam)

One ideology that plays a role in Islamic terrorism is the principle of [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad), which broadly means struggle. Militants generally use jihad to mean defensive or retaliatory warfare against actors that have allegedly harmed Muslims.

Transnational [Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism) ideology, specifically of the militant Islamists, assert that Western polities and society are actively anti-Islamic, or as it is sometimes described, waging a "[war against Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_against_Islam)". Islamists often identify what they see as a historical struggle between Christianity and Islam, dating back as far as the Crusades, among other historical conflicts between practitioners of the two respective religions. Osama bin Laden, for example, almost invariably describes his enemy as aggressive and his call for action against them as defensive. [Defensive jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Defensive_jihad) differs from offensive jihad in being "[fard](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fard) al-ayn," or a personal obligation of all Muslim, rather than "fard al-kifaya", a communal obligation, which if some Muslims perform it is not required from others. Hence, framing a fight as defensive has the advantage both of appearing to be a victim rather than aggressor, and of giving your struggle the very highest religious priority for all good Muslims.

Many of the violent terrorist groups use the name of jihad to fight against certain Western nations and Israel. An example is bin Laden's al-Qaeda, which is also known as "International Islamic Front for Jihad Against the [Jews](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jews) and [Crusaders](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crusaders)". Most militant Islamists oppose Israel's policies, and often its existence.

According to the [U.S. Army](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._Army) Colonel Dale C. Eikmeier, “ideology”, rather than any individual or group, is the "center of gravity" of al-Qaeda and related groups, and the ideology is a "collection of violent Islamic thought called [Qutbism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qutbism)."[[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-eikmeier-31) He summarizes the tenets of Qutbism as being:

* A belief that Muslims have deviated from true Islam and must return to “pure Islam” as originally practiced during the time of the [Prophet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad).
* The path to “pure Islam” is only through a literal and strict interpretation of the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) and [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith), along with implementation of the Prophet’s commands.
* Muslims should interpret the original sources individually without being bound to follow the interpretations of Islamic scholars.
* That any interpretation of the Quran from a historical, contextual perspective is a corruption, and that the majority of Islamic history and the [classical jurisprudential tradition](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) is mere sophistry.[[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-eikmeier-31)

The historic rivalry between [Hindus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism) and Muslims in the [Indian subcontinent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_Asia) has also often been the primary motive behind some of the most deadly terrorist attacks in India. According to a [U.S. State Department](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States_Department_of_State) report, India topped the list of countries worst affected by Islamic terrorism.

In addition, Islamist militants, scholars, and leaders opposed Western society for what they see as [immoral](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morality) [secularism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism). Islamists have claimed that such unrestricted free speech has led to the proliferation of [pornography](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pornography), [immorality](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immorality), [secularism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secularism), [homosexuality](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homosexuality), [feminism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Feminism), and many other ideas that Islamists often oppose. Although bin Laden almost always emphasized the alleged oppression of Muslims by America and Jews when talking about them in his messages, in his "Letter to America" he answered the question, "What are we calling you to, and what do we want from you?," with

We call you to be a people of manners, principles, honour, and purity; to reject the immoral acts of fornication, homosexuality, intoxicants, gambling's, and trading with interest (...) You separate religion from your policies, (...) You are the nation that permits Usury, which has been forbidden by all the religions (...) You are a nation that permits the production, trading and usage of intoxicants (...) You are a nation that permits acts of immorality (...) You are a nation that permits gambling in its all forms. (...) You use women to serve passengers, visitors, and strangers to increase your profit margins. You then rant that you support the liberation of women.[[33]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-32)

Given their perceived [piety](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Piety), [*The Times*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Times) noted the irony when a major[[34]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-33) investigation by their reporters uncovered a link between Islamic Jihadis and [child pornography](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Child_pornography); a discovery that, according to the London paper, "is expected to improve understanding of the mindsets of both types of criminals and has been hailed as a potentially vital intelligence tool to undermine future terrorist plots."[[35]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Times-34)

In 2006 Britain's then head of [MI5](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/MI5) [Eliza Manningham-Buller](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eliza_Manningham-Buller) said of Al-Qaeda that it "has developed an ideology which claims that Islam is under attack, and needs to be defended". "This" she said "is a powerful narrative that weaves together conflicts from across the globe, presenting the West’s response to varied and complex issues, from long-standing disputes such as Israel/Palestine and Kashmir to more recent events as evidence of an across-the-board determination to undermine and humiliate Islam worldwide."[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-EM-B-35) She said that the video wills of [British](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_Kingdom) suicide bombers made it clear that they were motivated by perceived worldwide and long-standing injustices against Muslims; an extreme and minority interpretation of Islam promoted by some preachers and people of influence; their interpretation as anti-Muslim of UK foreign policy, in particular the UK’s involvement in Iraq and Afghanistan."[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-EM-B-35) She also cautioned how difficult it was to gain a proper perspective, saying that although there are more important dangers we face daily without feeling so threatened by them such as climate change and road deaths and though terrorist deaths were few the intelligence services had prevented some potentially large threats and that vigilance was needed.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-EM-B-35)

### 8.3.3 Interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadith

The role played by the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), Islam's sacred text, in opposing or in encouraging attacks on civilians is disputed.

The [Princeton University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Princeton_University) Middle Eastern scholar [Bernard Lewis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bernard_Lewis), states that [Islamic jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_military_jurisprudence) does not allow terrorism.[[37]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-36) In 2001, Professor Lewis noted:[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-37)

At no time did the (Muslim) jurist approve of terrorism. Nor indeed is there any evidence of the use of terrorism (in Islamic tradition). Muslims are commanded not to kill women, children, or the aged, not to torture or otherwise ill-treat prisoners, to give fair warning of the opening of hostilities, and to honor agreements. Similarly, the laws of Jihad categorically preclude wanton and indiscriminate slaughter. The warriors in the holy war are urged not to harm non-combatants, women and children, "unless they attack you first." A point on which they insist is the need for a clear declaration of war before beginning hostilities, and for proper warning before resuming hostilities after a truce. What the classical jurists of Islam never remotely considered is the kind of unprovoked, unannounced mass slaughter of uninvolved civil populations that we saw in New York two weeks ago. For this there is no precedent and no authority in Islam.

[Michael Sells](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Michael_Sells) and Jane I. Smith (a Professor of Islamic Studies) write that barring some extremists like al-Qaeda, most Muslims do not interpret Qura’nic verses as promoting warfare; and that the phenomenon of radical interpretation of scripture by extremist groups is not unique to Islam.[[39]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Sells-38)[[40]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-39) According to Sells, "[Most Muslims] no more expect to apply [the verses at issue] to their contemporary non-Muslim friends and neighbors than most Christians and Jews consider themselves commanded by God, like the Biblical [Joshua](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joshua), to exterminate the [infidels](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Infidel)."[[39]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Sells-38)

According to [Robert Spencer](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Robert_Spencer_(author)), [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) said in one Hadith:[[41]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-40) "Allah's Apostle said, "I have been sent with the shortest expressions bearing the widest meanings, and I have been made victorious with terror (cast in the hearts of the enemy), and while I was sleeping, the keys of the treasures of the world were brought to me and put in my hand." Abu Huraira added: Allah's Apostle has left the world and now you, people, are bringing out those treasures (i.e. the Prophet did not benefit by them). Narrated in Abu Huraira, [Volume 4, Book 52, Number 220](http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/052.sbt.html#004.052.220)" Furthermore [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) said in another Hadith:[[42]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-41) The Prophet said, "Who is ready to kill Ka'b bin Al-Ashraf who has really hurt Allah and His Apostle?" Muhammad bin Maslama said, "O Allah's Apostle! Do you like me to kill him?" He replied in the affirmative. So, Muhammad bin Maslama went to him (i.e. Ka'b) and said, "This person (i.e. the Prophet) has put us to task and asked us for charity." Ka'b replied, "By Allah, you will get tired of him." Muhammad said to him, "We have followed him, so we dislike to leave him till we see the end of his affair." Muhammad bin Maslama went on talking to him in this way till he got the chance to kill him. Narrated Jabir bin 'Abdullah [Volume 4, Book 52, Number 270](http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/052.sbt.html#004.052.270) And another Hadith:[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-42) The Prophet passed by me at a place called Al-Abwa or Waddan, and was asked whether it was permissible to attack the pagan warriors at night with the probability of exposing their women and children to danger. The Prophet replied, "They (i.e. women and children) are from them (i.e. pagans)." I also heard the Prophet saying, "The institution of Hima is invalid except for Allah and His Apostle. Narrated As-Sab bin Jaththama [Volume 4, Book 52, Number 256](http://www.usc.edu/schools/college/crcc/engagement/resources/texts/muslim/hadith/bukhari/052.sbt.html#004.052.256)

### 8.3.4 Criticism of Islamic terrorist ideology

Although "Islamic" terrorism is commonly associated with the [Salafis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafi) (or "[Wahhabis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wahhabi)"), the scholars of the group have constantly attributed this association to ignorance, misunderstanding and sometimes insincere research and deliberate misleading by rival groups.[[44]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-43) Following the [September 11 attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks), [Abdul-Azeez ibn Abdullaah Aal ash-Shaikh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdul-Azeez_ibn_Abdullaah_Aal_ash-Shaikh), the [Grand Mufti](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grand_Mufti) of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, made an official statement that "the Islamic Sharee'ah (legislation) does not sanction" such actions.[[45]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-44) A Salafi Committee of Major Scholars"in Saudi Arabia has declared that "Islamic" terrorism, such as the May 2003 [bombing in Riyadh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riyadh_compound_bombings), are in violation of [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law and aiding the enemies of Islam.[[46]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-45)

Criticism of Islamic terrorism on Islamic grounds has also been made by Abdal-Hakim Murad ([Timothy Winter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timothy_Winter)):

Certainly, neither bin Laden nor his principal associate, [Ayman al-Zawahiri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayman_al-Zawahiri), are graduates of Islamic universities. And so their proclamations ignore 14 centuries of Muslim scholarship, and instead take the form of lists of anti-American grievances and of Koranic quotations referring to early Muslim wars against Arab idolaters. These are followed by the conclusion that all Americans, civilian and military, are to be wiped off the face of the Earth. All this amounts to an odd and extreme violation of the normal methods of Islamic scholarship. Had the authors of such [fatwās](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatw%C4%81) followed the norms of their religion, they would have had to acknowledge that no school of mainstream Islam allows the targeting of civilians. An insurrectionist who kills non-combatants is guilty of baghy, “armed aggression,” a capital offense in Islamic law.[[47]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-46)

Colonel Eikmeier points out the "questionable religious credentials" of many Islamist theorists, or "Qutbists," which can be a "means to discredit them and their message":

With the exception of [Abul Ala Maududi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abul_Ala_Maududi) and [Abdullah Yusuf Azzam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abdullah_Yusuf_Azzam), none of Qutbism’s main theoreticians trained at Islam’s recognized centers of learning. Although a devout Muslim, [Hassan al-Banna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hassan_al-Banna) was a teacher and community activist. [Sayyid Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb) was a literary critic. [Muhammad Abd al-Salam Faraj](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Abd_al-Salam_Faraj) was an electrician. Ayman al-Zawahiri is a physician. Osama bin Laden trained to be a businessman.[[48]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-47)

[Fethullah Gülen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fethullah_G%C3%BClen), a prominent Turkish [Islamic scholar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema), has claimed that "a real Muslim," who understood Islam in every aspect, could not be a terrorist.[[49]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-48)[[50]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-49)[[51]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-50) There are many other people with similar points of view[[52]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-51) such as [Karen Armstrong](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Karen_Armstrong),[[53]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-52) Prof. Ahmet Akgunduz,[[54]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-53) [Harun Yahya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Adnan_Oktar)[[55]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-54) and [Tahir-ul-Qadri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tahir-ul-Qadri).[[56]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-55) [Huston Smith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Huston_Smith) prominent author on comparative religion noted that the extremists have hijacked Islam, just as has occurred periodically in Christianity, [Hinduism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism) and other religions throughout history. He added that the real problem is that the extremists do not know their own faith.[[57]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-56)

### 8.3.5 Identity-based frameworks for analyzing Islamist-based terrorism

Islamist-based fundamentalist terrorism against Western nations and the U.S. in particular, has numerous motivations and takes place the larger context of a complex and tense relationship between the ‘West' and the Arab and Muslim 'world,'[[58]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-57) which is highlighted in the previous section on motivations and Islamic terrorism. Identity-based theoretical frameworks including theories of [social identity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_identity), social categorization theory, and [psychodynamics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Psychodynamics) are used to explain the reasons terrorism occurs.[[59]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-58)

[Social identity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_identity) is explained by Karina Korostelina as a “feeling of belonging to a social group, as a strong connection with social category, and as an important part of our mind that affects our social perceptions and behavior”[[60]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Korostelina.2C_K._2007-59) This definition can be applied to the case of [Osama bin Laden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Osama_bin_Laden), who, according to this theory, has a highly salient perception of his social identity as a Muslim, a strong connection to the social category of the Muslim [Ummah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ummah) or 'community,' which affect his social perceptions and behaviors.[[61]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-60) Bin Laden's ideology and interpretation of Islam led to the creation of al-Qaeda in response to perceived threats against the Muslim community by the [Soviet Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Soviet_Union), the U.S. in particular due to its troop presence in Saudi Arabia, and American support for Israel.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Israel_National_News_2010-2) The Islamist terrorist group al-Qaeda has a group identity, which includes “shared experiences, attitudes, beliefs, and interests of ingroup members,” and is “described through the achievement of a collective aim for which this group has been created,”[[62]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-61) which in this case is to achieve "a complete break from the foreign influences in [Muslim countries](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_countries), and the creation of a new Islamic [caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate)."

Social categorization theory has been discussed as a three-stage process of identification, where “individuals define themselves as members of a [social group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_group), learn the stereotypes and norms of the group, and group categories influence the perception and understanding of all situations in a particular context”[[60]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-Korostelina.2C_K._2007-59) This definition can be applied to the U.S.-led [war on terror](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_terror), in which conflict features such as the phenomenon of [Anti-Americanism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anti-Americanism)[[63]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-62) and the phenomenon of non-Arab countries like [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran) and [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) lending support to Islamist-based terrorism by funding or harboring terrorist groups such as [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah)[[64]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-63) and al-Qaeda[[65]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-64) against Western nations, particularly [Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel)[[66]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-65) and the [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States)[[67]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-66) are, according to social categorization theory, influenced by a three-stage process of identification. In this three-stage process of identification, the Arab and Muslim world(s) are the social group(s), in which their members learn [stereotypes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stereotype) and [norms](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Norm_(sociology)) which categorize their social group vis-à-vis [the West](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world).[[68]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-67) This social categorization process creates feelings of high-level in-group support and allegiance among Arabs and Muslims and the particular context within which members of the Arab and Muslim world(s) social group(s) understand all situations that involve the West. Social categorization theory as a framework for analysis indicates causal relationships between group identification processes and features of conflict situations.[[69]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-68)

## 8.4 Muslim attitudes toward terrorism

*Main article:* [*Muslim attitudes towards terrorism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_attitudes_towards_terrorism)

Muslim popular opinion on the subject of attacks on civilians by Islamist groups varies. [Fred Halliday](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fred_Halliday), a British academic specialist on the Middle East, argues that most Muslims consider these acts to be egregious violations of Islam’s laws.[[70]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-69) Muslims living in the West denounce the September 11th attacks against [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States), while [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah)’s rocket attacks against [Israeli](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Israel) civilian targets are widely supported in the Muslim world and regarded as [defensive Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Defensive_jihad) by a legitimate [resistance movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Resistance_movement) rather than terrorism.[[71]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-70)[[72]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-71) Statistics compiled by the United States government’s Counterterrorism Center present a complicated picture: of known and specified terrorist incidents from the beginning of 2004 through the first quarter of 2005, slightly more than half of the fatalities were attributed to Islamic extremists but a majority of over-all incidents were considered of either “unknown/unspecified” or a secular political nature. The vast majority of the “unknown/unspecified” terrorism fatalities did however happen in Islamic regions such as [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) and [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan), or in regions where Islam is otherwise involved in conflicts such as the [West Bank](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bank), the [Gaza Strip](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip), southern [Thailand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thailand) and [Kashmir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashmir).

### 8.4.1 View of Muslim clerics

Many Muslim scholars have presented proofs against the religious justification of terrorism, a notable example being that of [Muhammad ibn al Uthaymeen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_ibn_al_Uthaymeen) who states regarding killing a non-Muslim:[[73]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-72) "As for a non-Muslim living under Muslim rule and a Mu’āhid (a Non-Muslim ally with whom Muslims have a treaty, trust, peace, or agreement), it’s been authentically established that the prophet (blessings and peace upon him) said: “Whoever kills a Mu’āhid will not even smell the fragrance of paradise and its fragrance can be smelled from the distance of forty years away.” and he also said: “Certainly, one of the most difficult situations for which there is no turning back for whomever casts himself into it - shedding sacred blood without right.”

Another example is that of late scholar [Abd al-Aziz Ibn Baz](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abd_al-Aziz_ibn_Abd_Allah_ibn_Baaz) who stated: "It is well-known to anyone with the slightest amount of common sense that hijacking planes and kidnapping embassy officials and similar acts are some of the greatest universal crimes that result in nothing but widespread corruption and destruction. They place such extreme hardships and injuries upon innocent people, the extent of which only Allāh knows."[[74]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-73)

Numerous [fatwā](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatw%C4%81) (rulings) condemning terrorism and [suicide bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide_bomber) as [*haram*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haraam) have been published by [Islamic scholars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) worldwide, one of the most extensive being the 600-page ruling by Sheikh [Tahir-ul-Qadri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tahir-ul-Qadri), whose fatwa condemned them as [*kufr*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kufr).[[75]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-74) On 2 March 2010, Qadri's fatwa was an "absolute" condemnation of terrorism without "any excuses or pretexts." He said that "Terrorism is terrorism, violence is violence and it has no place in Islamic teaching and no justification can be provided for it, or any kind of excuses or ifs or buts." Qadri said his fatwa, which declares terrorists and suicide bombers to be unbelievers, goes further than any previous denunciation.[[76]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-75) Iranian Ayatollah [Ozma Seyyed Yousef Sanei](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yousef_Sanei) issued a fatwa (ruling) that suicide attacks against civilians are legitimate only in the context of war.[[77]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-76) The ruling did not say whether other types of attacks against civilians are justified outside of the context of war, nor whether jihad is included in Sanei's definition of war.

An influential group of Pakistani scholars and religious leaders declared suicide attacks and beheadings as un-Islamic. 'Ulema' (clerics) and 'mushaikh' (spiritual leaders) of the Jamaat Ahl-e-Sunnah, who gathered for a convention, declared suicide attacks and beheadings as un-Islamic in a unanimous resolution. Chairman of the Pakistani Ruet-e-Hilal Committee, Mufti Muneeb-ur-Rehman, said in his address that those who were fighting in the name of implementing Shariah or Islamic law must first abide by these same laws and killing minors is contrary to the teachings of Islam.[[78]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-77)

Some contemporary scholars who have followed a textual based approach to the study of the Qur'an with an emphasis over the coherence in the Book and the context of situation offered a radical interpretation on the verses and prophetic narratives that are usually quoted by the militants to promote militancy. According to [Javed Ahmad Ghamidi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Javed_Ahmad_Ghamidi) (his [booklet on Jihad](http://www.al-mawrid.org/pages/dl.php?book_id=53) is considered one of his most important contribution towards understanding the religion according to the principles of interpreting the Qur'an introduced by [Farahi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farahi) and [Islahi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islahi)) the Qur'an does not allow waging war except for against oppression under a sovereign state. He holds that jihad without a state is nothing but creating nuisance in the land when hijacked by the individuals and groups independent of the state authority defeats the purpose. The principle behind this study of the issue in the basic sources is the principle that there are divine injunctions in the Qur'an which are specific to the age of the Messenger. He says that nobody can be punished for apostasy or being non-Muslim after the Prophet who acted as the divine agent when he punished the disbelievers by sword who had rejected the message of God and his messenger even after the truth was made manifest to them. Ghamidi and his associates have written extensively on the topics related to these issues. In his book Meezan Ghamidi has concluded that:

1. [Jihad can only waged against persecution](http://al-mawrid.org/pages/articles_english_detail.php?rid=382&cid=270) Islamic jihad has only two purposes: putting an end to persecution even that of the non-Muslims and making the religion of Islam reign supreme in the Arabian peninsula. The latter type was specific for the messenger of God and is no more operative.
2. [Under a sovereign state](http://al-mawrid.org/pages/questions_english_detail.php?qid=248&cid=270).
3. There are strict [ethical limits for jihad](http://www.al-mawrid.org/pages/articles_english_detail.php?rid=390&cid=275) which do not again allow fighting for example non-combatants.
4. Seen in this perspective acts of terrorism including [suicide bombing becomes prohibited](http://www.al-mawrid.org/pages/questions_english_detail.php?qid=253&cid=275).

### 8.4.2 Opinion surveys

* [Gallup](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gallup) conducted tens of thousands of hour-long, face-to-face interviews with residents of more than 35 predominantly Muslim countries between 2001 and 2007. It found that – contrary to the prevailing perception in the west that the actions of al-Qaeda enjoy wide support in the Muslim world – more than 90% of respondents condemned the killing of non-combatants on religious and humanitarian grounds.[[79]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-australia.to-78)
* A 2004, a year after the [invasion of Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Invasion_of_Iraq), [Pew Research Center](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pew_Research_Center) survey found that suicide bombings against Americans and other Westerners in Iraq were seen as "justifiable" by many [Jordanians](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordanians) (70%), [Pakistanis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistanis) (46%), and [Turks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turks) (31%). At the same time, the survey found that support for the U.S.-led [War on Terror](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_on_Terror) had increased.[[80]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-79)[[81]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-80)
* A 2005 Pew Research study that involved 17,000 people in 17 countries showed support for terrorism was declining in the Muslim world along with a growing belief that Islamic extremism represents a threat to those countries.[[82]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-81) A [*Daily Telegraph*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Daily_Telegraph) survey[[83]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-82) showed that 88% of Muslims said the [July 2005 bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_July_2005_London_bombings) in the London Underground were unjustified, while 6% disagreed.
* In [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), despite the recent rise in the Taliban's influence, a poll conducted by Terror Free Tomorrow in Pakistan in January 2008 tested support for al-Qaeda, the Taliban, other militant Islamist groups and Osama bin Laden himself, and found a recent drop by half. In August 2007, 33% of Pakistanis expressed support for al-Qaeda; 38% supported the Taliban. By January 2008, al-Qaeda's support had dropped to 18%, the Taliban's to 19%. When asked if they would vote for al-Qaeda, just 1% of Pakistanis polled answered in the affirmative. The Taliban had the support of 3% of those polled.[[79]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-australia.to-78)
* Pew Research surveys in 2008 show that in a range of countries – [Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan), Pakistan, [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia), [Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon), and [Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh) – there have been substantial declines in the percentages saying suicide-bombings and other forms of violence against civilian targets can be justified to defend Islam against its enemies. Wide majorities say such attacks are, at most, rarely acceptable. The shift of attitudes against terror has been especially dramatic in Jordan, where 29% of Jordanians were recorded as viewing suicide-attacks as often or sometimes justified (down from 57% in May 2005). In the largest majority-Muslim nation, Indonesia, 74% of respondents agree that terrorist attacks are "never justified" (a substantial increase from the 41% level to which support had risen in March 2004); in Pakistan, that figure is 86%; in Bangladesh, 81%; and in [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), 80%.[[79]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-australia.to-78)
* A poll conducted in Osama bin Laden's home country of [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia) in December 2008 shows that his compatriots have dramatically turned against him, his organisation, Saudi volunteers in Iraq, and terrorism in general. Indeed, confidence in bin Laden has fallen in most Muslim countries in recent years.[[79]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-australia.to-78)
* In Iraq, people of all persuasions unanimously reject the terror tactics against Iraqi civilians by the local al-Qaida. An [ABC News](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ABC_News)/[BBC](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/BBC)/[NHK](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/NHK) poll revealed that all of those surveyed – Sunni and Shi'a alike – found al-Qaida attacks on Iraqi civilians "unacceptable"; 98% rejected the militants' attempts to gain control over areas in which they operated; and 97% opposed their attempts to recruit foreign fighters and bring them to Iraq.[[79]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-australia.to-78)

## 8.5 Tactics

### 8.5.1 Suicide attacks

See also: [*Suicide attack*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide_attack)

An increasingly popular tactic used by terrorists is suicide bombing.[[161]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-160) This tactic is used against civilians, soldiers, and government officials of the regimes the terrorists oppose. The use of suicide bombers is seen by many Muslims as contradictory to Islam's teachings;[[162]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-161)[[163]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-162) however, groups who support its use often refer to such attacks as "[martyrdom operations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Istishhad)" and the suicide-bombers who commit them as "[martyrs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martyr)" (Arabic: shuhada, plural of "shahid"). The bombers, and their sympathizers often believe that suicide bombers, as martyrs ([shaheed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shaheed)) to the cause of jihad against the enemy, will receive the rewards of [paradise](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jannah) for their actions.

### 8.5.2 Hijackings

Islamic terrorism sometimes employs the hijacking of passenger vehicles. The most famous were the [“9/11”](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks) attacks that killed nearly 3,000 people on a single day in 2001, effectively ending the era of [aircraft hijacking](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aircraft_hijacking).

### 8.5.3 Kidnappings and executions

Along with bombings and hijackings, Islamic terrorists have made extensive use of highly publicised kidnappings and executions, often circulating videos of the acts for use as propaganda. A frequent form of execution by these groups is [decapitation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Decapitation), another is shooting. In the 1980s, a series of abductions of American citizens by Hezbollah during the [Lebanese Civil War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanese_Civil_War) resulted in the 1986 [Iran–Contra affair](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran%E2%80%93Contra_affair). During the chaos of the [Iraq War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq_War), more than 200 kidnappings [foreign hostages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Foreign_hostages_in_Iraq) (for various reasons and by various groups, including purely criminal) gained great international notoriety, even as the great majority (thousands) of victims were Iraqis. In 2007, the [kidnapping of Alan Johnston](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kidnapping_of_Alan_Johnston) by [Army of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Army_of_Islam_(Gaza_Strip)) resulted in the British government meeting a Hamas member for the first time.

### 8.5.4 Internet recruiting

In the beginning of the 21st century emerged a worldwide network of hundreds of web sites that inspire, train, educate and recruit young Muslims to engage in jihad against America and the West, taking less prominent roles in mosques and community centers that are under scrutiny. According to [*The Washington Post*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Washington_Post), “Online recruiting has exponentially increased, with [Facebook](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Facebook), [YouTube](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/YouTube) and the increasing sophistication of people online”.[[164]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-163)

## 8.6 Examples of attacks

*Main article:* [*List of Islamic terrorist attacks*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Islamic_terrorist_attacks)

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:WTC3.jpg)

The outer skin of [World Trade Center](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Trade_Center) Tower Two that remained standing after an Islamist terrorist attack orchestrated by [Al-Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda).

* 18 April 1983 - [1983 United States embassy bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1983_United_States_embassy_bombing) 63 killed, 120 wounded.
* 23 October 1983 - [1983 Beirut barracks bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1983_Beirut_barracks_bombing) 305 killed, 75 wounded.
* 26 February 1993 – [World Trade Center bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_World_Trade_Center_bombing), New York City. Six killed.
* 13 March 1993 – [1993 Bombay bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1993_Bombay_bombings). [Mumbai](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mumbai), India. 250 dead, 700 injured.
* 28 July 1994 – [Buenos Aires](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Buenos_Aires), [Argentina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Argentina). Vehicle [suicide bombing attack](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/AMIA_bombing) against [AMIA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asociaci%C3%B3n_Mutual_Israelita_Argentina) building, the local Jewish community representation. 85 dead, more than 300 injured.
* 24 December 1994 – [Air France Flight 8969](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Air_France_Flight_8969) hijacking in [Algiers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algiers) by three members of [Armed Islamic Group of Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Islamic_Group_of_Algeria) and another terrorist. Seven killed, including the hijackers.
* 25 June 1996 – [Khobar Towers bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khobar_Towers_bombing), 20 killed, 372 wounded.
* 17 November 1997 – [Luxor attack](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxor_massacre), six terrorists attack tourists at Egypts famous Luxor Ruins. 68 foreign tourists killed.
* 14 February 1998 – [Bombing in Coimbatore](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_Coimbatore_bombings), [Tamil Nadu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_Nadu), India. 13 bombs explode within a 12 km radius. 46 killed and over 200 injured.
* 7 August 1998 – [1998 United States embassy bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1998_United_States_embassy_bombings) in Tanzania and Kenya. 224 dead. 4000+ injured.
* 4 September 1999 – A series of [bombing attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russian_apartment_bombings) in several cities of Russia, nearly 300 killed.
* 12 October 2000 – Attack on the [USS cole](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/USS_Cole_bombing) in the Yemeni port of Aden.
* [11 September 2001](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks) – Four planes [hijacked](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aircraft_hijacking) and crashed into [World Trade Center](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/World_Trade_Center) and [The Pentagon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Pentagon) by 19 hijackers. Nearly 3000 dead.[[165]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-164)
* 13 December 2001 – [Suicide attack on Indian parliament](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2001_Indian_Parliament_attack) in New Delhi by Pakistan-based Islamist terrorist organizations, Jaish-E-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Toiba. Aimed at eliminating the top leadership of India and causing anarchy in the country. 7 dead, 12 injured.
* 27 March 2002 – [Suicide bomb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passover_massacre) attack on a [Passover](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Passover) Seder in a Hotel in [Netanya, Israel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Netanya). 30 dead, 133 injured.
* 30 March 2002 and 24 November 2002 - [Attacks on the Hindu Raghunath temple](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Raghunath_temple_attacks), India. Total 25 dead.
* 24 September 2002 – Machine gun attack on Hindu temple in [Ahmedabad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmedabad), India. 31 dead, 86 injured.[[166]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-165)[[167]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-166)
* 12 October 2002 – [Bombing in Bali nightclub](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2002_Bali_bombings). 202 killed, 300 injured.[[168]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-afp-167)
* 16 May 2003 – [Casablanca Attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2003_Casablanca_bombings) – Four simultaneous attacks in [Casablanca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Casablanca) killing 33 civilians (mostly Moroccans) carried by [Salafia Jihadia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafia_Jihadia).
* 11 March 2004 – Multiple [bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2004_Madrid_train_bombings) on trains near Madrid, Spain. 191 killed, 1460 injured (alleged link to Al-Qaeda).
* 1 September 2004 - [Beslan school hostage crisis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Beslan_school_hostage_crisis), approximately 344 civilians including 186 children killed.[[169]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-last_casualty-168)[[170]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-169)
* 2 November 2004 – The murder of [Theo van Gogh (film director)](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Theo_van_Gogh_(film_director)) by Amsterdam-born jihadist [Mohammed Bouyeri](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammed_Bouyeri).[[171]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-170)
* 5 July 2005 - [Attack at the Hindu Ram temple](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Ram_Janmabhoomi_attack_in_Ayodhya) at [Ayodhya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayodhya), India; one of the most holy sites of [Hinduism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hinduism). 6 dead.
* 7 July 2005 – Multiple [bombings in London Underground](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/7_July_2005_London_bombings). 53 killed by four suicide bombers. Nearly 700 injured.
* 23 July 2005 – [Bomb attacks at Sharm el-Sheikh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Sharm_el-Sheikh_attacks), an Egyptian resort city, at least 64 people killed.
* 29 October 2005 – [29 October 2005 Delhi bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/29_October_2005_Delhi_bombings), India. Over 60 killed and over 180 injured in a series of three attacks in crowded markets and a bus, just 2 days before the [Diwali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Diwali) festival.[[172]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-171)
* 9 November 2005 – [2005 Amman bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2005_Amman_bombings). a series of coordinated suicide attacks on hotels in [Amman, Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amman). Over 60 killed and 115 injured.[[173]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-172)[[174]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-173) Four attackers including a husband and wife team were involved.[[175]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-174)
* 7 March 2006 – [2006 Varanasi bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2006_Varanasi_bombings), India. A series of attacks in the Sankath Mochan Hanuman temple and Cantonment Railway Station in the [Hindu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hindu) holy city of [Varanasi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Varanasi). 28 killed and over 100 injured.[[176]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-175)
* 11 July 2006 – [11 July 2006 Mumbai train bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/11_July_2006_Mumbai_train_bombings), [Mumbai](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mumbai), India; a series of seven bomb blasts that took place over a period of 11 minutes on the Suburban Railway in Mumbai. 209 killed and over 700 injured.
* 14 August 2007 – [Qahtaniya bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2007_Qahtaniya_bombings): Four suicide vehicle bombers massacred nearly 800 members of northern Iraq's Yazidi sect in the deadliest [Iraq war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq_war)'s attack to date.
* 26 July 2008 – [2008 Ahmedabad bombings](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Ahmedabad_bombings), India. Islamic terrorists detonate at least 21 explosive devices in the heart of this industrial capital, leaving at least 56 dead and 200 injured. A Muslim group calling itself the Indian Mujahideen claims responsibility. Indian authorities believe that extremists with ties to Pakistan and/or Bangladesh are likely responsible and are intent on inciting communal violence.[[177]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-176) Investigation by Indian police led to the eventual arrest of a number of terrorists suspected of carrying out the blasts, most of whom belong to a well-known terrorist group, the [Students Islamic Movement of India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Students_Islamic_Movement_of_India).[[178]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-177)
* 13 September 2008 – [Bombing series in Delhi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/13_September_2008_Delhi_bombings), India. Pakistani extremist groups plant bombs at several places including [India Gate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India_Gate), out of which the ones at Karol Bagh, [Connaught Place](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Connaught_Place,_New_Delhi) and [Greater Kailash](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greater_Kailash) explode leaving around 30 people dead and 130 injured, followed by [another attack](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/27_September_2008_Delhi_blast) two weeks later at the congested Mehrauli area, leaving 3 people dead.
* 26 November 2008 – Muslim extremists kill at least 174 people and wound numerous others in a [series of coordinated attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2008_Mumbai_attacks) on India's largest city and financial capital, [Mumbai](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mumbai). The government of India blamed Pakistan based militant group [Lashkar-e-Taiba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lashkar-e-Taiba) and stated that the terrorists killed/caught were citizens of [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), a claim which the Pakistani government first refused but then accepted when given proof. [Ajmal Kasab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ajmal_Kasab), one of the terrorists, was caught alive.[[179]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-178)[[180]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-179)
* 25 October 2009. [Baghdad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baghdad), [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq). During a [terrorist attack](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/25_October_2009_Baghdad_bombings), two bomber vehicles detonated in the Green Zone, killing at least 155 people and injuring 520.
* 28 October 2009 – [Peshawar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peshawar), [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan). A car bomb is [detonated](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/28_October_2009_Peshawar_bombing) in a woman exclusive shopping district, and over 110 killed and over 200 injured.
* 3 December 2009 – [Mogadishu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mogadishu), [Somalia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia). A male suicide bomber disguised as a woman detonates in a hotel meeting hall. The hotel was hosting a graduation ceremony for local medical students when the blast went off, killing four government ministers as well as other civilians.[[181]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-180)
* 1 January 2010 – [Lakki Marwat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lakki_Marwat), [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan). A suicide [car bomber](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2010_Lakki_Marwat_suicide_bombing) drove his explosive-laden vehicle into a volleyball pitch as people gathered to watch a match killing more than 100 people.[[182]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-181)
* 1 May 2010 - New York, New York, USA. [Faisal Shahzad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Faisal_Shahzad), an [Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic) [Pakistani American](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistani_American) who received U.S. citizenship in December 2009, attempted to detonate a [car bomb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Car_bomb) in [Times Square](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Times_Square) working with the [Pakistani Taliban](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistani_Taliban) or [Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehrik-i-Taliban_Pakistan).
* 13 May 2011 - [Tehrik-i-Taliban Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehrik-i-Taliban_Pakistan) claimed attacks on two mosques simultaneously belonging to the [Ahmadiyya Muslim Community](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya_Muslim_Community), killing nearly 100 and injuring many others.[[183]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_note-182)
* 13 July 2011 - [Three bombs exploded at different locations in Mumbai](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/13_July_2011_Mumbai_bombings), perpetrated by [Indian Mujahideen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Mujahideen).

## 8.7 U.S. State Department list

*Main article:* [*U.S. State Department list of Foreign Terrorist Organizations*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/U.S._State_Department_list_of_Foreign_Terrorist_Organizations)

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| * [Abu Sayyaf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Sayyaf), [Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines) * [Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Gama%27a_al-Islamiyya), [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) * [Al-Aqsa Martyrs' Brigades](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Aqsa_Martyrs%27_Brigades), [Gaza Strip](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaza_Strip) and [West Bank](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bank) * [Al-Shabaab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harakat_al-Shabaab_Mujahideen), [Somalia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somalia) * [Al-Qaeda](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda), worldwide * [Ansar al-Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ansar_al-Islam), [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) * [Armed Islamic Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Armed_Islamic_Group_of_Algeria) (GIA), [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria) * [Caucasus Emirate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caucasus_Emirate) (IK), [Russia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Russia) * [East Turkestan Islamic Movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/East_Turkestan_Islamic_Movement) (ETIM), [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) * [Egyptian Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egyptian_Islamic_Jihad), Egypt * [Great Eastern Islamic Raiders' Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Eastern_Islamic_Raiders%27_Front) (IBDA-C), [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey) * [Hamas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hamas), Gaza Strip and West Bank * [Harkat-ul-Mujahideen](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harkat-ul-Mujahideen) al-Alami, [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) | * [Hezbollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hezbollah), [Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon) * [Islamic Movement of Central Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Movement_of_Central_Asia), [Central Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Asia) * [Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Movement_of_Uzbekistan), [Uzbekistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uzbekistan) * [Jaish-e-Mohammed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jaish-e-Mohammed), Pakistan and [Kashmir](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kashmir) * [Jamaat Ansar al-Sunna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat_Ansar_al-Sunna), Iraq * [Jemaah Islamiyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jemaah_Islamiyah), [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia) * [Lashkar-e-Taiba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lashkar-e-Taiba), Pakistan and Kashmir * [Lashkar-e-Jhangvi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lashkar-e-Jhangvi), Pakistan * [Moro Islamic Liberation Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moro_Islamic_Liberation_Front), [Philippines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philippines) * [Moroccan Islamic Combatant Group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moroccan_Islamic_Combatant_Group), [Morocco](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morocco) and Europe * [Palestinian Islamic Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Jihad_Movement_in_Palestine), Gaza Strip and West Bank * [Tawhid and Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Qaeda_in_Iraq), Iraq |

## 8.8 See also

* [Christian Terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian_Terrorism)
* [Criticism of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism_of_Islam)
* [Criticism of Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Criticism_of_Islamism)
* [History of terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_terrorism)
* [Homegrown terrorism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Homegrown_terrorism)
* [Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism)
* [Jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad)
* [Religious war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious_war)

## 8.9 Notes

* 1. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_ref-pbs.org_0-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_terrorism#cite_ref-pbs.org_0-1) [Al Qaeda's 1998 Fatwa | PBS NewsHour | Feb. 23, 1998 | PBS](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/terrorism/international/fatwa_1998.html)
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# 9 Islamic economics in the world

**Islamic** [**economics**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economics) refers to the body of [Islamic studies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_studies) literature that "identifies and promotes an economic order that conforms to Islamic scripture and traditions," and in the economic world an interest-free Islamic banking system, grounded in [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia)'s condemnation of [interest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interest) ([*riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba)). The literature has been developed "since the late 1940s, and especially since the mid-1960s."[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-KuranEconSys-0) The banking system developed during the 1970s.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-KuranSubEcon-1) The central features of Islamic economic literature have been summarized as the following: "behavioral norms" derived from the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) and [Sunna](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunna), [zakat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) tax as the basis of Islamic fiscal policy, and [prohibition of interest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba#Prohibition_of_riba).[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-KuranEconSys-0)

In [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) Islam, some scholars--such as [Mahmoud Taleghani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mahmoud_Taleghani) and [Mohammad Baqir al-Sadr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Baqir_al-Sadr)--have developed an "Islamic economics" emphasizing the uplifting of the deprived masses, a major role for the state in matters such as circulation and equitable distribution of wealth, and a reward to participants in the marketplace for being exposed to risk and/or liability.

Islamist movements and authors generally describe an Islamic economic system as neither [Socialist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism) nor [Capitalist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism), but as a "third way" with none of the drawbacks of the other two systems.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-allacademic.com-2)[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gemsofislamism.tripod.com-3)

## 9.1 History

*Main article:* [*Islamic economics in the world*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world)

Traditional Islamic concepts having to do with economics included

* [*zakat*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) - the "taxing of certain goods, such as harvest, with an eye to allocating these taxes to expenditures that are also explicitly defined, such as aid to the needy."
* *gharar* - "the interdiction of chance ... that is, of the presence of any element of uncertainty, in a contract (which excludes not only insurance but also the lending of money without participation in the risks)."
* [*riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) - "referred to as usury (modern Islamic economists have consensus that it does not refer to usury only rather Riba is any kind of interest)"[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Roy.2C_1994.2C_p.132-4)

These concepts, like others in Islamic law, came from the "prescriptions, anecdotes, examples, and words of Muhammad, all gathered together and systematized by commentators according to an inductive, casuistic method."[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Roy.2C_1994.2C_p.132-4) Sometimes other sources such as [al-urf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-urf) (custom), al-aql ([reason](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reason)), or al-[ijma](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijma) (consensus of the jurists) were employed.[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-5)

In addition, Islamic law has developed areas of law that correspond to secular laws of [contracts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Contracts) and [torts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Torts).

### 9.1.1 Early reforms under Islam

*Main article:* [*Early reforms under Islam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_reforms_under_Islam)

Some argue early Islamic theory and practice formed a "coherent" economic system with "a blueprint for a new order in society, in which all participants would be treated more fairly". Michael Bonner, for example, has written that an "economy of poverty" prevailed in Islam until 13th and 14th century. Under this system God's guidance made sure the flow of money and goods was "purified" by being channeled from those who had much of it to those who had little by encouraging [zakat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) (tax) and discouraging [riba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) ([usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury)/[interest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interest)) on loans. Bonner maintains Muhammad also helped poor traders by allowing only tents (not permanent buildings) in the market of Medina, and by not charging fees and rents there.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Michael_Bonner_2005-6)

#### 9.1.1.1 Social responsibility in commerce

[Social responsibility](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_responsibility) in [commerce](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commerce) was stressed in [Islamic sociology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_sociology). The development of [Islamic banks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_bank) and [Islamic economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics) was a side effect of this [sociology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociology): [usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury) was rather severely restrained, no [interest rate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interest_rate) was allowed, and investors were not permitted to escape the consequences of any failed venture—all financing was equity financing (*Musharaka*). In not letting borrowers bear all the risk/cost of a failure, an extreme disparity of outcomes between "partners" is thus avoided. Ultimately this serves a social harmony purpose. Muslims also could not and cannot (in [shariah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shariah)) finance any dealings in forbidden goods or activities, such as [wine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wine), [pork](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pork), [gambling](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gambling), etc. Thus [ethical investing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethical_investing) is the only acceptable investing, and [moral purchasing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moral_purchasing) is encouraged.

#### 9.1.1.2 Legal institutions

*See also:* [*Sharia*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) *and* [*Fiqh*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh)

##### 1. Hawala agency

*Main article:* [*Hawala*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hawala)

The [*Hawala*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hawala), an early [informal value transfer system](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Informal_value_transfer_system), has its origins in classical [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), and is mentioned in texts of [Islamic jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) as early as the 8th century. *Hawala* itself later influenced the development of the [agency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agency_(law)) in [common law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Common_law) and in [civil laws](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Civil_law_(legal_system)) such as the [*aval*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aval) in [French law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_of_France) and the *avallo* in Italian law. The words *aval* and *avallo* were themselves derived from *Hawala*. The transfer of [debt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Debt), which was "not permissible under [Roman law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_law) but became widely practiced in medieval Europe, especially in [commercial transactions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commercial_transaction)", was due to the large extent of the "trade conducted by the Italian cities with the [Muslim world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_world) in the Middle Ages." The agency was also "an [institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Institution) unknown to Roman law" as no "individual could conclude a binding contract on behalf of another as his [agent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agent_(law))." In Roman law, the "contractor himself was considered the party to the contract and it took a second contract between the person who acted on behalf of a principal and the latter in order to transfer the rights and the obligations deriving from the contract to him." On the other hand, Islamic law and the later common law "had no difficulty in accepting agency as one of its institutions in the field of contracts and of obligations in general."

##### 2. Waqf trust

*Main article:* [*Waqf*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf)

The [*waqf*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf) in [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), which developed in the [medieval Islamic world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Golden_Age) from the 7th to 9th centuries, bears a notable resemblance to the English [trust law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trust_law). Every *waqf* was required to have a *waqif* (founder), *mutawillis* (trustee), [*qadi*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi) (judge) and beneficiaries. Under both a *waqf* and a trust, "property is reserved, and its [usufruct](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usufruct) appropriated, for the benefit of specific individuals, or for a general [charitable](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Charitable_organization) purpose; the corpus becomes [inalienable](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inalienable_rights); [estates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Estate_(law)) for life in favor of successive beneficiaries can be created" and "without regard to the law of [inheritance](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inheritance) or the rights of the heirs; and continuity is secured by the successive appointment of trustees or *mutawillis*."

The only significant distinction between the Islamic *waqf* and English trust was "the express or implied reversion of the *waqf* to charitable purposes when its specific object has ceased to exist", though this difference only applied to the *waqf ahli* (Islamic family trust) rather than the *waqf khairi* (devoted to a charitable purpose from its inception). Another difference was the English vesting of "legal estate" over the trust property in the trustee, though the "trustee was still bound to administer that property for the benefit of the beneficiaries." In this sense, the "role of the English trustee therefore does not differ significantly from that of the *mutawalli*."

The trust law developed in England at the time of the [Crusades](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crusades), during the 12th and 13th centuries, was introduced by Crusaders who may have been influenced by the *waqf* institutions they came across in the Middle East.

After the Islamic waqf law and [madrassah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrassah) foundations were firmly established by the 10th century, the number of [Bimaristan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bimaristan) hospitals multiplied throughout throughout Islamic lands. In the 11th century, every Islamic city had at least several hospitals. The waqf trust institutions funded the hospitals for various expenses, including the [wages](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wage) of doctors, [ophthalmologists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ophthalmology_in_medieval_Islam), surgeons, [chemists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chemist), [pharmacists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pharmacist), [domestics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Domestic_worker) and all other staff, the purchase of foods and [drugs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pharmaceutical_drug); hospital [equipment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Equipment) such as beds, mattresses, bowls and perfumes; and repairs to buildings. The waqf trusts also funded medical schools, and their revenues covered various expenses such as their maintenance and the payment of teachers and students.

#### 9.1.1.3 Classical Muslim commerce

During the [Islamic Golden Age](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Golden_Age), [guilds](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guilds) were formed though officially unrecognized by the medieval Islamic city. However, [trades](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trade_(profession)) were recognized and supervised by officials of the city. Each trade developed its own identity, whose members would attend the same mosque, and serve together in the militia.

Technology and industry in Islamic civilization were highly developed. [Distillation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Distillation) techniques supported a flourishing perfume industry, while chemical [ceramic glazes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ceramic_glaze) were developed to compete with ceramics imported from China.

The systems of [contract](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Contract) relied upon by merchants was very effective. Merchants would buy and sell on [commission](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commission_(remuneration)), with money [loaned](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loan) to them by wealthy investors, or a joint investment of several merchants, who were often Muslim, Christian and Jewish. Recently, a collection of documents was found in an [Egyptian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) [synagogue](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Synagogue) shedding a very detailed and human light on the life of medieval Middle Eastern merchants. Business [partnerships](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partnership) would be made for many [commercial ventures](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joint_venture), and bonds of [kinship](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kinship) enabled trade [networks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_network) to form over huge distances. During the ninth century banks enabled the drawing of a check in by a bank in [Baghdad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baghdad) that could be cashed in [Morocco](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morocco).[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world#cite_note-12)

The concepts of [welfare](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_(financial_aid)) and [pension](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pension) were introduced in early [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) as forms of [*Zakat*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) (charity), one of the [Five Pillars of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Pillars_of_Islam), since the time of the [Abbasid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid) [caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph) [Al-Mansur](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mansur) in the 8th century. The taxes (including *Zakat* and [*Jizya*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jizya)) collected in the [treasury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treasury) of an Islamic [government](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government) was used to provide income for the needy, including the poor, elderly, orphans, widows, and the disabled. According to the Islamic jurist [Al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali) (Algazel, 1058–1111), the government was also expected to store up food supplies in every region in case a disaster or famine occurs. The [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate) was thus one of the earliest [welfare states](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_state), particularly the [Abbasid Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid_Caliphate).

##### 1. Age of discovery

*Main article:* [*Islamic geography*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_geography)

During the Islamic Golden Age, isolated regions began integrating into a geographically far-reaching trade network. Muslim Traders and explorers travelled over most of the [Old World](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_World), covering significant areas of Asia and Africa and much of Europe, with their trade networks extending from the Atlantic Ocean and Mediterranean in the west to the [Indian Ocean](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Ocean) and [South China Sea](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/South_China_Sea) in the east. This helped establish the Islamic Empire (including the [Rashidun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun_Empire), [Umayyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad), Abbasid and [Fatimid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimid) Caliphates) as the world's leading extensive economic power in the 7th-13th centuries.

Arabic silver [*dirham*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dirham) coins were being circulated throughout the [Afro-Eurasian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afro-Eurasia) landmass, as far as [sub-Saharan Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sub-Saharan_Africa) in the south and [northern Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Northern_Europe) in the north, often in exchange for goods and [slaves](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Slave). In England, for example, the [Anglo-Saxon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anglo-Saxons) king [Offa of Mercia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Offa_of_Mercia) (r. 757-796) had coins minted with the [Shahadah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shahadah) in Arabic. These factors helped establish the Islamic Empire as the world's leading extensive economic power throughout the 7th–13th centuries.

##### 2. Agricultural Revolution

*Further information:* [*Arab Agricultural Revolution*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Agricultural_Revolution)

During the [Arab Agricultural Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Agricultural_Revolution), a fundamental transformation in agricultural practice tied in with significant economic change. This transformation involved diffusion of many crops and plants along Muslim trade routes, the spread of more advanced farming techniques, and an agricultural-economic system which promoted increased yields and efficiency. In addition to significant changes in economy, population distribution, vegetation cover, agricultural production, population levels, [urban growth](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urbanization), the distribution of the labour force, and numerous other aspects of life in the Islamic world were affected.

The economic system in place in Muslim areas during this time incorporated reformed [land ownership](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Land_ownership) rules and labourers' rights, combining the recognition of private ownership and the rewarding of cultivators with a harvest share commensurate with their efforts also improved agricultural practices. The cities of the Near East, North Africa and Moorish Spain were supported by highly structured agricultural systems which required significant labor inputs. Such regional systems were often significantly more productive than the agricultural practices in most of Europe at the time which relied heavily on grazing animals and systems of fallowing.

The [demographics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demographics) of medieval Islamic society varied in some significant aspects from other agricultural societies, including a decline in [birth rates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birth_rate) as well as a change in [life expectancy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Life_expectancy). Other traditional agrarian societies are estimated to have had an average life expectancy of 20 to 25 years, while [ancient Rome](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Roman_Empire) and [medieval Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_Ages) are estimated at 20 to 30 years. Conrad I. Lawrence estimates the average lifespan in the early Islamic Caliphate to be above 35 years for the general population, and several studies on the lifespans of [Islamic scholars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) concluded that members of this occupational group enjoyed a life expectancy between 69 and 75 years, though this longevity was not representative of the general population.

The early Islamic Empire also had the highest literacy rates among pre-modern societies, alongside the city of [classical Athens](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Classical_Athens) in the 4th century BC, and later, [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) after the introduction of printing from the 10th century. One factor for the relatively high literacy rates in the early Islamic Empire was its parent-driven educational marketplace, as the state did not systematically subsidize educational services until the introduction of state funding under [Nizam al-Mulk](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nizam_al-Mulk) in the 11th century. Another factor was the diffusion of [paper](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paper) from China, which led to an efflorescence of books and written culture in Islamic society, thus [papermaking](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Papermaking) technology transformed Islamic society (and later, the rest of [Afro-Eurasia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afro-Eurasia)) from an oral to [scribal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scribe) culture, comparable to the later shifts from scribal to [typographic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Typography) culture, and from typographic culture to the [Internet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Internet). Other factors include the widespread use of paper books in Islamic society (more so than any other previously existing society), the study [and memorization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hafiz_(Qur%27an)) of the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), flourishing commercial activity, and the emergence of the [Maktab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maktab) and [Madrasah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrasah) educational institutions.

##### 3. Islamic capitalism

*Main article:* [*Islamic capitalism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_capitalism)

A number of concepts and techniques were applied in early Islamic commerce, including [bills of exchange](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bills_of_exchange), forms of [partnership](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partnership) (*mufawada*) such as [limited partnerships](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limited_partnership) (*mudaraba*), and early forms of [capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_(economics)) (*al-mal*), [capital accumulation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_accumulation) (*nama al-mal*),[[33]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world#cite_note-Banaji-32) [cheques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheque), [promissory notes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Promissory_note),[[34]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world#cite_note-33) [trusts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trusts) (see [*Waqf*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf)), [transactional accounts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transactional_account), [loaning](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Loan), [ledgers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ledger) and [assignments](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assignment_(law)).[[35]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world#cite_note-34) [Organizational](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organization) [enterprises](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Enterprise) independent from the [state](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_(polity)) also existed in the medieval Islamic world, while the [agency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agency_(law)) institution was also introduced.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world#cite_note-35)[[37]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world#cite_note-36) Many of these early concepts were adopted and further advanced in [medieval Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medieval_Europe) from the 13th century onwards.

A [market economy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Market_economy) was established in the Islamic world on the basis of an economic system resembling [merchant capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merchant_capitalism). [Capital formation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_formation) was promoted by [labour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labour_(economics)) in medieval Islamic society, and [financial capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Financial_capital) was developed by a considerable number of owners of [monetary](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monetary) [funds](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Funds) and [precious metals](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Precious_metal). [Riba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) ([usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury)) was prohibited by the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), but this did not hamper the development of capital in any way. The capitalists (*sahib al-mal*) were at the height of their power between the 9th–12th centuries, but their influence declined after the arrival of the *ikta* ([landowners](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Landowner)) and after [production](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Production,_costs,_and_pricing) was [monopolized](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monopolized) by the state, both of which hampered the development of [industrial capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism#Industrial_capitalism_and_laissez-faire) in the Islamic world. Some [state enterprises](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/State_enterprise) still had a [capitalist mode of production](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalist_mode_of_production), such as [pearl diving](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pearl_diving) in [Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq) and the [textile industry](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Textile_industry) in [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt).

During the 11th–13th centuries, the "Karimis", an early enterprise and [business group](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Business_group) controlled by [entrepreneurs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Entrepreneur), came to dominate much of the Islamic world's economy. The group was controlled by about fifty Muslim [merchants](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merchant) labelled as "Karimis" who were of [Yemeni](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yemen), [Egyptian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt) and sometimes [Indian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_subcontinent) origins. Each Karimi merchant had considerable wealth, ranging from at least 100,000 [dinars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dinar) to as much as 10 million dinars. The group had considerable influence in most important eastern markets and sometimes in politics through its financing activities and through a variety of customers, including [Emirs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Emir), [Sultans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sultan), [Viziers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vizier), foreign merchants, and common consumers. The Karimis dominated many of the [trade routes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trade_routes) across the Mediterranean, [Red Sea](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Red_Sea), and [Indian Ocean](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indian_Ocean), and as far as [Francia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Francia) in the north, China in the east, and [sub-Saharan Africa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sub-Saharan_Africa) in the south, where they obtained gold from [gold mines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gold_mine). Practices employed by the Karimis included the use of [agents](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agent_(economics)), the financing of projects as a method of acquiring capital, and a [banking institution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banking_institution) for loans and deposits.

##### 4. Islamic socialism

*Main articles:* [*Islamic socialism*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_socialism) *and* [*Bayt al-mal*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayt_al-mal)

Though medieval Islamic economics appears to have somewhat resembled a form of capitalism, some arguing that it laid the foundations for the development of modern capitalism, some [Orientalists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oriental_studies) also believe that there exist a number of parallels between Islamic economics and [communism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Communism), including the Islamic ideas of [zakat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) and [riba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba). Others see Islamic economics as neither completely capitalistic nor completely [socialistic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism), but rather a balance between the two, emphasizing both "individual economic freedom and the need to serve the common good."

[Abū Dharr al-Ghifārī](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Dharr_al-Ghifari), a [Companion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sahaba) of Prophet Muḥammad, is credited by many as the founder of Islamic [socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism). He protested against the accumulation of wealth by the ruling class during [‘Uthmān](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Uthman_ibn_Affan)'s caliphate and urged the equitable redistribution of wealth.

The concepts of [welfare](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_(financial_aid)) and [pension](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pension) were introduced in early [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) as forms of [*Zakat*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) (charity), one of the [Five Pillars of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Pillars_of_Islam), during the time of the [Rashidun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun) caliph [Umar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar) in the 7th century. This practiced continued well into the era of the [Abbasid Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid_Caliphate), as seen under [Al-Ma'mun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ma%27mun)'s rule in the 8th century, for example. The [taxes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tax) (including *Zakat* and [*Jizya*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jizya)) collected in the [treasury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treasury) of an Islamic [government](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government) were used to provide [income](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Income) for the [needy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Needy), including the [poor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Poverty), [elderly](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Old_age), [orphans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Orphan), widows, and the [disabled](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disability). According to the Islamic jurist [Al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali) (Algazel, 1058–1111), the government was also expected to stockpile food supplies in every region in case a [disaster](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Disaster) or [famine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Famine) occurred. The [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate) is thus considered the world's first major [welfare state](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_state).

##### 5. Industrial development

[Muslim engineers in the Islamic world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inventions_in_medieval_Islam) were responsible for numerous innovative industrial uses of [hydropower](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hydropower), early industrial uses of [tide mills](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tide_mill), [wind power](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wind_power),and [fossil fuels](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fossil_fuel) such as [petroleum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Petroleum). A variety of industrial mills were used in the Islamic world, including fulling mills, gristmills, hullers, sawmills, shipmills, stamp mills, steel mills, sugar mills, tide mills, and windmills. By the 11th century, every province throughout the Islamic world had these industrial mills in operation, from al-Andalus and North Africa to the Middle East and Central Asia. Muslim engineers also employed [water turbines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Water_turbine), and gears in mills and water-raising machines, and pioneered the use of dams as a source of water power, used to provide additional power to watermills and water-raising machines. Such advances made it possible for many industrial tasks that were previously driven by [manual labour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manual_labour) in ancient times to be [mechanized](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mechanization) and driven by machinery instead in the medieval Islamic world. The transfer of these technologies to [medieval Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medieval_Europe) later laid the foundations for the [Industrial Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial_Revolution) in 18th century Europe.

Many industries were generated due to the Muslim Agricultural Revolution, including [astronomical instruments](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_astronomy#Instruments), [ceramics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ceramic), [chemicals](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chemical_industry), [distillation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Distillation) technologies, clocks, glass, mechanical hydropowered and wind powered machinery, [matting](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mat), [mosaics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosaic), [pulp and paper](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pulp_and_paper_industry), perfumery, petroleum, [pharmaceuticals](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pharmaceutical_company), rope-making, shipping, shipbuilding, silk, sugar, textiles, weapons, and the mining of minerals such as sulfur, ammonia, lead and iron]. The first large factory complexes (*tiraz*) were built for many of these industries. Knowledge of these industries were later transmitted to medieval Europe, especially during the [Latin translations of the 12th century](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_translations_of_the_12th_century), as well as before and after. The agricultural and [handicraft](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Handicraft) industries also experienced high levels of growth during this period.

In Islamic governments such as the [Fatimid Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimid_Caliphate), the tax collection, rather than being wasted on temples or courts, was invested industrial development, such as the Fatimid government's investment in the textile industry. In addition to government-owned *tiraz* textile factories, there were also [privately owned enterprises](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Privately_owned_enterprise) run largely by landlords who collected taxes and invested them in the textile industry.

##### 6. Labour force

The [labor force](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labor_force) in the [Caliphate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphate) were [employed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Employed) from diverse [ethnic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic) and [religious](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious) backgrounds, while both men and women were involved in diverse occupations and [economic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic) activities. Women were employed in a wide range of commercial activities and diverse occupations in the primary sector (as [farmers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Farmer) for example), secondary sector (as [construction workers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Construction_worker), [dyers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dye), [spinners](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spinning_(textiles)), etc.) and tertiary sector (as [investors](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Investor), [doctors](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Physician), [nurses](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nurse), [presidents](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President) of [guilds](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guild), [brokers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Broker), [peddlers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peddler), [lenders](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lender), [scholars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scholar), etc.). Muslim women also held a [monopoly](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monopoly) over certain branches of the [textile industry](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Textile_industry), the largest and most specialized and market-oriented industry at the time, in occupations such as [spinning](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spinning_(textiles)), [dyeing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dyeing), and [embroidery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Embroidery). In comparison, [female](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Women%27s_rights) [property rights](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Property_rights) and [wage labour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wage_labour) were relatively uncommon in Europe until the [Industrial Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industrial_Revolution) in the 18th and 19th centuries.

The [division of labour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_of_labour) was diverse and had been evolving over the centuries. During the 8th–11th centuries, there were on average 63 unique occupations in the [primary sector of economic activity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Primary_sector_of_economic_activity) ([extractive](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Extract)), 697 unique occupations in the [secondary sector](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Secondary_sector) ([manufacturing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manufacturing)), and 736 unique occupations in the [tertiary sector](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tertiary_sector) ([service](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Service_(economics))). By the 12th century, the number of unique occupations in the primary sector and secondary sector decreased to 35 and 679 respectively, while the number of unique occupations in the tertiary sector increased to 1,175. These changes in the division of labour reflect the increased [mechanization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mechanization) and use of [machinery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Machine) to replace [manual labour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manual_labour) and the increased [standard of living](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Standard_of_living) and [quality of life](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quality_of_life) of most citizens in the Caliphate.

An economic transition occurred during this period, due to the diversity of the service sector being far greater than any other previous or contemporary society, and the high degree of [economic integration](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_integration) between the labour force and the [economy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy). Islamic society also experienced a change in attitude towards [manual labour](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Manual_labour). In previous civilizations such as [ancient Greece](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ancient_Greece) and in contemporary civilizations such as [early medieval](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_medieval) Europe, intellectuals saw manual labour in a negative light and looked down on them with contempt. This resulted in technological stagnation as they did not see the need for [machinery](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Machine) to replace manual labour. In the Islamic world, however, manual labour was seen in a far more positive light, as intellectuals such as the [Brethren of Purity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Brethren_of_Purity) likened them to a participant in the act of [creation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Creation_myth), while [Ibn Khaldun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khaldun) alluded to the benefits of manual labour to the progress of society.

By the early 10th century, the idea of the [academic degree](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Academic_degree) was introduced and being granted at [Maktab](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maktab) schools, [Madrasah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Madrasah) colleges and [Bimaristan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bimaristan) hospitals. In the [medical field](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medicine_in_medieval_Islam) in particular, the [*Ijazah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ijazah) certificate was granted to those qualified to be practicing physicians, in order to differentiate them from unqualified [quacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quackery).

##### 7. Urbanization

There was a significant increase in [urbanization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urbanization) during this period, due to numerous scientific advances in fields such as agriculture, [hygiene](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hygiene), [sanitation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sanitation), [astronomy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_astronomy), [medicine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_medicine) and [engineering](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inventions_in_the_Muslim_world). This also resulted in a rising [middle class](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_class) population.

As urbanization increased, Muslim cities' growth was largely unregulated, resulting in narrow winding city streets and neighborhoods separated by different ethnic backgrounds and religious affiliations. Suburbs lay just outside the walled city, from wealthy residential communities, to working class semi-slums. City garbage dumps were located far from the city, as were clearly defined cemeteries which were often homes for criminals. A place of prayer was found near one of the main gates, for religious festivals and public executions. Similarly, Military Training grounds were found near a main gate.

While varying in appearance due to climate and prior local traditions, Islamic cities were almost always dominated by a merchant middle class. Some peoples' loyalty towards their neighborhood was very strong, reflecting ethnicity and religion, while a sense of citizenship was at times uncommon (but not in every case). The extended family provided the foundation for social programs, business deals, and negotiations with authorities. Part of this economic and social unit were often the tenants of a wealthy landlord.

State power normally focused on Dar al Imara, the governor's office in the [citadel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citadel). These fortresses towered high above the city built on thousands of years of human settlement. The primary function of the city governor was to provide for defence and to maintain legal order. This system would be responsible for a mixture of autocracy and autonomy within the city. Each neighborhood, and many of the large tenement blocks, elected a representative to deal with urban authorities. These neighborhoods were also expected to organize their young men into a militia providing for protection of their own neighborhoods, and as aid to the professional armies defending the city as a whole.

The head of the family was given the position of authority in his household, although a [qadi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qadi), or judge was able to negotiate and resolve differences in issues of disagreements within families and between them. The two senior representatives of municipal authority were the qadi and the [muhtasib](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhtasib), who held the responsibilities of many issues, including quality of water, maintenance of city streets, containing outbreaks of disease, supervising the markets, and a prompt burial of the dead.

Another aspect of Islamic urban life was [waqf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf), a religious charity directly dealing with the qadi and religious leaders. Through donations, the waqf owned many of the [public baths](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_bath) and factories, using the revenue to fund education, and to provide irrigation for orchards outside the city. Following expansion, this system was introduced into Eastern Europe by Ottoman Turks.

While religious foundations of all faiths were tax exempt in the Muslim world, civilians paid their taxes to the urban authorities, soldiers to the superior officer, and landowners to the state treasury. Taxes were also levied on an unmarried man until he was wed. Instead of [zakat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat), the mandatory charity required of Muslims, non-Muslims were required to pay the [jizya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jizya), a discriminatory religious tax, imposed on Christians and Jews. During the Muslim Conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries conquered populations were given the three choices of either converting to Islam, paying the jizya, or dying by the sword.

Animals brought to the city for slaughter were restricted to areas outside the city, as were any other industries seen as unclean. The more valuable a good was, the closer its market was to the center of town. Because of this, booksellers and goldsmiths clustered around the main mosque at the heart of the city.

By the 10th century, the library of Cairo had more than 100,000 books, while the library of [Tripoli](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tripoli,_Lebanon) is said to have had as many as three million books. The number of important and original Arabic works on science that have survived is much larger than the combined total of Greek and Latin works on science.

### 9.1.2 Classical Muslim economic thought

*Main article:* [*Islamic economics in the world*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world)

To some degree, the early Muslims based their [economic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economics) analyses on the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) (such as opposition to [*riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba), meaning [usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury)/[interest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interest)), and from [sunnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah), the sayings and doings of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad).

Amongst the important early Muslim scholars who made valuable contributions to economic theory are [Abu Yusuf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Yusuf) (d. 798), [Al-Mawardi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mawardi) (d. 1058), [Ibn Hazm](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Hazm) (d. 1064), [Al-Sarakhsi](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Sarakhsi&action=edit&redlink=1) (d. 1090), [Al-Tusi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Tusi) (d. 1093), [Al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali) (d. 1111), [Al-Dimashqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_al-Fadl_Ja%27far_ibn_%27Ali_al-Dimashqi) (d. after 1175), [Ibn Rushd](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Rushd) (d. 1187), [Ibn Taymiyyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Taymiyyah) (d.1328), [Ibn al-Ukhuwwah](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Ibn_al-Ukhuwwah&action=edit&redlink=1) (d. 1329), [Ibn al-Qayyim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_al-Qayyim) (d. 1350), [Al-Shatibi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Shatibi) (d. 1388), [Ibn Khaldun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khaldun) (d. 1406), [Al-Maqrizi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Maqrizi) (d. 1442), [Al-Dawwani](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Al-Dawwani&action=edit&redlink=1) (d. 1501), and [Shah Waliyullah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shah_Waliyullah) (d. 1762).[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-7)

Perhaps the most well known Islamic scholar who wrote about economics was Ibn Khaldun,[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-8) who is considered a father of modern economics.[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-9)[[11]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-10) Ibn Khaldun wrote on economic and political theory in the introduction, or [*Muqaddimah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muqaddimah) (*Prolegomena*), of his *History of the World* (*Kitab al-Ibar*). In the book, he discussed what he called *asabiyya* (social cohesion), which he sourced as the cause of some civilizations becoming great and others not. Ibn Khaldun felt that many social forces are cyclic, although there can be sudden sharp turns that break the pattern.[[12]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-11)

His idea about the benefits of the [division of labor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Division_of_labor) also relate to *asabiyya*, the greater the social cohesion, the more complex the successful division may be, the greater the economic growth. He noted that growth and development positively stimulates both supply and demand, and that the forces of supply and demand are what determines the prices of goods.[[13]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-12) He also noted macroeconomic forces of population growth, [human capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_capital) development, and technological developments effects on development.[[14]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-13) In fact, Ibn Khaldun thought that population growth was directly a function of wealth.[[15]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-14)

To some degree, the early Muslims based their [economic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economics) analyses on the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an) (such as opposition to [*riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba), meaning [usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury) or [interest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interest)), and from [sunnah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sunnah), the sayings and doings of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad).

#### 9.1.2.1 Early Islamic economic thinkers

[Al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali) (1058–1111) classified economics as one of the sciences connected with religion, along with metaphysics, ethics, and psychology. Authors have noted, however, that this connection has not caused early Muslim economic thought to remain static. Persian philosopher [Nasir al-Din al-Tusi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nas%C4%ABr_al-D%C4%ABn_al-T%C5%ABs%C4%AB) (1201–1274) presents an early definition of economics (what he calls hekmat-e-madani, the science of city life) in discourse three of his *Ethics*:

"the study of universal laws governing the public interest (welfare?) in so far as they are directed, through cooperation, toward the optimal (perfection)."

Many scholars trace the history of economic thought through the Muslim world, which was in a [Golden Age](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Golden_Age) from the 8th to 13th century and whose [philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_Islamic_philosophy) continued the work of the [Greek](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ancient_Greece) and [Hellenistic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hellenistic_civilization) thinkers and came to influence Aquinas when Europe "rediscovered" Greek philosophy through [Arabic translation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Latin_translations_of_the_12th_century). A common theme among these scholars was the praise of economic activity and even self-interested accumulation of wealth.

Persian philosopher [Ibn Miskawayh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Miskawayh) (b. 1030) notes:

"The creditor desires the well-being of the debtor in order to get his money back rather than because of his love for him. The debtor, on the other hand, does not take great interest in the creditor."

This view is in conflict with an idea [Joseph Schumpeter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Joseph_Schumpeter) called the great gap. The great gap thesis comes out of Schumpeter's 1954 *History of Economic Analysis* which discusses a break in economic thought during the five hundred year period between the decline of the Greco-Roman civilizations and the work of Thomas Aquinas (1225–1274). However in 1964, Joseph Spengler's "Economic Thought of Islam: Ibn Khaldun" appeared in the journal *Comparative Studies in Society and History* and took a large step in bringing early Muslim scholars to the attention of the contemporary West.

The influence of earlier [Greek](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_philosophy) and [Hellenistic thought](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hellenistic_philosophy) on the Muslim world began largely with [Abbasid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasid) [caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliph) [al-Ma'mun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ma%27mun), who sponsored the translation of [Greek](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Greek_language) texts into [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language) in the 9th century by [Syrian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria) [Christians](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Christian) in [Baghdad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Baghdad). But already by that time numerous Muslim scholars had written on economic issues, and early Muslim leaders had shown sophisticated attempts to enforce fiscal and monetary financing, use deficit financing, use taxes to encourage production, the use of credit instruments for banking, including rudimentary savings and checking accounts, and contract law.

Among the earliest Muslim economic thinkers was [Abu Yusuf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Yusuf) (731-798), a student of the founder of the Hanafi Sunni School of Islamic thought, [Abu Hanifah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abu_Hanifah). Abu Yusuf was chief jurist for Abbasid Caliph [Harun al-Rashid](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Harun_al-Rashid), for whom he wrote the *Book of Taxation* (*Kitab al-Kharaj*). This book outlined Abu Yusuf's ideas on taxation, public finance, and agricultural production. He discussed proportional tax on produce instead of fixed taxes on property as being superior as an incentive to bring more land into cultivation. He also advocated forgiving tax policies which favor the producer and a centralized tax administration to reduce corruption. Abu Yusuf favored the use of tax revenues for socioeconomic infrastructure, and included discussion of various types of taxes, including sales tax, death taxes, and import tariffs.

Early discussion of the benefits of division of labor are included in the writings of [Qabus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shams_al-Mo%27ali_Abol-hasan_Ghaboos_ibn_Wushmgir), [al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali), [al-Farabi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Farabi) (873–950), [Ibn Sina](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Avicenna) (Avicenna) (980–1037), [Ibn Miskawayh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Miskawayh), [Nasir al-Din al-Tusi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nas%C4%ABr_al-D%C4%ABn_al-T%C5%ABs%C4%AB) (1201–74), [Ibn Khaldun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khaldun) (1332–1406), and Asaad Davani (b. 1444). Among them, the discussions included division of labor within households, societies, factories, and among nations. Farabi notes that each society lacks at least some necessary resources, and thus an optimal society can only be achieved where domestic, regional, and international trade occur, and that such trade can be beneficial to all parties involved. Ghazali was also noted for his subtle understanding of monetary theory and formulation of another version of [Gresham's Law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gresham%27s_Law).

The power of [supply and demand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supply_and_demand) was understood to some extent by various early Muslim scholars as well. [Ibn Taymiyyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Taymiyyah) illustrates:

"If desire for goods increases while its availability decreases, its price rises. On the other hand, if availability of the good increases and the desire for it decreases, the price comes down."

Ibn Taymiyyah also elaborated a circumstantial analysis of the market mechanism, with a theoretical insight unusual in his time. His discourses on the welfare advantages and disadvantages of market regulation and deregulation, have an almost contemporary ring to them.

Ghazali suggests an early version of [price inelasticity of demand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Price_elasticity_of_demand) for certain goods, and he and Ibn Miskawayh discuss [equilibrium prices](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_equilibrium). Other important Muslim scholars who wrote about economics include [al-Mawardi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Mawardi) (1075–1158), [Ibn Taimiyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Taimiyah) (1263–1328), and [al-Maqrizi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Maqrizi).

#### 9.1.2.2 Riba

*Main article:* [*Riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba)

The common view of [*riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) ([usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury)) among classical [jurists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) of [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) and economics during the [Islamic Golden Age](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Golden_Age) was that it is only *riba* and therefore unlawful to apply [interest](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Interest) to money *exnatura sua*—exclusively [gold](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gold) and [silver](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silver) [currencies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Currency)—but that it is not *riba* and is therefore acceptable to apply interest to [*fiat* money](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiat_currency)—currencies made up of other [materials](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Material) such as [paper](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Paper) or [base metals](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Base_metal)—to an extent.

The definition of *riba* in classical [Islamic jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) was "[surplus value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surplus_value) without counterpart." When "currencies of base metal were first introduced in the Islamic world, no jurist ever thought that paying a debt in a higher number of units of this *fiat* money was *riba*" as they were concerned with the [real value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Real_value) of money rather than the numerical [value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Value_(economics)). For example, it was acceptable for a loan of 1000 gold [dinars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dinar) to be paid back as 1050 dinars of total equal mass. The rationale behind *riba* according to classical Islamic jurists was "to ensure equivalency in real value" and that the "numerical value was [immaterial](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immaterial)." Thus an interest rate that did not exceed the rate of [inflation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inflation) was not *riba* according to classical Islamic jurists.

#### 9.1.2.3 Ibn Khaldun

*Main articles:* [*Ibn Khaldun*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khaldun) *and* [*Muqaddimah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muqaddimah)

*See also:* [*Asabiyyah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asabiyyah)

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ibn_Khaldoun.jpg)

Statue of Ibn Khaldoun in [Tunis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunis)

|  |
| --- |
| When civilization [population] increases, the available labor again increases. In turn, luxury again increases in correspondence with the increasing profit, and the customs and needs of luxury increase. Crafts are created to obtain luxury products. The value realized from them increases, and, as a result, profits are again multiplied in the town. Production there is thriving even more than before. And so it goes with the second and third increase. All the additional labor serves luxury and wealth, in contrast to the original labor that served the necessity of life. *Muqaddimah 2:272-73 quoted in Weiss (1995) p 30* |
| ***Ibn Khaldun on*** [*economic growth*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_growth) |

Perhaps the best known Islamic scholar who wrote about economics was Ibn Khaldun of [Tunisia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tunisia) (1332–1406), who is considered a forerunner of modern economics. Ibn Khaldun wrote on economic and political theory in the introduction, or [*Muqaddimah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muqaddimah) (*Prolegomena*), of his *History of the World* (*Kitab al-Ibar*). In the book, he discussed what he called *asabiyya* (social cohesion), which he sourced as the cause of some civilizations becoming great and others not. Ibn Khaldun felt that many social forces are cyclic, although there can be sudden sharp turns that break the pattern. His idea about the benefits of the division of labor also relate to *asabiyya*, the greater the social cohesion, the more complex the successful division may be, the greater the economic growth. He noted that growth and development positively stimulates both supply and demand, and that the forces of supply and demand are what determines the prices of goods. He also noted macroeconomic forces of population growth, [human capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_capital) development, and technological developments effects on development. In fact, Ibn Khaldun thought that population growth was directly a function of wealth.

Although he understood that money served as a standard of value, a medium of exchange, and a preserver of value, he did not realize that the value of gold and silver changed based on the forces of supply and demand. He also introduced the concept known as the [Khaldun-Laffer Curve](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khaldun-Laffer_Curve) (the relationship between tax rates and tax revenue increases as tax rates increase for a while, but then the increases in tax rates begin to cause a decrease in tax revenues as the taxes impose too great a cost to producers in the economy).

Ibn Khaldun used a [dialectic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dialectic) approach to describe the sociological implications of [tax](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tax) choices, which is now of course part of [economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economics):

"In the early stages of the state, taxes are light in their incidence, but fetch in a large revenue...As time passes and kings succeed each other, they lose their tribal habits in favor of more civilized ones. Their needs and exigencies grow...owing to the luxury in which they have been brought up. Hence they impose fresh taxes on their subjects...and sharply raise the rate of old taxes to increase their yield...But the effects on business of this rise in taxation make themselves felt. For business men are soon discouraged by the comparison of their profits with the burden of their taxes...Consequently production falls off, and with it the yield of taxation."

This analysis anticipates the modern economic concept known as the [Laffer Curve](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Laffer_Curve).

Ibn Khaldun also introduced the [labor theory of value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labor_theory_of_value). He described labor as the source of value, necessary for all earnings and capital accumulation, obvious in the case of craft. He argued that even if earning "results from something other than a craft, the value of the resulting profit and acquired (capital) must (also) include the value of the labor by which it was obtained. Without labor, it would not have been acquired."

His theory of *asabiyyah* has often been compared to modern [Keynesian economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keynesian_economics), with Ibn Khaldun's theory clearly containing the concept of the [multiplier](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spending_multiplier). A crucial difference, however, is that whereas for [John Maynard Keynes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Maynard_Keynes) it is the [middle class](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Middle_class)'s greater propensity to [save](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saving) that is to blame for [economic depression](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Depression_(economics)), for Ibn Khaldun it is the governmental propensity to save at times when [investment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Investment) opportunities do not take up the slack which leads to [aggregate demand](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aggregate_demand).

Another modern economic theory anticipated by Ibn Khaldun is [supply-side economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Supply-side_economics). He "argued that high [taxes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tax) were often a factor in causing empires to collapse, with the result that lower revenue was collected from high rates." He wrote:

"It should be known that at the beginning of the dynasty, taxation yields a large revenue from small assessments. At the end of the dynasty, taxation yields a small revenue from large assessments."

### 9.1.3 Economy in the Caliphate

During the medieval [Arab Agricultural Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_Agricultural_Revolution), a social transformation took place as a result of changing land [ownership](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ownership) giving individuals of any [gender](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gender),[[16]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-15) [ethnic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethnic) or [religious](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious) background the right to buy, sell, [mortgage](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mortgage_law) and [inherit](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Inheritance) land. Based on the [Quran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran), signatures were required on contracts for major [financial transactions](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Financial_transaction) concerning [agriculture](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agriculture), [industry](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Industry), [commerce](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commerce), and [employment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Employment). Copies of the contract were usually kept by both parties involved.

There are similarities between Islamic economics and [leftist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Leftist) or [socialist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist) economic policies. Islamic jurists have argued that privatization of resources of oil, gas, and other fire-producing fuels, agricultural land, and water is forbidden. The principle of public or joint ownership has been drawn by Muslim jurists from the following [hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith) of the Prophet of Islam:

[Ibn Abbas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Abbas) reported that Muhammad said: *"All Muslims are partners in three things--in water, herbage and fire."* (Narrated in Abu Daud, & Ibn Majah) [[4]](http://www.muslimtents.com/shaufi/b16/b16_19.htm) Anas added to the above hadith, *"Its price is Haram (forbidden)"*[[17]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-16) Jurists have argued by [qiyas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qiyas) that the above restriction on privatization can be extended to all essential resources that benefit the community as a whole.[[18]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-17)

Aside from similarities to socialism, early forms of proto-[capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism) and [free markets](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_market) were present in the Caliphate.[[19]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Europe_p._437-18) An early [market economy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Market_economy) and early form of [merchant capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Merchant_capitalism) developed between the 8th and 12th centuries.[[20]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-19) A vigorous [monetary economy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monetary_economy) developed based on the wide circulation of a common currency (the [dinar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dinar)) and the integration of previously independent monetary areas. Business techniques and forms of [business organization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Business_organization) employed during this time included early contracts, [bills of exchange](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bills_of_exchange), long-distance [international trade](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_trade), early forms of [partnership](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Partnership) (*mufawada*) such as [limited partnerships](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Limited_partnership) (*mudaraba*), and early forms of credit, debt, profit, loss, [capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_(economics)) (*al-mal*), [capital accumulation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_accumulation) (*nama al-mal*),[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Banaji-20) [circulating capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Circulating_capital), [capital expenditure](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_expenditure), revenue, [cheques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cheque), [promissory notes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Promissory_note),[[22]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Robert_Sabatino_Lopez_2001-21) [trusts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Trusts) ([*waqf*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf)), [savings accounts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Savings_account), [transactional accounts](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Transactional_account), pawning, loaning, [exchange rates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exchange_rate), bankers, [money changers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Money_changer), [ledgers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ledger), deposits, [assignments](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Assignment_(law)), the [double-entry bookkeeping system](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Double-entry_bookkeeping_system),[[23]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-22) and [lawsuits](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lawsuit).[[24]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Ray_Spier_2002_p._357-358-23) [Organizational](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organization) [enterprises](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Business) similar to [corporations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Corporation) independent from the [state](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign_state) also existed in the medieval Islamic world.[[25]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-24)[[26]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-25) Many of these concepts were adopted and further advanced in [medieval Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Medieval_Europe) from the 13th century onwards.[[21]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Banaji-20)

The concepts of [welfare](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_(financial_aid)) and [pension](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pension) were present in early [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) as forms of [*zakat*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) one of the [Five Pillars of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Pillars_of_Islam), since the time of the [Rashidun caliph](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun_Caliphate) [Umar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar) in the 7th century. The [taxes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tax) (including *zakat* and [*jizya*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jizya)) collected in the [treasury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Treasury) ([*bayt al-mal*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bayt_al-mal)) of an Islamic [government](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Government) were used to provide income for the needy, including the poor, the elderly, orphans, widows, and the disabled. According to the Islamic jurist [Al-Ghazali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Ghazali) (Algazel, 1058–1111), the government was also expected to stockpile food supplies in every region in case a disaster or famine occurred. The Caliphate was thus one of the earliest [welfare states](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Welfare_state).[[27]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Crone_2005_308.E2.80.939-26)[[28]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Hamid-27)

### 9.1.4 Post-colonial era

During the modern [post-colonial](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Post-colonial) era, as Western ideas (including Western economics) began to influence the Muslim world, some Muslim writers sought to produce an Islamic discipline of economics. Because some Islamic scholars consider Islam to be more than a spiritual formula but rather a complete system of life in all its aspects,[[29]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-28) these writers believed that it should logically follow that Islam also had its own economic system, unique from and superior to non-Islamic systems.[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Michael_Bonner_2005-6) To date, however, there has been no agreement as to the methodological definition and scope of Islamic economics.

In the 1960s and 1970s Shia thinkers worked to develop a unique Islamic economic philosophy with "its own answers to contemporary economic problems." Several works were particularly influential:

* *Eslam va Malekiyyat* (Islam and Property) by Mahmud Taleqani (1951),
* *Nidham ul-Iqtisad fil Islam* (The Economic System of Islam) by Taqiuddin Nabhani (1953),
* [*Iqtisaduna*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iqtisaduna) (Our Economics) by [Mohammad Baqir al-Sadr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mohammad_Baqir_al-Sadr) (1961) and
* *Eqtesad-e Towhidi* (The Economics of Divine Harmony) by [Abolhassan Banisadr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abolhassan_Banisadr) (1978)
* *Some Interpretations of Property Rights, Capital and Labor from Islamic Perspective* by Habibullah Peyman (1979).[[30]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-29)[[31]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-international.ucla.edu-30)

Al-Sadr in particular has been described as having "almost single-handedly developed the notion of Islamic economics"[[32]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-31)

In their writings Sadr and the other authors "sought to depict Islam as a religion committed to social justice, the equitable distribution of wealth, and the cause of the deprived classes," with doctrines "acceptable to Islamic jurists," while refuting existing non-Islamic theories of [capitalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism) and [Marxism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxism). This version of Islamic economics, which influenced the [Iranian Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution), called for public ownership of land and of large "industrial enterprises," while private economic activity continued "within reasonable limits."[[33]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-32) These ideas helped shape the large public sector and public subsidy policies of the Iranian Revolution.

In the 1980s and 1990s, as the [Islamic revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_the_Islamic_Republic_of_Iran#Iran.27s_economy_and_human_development) failed to reach the per capita income level achieved by the regime it overthrew, and Communist states and socialist parties in the non-Muslim world turned away from [socialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialism), Muslim interest shifted away from government ownership and regulation. In Iran, it is reported that "*eqtesad-e Eslami* (meaning both Islamic economics and economy) ... once a revolutionary shibboleth, is indubitably absent in all official documents and the media. It disapperared from Iranian political discourse about 15 years ago [1990]."[[31]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-international.ucla.edu-30)

But in other parts of the Muslim world the term lived on, shifting form to the less ambitious goal of interest-free banking. Some Muslim bankers and religious leaders suggested ways to integrate Islamic law on usage of money with modern concepts of [ethical investing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethical_investing). In banking this was done through the use of sales transactions (focusing on the fixed rate return modes) to achieve similar results concerning interest. Many modern writers have strongly criticized this approach as a means of covering conventional banking with an Islamic facade.

### 9.1.5 Traditional approach

While many Muslims believe Islamic law is perfect by virtue of its being revealed by God, Islamic law on economic issues was/is not "[economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economics)" in the sense of a systematic study of production, distribution, and consumption of goods and services. An example of the traditionalist [ulama](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulama) approach to economic issues is [Imam Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Khomeini)'s work *Tawzih al-masa'il* where the term `economy` does not appear and where the chapter on selling and buying (Kharid o forush) comes after the one on pilgrimage. As [Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy_(professor)) puts it, the work "presents economic questions as individual acts open to moral analysis: `To lend [without interest, on a note from the lender] is among the good works that are particularly recommended in the verses of the Quran and the in the Traditions.`"[[34]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-33)

### 9.1.6 Contemporary economics

In modern times, economic policies of the 1979 [Islamic Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Revolution) in predominately [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran) were heavily statist with a very large public sector, and official rhetoric celebrating revolution and the rights of the dispossessed, although this tendency has faded over time. In [Sudan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sudan), the policies of the [National Islamic Front](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/National_Islamic_Front) party dominated regime in the 1990s have been the reverse, employing [economic liberalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economic_liberalism) and accepting "market forces in the formulation of state policies." In [Algeria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Algeria), [Jordan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jordan), [Egypt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Egypt), and [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), [Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) parties have supported [populist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Populism) policies, showing a "marked reluctance to adopt austerity policies and decreased subsidies." In recent years, Turkey had a rapidly growing [economy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Turkey) and became a [developed country](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CIA_developed_country_list) according to the [CIA](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/CIA). [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia), [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia) and Turkey are members of the [G-20 major economies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/G-20_major_economies).

In 2008, at least $500 billion in assets around the world were managed in accordance with [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia), or Islamic law, and the sector was growing at more than 10% per year. Islamic finance seeks to promote social justice by banning exploitative practices. In reality, this boils down to a set of prohibitions—on paying interest, on gambling with derivatives and options, and on investing in firms that make pornography or pork.

Another form of modern finance that originated from the Muslim world is [microcredit](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Microcredit) and [microfinance](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Microfinance). It began in the 1970s in [Bangladesh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bangladesh) with [Grameen Bank](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grameen_Bank), founded by [Muhammad Yunus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Yunus), recipient of the 2006 [Nobel Peace Prize](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nobel_Peace_Prize).

### 9.1.7 Land reform

One issue "generally absent" from contemporary [Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) economic thought (with the exception of [Sayyid Qutb](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sayyid_Qutb)) and action "whether moderate or radical" is the question of [agrarian reform](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agrarian_reform). Opposition to agrarian reform even played a role in Islamist uprisings (Iran 1963, Afghanistan, 1978). At least one observer ([Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy_(professor))) believes this is primarily because it would "imply a reexamination of the concept of ownership", and in particular "throw into question the [Waqf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waqf), endowments whose revenue ensures the functioning of religious institutions." In the Islamic Republic of [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), for example, waqf holdings are very large (in [Khorasan Province](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khorasan_Province), "50% of the cultivated lands belong to the religious foundation Astan-i Quds, which oversees" the [Imam Reza shrine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Reza_shrine) in [Mashhad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mashhad)). Thus questioning waqf property would mean questioning "the foundation of the financial autonomy of the mullahs and mosques", particularly among [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) Muslims.

## 9.2 Property

The Qur'an states that God is the sole owner of all matter in the heavens and the earth.[[35]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-34) Man, however, is God's viceregent on earth and holds God's possessions in trust (*amanat*). Islamic jurists have divided properties into three categories:[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP1-35)

* Public property
* State property
* Private property

### 9.2.1 Public property

Public property in Islam refers to natural resources ([forests](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Forest), [pastures](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pasture), uncultivated land, [water](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Water), [mines](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mining), [oceanic resources](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ocean#Economy) etc.) over which all humans have equal right. Such resources are considered the [common](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_commons) property of the community. Such property is placed under the guardianship and control of the Islamic state, and can be utilized by any citizen, as long as it does not undermine the right of other citizens over it.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP1-35)

Some types of public property can not be privatized under Islamic law. Muhammad's saying that "people are partners in three things: water, fire and pastures", has led some scholars to believe that the privatization of [water](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Water), [energy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Energy) and [agricultural land](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Agricultural_land) is not permissible. Other types of public property, such as gold mines, were allowed by Muhammad to be privatized, in return for taxes to the Islamic state. The owner of the previously public property that was privatized has to pay [zakat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zakat) and, according Shiite scholars, [khums](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khums) as well. In general the [privatization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Privatization) and [nationalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalization) of public property is subject to debate amongst Islamic scholars. Public property thus, eventually, becomes state or private property.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP1-35)

### 9.2.2 State property

State property includes certain natural resources, as well as other property that can't immediately be privatized. Islamic state property can be movable, or immovable, can be acquired through conquest, or peaceful means. Unclaimed, unoccupied and heir less properties, including uncultivated land (*mawat*), can be considered state property.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP1-35)

During the life of Muhammad, one fifth of military equipment captured from the enemy in the battlefield was considered state property. During his reign, [Umar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar) (on the recommendation of [Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali)) considered conquered land to be state property, instead of private property (as was usual practice). The reason for this was that privatizing this property would concentrate resources in the hands of a few, and prevent this property from being used for the general good of the community. The property remained under the occupation of the cultivators, but the taxes collected on it went to the state treasury.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP1-35)

Muhammad said "Old and fallow lands are for God and His Messenger (i.e. state property), then they are for you". Jurists draw from this the conclusion that, ultimately, private ownership takes over state property.[[36]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP1-35)

### 9.2.3 Private property

There is consensus amongst Islamic jurists and social scientists that Islam recognizes and upholds the individual's right to private ownership. The Qur'an extensively discusses taxation, inheritance, prohibition against stealing, legality of ownership, recommendation to give charity and other topics related to private property. Islam also guarantees the protection of private property by imposing stringent punishments on thieves. Muhammad said that he who dies defending his property was like a [martyr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shaheed).[[37]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP2-36)

Islamic economists have classified the acquisition of private property into three categories: involuntary, contractual and non-contractual. Involuntary means are inheritance, bequests, and gifts. Non-contractual is acquisition involves the collection and exploitation of natural resources that have not previously been claimed as private property. Contractual acquisition includes activities such as trading, buying, renting, hiring labor etc.[[37]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP2-36)

A tradition attributed to Muhammad, with which both Sunni and Shi'ite jurists agree, in cases where the right to private ownership causes harm to others, then Islam is in favor of curtailing the right in those cases. [Maliki](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Maliki) and [Hanbali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanbali) jurists argue that if private ownership endangers public interest, then the state can limit the amount an individual is allowed to own. This view, however, is debated by others.[[37]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniP2-36)

## 9.3 Market

Islam accepts markets as the basic co-ordinating mechanism of the economic system. Islamic teaching holds that the market, through perfect competition, allows consumers to obtain desired goods, producers to sell their goods, at a mutually acceptable price.[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniM1-37)

The three necessary conditions for an operational market are said to be upheld in Islamic primary sources:[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniM1-37)

* Freedom of exchange: the Qur'an calls on believers to engage in trade, and rejects the contention that trade is forbidden.[[39]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-38)
* Private ownership (see [above](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics#Private_property)).
* Security of contract: the Qur'an calls for the fulfillment and observation of contracts.[[40]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-39) The longest verse of the Qur'an deals with commercial contracts involving immediate and future payments.[[41]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-40)

### 9.3.1 Interference

Islam promotes a market free from interferences such as [price fixing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Price_fixing) and [hoarding](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hoarding). Government intervention, however, is tolerated under specific circumstances.[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniM1-37)

Islam prohibits the fixation of a price by a handful of buyers or sellers who have become dominant in the market. During the days of [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad), a small group of merchants used to meet agricultural producers outside the city and bought the entire crop, thereby gaining monopoly over the market. The produce was later sold at a higher price within the city. Muhammad condemned this practice since it caused injury both to the producers (who in the absence of numerous customers were forced to sell goods at a lower price) and the inhabitants of Medina.[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniM1-37)

The above mentioned reports are also used to justify the argument that the Islamic market is characterized by free information. Producers and consumers should not be denied information on demand and supply conditions. Producers are expected to inform consumers of the quality and quantity of goods they claim to sell. Some scholars hold that if an inexperienced buyer is swayed by the seller, the consumer may nullify the transaction upon realizing the seller's unfair treatment. The Qur'an also forbids discriminatory means of transaction.[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniM1-37)[[42]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-41)

Government interference in the market is justified in exceptional circumstances, such as the protection of public interest. Under normal circumstances, government non-interference should be upheld. When Muhammad was asked to set the price of goods in a market he responded, "I will not set such a precedent, let the people carry on on with their activities and benefit mutually."[[38]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-NomaniM1-37)

## 9.4 Monetary & Fiscal Policy

Monetary and fiscal policy can include developments both for a state in transition to an Islamic model as well as when it reaches equilibrium.[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gs-42)

### 9.4.1 In Equilibrium

Monetary policy emphasizes keeping inflation towards a theoretical zero percent. The value of the currency being maintained according to a basket of goods and services that is reflective of the economy as well as the value of a basket of currencies that would be represented by their level of trade with the Islamic state. The proportion of the two being weighted to the proportion of foreign trade to domestic consumption. This parallels classical and neo-classical ideals.

Money Supply expansion is indexed directly to the population rather than through banking, to avoid an unfair benefit to banking at the cost of the populace. Regulatory creep, conflict of interest and political interference is avoided by a proposed independence of banking and the statistical authority.[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gs-42)

### 9.4.2 In Transition

Gradual transition is preferred over drastic change, calling for a transitional state similar to Communism's transitional state of Socialism. Impairment of banking, staggered increases in reserve ratios and a gradual approach in the general regulatory framework is considered preferable.[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gs-42)

A Keynesian fiscal policy is called for to counteract the fall in the money supply caused by the transitionary policies. Timing and proportion is seen as critical to the success of such a transition.[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gs-42)

## 9.5 Banking

*Main article:* [*Islamic banking*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_banking)

**Islamic banking** (or **participant banking**) ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): المصرفية الإسلامية‎) is [banking](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Banking) or banking activity that is consistent with the principles of [Islamic law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) (*Sharia*) and its practical application through the development of [Islamic economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics). Sharia prohibits the fixed or floating payment or acceptance of specific interest or fees (known as [Riba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) or [usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury)) for loans of money. Investing in businesses that provide goods or services considered contrary to Islamic principles is also [Haraam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haraam) (forbidden). While these [principles](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Principles) may have been applied to historical Islamic economies, it is only in the late 20th century that a number of Islamic banks were formed to apply these principles to [private](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Private_bank) or semi-private [commercial](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Commercial_bank) institutions within the Muslim community.

### 9.5.1 Interest

The Quran (3: 130) clearly condemns what it calls by the Arabic term "[riba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba)," usually translated "interest": "O, you who believe! Devour not riba, doubled and redoubled, and be careful of Allah; but fear Allah that you may be successful."

The word "Riba" means excess, increase or addition, which according to Shariah terminology, implies any excess compensation without due consideration (consideration does not include time value of money). The definition of [*riba*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Riba) in classical [Islamic jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) was "[surplus value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Surplus_value) without counterpart", or "to ensure equivalency in real value", and that "numerical value was [immaterial](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immaterial)."

Applying interest was acceptable under some circumstances. Currencies that were based on guarantees by a government to honor the stated value (i.e. [fiat currency](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiat_currency)) or based on other [materials](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Material) such as paper or [base metals](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Base_metal) were allowed to have interest applied to them.[[10]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_banking#cite_note-9) When base metal currencies were first introduced in the Islamic world, the question of "paying a debt in a higher number of units of this *fiat* money being *riba*" was not relevant as the jurists only needed to be concerned with the [real value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Real_value) of money (determined by weight only) rather than the numerical [value](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Value_(economics)). For example, it was acceptable for a loan of 1000 gold [dinars](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dinar) to be paid back as 1050 dinars of equal aggregate weight (i.e., the value in terms of weight had to be same because all makes of coins did not carry exactly similar weight).

### 9.5.2 Debt arrangements

Most Islamic economic institutions advise participatory arrangements between [capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capital_(economics)) and [labor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Labour_(economics)). The latter rule reflects the Islamic norm that the borrower must not bear all the cost of a failure, as "it is God who determines that failure, and intends that it fall on all those involved."

Conventional debt arrangements are thus usually unacceptable - but conventional venture investment structures are applied even on very small scales. However, not every debt arrangement can be seen in terms of venture investment structures. For example, when a family buys a home it is not investing in a business venture - a person's shelter is not a business venture. Similarly, purchasing other commodities for personal use, such as cars, furniture, and so on, cannot realistically be considered as a venture investment in which the Islamic bank shares risks and profits for the profits of the venture.

### 9.5.3 Savings-Investment

An alternative Islamic savings-investment model can be built around: 1. Venture capital firms; 2. Investment banks; 3. Restructured corporations; and 4. Restructured stock market.[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gs-42) This model looks at removing the interest-based banking and in replacing market inefficiencies such as subsidization of loans over profit-sharing investments due to double taxation and restrictions on investment in private equity.

### 9.5.4 Money changers

Due to religious sanctions against odious debt, [Tamil Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tamil_Muslim) have historically been [money changers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Money_changer) (not money lenders) throughout South and South East Asia.[[44]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-43)

## 9.6 Natural capital

Perhaps due to resource scarcity in most Islamic nations, this form of economics also emphasizes limited (and some claim also [sustainable](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sustainability)) use of [natural capital](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Natural_capital), i.e. producing land. These latter revive traditions of [haram](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Haram) and [hima](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hima) that were prevalent in [early Muslim civilization](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Early_Muslim_civilization&action=edit&redlink=1).

## 9.7 Welfare

[Social welfare](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_welfare), [unemployment](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Unemployment), [public debt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Public_debt) and [globalization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Globalization) have been re-examined from the perspective of Islamic norms and values. Islamic banks have grown recently in the Muslim world but are a very small share of the global economy compared to the Western debt banking paradigm. It remains to be seen if they will find niches - although hybrid approaches, e.g. [Grameen Bank](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Grameen_Bank) which applies classical Islamic values but uses conventional lending practices, are much lauded by some proponents of modern [human development theory](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Human_development_theory).

## 9.8 Islamic stocks

In June 2005 [Dow Jones](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dow_Jones_Industrial_Average) Indexes, [New York](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York), and [RHB Securities](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=RHB_Securities&action=edit&redlink=1), [Kuala Lumpur](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuala_Lumpur), teamed up to launch a new "Islamic [Malaysia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malaysia) Index" —a collection of 45 stocks representing Malaysian companies that comply with a variety of Sharia-based criteria. Three variables (the total debt of an indexed company, its total cash plus interest-bearing securities and its accounts receivables) must each be less than 33% of the trailing 12-month average capitalization, for example. Islamic bonds, or sukuk, use asset returns to pay investors to comply with the religion’s ban on interest and are currently traded privately on the over-the-counter market. In late December 2009 Bursa Malaysia announced it was considering enabling individuals to trade Shariah- compliant debt on its exchange as part of a plan to attract new investors to the securities.[[45]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-44)

## 9.9 Economic Modeling & a New Science of Muslim Economics

Economic modeling in an Islamic context looks to find alternative variables and parameters. For instance, many of the key models in modern economic theory have interest (riba) as a key element. According to one author, Tobin's q could be a replacement for interest. Islamic economics still needs pioneers to create the building blocks of Islamic econometrics.[[43]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-gs-42)

## 9.10 Popularity and availability

*Main article:* [*Islamic economics in the world*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics_in_the_world)

Today there are many financial institutions, even in the Western world, offering financial services and products in accordance with the rules of the Islamic finance. For example, legal changes introduced by Chancellor [Gordon Brown](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gordon_Brown) in 2003, have enabled British banks and [building societies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Building_societies) to offer so-called Muslim mortgages for house purchase.

In 2004 the UK's first stand alone Sharia'a compliant bank was launched, the [Islamic Bank of Britain](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Bank_of_Britain). Several banks offer products and services to its UK customers that utilise the Islamic financial principles; such as Mudaraba, Murabaha, Musharaka and Qard.

The Islamic finance sector was worth between 300 and 500 billion dollars (237 and 394 billion euros) as of September 2006, compared with 200 billion dollars in 2004. The number of Islamic retail banks and [investment funds](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Investment_fund) number in their hundreds and many Western financial institutions offer products that comply with [Sharia law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia_law), including [Citigroup](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Citigroup), [Deutsche Bank](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Deutsche_Bank), [HSBC](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/HSBC), [Lloyds TSB](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lloyds_TSB) and [UBS](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UBS). In 2008, at least $500 billion in assets around the world were managed in accordance with Sharia, or Islamic law, and the sector was growing at more than 10% per year. Islamic finance seeks to promote social justice by banning exploitative practices. In reality, this boils down to a set of prohibitions—on paying interest, on gambling with derivatives and options, and on investing in firms that make pornography or pork.[[46]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-45)

## 9.11 Business Method Patents

With the recent ability to [patent](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patent) [new methods of doing business](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Business_method_patent) in the United States, a small number of [patent applications](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patent_application) have been filed on methods for providing Sharia compliant financial services. These pending patent applications include:

* [US US20030233324A1](http://worldwide.espacenet.com/textdoc?DB=EPODOC&IDX=USUS20030233324A1) **Declining balance co-ownership financing arrangement**. This discloses an allegedly Sharia compliant financing arrangement for home purchases and refinances that does not involve the payment of interest.

## 9.12 Views

Sohrab Behada's study argued that the economic system proposed by Islam is essentially a capitalist one.[[47]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Behada-46)

### 9.12.1 Criticism

Its popularity notwithstanding, critics of Islamic economics have not been sparing. It has been attacked for its alleged "incoherence, incompleteness, impracticality, and irrelevance;"[[48]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-47) driven by "[cultural identity](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cultural_identity)" rather than [problem solving](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Problem_solving).[[49]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-48) Others have dismissed it as "a hodgepodge of populist and socialist ideas," in theory and "nothing more than inefficient state control of the economy and some almost equally ineffective redistribution policies," in practice.[[50]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Halliday.2C_Fred_p.89-49)

In a political and regional context where [Islamist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamist) and [ulema](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ulema) claim to have an opinion about everything, it is striking how little they have to say about this most central of human activities, beyond repetitious pieties about how their model is neither [capitalist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Capitalism) nor [socialist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socialist).[[50]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economic_jurisprudence#cite_note-Halliday.2C_Fred_p.89-49)

Interest-bearing (Riba) and speculation-involving (Gharar) trading are clearly prohibited by explicit canonical texts. Based on this prohibition, presumably financial structures of all the Islamic products should be interest and speculation free. Nevertheless, some new empirical studies hypothesize that “Islamic finance products’ structure is based on the Islamic prohibitions; however, these products’ risk management is still based on revoking the underlying prohibitions”. The most prominent case here is Islamic financial market products such as, inter alia, Salam and Istisna’ these products are used are hedging methods for the Islamic bonds known as Sukuk. If Sukuk’s originator or investors wish to hedge against interest rate or exchange rate risks, then they have to use one of the former methods. These methods as they originally mimic the conventional risk management practice, should involve either interest-bearing or speculation-bearing trading or even both. There have been some innovations that try to avoid falling in interest-based and/or speculation based transactions. Parallel Salam and synthetics are some of the more recent.

## 9.13 See also

* [Fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh)
* [Law and economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law_and_economics)
* [Ibn Khaldun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khaldun)
* [Muhammad Taqi Usmani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Taqi_Usmani)
* [Umar Chapra](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umar_Chapra)
* [Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_philosophy)
  + [Early Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_Islamic_philosophy)
  + [Modern Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Modern_Islamic_philosophy)
* [Islamization of knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamization_of_knowledge)
* [Islamic democracy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_democracy)
* [Green economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Green_economics)
* [Economy of the OIC](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_the_OIC)
* [Islamic banking](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_banking)
* [Monzer Kahf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Monzer_Kahf)
* [Aly Khorshid](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Aly_Khorshid&action=edit&redlink=1)
* [Waleed Ahmad J. Addas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Waleed_Ahmad_J._Addas)
* [Global Islamic Finance magazine](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Global_Islamic_Finance_magazine)

## 9.14 Further reading

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* [Aly Khorshid](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Aly_Khorshid&action=edit&redlink=1), Islamic finance Scholar and Shari'ah Consultant, ( Elite Horizon Economic Consultancy, UK)
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* [Abbas Mirakhor](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbas_Mirakhor), *Theoretical Studies in Islamic Banking and Finance*, (Islamic Publications International)
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* Immanuel Naveh. "The Tort of Injury and Dissolution of Marriage at the Wife's Initiative in Egyptian Mahkamat al-Naqd Rulings" in *Islamic Law and Society* Volume 9, Number 1, 2002
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## 9.17 External links

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* [Putting Faith into Finance](http://www.hsbcnet.com/country/ae/islamic_banking.html) article on Islamic finance from HSBC perspective
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* [Mahmoud el-Gamal, Rice University, Houston, Texas, "An Economic Explanation of the Prohibition of Riba in Classical Islamic Jurisprudence."](http://www.ruf.rice.edu/%7Eelgamal/files/riba.pdf)
* [Methodology of Economics: Secular versus Islamic](http://mpra.ub.uni-muenchen.de/8264/)
* [Islamic Banking, Finance & Economics by Maryam Ayaz](http://www.apvision.com.pk/islamic_banking_finance_economics.html)
* [Islamic Economics book list](http://www.soundvision.com/Info/money/booklistislamiceconomics.asp)

# 10 Future trends

## 10.1 Islamic revival

**Islamic revival** ([Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): الصحوة الإسلامية‎ *aṣ-Ṣaḥwah l-ʾIslāmiyyah*, "Islamic awakening") refers to a revival of the [Islamic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) religion throughout the [Islamic world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_world), that began roughly sometime in 1970s and is manifested in greater religious piety, and community feeling, and in a growing adoption of [Islamic culture](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_culture), [dress](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_and_clothing), [terminology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Glossary_of_Islam), separation of the sexes, and values by [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim).[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_note-Lapidus_11-0) One striking example of it is the increase in attendance at the [*Hajj*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hajj), the annual pilgrimage to [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca), which grew from 90,000 in 1926 to 2 million in 1979.[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_note-1)

From a [Western](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world) perspective, two of the most important events that inspired the resurgence were the [Arab oil embargo](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1973_oil_crisis) and subsequent quadrupling of the price of oil in the mid 1970s, and the 1979 [Iranian Revolution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iranian_Revolution) that established an [Islamic republic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_republic) in [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran) under [Ayatollah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayatollah) [Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ruhollah_Khomeini). The first created a flow of many billions of dollars from [Saudi Arabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Saudi_Arabia) to fund Islamic books, scholarships, fellowships, and [mosques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mosque) around the world; the second undermined the assumption that [Westernization](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Westernization) strengthened [Muslim countries](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Muslim_majority_countries) and was the irreversible trend of the future.

The revival is a reversal of the Westernisation approach common in many Arab and Asian governments earlier in the 20th century. It is often associated with the political Islamic movement, [Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamism), and other forms of [re-Islamisation](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamization). While the revival has also been accompanied by some religious extremism and attacks on civilians and military targets by the extremists, this represents only a small part of the revival.

The trend has been noted by historians such as [John Esposito](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Esposito)[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_note-2) and [Ira Lapidus](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ira_Lapidus). An associated development is that of [transnational Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Islamism), described by the French Islam researchers [Gilles Kepel](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gilles_Kepel) and [Olivier Roy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Olivier_Roy_(professor)). It includes a feeling of a "growing universalistic Islamic identity" as often shared by Muslim immigrants and their children who live in non-Muslim countries:

The increased integration of world societies as a result of enhanced communications, media, travel, and migration makes meaningful the concept of a single Islam practiced everywhere in similar ways, and an Islam which transcends national and ethnic customs. —Ira Lapidus[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_note-Lapidus_12-3)

But not necessarily transnational political or social organisations:

Global Muslim identity does not necessarily or even usually imply organised group action. Even though Muslims recognise a global affiliation, the real heart of Muslim religious life remains outside politics - in local associations for worship, discussion, mutual aid, education, charity, and other communal activities.

—Ira Lapidus[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_note-Lapidus_13-4)

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_ref-Lapidus_11_0-0) Lapidus, p.823
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_ref-1) Kepel, Gilles, *Jihad: on the Trail of Political Islam*, Harvard University Press, 2002, p.75
  3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_ref-2) Haddad/Esposito pg.xvi
  4. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_ref-Lapidus_12_3-0) Lapidus, p.828
  5. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival#cite_ref-Lapidus_13_4-0) Lapidus, p.829

## 10.2 Contemporary Islamic philosophy

*Main article:* [*Islamic philosophy*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_philosophy)

Aziz Abbassi’s English translation found in the following pages was made from the French Introduction à la critique de la raison Arabe, translated from Arabic to French by Ahmed Mahfoud and Marc Geoffroy, published by La Découverte in 1994.The occasion of this French publication was an effort to provide an introduction to al-Jabri’s thought prior to publication of a translation of his three-volume Naqdd al-‘aql al-‘Arabi referred to earlier. The essays contained were selected from al-Jabri’s earlier work, especially his collection Nahnu wa-al-Tuath. The author helped and advised in the selection of the texts and revised the French edition, thus making it authoritative. And, although the present text was translated from the French, it was compared with the Arabic original.

During the past few years, al-Jabri has published essays and shorter monographs on issues ranging from democracy and human rights in the Arab World to further elaboration and discussions of his main theses in his previously published work. Because al-Jabri’s work is a direct and critical intervention in problems and issues that are central to modern and contemporary Arab thought, and because his interpretations and readings of modern and classical Arab thought in more than one instance challenge that thought, I will not only summarize some of his ideas but also discuss briefly the main trends that have dominated intellectual discussions in the Arab world during the past few decades

Also contemporary [Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_philosophy) revives some of the trends of [medieval Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_Islamic_philosophy), notably the tension between [Mutazilite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mutazilite) and [Asharite](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Asharite) views of [ethics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethics) in [science](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Science) and [law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law), and the duty of [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) and role of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) in the [sociology of knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociology_of_knowledge) and in forming [ethical codes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethical_code) and [legal codes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Legal_code), especially the [fiqh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fiqh) (or "[jurisprudence](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurisprudence)") and rules of [jihad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jihad) (or "[just war](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Just_war)"). *See* [*list of Islamic terms in Arabic*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_Islamic_terms_in_Arabic) *for a glossary of key terms used in* [*Islam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam)*.*

### 10.2.1 Key figures of modern Islamic philosophy

Key figures representing important trends include:

* [**Fazlur Rahman**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fazlur_Rahman) was professor of Islamic thought at the [University of Chicago](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Chicago) and [McGill University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/McGill_University), and an expert in [Islamic philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_philosophy). Not as widely known as his scholar-activist contemporary [Ismail Raji al-Faruqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismail_Raji_al-Faruqi), he is nonetheless considered an important figure for [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) in the 20th century. He argued that the basis of [Islamic revival](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival) was the return to the intellectual dynamism that was the hallmark of the Islamic scholarly tradition (these ideas are outlined in *Revival and Reform in Islam: A Study of Islamic Fundamentalism* and his magnum opus, *Islam*). He sought to give [philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophy) free rein, and was keen on Muslims appreciating how the modern [nation-state](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nation-state) understood [law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law), as opposed to [ethics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethics); his view being that the [shari'ah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shari%27ah) was a mixture of both [ethics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethics) and [law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Law). He was critical of historical [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) theologies and philosophies for failing to create a [moral](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Moral) and [ethical](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethical) worldview based on the values derived from the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an): 'moral values', unlike [socioeconomic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Socioeconomic) values, 'are not exhausted at any point in history' but require constant interpretation. Rahman was driven to exile from his homeland, [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), where he was part of a committee which sought to interpret [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) for the fledging modern [state](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereign_state). Some of his ideas from English (which he claimed were from the Islamic tradition) were reprinted in [Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urdu) and caused outrage among conservative [Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim) scholars in [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan). These were quickly exploited by opponents of his political paymaster, General [Ayyub Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayyub_Khan), and led to his eventual exile in the [United States](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/United_States).
* [**Muhammad Iqbal**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Iqbal) sought an [Islamic revival](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_revival) based on [social justice](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Social_justice) ideals and emphasized traditional rules, e.g. against [usury](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Usury). He argued strongly that dogma, territorial [nationalism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nationalism) and outright [racism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Racism), all of which were profoundly rejected in early [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) and especially by [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) himself, were splitting Muslims into warring factions, encouraging [materialism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Materialism) and [nihilism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nihilism). His thought was influential in the emergence of a movement for independence of [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), where he was revered as the national poet. Indirectly this strain of Islam also influenced [Malcolm X](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Malcolm_X) and other figures who sought a [global ethic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Towards_a_Global_Ethic:_An_Initial_Declaration) through the [Five Pillars of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Five_Pillars_of_Islam). Iqbal can be credited with at least trying to reconstruct Islamic thought from the base, though some of his philosophical and scientific ideas would appear dated to us now. His basic ideas concentrated on free-will, which would allow Muslims to become active agents in their own history. His interest in [Nietzsche](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nietzsche) (who he called 'the Wise Man of Europe') has led later Muslim scholars to criticise him for advocating dangerous ideals that, according to them, have eventually formed in certain strains of [pan-Islamism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pan-Islamism). Some claim that the [Four Pillars of the Green Party](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Four_Pillars_of_the_Green_Party) honor Iqbal and Islamic traditions.
* [**Muhammad Hamidullah**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Hamidullah) (9 February 1908 - 17 December 2002) belonged to a family of scholars, [jurists](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jurist), [writers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Writer) and [sufis](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufi). He was a world-renowned [scholar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scholar) of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) and [International Law](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Law) from [India](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/India), who was known for contributions to the research of the history of [Hadith](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hadith), translations of the [Qur'an](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Qur%27an), the advancement of [Islamic learning](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Golden_Age), and to the dissemination of Islamic teachings in the [Western world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Western_world).
* [**Muhammad Baqir al-Sadr**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Baqir_al-Sadr) (March 1, 1935 – April 9, 1980) was an Iraqi Shi'a cleric, a philosopher, and ideological founder of Islamic Dawa Party born in al-Kazimiya, Iraq. Mohammad Baqir Al-Sadr's political philosophy, known as Wilayat Al-Umma (Governance of the people), set out his view of a modern day Islamic state. His most famous philosophical works include: Falsafatuna (Our Philosophy) in which he refutes modern philosophical schools and asserts an Islamic view, and Al-Usus al-Mantiqiyyah lil-Istiqra' (The Logical Basis of Induction) in which he develops a theory which allows one to reach certainty through inductive methods.
* [**Morteza Motahhari**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Morteza_Motahhari) was a lecturer at [Tehran University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehran_University). Motahhari is considered important for developing the ideologies of the Islamic Republic. He wrote on exegesis of the Qur'an, philosophy, ethics, sociology, history and many other subjects. In all his writings the real object he had in view was to give replies to the objections raised by others against Islam, to prove the shortcomings of other schools of thought and to manifest the greatness of Islam. He believed that in order to prove the falsity of [Marxism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Marxism) and other ideologies like it, it was necessary not only to comment on them in a scholarly manner but also to present the real image of Islam.
* [**Ali Shariati**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali_Shariati) was a sociologist and a professor of [Mashhad University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mashhad_University). He was one of the most influential figures in the Islamic world in the 20th century. He attempted to explain and provide solutions for the problems faced by Muslim societies through traditional Islamic principles interwoven with and understood from the point of view of modern sociology and philosophy. Shariati was also deeply influenced by [Mowlana](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rumi) and [Muhammad Iqbal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_Iqbal).
* [**Musa al-Sadr**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Musa_al-Sadr) was a prominent Muslim intellectual and one of the most influential Muslim philosophers of 20th century. He is most famous for his political role, but he was also a philosopher who had been trained by [Allameh Tabatabaei](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Allameh_Tabatabaei). As Professor [Seyyed Hossein Nasr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seyyed_Hossein_Nasr) said: "his great political influence and fame was enough for people to not consider his philosophical attitude, although he was a well-trained follower of long living intellectual tradition of Islamic Philosophy". One of his famous writings is a long introduction for the Arabic translation of [Henry Corbin](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Henry_Corbin)'s *History of Islamic Philosophy*.
* [Syed Zafarul Hasan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syed_Zafarul_Hasan) was a prominent twentieth-century Muslim philosopher. From 1924 to 1945 he was professor of philosophy at the Muslim University, Aligarh - where he also served as Chairman of the Department of Philosophy and Dean of the Faculty of Arts. There, in 1939, he put forward the 'Aligarh Scheme'. From 1945 until the partition of the sub-continent, Dr Hasan was Emeritus Professor at Aligarh. Dr. Zafarul Hasan was born on February 14, 1885. He died on June 19, 1949.[[*citation needed*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)]
* [Ismail al-Faruqi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ismail_al-Faruqi) looked more closely at the [ethics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ethics) and [sociology of knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sociology_of_knowledge), concluding that no [scientific method](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scientific_method) or [philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Philosophy) could exist that was wholly ignorant of a *theory of conduct* or the consequences a given path of inquiry and [technology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Technology). His "[Islamization of knowledge](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamization_of_knowledge)" program sought to converge [early Muslim philosophy](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Early_Muslim_philosophy) with modern sciences, resulting in, for example, [Islamic economics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_economics) and [Islamic sociology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_sociology).
* [Seyyed Hossein Nasr](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seyyed_Hossein_Nasr), a [political ecologist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_ecologist), argues that [khalifa](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khalifa) in [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) is fundamentally compatible with ideals of the [ecology movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecology_movement) and [peace movement](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peace_movement), more so than conventional interpretations of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam). He argues for an ecology-based [ecumenism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ecumenism) that would seek unity among the faiths by concentrating on their common respect for life as a Creation, i.e. the [Earth](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earth)'s [biosphere](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Biosphere), [Gaia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gaia_(mythology)), or whatever name. [Pope John Paul II](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pope_John_Paul_II) has made similar suggestions that "mankind must be reconciled to the Creation", and there is a *Parliament of World Religions* seeking a "global ethic" on similar grounds.
* [M. A. Muqtedar Khan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/M._A._Muqtedar_Khan) (1966 - present) is a Professor of Islam and International Relations at the University of Delaware. He is a prominent Muslim intellectual and philosopher and commentator on Islamic Thought and Global Politics. He organized the first contemporary Islamic Philosophers conference at Georgetown University in 1998. His work is on the subject of the philosophy of identity and rationality, Ijtihad, Islam and democracy and Islamic reform.
* [Akbar S. Ahmed](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Akbar_S._Ahmed) is an [anthropologist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthropologist), [filmmaker](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Filmmaker) and an outstanding [scholar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Scholar) on [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam), [International Relations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Relations)/[Politics](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_Politics) and Contemporary Islamic philosophy from [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan). He is [Ibn Khaldun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ibn_Khaldun) [Chair](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chair) of [Islamic Studies](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Studies) at the [American University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_University) in [Washington DC](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Washington_DC) and was the [High Commissioner](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/High_Commissioner) of [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) to [UK](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/UK). He has advised [Prince Charles](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prince_Charles) and met with [President](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President) [George W. Bush](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/George_W._Bush) on Islam. His numerous [books](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Books), [films](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Films) and [documentaries](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Documentaries) have won [awards](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Awards). His books have been translated into many languages including [Chinese](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chinese_language) and [Indonesian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesian_language). Ahmed is “the world’s leading authority on contemporary Islam” according to the BBC.[[*citation needed*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)]
* [**Javed Ahmad Ghamidi**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Javed_Ahmad_Ghamidi) is a well-known [Pakistani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) [Islamic scholar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_scholar), [exegete](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Exegete), and [educator](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Educator). A former member of the [Jamaat-e-Islami](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jamaat-e-Islami), who extended the work of his tutor, [Amin Ahsan Islahi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Amin_Ahsan_Islahi). He is frequently labeled a modernist for his insistence on the historical contextualization of Muhammad's revelation in order to grasp its true moral import.
* [Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam_Feisal_Abdul_Rauf) is a well-known proponent of cultural reconciliation between the [Muslim World](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_World) and the [West](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West), basing his views on Classical Islamic governance's similarity to Western governance models in terms of religious freedoms and democratic inclination. Abdul Rauf is a highly-visible American-Egyptian Imam at New York's [Masjid al-Farah](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Masjid_al-Farah&action=edit&redlink=1) in addition to being Founder and Chairman of [Cordoba Initiative](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cordoba_Initiative), a non-profit organization seeking to bridge the divide between the Muslim world and the West.
* [Mohammad Azadpur](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Mohammad_Azadpur&action=edit&redlink=1) is an associate professor of philosophy at San Francisco State University. He teaches courses on Islamic philosophy, mysticism, and political philosophy. His research focuses on Alfarabi and Avicenna, and he does comparative work between Islamic and Heideggerian thought as well.

## 10.3 Islamistan

**Islamistan** ([Persian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_language), [Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urdu_language), [Arabic](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabic_language): اسلامستان) literally means *Islamland* or *land of Islam*. The term is [Persian](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persian_language), (also used in [Pashto](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pashto_language) and [Urdu](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urdu_language)) and refers to the concept of [*Dar-ul-Islam*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dar_al-Islam).

In [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan) in the early 1980s, anti-Soviet factions came together to try to present a united front for the country. Some of these groups suggested that the name of Afghanistan be changed to *Islamistan*. [[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamistan#cite_note-0)

In 1949 the president of [Muslim League](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_League_(Pakistan)) in [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan) said in a speech that the country would bring all Muslim countries together under *Islamistan*. [[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamistan#cite_note-1)

Daniel Pipes quotes Hafeez Malik of Villanova University who writes that: "Pakistanis have started to speculate that Pakistan's natural habitat includes [Turkey](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turkey), [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran), [Afghanistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Afghanistan), and the [Central Asia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Central_Asia) Republics." Pipes then writes that "Sometimes called *Islamistan*, this region gets counterpoised against the Arabic-speaking south." [[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamistan#cite_note-2)

Some suggest that [Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam) [Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khomeini) in [Iran](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iran) also spoke of a united [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) *Islamistan* with Iran as the capital.[[*citation needed*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Citation_needed)]

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamistan#cite_ref-0) <http://texts.cdlib.org:8088/xtf/view?docId=ft7b69p12h&doc.view=content&chunk.id=ch04&toc.depth=1&anchor.id=0&brand=ucpress>
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamistan#cite_ref-1) <http://www.e-prism.org/images/Hudson_Book_-_Final_Version_with_all_changes_.pdf>
  3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamistan#cite_ref-2) <http://www.danielpipes.org/article/242>

## 10.4 Spread of Islam

*This article is about followers of the Islamic faith. For territories under Muslim rule, see* [*Muslim conquests*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim_conquests)*. For religions conversion to Islam, see* [*Religious conversion*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious_conversion)*.*

*See also:* [*Islamic Missionary Activity*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Missionary_Activity)

The '***Spread of Islam'*** started shortly after the death of the [Islamic prophet](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophets_of_Islam) [Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad) in [632 AD](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/632). During his lifetime, the community of Muhammad, the [*ummah*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ummah), was established in the [Arabian Peninsula](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arabian_Peninsula) by means of conversion to [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) and conquering of territory, and oftentimes the conquered had to either accept Islam or pay tax ([jizyah](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jizyah)) for protection if they chose to not convert. Among others, the tax permitted the non-Muslim citizens to practice their faith, and ensure protection from outside aggressors. In the first centuries [conversion to Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Conversion_to_Islam) followed the rapid growth of the [Islamic world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_world) under the [Rashidun](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rashidun_Empire) and [Umayyad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyad) [Caliphs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caliphs).

Muslim dynasties were soon established and subsequent empires such as those of the [Abbasids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abbasids), [Fatimids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fatimids), [Almoravids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Almoravids), [Seljuk Turks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Seljukids), [Mughals](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mughal_Empire) in India and [Safavids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Safavid) in [Persia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persia) and [Ottomans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_empire) were among the largest and most powerful in the world. The Islamic world was composed of numerous sophisticated centers of culture and science with far-reaching mercantile networks, travelers, scientists, hunters, mathematicians, doctors and [philosophers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_philosophy), all of whom contributed to the [Golden Age of Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Golden_Age_of_Islam).

The activities of this quasi-political early ummah resulted in the spread of Islam as far from [Mecca](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mecca) as [Senegal](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Senegal), [China](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/China) and [Indonesia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Indonesia), the latter containing the world's largest Muslim population. As of October 2009, there were 1.571 billion Muslims,[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spread_of_Islam#cite_note-0) making Islam the [second-largest religion in the world](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Major_religious_groups).[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spread_of_Islam#cite_note-1)

### 10.4.1 Immigration

Since the 1960s, many Muslims have migrated to Western Europe. They have come as immigrants, [guest workers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Guest_workers), asylum seekers or as part of [family reunification](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Family_reunification). As a result [Muslim population in Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslims_in_Europe) has steadily risen.

The writer [Bat Ye'or](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bat_Ye%27or) stated in her book "[Eurabia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Eurabia)" that Muslims may become a majority within a few generations due to continued [immigration](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration) and high [birth rates](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Birth_rates). This theory has been criticized, however. Many suggest the claims are built on unreliable claims and that fertility rates of Muslims will eventually decrease and that immigration to European nations could be limited.

*See also:* [*European Muslim population projection*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_Europe#Projections)

A [Pew Forum](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pew_Forum) study, published in January 2011, forecast an increase of proportion of Muslims in European population from 6% in 2010 to 8% in 2030.[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spread_of_Islam#cite_note-49)

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spread_of_Islam#cite_ref-0) <http://pewforum.org/uploadedfiles/Topics/Demographics/Muslimpopulation.pdf> pp.4
  2. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spread_of_Islam#cite_ref-1) ["Major Religions of the World—Ranked by Number of Adherents"](http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html#Islam). <http://www.adherents.com/Religions_By_Adherents.html#Islam>. Retrieved 2007-07-03.
  3. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spread_of_Islam#cite_ref-49) [Pewforum.org](http://www.pewforum.org/The-Future-of-the-Global-Muslim-Population.aspx?print=true)

## 10.5 A Common Word Between Us and You

**A Common Word between Us and You** is an [open letter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open_letter), dated 13 October 2007, from leaders of the Muslim faith to leaders of the Christian faith. It calls for peace between Muslims and Christians and tries to work for common ground and understanding among both faiths, in line with the Qur'anic commandment to "Say: "O People of the Scripture! come to a common word as between us and you: that we worship none but God" and the Biblical commandment to love God, and one’s neighbour. In the short time since its release, “A Common Word” has become the world’s leading interfaith dialogue initiative between Christians and Muslims. It is unprecedented in its scope and success in both the Christian and the Muslim world. The success of the initiative was acknowledged in its being awarded the “Eugen Biser Award” in 2008. That year saw “A Common Word” also receive the “Building Bridges Award” from the UK’s Association of Muslim Social Scientists.

## 10.6 Persecution of Muslims

**Persecution of Muslims** is the religious persecution of Muslims as a consequence of professing their faith, both historically and in the current era. This refers to the [religious persecution](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religious_persecution) inflicted upon [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim). Persecution may refer to beating, torture, confiscation or destruction of property. Persecution can extend beyond those who perceive themselves as Muslims to include those who are perceived by others as Muslims, or to Muslims which are considered non-Muslim by other Muslims.

### 10.6.1 United Kingdom

See also: [*Islam in the United Kingdom*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_the_United_Kingdom)

In January 2010, a report from the [University of Exeter](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/University_of_Exeter)'s European Muslim research centre noted that the number of anti-Muslim [hate crimes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hate_crime) has increased, ranging from "death threats and murder to persistent low-level assaults, such as spitting and name-calling," for which the media and politicians have been blamed with fueling anti-Muslim hatred. The Islamophobic incidents it described include: "Neil Lewington, a violent extremist nationalist convicted in July 2009 of a bomb plot; Terence Gavan, a violent extremist nationalist convicted in January 2010 of manufacturing nail bombs and other explosives, firearms and weapons; a gang attack in November 2009 on Muslim students at [City University](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/City_University_London); the murder in September 2009 of Muslim pensioner, Ikram Syed ul-Haq; a serious assault in August 2007 on the [Imam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Imam) at [London Central Mosque](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/London_Central_Mosque); and an arson attack in June 2009 on Greenwich Islamic Centre."[[145]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-144)[[146]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-145) Other Islamophobic incidents mentioned in the report include "Yasir, a young Moroccan," being "nearly killed while waiting to take a bus from [Willesden](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Willesden) to [Regent's Park](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Regent%27s_Park) in London" and "left in a coma for three months"; "Mohammed Kohelee," a "caretaker who suffered burns to his body while trying to prevent an arson attack against Greenwich Mosque"; "the murder" of "[Tooting](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tooting) pensioner Ekram Haque" who "was brutally beaten to death in front of his three year old granddaughter" by a "race-hate" gang; and police officers being injured "during an [English Defence League](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/English_Defence_League) (EDL) march in [Stoke](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stoke-on-Trent)".[[147]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-146)

### 10.6.2 United States

See also: [*Islam in the United States*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_the_United_States)

In the [aftermath of 9/11](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Aftermath_of_9/11), [hate crimes](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hate_crime) against people of Middle-Eastern descent increased from 354 attacks in 2000 to 1,501 attacks in 2001.[[157]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Oswald-156) Among the victims of the backlash was a Middle-Eastern man in [Houston](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Houston), [Texas](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Texas) who was shot and wounded after an assailant accused him of "blowing up the country"[[158]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-aaiusa-157) and four immigrants shot and killed by a man named Larme Price who confessed to killing them as "revenge" for the [September 11 attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11_attacks).[[159]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-158) Although Price described his victims as Arabs, only one was from an Arab country. This appears to be a trend; on account of [stereotypes of Arabs](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Stereotypes_of_Arabs_and_Muslims), several non-Arab, non-Muslim groups were subjected to attacks in the wake of 9/11, including several [Sikh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sikh) men attacked for wearing their religiously mandated [turban](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Turban).[[160]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-159) According to a report prepared by the [Arab American Institute](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_American_Institute), three days after the [Oklahoma City bombing](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Oklahoma_City_bombing) (which was committed by a Caucasian man), "more than 200 serious hate crimes were committed against [Arab Americans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Arab_American) and [American Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/American_Muslim). The same was true in the days following September 11."[[158]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-aaiusa-157)

The Dove World Outreach Centre church in Gainesville, Florida planned to burn [Qurans](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Quran) on the ninth anniversary of the [9/11](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/9/11) attacks. Despite warning from the military leadership in the [Afghan War](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/War_in_Afghanistan_(2001%E2%80%93present)), Terry Jones, the pastor of the centre, said it would be "tragic" if anybody's life was lost as a result of the planned Quran burning, but that "I must say that we feel that we must sooner or later stand up to Islam, and if we don't, it's not going to go away." His church's website claims to "expose Islam" as a "violent and oppressive religion;" it also displays a sign reading "Islam of the Devil."[[161]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-160) On January 24, 2011, Dearborn Police arrested and jailed on a terrorism charge 63-year old Army veteran from California, Roger Stockham, for allegedly attempting to [blow up](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/2011_Dearborn_mosque_bombing_plot) the [Islamic Center of America](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamic_Center_of_America), the largest mosque in Detroit. Police said that Stockham "had a long history of being angry with the United States government" and was already known to law enforcement officials in other parts of the country and that he drove from California and came to Dearborn because of its large Muslim population. The police received early warnings of the attack from an employee at a Detroit bar who overheard threats made by Stockham.[[162]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-161)

### 10.6.3 Israel

See also: [*Islam in Israel and the Palestinian territories*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_Israel_and_the_Palestinian_territories)

In May 2010, a mosque in the [West Bank](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/West_Bank) was destroyed in an arson attack.[[163]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-autogenerated3-162) In previous months, other mosques had been attacked; some were vandalised with [Hebrew](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hebrew_language) graffiti and other mosques have been destroyed or damaged by arson in the past.[[163]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-autogenerated3-162) In June 2010, there were further acts of vandalism against mosques by Israelis. In northern Israel the walls of mosques were spray painted with the [Star of David](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Star_of_David) as well as messages such as "There will be war over Judea and Samaria" and "This structure is marked for demolition".[[164]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-163)

### 10.6.4 Persecution of minority/sectarian Muslim groups by other Muslim groups

*See also:* [*Takfir*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takfir)*,* [*Ahmadiyya*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya)*,* [*Shia*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia)*,* [*Kharijite*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kharijite)*,* [*Mu'tazili*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mu%27tazili)*,* [*Alawites*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alawites)*, and* [*Druze*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Druze)

#### 10.6.4.1 Sunni-Shi'a conflicts and persecutions

Main articles: [*Persecution of Shia Muslims*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Shia_Muslims) and [*Shi'a–Sunni relations*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shi%27a%E2%80%93Sunni_relations)

At various times many Shi'a groups have faced persecution. All of the [Twelve Imams](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Twelve_Imams) of [Shia Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia_Islam) have been martyred and their followers persecuted by either [Kharijites](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kharijites), the [Umayyads](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Umayyads), or [Abassids](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Abassids). In 1513, [Ottoman](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ottoman_Empire) Sultan [Selim I](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Selim_I) ("The Grim") ordered the massacre of 40,000 [Shia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shia) Muslim "heretics" in Anatolia during the Safavid-Ottoman struggles.[[169]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-168)[[170]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-169)

While the dominant strand in modern Sunni dogma regards Shiism as a valid madhhab, following [Al Azhar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al_Azhar), some Sunnis both now and in the past have regarded it as beyond the pale, and have attacked its adherents. In modern times, notable examples include the bombing campaigns by the Sunni [Sipah-e-Sahaba](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sipah-e-Sahaba) and the Shia [Tehrik-e-Jafria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tehrik-e-Jafria), two small extremist groups, against Shia or Sunni mosques in [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan),[[171]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-170) the persecution of [Hazara](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hazara_people) under the [Taliban](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Taliban),[[172]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-171) and the bloody attacks linked with [Zarqawi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zarqawi) and his followers against Shia in Iraq.[[173]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-172)

Some of the worst Shia-Sunni sectarian strife has occurred after the [American invasion of Iraq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Iraq_War), steadily building up to present.[[174]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Civil_War-173) According to one estimate, as of early 2008, 1,121 Muslim suicide bombers have blown themselves up in Iraq.[[175]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-174) Sunni [suicide bombers](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Suicide_attack) have targeted not only thousands of civilians,[[176]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-175) but [mosques](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Al-Askari_Mosque_bombing), shrines,[[177]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-176) wedding and funeral processions,[[178]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-177) markets, hospitals, offices, and streets.[[179]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-178) On the Shia side, in early February 2006 militia-dominated government death squads were reportedly "tortur[ing] to death or summarily" executing "hundreds" of Sunnis "every month in Baghdad alone," many arrested at random.[[180]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-179)[[181]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-180)[[182]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-181)

The Saudi Arabian government has been viewed as repressive against Shias living in Saudi Arabia, mainly because it encourages the [Salafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salafi) faith, which denounces Shia Islam as heretical. Shias are mainly persecuted due to the belief that they are Iranian "puppets" and traitors. In several Saudi Arabian cities, Shia [azans](http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Azans&action=edit&redlink=1) and [Ashura](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Day_of_Ashura) demonstrations are banned.

#### 10.6.4.2 Infighting Between Sunni Madhabs

Yaqub Beg's Uyghur forces declared a Jihad against [Chinese Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hui_people) under T'o Ming during the [Dungan revolt](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dungan_revolt_(1862%E2%80%931877)). The Uyghurs thought that the Chinese Muslims were [Shafi`i](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Shafi%60i), and since the Uyghurs were [Hanafi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hanafi) that they should wage war against them. Yaqub Beg enlisted non Muslim Han Chinese militia under Hsu Hsuehkung in order to fight against the Chinese Muslims. T'o Ming's forces were defeated by Yaqub, who planned to conquer Dzungharia. Yaqub intended to seize all Dungan territory.[[183]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-182)[[184]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-183)

#### 10.6.4.3 Persecution of Ahmadis

Main article: [Persecution of Ahmadiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Ahmadiyya)

The [Ahmadiyya](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ahmadiyya) regard themselves as Muslims, but are seen by many other Muslims as non-Muslims and "heretics" since they do not believe in the finality of prophet-hood since the death of Prophet Mohammed. Armed groups, led by the umbrella organization [Khatme Nabuwat](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Khatme_Nabuwat) ("Finality of Prophethood"), have launched violent attacks against their mosques in [Bangladesh](http://hrw.org/reports/2005/bangladesh0605/).

They committed massacres against them which resulted in 2,000 Ahmadiyya deaths in Pakistani Punjab. Eventually, martial law had to be established and Governor general Ghulam Mohamed dismissed the federal cabinet. This anti-Ahmadiyya movement led Pakistani prime minister Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto to declare that the Ahmadiyyas were "non-Muslims".[[185]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-loc-184)[[186]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-185)

In 1984, the Government of [Pakistan](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pakistan), under General [Zia-ul-Haq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zia-ul-Haq), passed [Ordinance XX](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ordinance_XX),[[187]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-186) which banned proselytizing by Ahmadis and also banned Ahmadis from referring to themselves as [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim). According to this ordinance, any Ahmadi who refers to oneself as a Muslim by words, either spoken or written, or by visible representation, directly or indirectly, or makes the call for prayer as other Muslims do, is punishable by imprisonment of up to 3 years. Because of these difficulties, [Mirza Tahir Ahmad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mirza_Tahir_Ahmad) migrated to London, UK.

#### 10.6.4.4 Alawites

The [Alawites](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Alawites) are a secretive group that believe in the divine nature of [Ali](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ali), the cousin of the [Prophet Muhammad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prophet_Muhammad). They have been persecuted in the past and survive in the remote and more mountainous parts of [Syria](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Syria). The ruling [Ba'ath](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ba%27ath) party is dominated by Alawis ([President](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/President_of_Syria) [Bashar al-Assad](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Bashar_al-Assad) is Alawi himself) and they have sought fatwas from Shiite clergy in [Lebanon](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Lebanon) declaring that they are, in fact, Muslims.[[188]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-187)

#### 10.6.4.5 Persecution by Takfiris

Certain small groups - the [Kharijites](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kharijite) of early medieval times, and [Takfir wal Hijra](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takfir_wal_Hijra)- follow [*takfirist*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Takfir) doctrines, regarding almost all other Muslims as infidels whose blood may legitimately be shed.[[189]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-188)[[190]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-189)

#### 10.6.4.6 Persecution by Ajlaf and Arzal Muslims in South Asia

Main article: [*Caste system among South Asian Muslims*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Caste_system_among_South_Asian_Muslims)

Despite [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam)'s egalitarian tenets, units of social stratification, termed as "castes" by many, have developed among Muslims in some parts of South Asia.[[191]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Britannica-190)[[192]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-EoI-191) Various theories have been put forward regarding the development of castes among Indian Muslims. Majority of sources state that the castes among Muslims developed as the result of close contact with Hindu culture and Hindu converts to Islam,[[191]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Britannica-190)[[192]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-EoI-191)[[193]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-192)[[194]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Sikand-193) while few others feel that these developed based on claims of descent from the prophet Mohammed.[[195]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Alvi-194)[[196]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Imtiaz-195)

Sections of the ulema (scholars of Islamic jurisprudence) have declared the religious legitimacy of the caste system with the help of the concept of kafa'a. A classic example of scholarly literature supporting the Muslim caste system is the Fatawa-i Jahandari, written by the 14th century Turkish scholar, Ziauddin Barani, a member of the court of [Muhammad bin Tughlaq](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muhammad_bin_Tughlaq), of the Tughlaq dynasty of the Delhi Sultanate. Barani was known for his intensely casteist views, and he regarded the Ashraf Muslims as racially superior to the Ajlaf Muslims. He divided the Muslims into grades and sub-grades. In his scheme, all high positions and privileges were to be a monopoly of the high born Turks, not the Indian Muslims. Even in his interpretation of the Koranic verse "Indeed, the pious amongst you are most honored by Allah", he considered piety to be associated with noble birth.[[195]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Alvi-194) Barrani was specific in his recommendation that the "sons of Mohamed" [i.e. Ashrafs] "be given a higher social status than the low-born [i.e. Ajlaf].[[197]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Das-196) His most significant contribution in the fatwa was his analysis of the castes with respect to Islam.[[198]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Das2-197) His assertion was that castes would be mandated through state laws or "Zawabi" which would carry precedence over [Sharia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sharia) law whenever they were in conflict.[[198]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Das2-197) In the Fatwa-i-Jahandari (advice XXI), he wrote about the "qualities of the high-born" as being "virtuous" and the "low-born" as being the "custodians of vices". Every act which is "contaminated with meanness and based on ignominy, comes elegantly [from the Ajlaf]".[[199]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-198) Barani had a clear disdain for the Ajlaf and strongly recommended that they be denied education, lest they usurp the Ashraf masters. He sought appropriate religious sanction to that effect.[[194]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Sikand-193) Barrani also developed an elaborate system of promotion and demotion of Imperial officers ("Wazirs") that was conducted primarily on the basis of caste.[[200]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-199)

In addition to the Ashraf/Ajlaf divide, there is also the Arzal caste among Muslims, whose members were regarded by anti-Caste activists like Babasaheb [Ambedkar](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B._R._Ambedkar) as the equivalent of untouchables.[[201]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Ambedkar-200)[[202]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Ambedkaronline-201) The term "Arzal" stands for "degraded" and the Arzal castes are further subdivided into Bhanar, Halalkhor, Hijra, Kasbi, Lalbegi, Maugta, Mehtar etc.[[201]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Ambedkar-200)[[202]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-Ambedkaronline-201) The Arzal group was recorded in the 1901 census in India and its members are also called [Dalit](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dalit) Muslims “with whom no other Muhammadan would associate, and who are forbidden to enter the mosque or to use the public burial ground”.They are relegated to "menial" professions such as scavenging and carrying [night soil](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Night_soil).[[203]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-202)

#### 10.6.4.7Persecution of Salafis/Wahhabis by Other Muslims

The [Kuomintang](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuomintang) [Sufi](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sufi) [Chinese Muslim](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hui_people) General [Ma Bufang](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ma_Bufang), who backed the [Yihewani](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Yihewani) (Ikhwan) Muslims, persecuted the Salafi/Wahhabis. The Yihewani forced the Salafis into hiding. They were not allowed to move or worship openly. The Yihewani had become secular and Chinese nationalist, and they considered the Salafiyya to be "Heterodox" (xie jiao), and people who followed foreigner's teachings (waidao). Only after the Communists took over were the Salafis allowed to come out and worship openly.[[204]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_note-203)

* 1. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-0) <http://www.themuslimweekly.com/fullstoryview.aspx?NewsID=40336F9421B392F034112220&MENUID=KID&DESCRIPTION=Kids>[[*dead link*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Link_rot)], *Themuslimweekly.com*, Retrieved 24 May 2007
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  7. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-148) [More Racism in Russia](http://tchetchenieparis.free.fr/text/ru-racism-13-6-02.htm)
  8. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-149) [[6]](http://www.iwpr.net/index.pl?archive/rca/rca_200205_118_5_eng.txt)[[*dead link*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Link_rot)]
  9. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-150) [Mosnews.com](http://www.mosnews.com/news/2004/10/15/uzbek.shtml)[[*dead link*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Wikipedia:Link_rot)]
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  57. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-198) Ibid p143
  58. [**^**](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-199) Das pgs 138-139
  59. ^ [***a***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-Ambedkar_200-0) [***b***](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Persecution_of_Muslims#cite_ref-Ambedkar_200-1) [Ambedkar, Bhimrao](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/B.R._Ambedkar). *Pakistan or the Partition of India*. Thackers Publishers.
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## 10.7 Islamophobia

**Islamophobia** describes [prejudice](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Prejudice) against, hatred or irrational fear of [Islam](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam) or [Muslims](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Muslim)[[1]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-0)[[2]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-1) The term dates back to the late 1980s or early 1990s,[[3]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-2) but came into common usage after the [September 11, 2001 attacks](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/September_11,_2001_attacks) in the United States.[[4]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-3)

In 1997, the British [Runnymede Trust](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Runnymede_Trust) defined Islamophobia as the "dread or hatred of Islam and therefore, to the fear and dislike of all Muslims," stating that it also refers to the practice of [discriminating](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Discrimination) against Muslims by excluding them from the economic, social, and public life of the nation. It includes the perception that Islam has no values in common with other cultures, is inferior to the West and is a violent [political ideology](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Political_ideology) rather than a [religion](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Religion).[[5]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-Runnymede5-4) Professor Anne Sophie Roald writes that steps were taken toward official acceptance of the term in January 2001 at the "Stockholm International Forum on Combating Intolerance", where Islamophobia was recognized as a form of intolerance alongside [Xenophobia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xenophobia) and [Antisemitism](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Antisemitism).[[6]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-5)

A perceived trend of increasing Islamophobia during the 2000s has been attributed by some commentators to the September 11 attacks,[[7]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-6) while others associate it with the rapidly growing Muslim populations in the Western world, especially in [Western Europe](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islam_in_Western_Europe), due to both [immigration](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Immigration_to_Europe) and high [fertility rate](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fertility_rate).[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-Vertovec-7) In May 2002, the [European Monitoring Centre on Racism and Xenophobia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Monitoring_Centre_on_Racism_and_Xenophobia) (EUMC), a [European Union](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/European_Union) watchdog, released a report entitled "Summary report on Islamophobia in the EU after 11 September 2001", which described an increase in Islamophobia-related incidents in European member states post-9/11.[[9]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-8) Although the term is widely recognized and used, both the term and the concept have been criticized.

### 10.7.1 Trends

Islamophobia has become a topic of increasing sociological and political importance.[[53]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-Brown-p163-52) According to Benn and Jawad, Islamophobia has increased since [Ayatollah Khomeini](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ayatollah_Khomeini)'s denouncement of [Salman Rushdie](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Salman_Rushdie)'s "[*The Satanic Verses*](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Satanic_Verses)" and the September 11 attacks.[[59]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-58) [Anthropologist](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anthropologist) Steven Vertovec writes that the purported growth in Islamophobia may be associated with increased Muslim presence in society and successes.[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-Vertovec-7) He suggests a [circular model](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vicious_circle), where increased hostility towards Islam and Muslims results in governmental countermeasures such as institutional guidelines and changes to legislation, which itself may fuel further Islamophobia due to increased accommodation for Muslims in public life. Vertovec concludes: "As the public sphere shifts to provide a more prominent place for Muslims, Islamophobic tendencies may amplify."[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-Vertovec-7)

[](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Ground_Zero_Marine_Protest_Muslim_Bomb.jpg)

A mannequin symbolizing a Muslim in a [keffiyeh](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Keffiyeh), strapped to a "Made in the USA" bomb display at a protest of [Park51](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Park51) in [New York City](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/New_York_City).

Patel, Humphries, and Naik claim that "Islamophobia has always been present in Western countries and cultures. In the last two decades, it has become accentuated, explicit and extreme."[[60]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-59) However, Vertovec states that some have observed that Islamophobia has not necessarily escalated in the past decades, but that there has been increased public scrutiny of it.[[8]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-Vertovec-7) According to Abduljalil Sajid, one of the members of the Runnymede Trust's Commission on British Muslims and Islamophobia, "Islamophobias" have existed in varying strains throughout history, with each version possessing its own distinct features as well as similarities or adaptations from others.[[61]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-60) An observatory report on Islamophobia by the [Organisation of the Islamic Conference](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Organisation_of_Islamic_Cooperation) similarly states that Islamophobia has existed for as long as Islam itself.[[62]](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Islamophobia#cite_note-61)

### 10.7.2 Further reading

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