UNDERSTANDING ISLAMIC POLITICAL THOUGHT: THE CASE OF AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI, ABDUL A'LA MAWDUDI AND SAYYID QUTB

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the Degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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INDIA
2011

Date: 30|06|11

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation titled "**Understanding Islamic Political Thought: The Case of Ayatollah Khomeini, Abdul A'la Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutb**" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of **MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that the dissertation may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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Dedicated to Apa Hussain, Ama Marzia

and

Acheley Konchok Angmo...

Acknowledgements

CONTENTS

Chapter One

Introduction

This thesis will seek to understand the political thought of Ayatollah Khomeini, Abdul A'la Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutb. While there are various biographies and analyses of each of them, there is no work comparing their political thoughts. Occasional works have compared some of the concepts found in their thought, but no one has compared their thought in their entirety. This study will also seek to draw out the differences and similarities between various strands of fundamentalist Islam by comparing their ideologies.

The Islamic revolution of Iran established the validity of religion as a defining force in politics in the modern world. The event led to the establishment of a state with its characteristics defined by religion. The event, with its locus in Iran, left a lasting impact not only on the course of politics in the region but through the entire world. The threat of an Islamic state defying the logics of modern world with modern nation states became real for many in the West. The event was the harbinger of a new era in international politics. An image of Islam and the Muslim world returning to medieval ages, with an Islamic state posing a threat to the West gained currency (Piscatori 1987: 230).

The end of cold war, considered to be a major landmark in world politics, saw Fukuyama, declaring the celebrated 'end of history', establishing an end to ideological battles with the victory of liberal democracy. The declaration was responded by an equally loud assertion of the beginning of a new 'clash' among 'civilizations' by Samuel Huntington. He inspired a generation of scholarship with a firm faith in presence of an (essentialized) Islam, inherently opposed to everything that the West stood for. The theory of the clash replaced the former Communists with the "Muslims" on the other side of the civilizational fault line in clash with the West. The theory, which based itself on the assumption of an "Islam" with a tradition of violence and tyranny, left a lasting impression subsequently, on both scholarly and popular imagination. The round of discussion, which unleashed itself with the idea of 'clash' resulting from cultural differences, demonized Islam in its entirety. This, as Mamdani has argued, led to 'culture talk', with the assumption that culture offers the

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explanation of political behaviour. This approach led to a cultural explanation of Muslim hatred of the West and other political outcomes, thus avoiding consideration, either of other issues, or of history (Mamdani 2002: 776). The 'History', therefore was not allowed to end itself. The ideology of Islam, often described as Islamism or Islamic fundamentalism was portrayed as the main force challenging the liberal ethos.

The events of September 11, 2001 proved to be moment which defined the representation of Islam in West. The epoch making event of 9/11 and the series of other incidents linked to Islamist militancy that followed, made it urgent for both the media and the academia to offer an understanding of Islam and the phenomena of terrorism. These incidences conditioned the Western representation of Islam in media and popular imagination, in ways that subscribed to the prophecy of civilizational clash. The events led to a flood of literature, desperately seeking to offer a quick analysis of Islam and offering solutions to the problem. Bernard Lewis (2003) reproduced the echo of Huntington, setting a new round of what can be called in Mamdani's terminology as 'culture talk'. Lewis argued about the presence of militaristic Jihad throughout the Islamic history. He also pointed towards the predominance of rejectionist logic among Muslims towards modernity. The tradition of Islam again became responsible for all kinds of terrorist activities including suicide bombing. The views of Lewis in particular are considered to provide the basis for range of conservative and neoconservative writings on Islam and Muslims (Kundnani 2008: 42). Such an understanding of Islam covertly reduces the whole of Islam to the ideology of the Islamists. That is, the religion as a whole becomes the source of an ideology that foments antagonism towards West and pushes for confrontation with it.

Gilles Kepel (2004) in his assessment of the doctrinal motivation of the Al-Qaeda, provides a nuanced understanding, when he shifts the focus from the general (Islam) to the particular (Wahhabism). He considers Ayman al-Zawahiri as the main ideologue (expressing his views in the form of pamphlets and speeches), with followers located throughout the world. Kepel's assessment considers the phenomenon of Al-Qaeda to be an outcome of Saudi Wahhabism, which was exposed to Islamists through a consensus between Saudia Arabia and the USA. His approach however, does not delve deeper either into the developments that have taken place in the Muslim world throughout the 20th century, or the entire project of Modern Islamic political thought. The project saw diverse kinds of contributions ranging from Jamal

al-Din Afghani to Ayatollah Khomeini. The approach also undermines the watershed effects of colonially mediated modernity experienced by the Muslim world.

The twentieth century witnessed the encounter of the Muslim world with the West in several forms. Muslims experienced both direct political domination and the domination of Western political ideas. Arjomand discusses two major changes in the political arena of the Muslim world. They were the impingement of rule of law and political culture of nation-states, and recently in last quarter of 20th century, especially since 1989, a new global wave of constitutionalism (Arjomand2004: 10). The forces of modernity, which were mediated by external powers, posed a major challenge to the existing traditional structures of social and political organizations. Many of these structures were informed with practices which were related to Islam.

The experience was not smooth, as it brought about major ferment within the community. The encounter of the Muslim world with the West in form of colonialism, imperialism and modernity has produced a diversity of responses. Different kinds of responses emerged within the Muslim world, which sought divergent objectives. These included variously, an accommodation of the West that called for a Western style of modernization, neutrality or a quietest position, and a complete rejection of the Western values. The last strand is described in the academic literature using several terms like Muslim fundamentalism, Islamism, fundamentalist Islam and Islamic radicalism. Shepard, in his contribution, describes the rejection of terms like democracy, the implementation of Sharia, the stress on authenticity of Islam, and the acceptance of Ijtihad as some of the basic attributes of radical Islamism (1987: 314-317).

The Islamism which resulted from the encounter with the West is also anti-imperialist and neo-colonialist. This rejection of the West and colonialism, and the adoption of Islamism, was driven in many cases not by concern about the religion of Islam, but because of the Islamists hostility towards Western dominance (Keddie 1994: 486). Similarly, Roy sees the Islamist movements as comprising of two tendencies; of a call for the complete observation of Sharia, and that of anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism (1999: 4).

These movements are motivated not by religion but rather by a political ideology. This is the outcome of the response of modern Islamic political thought to the Muslim encounter with modernity. Just as the experience of modernity was not uniform throughout the modern world, the response to it was also not uniform. The encounter with Western ideologies produced two broad strands of response. On one hand were those who purported the adaptation of Sharia to modern institutions and norms and are called modernists. On the other hand were those who rejected such an adaptation of Sharia. This category is referred to as Islamist, Islamic fundamentalist and militant Islam.

The use of these categories also has a generalizing impulse on the literature, with all diverse groups and thinkers who subscribe to a broad consensus on the need to observe Sharia, being treated as similar in their entire characteristics. The phenomenon of Islamism is not uniform. It reflects diversity in its forms and differences in the way they evolved (Fuller 2002: 49). Here the very term of 'Islamism', which is used with a relative consensus in academic literature, tends to homogenize the discourse, thus ignoring important differences between the diverse strands of Islamism.

As discussed earlier, Islamism came to pose a major challenge to the West. The phenomena generated dual concerns, of the rise of an Islamic state defying the logics of international system, and that of militant terrorism. With the events of 9/11, the latter was seen to have globalized its scope. Islamic fundamentalism emerged as a major concern for security in several countries. Islamists have even been successful in achieving power through the ballot box. It has become important for states to engage with different strands of Islamist groups. For the same reasons, it has become important for both the academic community and policy makers to understand the nature of these actors.

Accounting for the multiplicity of actors, operating in the name of Islam, requires a deep understanding of the ideology of Islamism and its variants. It necessitates an engagement with the key thinkers who contributed in the making of the ideology of Islamism. Ayatollah Khomeini, Abdul A'la Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutb, through their ideas and dissemination, played very important roles in laying the foundations of present day fundamentalist Islam. Mawdudi provided the basic breakthrough in the

construction of a coherent Islamic political ideology, and made a strong case for the establishment of an Islamic government, later Khomeini gave a heavy clerical twist to Mawdudi's ideology (Arjomand 1989: 111-112). Sayyid Qutb is important as he is considered to be the most important Jihadi theorist of militant Islam.

Abdul A'la Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb and Ayatollah Khomeini laid the theoretical basis for various Islamist movements. These three thinkers left a lasting impression on subsequent political movements that took place in the name of Islam or that politicized Islam. They all shared a notion that only an Islamic government can be relied upon to implement the Sharia. They all treated Sharia as divine will, which is sacrosanct. All these three thinkers supported Islamic government or the sovereignty of Allah, and the observation of divine laws in some form or the other. However, despite some similarity in basic concerns, they differed in their methods, and above all, in the nature of the state and on the role of the individual and clergy. Black holds that, all three also believed in the legitimacy of violence under certain conditions, but differed in their judgment as to when those circumstances exist (2001: 337).

Sayyid Qutb is considered to be the most influential Jihadi theorist. Jahiliya is the cornerstone on which Qutb's most radical thinking rests. Qutb identified the present state in which Muslims exist as 'Jahiliya' (ignorance), a condition characterized by the absence of Allah's sovereignty. Qutb's most important work *Milestones* is considered to have influenced many terrorist organizations. In *Milestones*, Qutb calls for freedom at four different levels –from Jahili society (Western styled society), Jahili concepts (as democracy), Jahili traditions and Jahili leaders. He attributes all the evils of present Islamic society to the presence of Jahiliya in various forms. Qutb considers the realization of God's plan for mankind, that is establishment of divine sovereignty, as the most important goal that Muslims should strive for (Bergsen 2008 : 21).

In South Asia political Islam evolved around Abdul A'la Mawdudi's ideology. Mawdudi was the first Islamist thinker to reject the modernist program of Al-Afghani and others, which sought to adapt Sharia to the modern world (Black 2001: 320). Mawdudi viewed Islam as holistic as the political ideologies which prospered in the West. Mawdudi had a comprehensive perception of Sharia, with no scope for its selective implementation (Moten 1984: 221). Mawdudi pioneered the idea of an

Islamic state. His conception came largely in response to the two different nationalisms which were propounded by the Muslim League and by the Congress. He was against the idea of nationalism, which he considered to be opposed to the notion of Islamic universalism. His concept of Islamic state is based on the sovereignty of God. His thought later influenced Sayyid Qutb as well. Jamaat-e-islami, the most important Islamist political organization of South Asia, embodies Mawdudi's ideological vision.

Ayatollah Khomeini is the first Islamic thinker who put into practice his idea of an Islamic government. He is the most important figure of Shia political revival. Khomeini is largely responsible for transforming the movements of Ithna 'Asharia Shia' Islam into a militant and popular revolutionary doctrine (Abbot 1995: 265). Khomeini politicized the role of the mosque and clergy in the Iranian polity during the course of revolution in Iran. He was in favor of 'hukumat-e-Islami', which literally means an Islamic government. Through the concept of 'vilayat-e-faqih' or 'the guardianship of the jurist', Khomeini's played a seminal role in legitimizing the notion of the temporal state for the Shia clergy, who had otherwise traditionally rejected it until the reappearance of the hidden Imam[1].

As we have seen earlier, the engagement with Islam and Islamism in the world of academia has been one motivated by urgency to offer quick analysis, which led to oversimplification and crude generalizations. The trend reproduces itself in most of the engagements on political Islam. The scholarship on the modern Islamic political thought, and particularly on the thoughts of Ayatollah Khomeini, Abul Ala' Mawdudi and Sayyid Qutb reflects such tendencies. At the same time, there are other problems involved in engagement with the political thoughts of these thinkers. There are bulks of writings which engage with some aspect of thought of these thinkers, though there are no neat categorizations of these works. For the sake of understanding, the literature on the topic have been broadly divided in four groups- general writings engaging with the thoughts of these thinkers in their quest for answers to larger problems related with Islam, works which argue in favor of the novelty of the

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[1]As per, Shia belief of 'Imamate' (leadership), only Ali and his descendants who make up the twelve Imams of the Shias, are the legitimate rulers of the community after Prophet Muhammad. Only Ali, got the chance to rule the community, while others claimed the right to rule and had regular struggle for it. In around 940 A.D, the last of the twelve Imams, which is Mahdi was declared to remain in occulation until the day of judgment.

doctrines of Islamism, bibliographical and biographical accounts and finally works engaging with the philosophy of these thinkers.

The first strand in this literature (Lewis 2003, Mandaville 2007, Farmer 2007) engages with the thoughts of these thinkers in the process of their engagement with the larger problem related to Islamism. Lewis (2003) is driven by the quest for explaining the reason of Muslim anger against America. He considers Muslim concern about the freedom associated with Western democracy as the reason behind their antagonism towards the West. The same prism is used to engage with Qutb who is described as the key ideologue of Muslim fundamentalism and Khomeini who is identified with the key motivator for war against America. Similarly, Farmer (2007) is motivated by the search for the cause of terrorist violence like suicide bomb. He narrows down to ideology as the answer to his quest. The work based on readings of secondary sources on the thoughts of these thinkers, argues that the masses were the revolutionary vanguard, while Khomeini actually put the responsibility on clergy. The book strangely considers Osama Bin Laden to have been influenced by Mawdudi. This kind scholarship is heavily loaded with claims about Islamism and its ideologues. These works are short on descriptions of the concepts present in the thoughts of the thinkers and they seldom recognize the differences in the thoughts of Islamist thinkers.

The second group (Arjomand 1989, Hosseini 1999, Ahmad 2009, Shepard 2003) focuses on the novelties in the thoughts of Islamist thinkers. These works are not concerned with the details of political thoughts of the thinkers. Their main concern is to show the novelty of concepts and logics prevalent in the thoughts of the thinkers. Arjomand (1989) argues that the portrayal of Islam as a unified system with an objective of Islamic state is a recent development in history of Islamic political thought. Similarly Tripp argues that the theory of Vilayat-e-faqih (governance of the jurist) of Ayatollah Khomeini is novel in the larger tradition of Shia political thought. Shepard (2003) argues that the conception of Jahiliya as an organic society by Qutb is a novelty in Qutb's doctrine of Jahiliya. Irfan Ahmad (2009), like Ajromand argues that the idea of an Islamic state is a modern one. State became central to Islamism with the expanding realm of the action of state and its penetration in private life. This

kind of contributions situates the political logics of the thinkers in the larger history of Islamic political thought.

The third group of work can be considered to be those which are biographical and bibliographical in nature. This category includes the maximum amount of literature produced on the subject. The literatures in this group (Tripp 1994, Abbot 1995, Musallam 2005, Rabi 1996, Fischer 1983, Nasr 1996, Dabashi2008) contextualize the thought production of the thinkers. They point towards the shifts that occurred in their thoughts and the periodic evolution in the thoughts of the thinkers. In doing so, they contextualize the introductions of new doctrines and concepts. Tripp (1994) engages with the vision of Qutb in the two important books of Qutb. He selectively discusses some of the concepts and deals extensively with the epistemology of Qutb. Musallam (2005) presents the development of thoughts of Qutb in response to the context which he encountered. This work maps Qutb's exposure to American materialism as an educationist, then to Arab socialism and finally his emergence as an Islamist. Nasr (1996) analyses the various aspects of political thought of Mawdudi in detail. He argues that Mawdudi tried to present a modernized form of prophetic model of Islamic state. Nasr though gives a detailed description of evolution of thoughts of Mawdudi, yet he keeps on moving from one issue to another. The detailed engagement does not yield a coherent display of the political thought of Mawdudi. Fischer (1983) engages with the appeal of Khomeini through a scheme of what he calls four levels of analysis. The work engages with the context, the biography of Khomeini, his politics and his gnosis. Dabashi (2008) though does a detailed analysis of concepts of Khomeini, the work is included in this group because of his methodology. His work engages with the formation of thought of Ayatollah in eight phases. In doing so, he provides a contextual analysis of his thought through an approach which he calls "action-verbal response-action". The approach situates the positions of Ayatollah towards incidences which were immediately taking place in the political set up. However in doing so, his work reduces several aspects of thought of Ayatollah Khomeini to just a pragmatic response to immediate action of state at that particular moment. The literatures in this group provide a sophisticated background to the developments of the doctrines of these thinkers. They also undertake a detailed engagement with the concepts that appeared in the thoughts. Their engagement with the context and stages of evolution of thoughts, tend to provide an independent

analysis of various concepts, without locating the linkages between them. The approach thus fails to provide any comprehensive structure of the thoughts of the thinkers.

Then the final body of literature (Akhavi 1988, Moin 1994) puts a greater emphasis on methodology and other non-political aspects in the philosophy of Ayatollah Khomeini. Moin (1994) argues that Khomeini's world view is informed by his mystical vision of the 'Perfect Man' and Khomeini considered himself to be the 'Perfector of Man'. Similarly Akhavi (1988) discusses epistemology of Ayatollah Khomeini and argues that, Khomeini believed in mysticism and considered gnosis as basis of truth. He further asserts that Khomeini had a linear view of history, which progresses in the migration from man to God.

The body of relevant literature on Khomeini, Qutb and Mawdudi are mainly biographical or bibliographical in nature. These works help in locating the thoughts of these thinkers as contributing to the making of Islamism in the tradition of Islamic political thought. These works also engage with particular concepts in the thoughts of the thinkers in great detail. They however, do not engage much with the structure of the thoughts of the thinkers. There is no work which compares the political thought of all these thinkers. The current study will engage in a comparison of the thoughts of these thinkers and will try to fill this gap.

This study is informed by the need to understand the ideology of Islamism, which saw a major contribution from Qutb, Mawdudi and Khomeini. This study seeks to contribute in understanding the political ideologies of fundamentalist Islam. Analyzing the thoughts of Mawdudi, Khomeini and Qutb, the study will explore how these thinkers structured their political ideas. The study will explore the answer of these thinkers to the questions that Muslim world faced in their encounter with modernity; what kind of state should Muslims work for in contemporary world? What is the purpose of government in Islamic society? What is the role of violence in the quest of change? How to engage with modernity? These questions best capture the dilemma that the Muslim world experienced in 20th century. The response to these issues by Muslim thinkers contributed in the making of ideology, which informed the different kinds of movements that appeared in Muslim world. The understanding of the diversity in nature of these movements and the actors involved in them has

become necessary for both the academic community and policy makers. The study will also seek to draw the differences and similarities between various strands of fundamentalist Islam by comparing the ideologies of Abdul Ala- Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb and Ayatollah Khomeini.

The study engages in exegesis of the key writings of these thinkers. It is analytical and interpretative in nature. The study is informed by the presence of an enduring influence of the works of these thinkers. In this regard the most important works of Qutb and Khomeini, which are *Milestones* and *Islamic Government*, have been selected as the main reference points. No such selection has been made in case of Mawdudi as there is no consensus on the primacy of any of his work in terms of importance. So a wide range of primary writings by Mawdudi has been consulted. The most important works of Qutb and Khomeini have been supplemented by a reference to their other works. The study assumes that these works continue to influence Muslims throughout the world. The works have been treated to exert an independent impact on their own. The study is primarily concerned with their structure of thought and differences between them. It is based on the assumption that it is in this coherent form of an ideology that their thoughts continued to be received by their followers. The study has also made use of a vast amount of secondary literature available in form of books, journal articles, interpretative essays, newspaper pieces and so on.

This introductory chapter is followed by three core chapters, each devoted to present the thoughts of each thinker. Uniformity in the scheme of every chapter has been maintained in order to comprehend the take of all these three thinkers on similar issues. The scheme has been also maintained to facilitate the comparison of their thoughts. Each chapter has been laid down on a uniform scheme with three broad sections. The first section in each chapter will provide the understanding of thinkers of the present situation of Muslims in modern world. The section will give their reading of modernity and problems of Muslim in modern world. The second section will be devoted to the reading of their understanding of Islam, which is political and which has been considered by each thinker as the solution to the problems faced by Muslims. The section will also map their answer to the kind of state and government which Muslims need in the modern world. The last section in each chapter, will map

their plan for changing the existing order into Islamic one. The section will explore their take on the use of violence in the process of change. The last chapter involves a comparison of the thoughts of these three thinkers, using the same scheme which has been followed in the chapters.

Chapter Two

The Islamic Polity of Abdul A'la Mawdudi

> ....Islam is a revolutionary ideology and programme which seeks to alter the social order of the whole world and rebuild it in conformity with its own tenets and ideals. 'Muslim is the title of that International Revolutionary party organized by Islam to carry into effect its revolutionary programme. And 'Jihad refers to that revolutionary struggle and utmost exertion which the Islamic party brings into play to achieve this objective. (Maududi 2006: 5).

Abdul Ala Mawdudi was born in Hyderabad in 1903. His parents moved from Delhi to Hyderabad. Mawdudi had very few years of formal education in madrassa. He was self-taught in Islam. Mawdudi gained good knowledge of Arabic language at an early age. Mawdudi started his career as a journalist. He became the editor of the Urdu weekly *Taj* at the age of seventeen.

A major change came in his life in 1924, when he became the editor of *al-Jamaat*, the newspaper of Jamat-e-Ulama. He continued to be the editor of the newspaper till 1927. The position brought him in direct contact with important leaders of Muslims in the country. The newspaper provided Mawdudi the opportunity to express himself to the Muslims in country (Adams 1983: 100). His engagement as an editor exposed him to the major political issues related to Muslim during that period. Mawdudi headed several newspapers and journals after that. In 1932, he became the editor of the famous journal Tarjuman-ul-Quran. Mawdudi wrote on several political issues related to Muslims in India.

After series of engagement as a scholar and writer, he entered active politics and founded Jamaat-e-Islami in 1941. The party came in response to the Lahore resolution of August 1940 of Muslim league (Grare 2001: 18). The resolution argued for the establishment of autonomous states in Muslim majority areas. It was the beginning of the Muslim nationalism of the league against the Indian nationalism. The political ideology of Mawdudi got its final shape in the series of writings and lectures which he delivered during this period, preceding the partition.

The partition in sub-continent also divided the Jamaat-e-Islami organization into two independent branches. With partition, Mawdudi moved to Pakistan. Thereafter, Mawdudi's political and intellectual movements were closely tied to the developments that Jamaat experienced.

Mawdudi is an important exponent and interpreter of Islam. Mawdudi played important role in the expressions of several themes which are very important in revivalist writings of Islam of the twentieth century. Like many revivalists of Islam, Mawdudi sought to present a programme for resuscitation of Muslims and for the removal of evils from world. His thought is premised on his understanding that the modern world with its specific principles and ideologies is the source of all evils and sufferings. His writings, which he derives from interpretation of Quran and other Islamic sources, are therefore in response to Western ideologies and provide an alternative to them. He seeks to present a reasoned critique of the modern world system particularly in its Western form and offers an alternative to it by presenting Islam as a system. This alternative, in his interpretation existed in the past in the form of the early Islamic state of the Prophet and the Caliphate. So his concern becomes that of reviving this early system of Islam. But, then his project is not of merely reviving the ideal Islamic past. It also involves modernisation of Islamic political thought to meet the challenges of the modern world. His writings reinterpret various Islamic principles so that they can be applied to modern setting.

Driven by the concerns mentioned above, the writings of Sayyid Abdul Ala Mawdudi seek to provide an understanding of the modern world, its criticisms and an alternative. So his political thought- expressed in speeches and writings- present his understanding of modernity (particularly its ideologies), his understanding of Islam and finally his alternative to modernity which is an Islamic system or polity. Mawdudi's thought is an outcome of interpretation of Islam, which is consistent with the long tradition of Islamic thought and jurisprudence. Yet his assimilation of several modern concepts sets him apart from unaccommodating traditionalists (Moten 1984:218).This quest for alternative, or revival makes Mawdudi offer a different understanding of Islam as an ideology and as a polity.

This chapter seeks to map out the various aspects of Mawdudi's political thought. It is divided into three sections. The first section will explore the understanding of the modern world as reflected in his thought. The section will present Mawdudi's take on various aspects of modernity. The second section will present Mawdudi's understanding of Islam as an alternative. In this section, Mawdudi's vision of Islamic

state is discussed. Finally, in the last section his approach to the process of change or revolution will be explored.

1. *Understanding the Modern World:*

Mawdudi understands the modern world as an arena of evils. It is an arena marked with presence of ignorance. It is also an arena where Muslims lost to Western modernity. For him, understanding the modern becomes important in order to identify its roots and expose its various forms:

> The whole of mankind-Muslims as well as non-Muslims and the people of the East as well as the West-are today beset with a grave evil: their lives are governed by a culture that was born in crass materialism and as now totally steeped in it. The practical policies as well as the theory of this culture are based on perverse and unstable foundations (Maududi 1952: 5).

Mawdudi identifies all the evils and problems of mankind with the political systems present in the world and the principles which make them function. He thinks that Western civilisation does not have the right sense of direction and it is inherently rotten because of the falsity of its foundational principles (Ahmad and Ansari 2000: 24).

Mawdudi considers that the three principles of secularism, nationalism and democracy are at the core of organisation of present-day world. He regards them as "the corner-stone of the way of life evolved in modern times" and considers them the root cause of all the calamities and troubles of mankind (Maudoodi 2009: 18). For the sake of better understanding, we shall take a brief look at each of them separately in the following sections.

Secularism:

Mawdudi considers secularism to have evolved as an independent theory of life and then become the foundation stone of modern civilization. Mawdudi understands secularism as the first and "foremost foundation stone" of modern world. Secularism is understood as the confinement of divine guidance, obedience and worship of God to the personal sphere of individual life and organization of world affairs in accordance with human wishes and expediency (Maudoodi 2009: 14).

Secularism as it is understood by Mawdudi has two important aspects. Firstly, secularism involves the rejection of religion as the principal guiding force of modern society and state. Secondly, it involves an understanding of religion as a private matter of an individual. The first aspect of secularism gives an individual absolute right to set the goals of his societal life. This understanding is regarded as the starting point of all the ideologies of the modern world. Mawdudi understands that all the "isms" of the modern world have emerged from the same basic philosophy that, "man rather than God has the right to prescribe the goal of human life and the norms for human conduct" (Ahmad and Ansari 2000: 25). For Mawdudi, it is this departure from God to man, which is the starting point of all the evils of the modern world. So secularism for him involved a process of abandoning God and deifying the human self to the level of divinity. This replacement is considered as the beginning of all evils. It is this god (self as God) that has, "injected the poison of selfishness and self-indulgence and luxurious living into every aspect of social life, and demeaned the politics of mankind by corrupting it with nationalism, racial discrimination and the worship of power" (Maududi 1952: 7). The main reason this replacement has yielded evil, according to him, is that human nature is selfish and it expresses itself in the absence of divine guidance. So secularism, which raises the human being above everything else, releases an uncontrolled selfish human being. "Whenever a man acts independently of the Divine guidance, nothing is left of the permanent and firm principles of truth and justice. This is because after depriving himself of God's guidance no other source is left to seek guidance from, except man's own passions, imperfect knowledge, and experience"(Maudoodi 2009: 21).This attribute of human nature in absence of any guiding principle is reflected both by society and higher forms of social organization.

Mawdudi understands secularism as religion-less and a secular society as a religion-less society. The absence of religion has an implication for the morality of a society. He understands that secularism deprives society from any kind of morality. This understanding stems from his linkage of morality with religion. It is not conceivable to expect any kind of morality without religion and sanction of eternal punishment. Therefore, secularism involves an exclusion of all morality and ethics from the controlling mechanisms of society (Adams 1983: 113). In this way, Mawdudi

considers the modern world with its politics as a system devoid of moral and ethical consideration.

Mawdudi completely rejects the second aspect of secularism, which involves confinement of religious performances to the private domain: "There can be nothing more absurd than that each person should claim individually to be the servant of God but when these separate individuals collectively form themselves into society, they should cease to be servants of the Almighty God" (Maudoodi 2009: 20).

Mawdudi is critical not only of various aspects of secularism as he understands them; he has his reservation about a secular form of government as well. This reservation seems to have been expressed to counter the secular rhetoric of the Congress party and the Muslims secularists. For Mawdudi, in a secular system, the government will be secular only towards the religion of minority groups. The government will neither help nor restrain the minorities, while it will be a partisan of the religion of majority (Adams 1983:103).

In the final conception of his polity which is an Islamic polity, Mawdudi calls for complete removal of all traces of secularism, which as a creed led to removal of any influence of God: "the system of life built upon the foundation of this creed seeks to free from the influence of God and religion all the relations between man and man and between man and this world" (Maudoodi 2009: 15).This is a product of modern atheistic political philosophy, which for Mawdudi has no place in an Islamic state (Engineer 1980: 124).

Nationalism

Mawdudi is critical of the way in which nationalism has evolved. As he understands it, nationalism in the beginning was a movement against universal oppression of the Pope and the Caesar with the aim of freeing various nationalities from spiritual or political power of universal character and giving the latter complete say over their own political and other affairs. This evolved to a stage, where nationalism was "placed on the throne of God Who had already been ejected from His position under the impact of secularism" (Maudoodi 2009: 16). Mawdudi understands that in the beginning, it was a struggle for national freedom. He favours the idea of national freedom. He understands that it evolved from here to the current form of nationalism.

16

He is apprehensive about nationalism in the current form. In the present form, nationalism came to define the moral standards and values which or Mawdudi was a function of religion in the past.

Nationalism has two main implications. Firstly, it made national interest and aspiration as the highest moral standard and value. This view redefines the understanding of virtue and evil. Virtue now consists of anything advantageous to the nation and evil includes everything which has negative implication on national interest. So a virtue can be oppression and faithlessness provided that they serve national interest, and an evil can be justice, rights, truth and obligations when they are injurious to national interest (Ibid: 16).

Secondly, it caused the division of humanity into racial and linguistic groups. It has led to the demarcation of artificial geographical borders. In all these, nationalism have destroyed the deeper bonds present among individuals (Grare 2001: 22). Mawdudi rejects the claims of racial and geographical factors that seek loyalties from Muslims. These ideas are considered to disturb the unity of mankind and narrow down the cosmopolitan outlook which Islam encourages in the first place and secondly they are considered to produce a materialistic outlook on life and territorial and racial consciousness which contradicts the humanizing spirit of mankind (Moten 1984: 220-226). The idea of nationalism is opposed to Mawdudi's notion of Islamic polity, which is marked with a complete absence of nationalism. Nationalism also contradicts the idea of community in Islamic polity which is the Umma. Umma is the community of those who have surrendered to the will of God. It is different from the other mode of defining community on the basis of race, colour and territory.

Mawdudi's criticism of nationalism was also informed by the political situation of the Indian subcontinent in late mid twentieth century. He was critical of all strands of movements of nationalism present at the time of India's struggle for independence—both the separatist nationalism of Muslim league and the composite nationalism championed by Maulana Azad. His criticism of "composite" nationalist theory was rooted in his concern about the cultural threat posed by this strand of nationalism, particularly in the Indian context. He feared that nationalism of this kind would expose Muslims to the grave threats of religio-cultural absorption into Hinduism (Ahmad 1967: 373). So far as Muslim separatism or Muslim nationalism is

17

concerned, Mawdudi considered it to be a mere substitution of Indian nationalism (Adams 1983: 105). He believed that different nationalities cannot tolerate coexistence with each other and will seek to annihilate each other. He considered the nationalisms of Hindus, Sikhs and Muslims responsible for the violence that happened at the time of partition (Grare 2001:19).

Mawdudi in his critique of various strands of nationalism sought to create a strong position for his programme vis-à-vis others. Vali Nasr in this regard observes that, Mawdudi superimposed his struggle with West embodied in his challenge to secular nationalism with his rivalry towards Hindus (1996: 54).

Mawdudi ascribes nationalism the tendency to negate the positive outcomes of any kind of social movement. In his view, nationalism possesses the potential to destroy the positives which were the outcome of the French Revolution and Communism. For this reason, he wanted his state (Islamic state) to be free from all traces of nationalism. He considered Islam as the complete opposite of nationalism and everything associated with it. For this reason, he considers the state system of Islam as a non- national state (Moten 1984: 222).

Democracy:

Mawdudi's engagement with democracy has been a complex one. Democracy finds multiple meanings in his conception. It is understood differently when he deals with the Western model than when he presents the specific aspect of his polity, which is also regarded by him as a form of democracy. This treatment of democracy has to do with the context in which Mawdudi encountered it for the first time, where democracy was a favourite, particularly with its emancipatory promises in a pluralistic society (Nasr 1996: 84) . This is the reason that he himself presents the Islamic state as a democratic state. Though he presents the Islamic polity in contrast to everything that the West stands for, democracy is still very much assimilated in his conception of the alternate polity of Islam.

He does not reject the principle in totality. He is critical of certain particular aspects of democracy. Just as secularism and nationalism, Mawdudi appreciates the cause for which the concept came initially. That is, he applauds it as a concept initially forwarded to loosen the oppressive grip of monarchs over the masses. He is also not

18

critical of the concept as such. Democracy for him becomes dangerous only in the presence of other two principles of secularism and nationalism:

> ... secularism released people from the fear of God and the grip of stable and enduring moral values and made them unbridled and irresponsible slaves of their self; then nationalism intoxicated them with the wine of national selfishness, blind prejudices, and national pride; and then this democracy, on top of all, completed the picture, and conferred full powers of legislation on these unbridled and intoxicated slaves (Maudoodi 2009: 24).

Mawdudi presents his Islamic polity as opposed to the secular Western democracy, which has sovereignty of people at its base. He considers that the authority is exercised in an uncontrolled manner in a democratic system (Moten 1984:221). Yet he regularly invokes democracy to describe the Islamic state that he conceived. Here democracy is something which is appreciated. Democracy is treated as a neutral ideal, which can be Islamized without surrendering any ground to the West (Nasr 1996: 87).

The context in which Mawdudi was writing again had implications on his take on democracy in both positive and negative ways. He sought to assimilate the concept to address the attractive appeal of secular democracy. His criticism of constitutional democracy was informed by his concern about Muslims falling prey to its lure. Mawdudi rejects the possibility of any presence of any kind of safeguard in a democratic constitution that can truly protect the minority. Democracy is a kind of government where majority rules regardless of the concern that whether its views are right or wrong. Democracy thus becomes a tyranny by majority. This kind of polity represents a great threat to the culture, identity and religion of the minority (Adams 1983: 103). So in the Indian context, Mawdudi presented democracy as posing a threat to the Muslims.

2. The Alternate polity:

This section of the chapter will discuss the alternative to modernity as Mawdudi conceived it. In presenting his alternative, Mawdudi first explains his understanding of Islam. Then he derives principles of the Islamic system from this understanding. Further on he discusses the importance of Sharia as a guide of Islamic polity, and finally he briefly maps out an institutional scheme of his perceived Islamic state.

Understanding of Islam:

Mawdudi believes that if the modern world is not offered with alternative principles and vision, then it will slide into a frightful dark age. This makes it important for him to present the alternative Islamic way of life. His vision here is that of an Islamic reconstruction of human life and establishment of a new social order and state (Ahmad and Ansari 2000: 25-26).

Mawdudi believed that Islam as an alternative will correct modernity of its evils. Mawdudi presents Islam as the panacea for all the problems of humanity as a whole:

> They should be informed that Islam offers….. to mankind sublime and stable rules of law and morality which are based upon a comprehensive knowledge of human nature and cannot be distorted in the pursuit of selfish ends. It offers salutary principles of culture and civilization which override the unnatural distinction of class and the artificial ethnic division and seek to organize mankind on purely rational foundations. Moreover, these principles help to bring about a sound and peaceful atmosphere of justice, equality, generosity and fair mutual dealings (Maududi 1952: 9-10).

The core of Mawlana Mawdudi's world view is formed by Islam. This understanding of Islam is different. That is, Islam is understood not as a religion, but as a complete comprehensive way of life embracing all spheres of human thought and action. Mawdudi presents Islam as a "well ordered system, a consistent whole" with answers to all problems (Moten 1984: 218-19).The quest is to present Islam as a coherent system, with all its principles as the logical outcome of the basic principle of Tawhid[2]. The way he presented Islam is a departure from the view of Islam just as a faith. Islam is presented as a concrete socio-political system so that it can influence the behaviour of individuals as well as the community to produce social action. For this purpose, Mawdudi felt the need to replace the amorphous idea of faith with an ideology, so that it can produce tangible relations of authority and provide a concrete definition of community and political action (Nasr 1996: 63). In a way his understanding of faith as

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[2]Mawdudi, 2000.Regards Tawhid as the starting point of reform. Tawhid as a concept holds God as the sole creator, sustainer and Master of the universe. It also holds God as the sole sovereign of entire universe.

such was motivated by the desire to see political action. Mawdudi believed that true Islamic faith must produce social actions and attitude. It should aim for both personal righteousness and for creation of an Islamic society (Adams 1983:113). The traditional reading of Islam as a faith was informing the personal righteousness. So the key concern for Mawdudi was to provide an interpretation that will facilitate political action, attitude and the creation of an Islamic society. For this purpose, Mawdudi defined Islam both as an ideology and a movement that seeks to build the structure of human society based on the conception of divine sovereignty (Mawdoodi 2000: 23).

Mawdudi's reading of Islam is driven by this need for the faith to pose as an ideology. His project of Islamic revivalism is thus a project of reinterpretation and systematization of Islam so that it can pose as an ideology and a political system can be derived from it. Nasr observes that 'the systematization of Islam was an "Islamic view of modernity" more than it was reflection on the fundamentals of the Islamic faith' (1996: 63). So there was modernization of Islamic thought and practice by him, which was disguised by the religious underpinnings. Mawdudi seeks to develop a comprehensive theory of social sciences from Islam, but with a modern tone. This is evident that he constantly uses jargons of modern social science and its terminology in presenting his views.

The modernization of Islamic thought is a requirement for Mawdudi to change the existing system .The need for modernization stems from his understanding of history, and change in it. Azgar Ali in this regard interprets that Mawdudi sought to replace class conflict with religious conflict as a mover of history (1980: 131). However, perhaps it is more appropriate to consider that Mawdudi was looking at it in terms of ideological conflict with Western ideologies and not religion per se. This is evident from his approach, where he presents Islam as an alternative to the various ideologies of the modern world. Here all the ideologies of the modern world are un-Islam. Therefore Mawdudi viewed the modern world as an arena of conflict between Islam and un-Islam and in doing so he equated un-Islam with pre-Islamic ignorance (Jahiliya) and polytheism (Arjomand1989: 112). This understanding of modern world and the way it can be changed informs the way in which he interprets Islam to produce a comprehensive ideology. Grare interprets that his ideology is the outcome

21
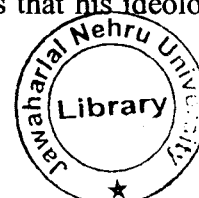
of a dialectical conception of History, which conceives Islam in a perpetual state of conflict with un-Islam, which must culminate in an Islamic revolution and in the creation of an Islamic state (Grare 2001: 21). The modernization of Islamic political thought and the reinterpretation of Islam become important, as Mawdudi believed that Islam which is in state of conflict with Western modernity is just a shadow of its original form:

> ...the tragedy is that Islam with which Western civilization happens to be in conflict today is mere shadow of the real Islam. The Muslims are devoid of Islamic character and morals, ideas, and ideology, and have lost the Islamic spirit. The true Islamic spirit is neither in their mosques nor schools neither in their private lives nor in the public affairs (Maududi 1952: 14).

Mawdudi emphasizes on the absence of true Islamic spirit. This spirit is identified with three core principles. The fulfilment of these principles makes the Islamic system a real and a complete system. Mawdudi recommends them as an alternative to the three core principles or concept of modernity. These three principles of Islamic system are; the recognition of sovereignty of God, the recognition of man as a vicegerent of God; and the understanding of the Islamic system as an ideological system.

Sovereignty of the God

The starting point or the foundational principle of Islam as understood by Mawdudi is the acceptance of God as the sovereign of the entire universe. This is understood as the acceptance of God as master in all realms of life. His exposition on God is based on the distinction between the metaphysical and worldly political life. For being Muslim one requires to worship God not just in the metaphysical realm but also in political realm, which means that he must be regarded as master of both (Ahmad 2009: S155). This notion of worshipping God both in public and private is contradicted by the separation brought by secularism, which confines worship to the private realm. The acceptance of God in public and political realm means acceptance of God as the final legal and constitutional authority. This acceptance of God as the final authority becomes the starting point of Mawdudi's exposition of Islam. He regards it as the basic principle of Islamic system:

> The basic principle of Islamic politics is that, both individually and collectively, human beings should waive all rights of legislation and all power to give commands....No one is entitled to make laws on his own and none is obliged to abide by them. The right vests in Allah alone:- "The decision rests with Allah only, who hath commanded that ye worship none save Him. This is the right faith" (Maududi 2003: 19-20).

Mawdudi makes it a point to compare his concepts with what he regards as the real Islam as it was presented by Prophet. Mawdudi considers his conception of God as the original concept, as it was presented by all the prophets and messengers of God (Ahmad and Ansari 2000: 18-19). This understanding of faith implies a complete submission to God in both private and public. Now the right faith makes it important for people to mould their personal life as well as collective social life in accordance with Islam. Mawdudi believed that the real purpose behind the mission of Prophet Muhammad was to bring people to complete submission to God. That is the recognition of God as their Rab (Sustainer and Nourisher) and Illah (Master and Law-giver)[3]. This for Mawdudi means a complete submission to God in every aspect of life.

Ideological System:

The concept of ideological system is the alternative that Mawdudi offers against nationalism. The presentation of Islamic system as an ideological system expands its scope beyond the nation state:

> Instead of national system it should be an ideological system based on certain fixed principles and stable values....Under such a system citizenship should not be confined within geographical boundaries of a state but should be common and based on ideological foundations (Maudoodi: 27).

This ideological expression gives Muslims an identity distinct from other forms of identification. Mawdudi seeks to argue of an identity in a universal perspective and not in terms of nations, or classes. He believes that Muslims living in various parts of the world share a single and identifiable religious and cultural personality. They share same ethical standards, values, beliefs and a common way of life (Ahmad1967: 376).

Vicegerncy (Khilafat):

The concept of vicegerency or Khilafat, holds human beings as representatives of God on earth. This view is considered to regulate human beings to produce responsible behaviour. "The concept of vicegerency and trusteeship creates a particular conduct marked by honesty truthfulness, and responsibility" (Maududi 2004: 18). In

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[3] Maudui 2003: 9-19. Mawdudi interprets the meaning of the word Illah, as master and law giver. The original meaning of the Arabic word is object of worship.

conceiving the concept of vicegerency, Mawdudi understands an exalted position of man in the universal scheme:

> As viceroy of God, man enjoys a higher status and is superior to all other creations of God. The whole universe and all things in it are created for man, to be at his service. ....As a viceroy man is supposed to be obedient and loyal to God and his basic duty is to enforce His guidance on his own self, and call others to enter the circle of God's obedience (Maududi 2004: 19).

For Mawdudi, man has been entrusted with the great, yet difficult office of vicegerency of God on this planet. This puts the responsibility on humans to mould their society in accordance with the immutable and everlasting law of revelation (Ahmad 1967: 370). Mawdudi considers the Islamic conception of man and his relationship with the universe as the only natural one. This is deduced from the relation that just like the universe, in Islam man follows natural law, which signifies complete submission to Allah (Mawdudi 1960: 3).

Sharia: the guide.

Sharia (the Islamic law) is regarded as the codification of law of God and thus guide for human life. Sharia is understood by Mawdudi as the scheme of life (both individual and social) as it is prescribed in the Quran and in the Sunna of Prophet (Moten 1984: 219). In this understanding, Sharia provides guidance not only for the mode of worship for individuals, but also directives for collective social life. It prescribes mode of behaviour for all aspects of life which includes both social and political. Sharia is a body of edicts and religious laws pronounced by the theologians, prescribing the scheme of life and which are derived from the Quran and the Sunna[4]. The observation of Sharia means making life Islamic. Sharia is regarded as the solution of all problems of human social life:

Almighty God is the arbitrator between man and man; relations among men are regulated by the law of God. Since the Law-Giver is free from all sensuality and self interest and is All-knowing wise, His Law, therefore, suppresses every possibility of the rise of mischief or tyranny in this society for all times to come. The divine Law, however, makes due allowance for every aspect of human nature and makes provision for every human need (Maududi 2010: 35).

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[4] There has been no single meaning of Sharia in the long tradition of Islamic theology. The meaning of Sharia varied based on context. It includes writings of juridical rules, instructions and also writings of ethics. For more on the this aspect of the concept see, Alam, M (2000) *"Sharia and governance in the Indo-Islamic context" in Beyond Turk and Hindu: rethinking religious identities in Islamicate-South Asia (eds) D. Gilmartin and Lawrence (216-245). Gainesville: University Press of Florida.*

Mawdudi has an organic understanding of Sharia, whereby all its provisions are organically derived from the basic principle of sovereignty of God. This is consistent with the cardinal principle of the political thought of Mawdudi. His thought starts from the premises that the principal derivative source of law is the Quran and the ultimate legal authority vests alone in God (Ahmad 1967: 375). The organic nature of Sharia implies that it should be implemented in its entirety to guide both individual piety and social action. Mawdudi believed that Muslims moved away from following a complete Sharia since the time of the Rightly guided Caliphs[5]. (Adams 1983:113). This is part of the degeneration which Muslims went through over a period of time. The complete observation of Sharia as source of law of God is the most important correction that should be done to remove evils from the world.

Observation of Sharia is important for both binding and defining the characteristics of Islamic society. "Islamic society is an ideological society, bound by a contract of absolute submission (Islam) to the divine injunctions. Sharia, in this context is the legal codification of this contract" (Ahmad 1967: 375). Sharia defines the characteristics of Islamic state as well as the society. The basic characteristic of an Islamic society is that its entire structure is based on the concept of sovereignty of God. So in his understanding, law should determine the social structure rather than social structure determining the laws (Engineer 1980: 132-133). Similarly the attributes of state are determined by Islamic law (Sharia) based on complete submission to God.

Mawdudi is very strict in terms of his identification of sources of Islamic law. Mawdudi restricts the derivation of Islamic law to two key sources; the Quran and the Sunna (Maududi 2004: 152)[6]. Mawdudi seems to expand the ambit of Sharia by its reinterpretation of what was originally laid down by ulema in the early Islamic period. This is done to meet the complexities of the modern world system. Engineer observes that Mawdudi considered reinterpretation or adjustment with Islamic laws equal to unpardonable heresy and which deserves outright condemnation. This is coherent with his understanding that Islam must be accepted in its entirety along with its concepts, which were formulated by ulema of the early Islamic period (Engineer 1980: 125-127). However it seems that Mawdudi recognises the shortcomings of

[5]The first four Caliphs of Muslims are considered to be rightly guided and pious Caliph.
[6]Sunnah is the collection of sayings and practices of the Prophet.

Islamic law. The Islamic law was incomplete for Mawdudi and was not fit to offer guidance for collective social life in the modern system. Mawdudi accepted the shortcomings of Islamic law in dealing with the challenges of modern times which pose the problem of dealing with the constitutional, international and criminal legal spheres as separate disciplines (Ahmad 1967: 377)."These problems can be solved only through the interpretation of the principle of Islamic theology and law in the light of the changed conditions (ijtihad), but our ulema seem to shun any such endeavour" (Maudui 1952: 18).

Islamic State:

The conception of an Islamic state is vital to the entire project of revivalism by Mawdudi. It is impossible to have Islamic revival without an Islamic state. This importance which Mawdudi ascribes to Islamic state in his larger scheme of revivalism is the most novel feature of his ideology (Arjomand 1989 : 113). The need of an Islamic state comes from the very nature of universal order. That is, the Islamic state for Mawdudi is a part of broad integrated theology of Islam, whose cardinal principle is the sovereignty of God (Adams 1983 : 111-112). Irfan Ahmed in this regard considers the notion of an Islamic state as an invention by Mawdudi. He further argues that Mawdudi subscribed to the idea of Islamic state not because it was intrinsic to Islam, but because of the extraordinary capacity and reach of modern state to influence the collective life of individuals in a society. In fact, the unprecedented penetration of the state in the lives of individuals made it imperative to control the state as an institution to bring any change in society (Ahmad 2009: S147-S156). Mawdudi understood the importance of governmental power both for the removal of existing system and establishment of the new one. Here it becomes essential for Muslims to take the authority of the state under their control:

> Hence this party is left with no other choice except to capture State Authority, for an evil system takes root and flourish under the patronage of an evil government and a pious cultural order can never be established until the authority of Government is wrested from the wicked and transferred into the hands of the reformers (Maududi 2006: 19).

So in this understanding, there is no meaning of Islam as a movement without political power. Islam as a comprehensive ideology requires state power to enforce

itself. Mawdudi understood that by its nature, Islam is bound to replace other systems and for this, it requires to have control over state power (Engineer 1980: 130).

The plan of Islamic state is a manifestation of all the principles of Islamic system; sovereignty of God, ideological system and vicegerency. Based on these principles, the Islamic state as conceived by Mawdudi is an ideological state, a non-national state and acts as vicegerent of God on earth. There are two attribute of Islamic state. The first one is that of vicegerency where both the state as well as individuals are regarded as vicegerents of God. The state as a vicegerent assumes a key objective of evolving and developing a well balanced system of social justice which has been set forth by God in Quran (Mawdudi 2003: 28-29). Here the concept of vicegerency ensures equality and absence of any kind of dictatorship; both the leader as well as ordinary people are vicegerent (Caliphs) and the leader will be responsible both to the people and to God (Maududi 2003:34). Vicegerency or Caliphate bestows right as well as power to the individual who further delegates it to the leader. This concept is regarded by Mawdudi as the most ideal form of democracy in practice:

> Every person in an Islamic society enjoys the rights and powers of the Caliphate of the God and in this respect all individuals are equal.......The agency for running the affairs of the state will be formed with the will of these individuals, and the authority of the state will only be an extension of the powers of individuals delegated to it....In this respect the political system of Islam is a perfect form of democracy-as perfect as democracy can ever be (Maududi 2010: 9).

Mawdudi regards this form of democracy as different from the Western one. He uses the term theo-democracy or theocratic democracy to describe the form of government in an Islamic state, which is based on the concept of vicegerency (Grare 2001: 21).

The second attribute is of state is its ideological nature. As an ideological state, Islam does not recognize any kind of ethnicity or race in defining citizenry. That is in an Islamic state the members are together by their belief. The state is open to those, who embrace the sovereignty of God (Maududi 2003: 30). The members of this state are supposed to understand their responsibilities to God and to the community (Moten 1984: 221). As an ideological state , the state will be run exclusively by Muslims and there and two kinds of citizens, Muslims and non-Muslims ,with the former taking part in administration of government and the latter having the guarantee of protection of life and property (Adams 121-123).

Mawdudi does not engage in a detailed discussion of the institutional pattern of the state. In laying down the institutional set up of the Islamic state, Mawdudi discusses two institutions; executive, and judiciary.

The office of executive is identified with the Amir (leader) of the state. The Amir is entrusted with the administration of government in the Islamic state and is compared with the President of a modern nation state who would control the executive branch of the government (Maududi 2010:13). Amir is the locus of power of the state and is responsible for the conduct of the state (Adams : 124).

The legislature which Mawdudi presents as an institution is a departure from the traditional model of Islamic state under the rightly guided Caliphate. Its inception in modern scheme is attributed to the change in circumstances (Adams: 126). The legislature performs two kinds of functions; firstly it ascertains the real intent of Sharia in case of presence of two or more interpretations of Sharia and secondly, it makes legislations on questions not covered by any specific injunctions of Sharia (Maududi 2010: 14).

Judiciary is the third main institution of the Islamic State. Mawdudi has made very rare observations about the judiciary. The judiciary is regarded as outside the control of executive except for appointment of judges. The role of judiciary is to administer justice according to Sharia and all organs of the state will be subject to its jurisdiction (Maudui 2010:14-15).

3. The process of Change; 'Islamic Revolution'

Mawdudi presents his understanding of revolution as different from the Western sense of the term[7]. This engagement is driven by the need to counter the very appeal of revolution which was attracting the masses. In doing so, Mawdudi regularly invokes Western concepts. Mawdudi uses idioms of revolution to create a progressive image of Islam in battle with the leftists for the adherence of Muslims (Nasr 1996:71). Arjomand in this regard comments that, "In Mawdudi's writing, there is a marriage of

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[7]Mawdudi, 2006. He makes a distinction of not only revolution, but also of revolutionaries. Mawdudi regards revolutionaries of the world to be speaking for just one class or as section, thus producing a bias in their viewpoint in favour of one group or class thus producing hatred for other. Revolution by such group, as he regards will prescribe a remedy for tyranny which will itself be tyrannical and revengeful.

Islamic revivalism and revolutionary ideology, and the appropriation of the modern myth of revolution" (1989:115). So an engagement with the concept involved both invocation of modern aspects of revolution and the presenting of Islamic revolution as a different one at the same time.

Islamic revolution is the process of changing the mentality of the masses and the collective life of humanity (Mawdudi 2000: 14). It is understood as a process of comprehensive change in the whole system, which involves in the first place changing the man himself in terms of his outlook, motivation and personality (Moten 1984: 235). Mawdudi considers Islamic revolution as a 'complete revolution'. In his understanding a complete revolution is one which takes place at two levels; internal (individual) and external (societal). Mawdudi considers Islamic revolution as a complete one and different from modern revolutions, as it seeks change at both levels (Ahmad and Ansari 2000: 44). Although Mawdudi considered the independence movement of 1947 as a revolution evidenced by his use of the word inqilab(revolution) to describe it, he regarded it a revolution in only external circumstances, without any inward and essential changes that Islam sought (Adams 1983: 107).

His process of revolution, unlike the Marxist notion, does not seek any major change in the economic realm. To the contrary, in his mind, revolution involves gradual social, cultural and political changes with an objective understood in ethical terms and not socio-economic terms (Nasr 1996: 76). This is the reason that the very process of bringing revolution gives emphasis on education as an instrument of change.

How to bring revolution?

Mawdudi considers the example of Prophet Muhammad or the way he spread the message of Islam and established Medina as the path of revolution. The Prophet, according to Mawdudi, undertook; firstly, education of masses to inculcate beliefs in fundamentals of Islam, secondly, organization of masses under one platform and encouraging them to practice Islam and finally, presented a shining example of Islamic state which attracted everyone to the call of Islam (Moten 1984: 229).

The process of Islamic movement involves two simultaneous processes of education and undergoing struggle. Education becomes important to mould the character of

masses in accordance with Islam. Education is also an instrument of harmonization in society. This harmonization reduces the scope for use of force in the revolutionary process (Nasr 1996: 78).

Education fitted in Mawdudi's scheme of an evolutionary approach to revolution. He insisted on an evolutionary approach to revolution, and in doing so, opposed any kind of involvement of force and radicalism (Moten: 235). In the process of revolutionary struggle, force becomes irrelevant since the struggle is basically aimed at an ideational change by the Muslims understood as a revolutionary party. In Mawdudi's words, such a party, "does not attack the home of the opposing party, but launches an assault on the principles of the opponent" (2006: 26).

The process of undergoing a struggle is a pacifist one, which involves suffering by those who lead movements because of the harsh resistance they face in the existing system. This is part of the strategy, as Mawdudi believed that their display of personal sacrifices and sufferings and the absence of any selfish motives will attract others to the movement (Mawdudi 2000:32-33). The idea of attraction or seduction seems to be the main way through which Mawdudi expected the movement to proceed. Drawing from the experience of Prophet Muhammad, Mawdudi believed that once the Islamic state comes into existence it will seduce the whole of humanity (Maududi 2000: 37).

The scope of Islamic revolution does not end with any single state. This is mainly due to the nature of the ideology itself. Mawdudi regards that since the ideology champions the welfare of entire humanity, it cannot restrict its limit to a single country or a nation (Maududi 2006: 22). Therefore the ultimate goal of the entire project of Islamic revival is to realize a universal revolution (Moten 1984: 227). So the Islamic state which comes into existence as a result of Islamic revolution is regarded as both the starting point and the harbinger of an entire process of universal revolution (Nasr 1996: 82).

Review

As the chapter has discussed, Mawdudi understand modern world as an arena of evil and grievances. The problem with modernity has been identified with its three foundational principles; secularism, nationalism and democracy. Secularism is further blamed to be at the very core of disorder, which is prevalent in modern world. It has

been regarded to have caused the domination of impulse of 'selfishness'. This impulse is then reflected in higher forms of social organization. Nationalism has been identifies as the second principle, which embodies the impulse of selfishness present in a nation or 'national selfishness'. It further created a new system of morality in modern political system, with the 'benefit' of nation as its key marker. The third principle, democracy, which though commands some respect in the thoughts of Mawdudi gets corrupted in the influence of nationalism and secularism.

Mawdudi prescribes Islamic polity as the solution to the evils present in modern world. This Islamic polity is based on the recognition of 'sovereignty of God'. God as the Sovereign is accepted as the source of law. Islamic polity is based on the recognition of Sovereignty of God and complete observation of entire Sharia. The state in its final form is considered to be a 'theocratic-democracy'. Mawdudi identifies masses as the vicegerent, and in doing so makes them the medium through which authority from God is transferred to the ruler.

Finally the most interesting aspect of Mawdudi's thought is his scheme of change. Here his 'Islamic revolution', which he considers as a complete change is based on a process of education. The revolution is expected to spread with the ability of the vanguard to attract others.

Chapter Three

Qutb's Revolt against Jahiliya

> Islam is a system for the practical human life in all its aspects. This system entails that ideological ideal-convincing concept which expounds the nature of the universe and determines the position of man in this universe as well as his ultimate objectives therein. It includes the doctrines and practical organizations which emanate from and depend upon this ideological ideal, and make of it a reality upon the everyday life of human beings........Islamic system is so comprehensive, interdependent and interwoven that it covers all aspects of human life and the various genuine needs of man as well as his different activities Qutb 2007: 5).

Sayyid Qutb was born in 1906 in a peasant family in the village of Qaha in Asyut province in Egypt. He started his education in a local religious school, where he memorized Quran by the age of ten. After that, he did his high school in Cairo, and then joined Dar-ul-uloom College in Cairo. His college years brought Qutb under the influence of liberal writer Abbas Mahmud al-Aqqad and other liberal writings, which had Westernizing tendencies.

Qutb witnessed the vicissitudes of the movements of Egyptians for their independence from British control (Tripp 1994: 155). Egyptians were engaged in debates about the future of their country. The exposure to these debates very early in life left their imprints on the mind of young Qutb. After his graduation, Qutb joined ministry of education as an inspector. At the same time, he pursued writing as a parallel career. This period saw him producing a large collection of work on poetry, stories and literary criticism.

A major transformation in life of Qutb, like many other Egyptian intellectuals came in late 1940s, as a result of British war policies and due to the creation of Jewish state of Israel (Haddad 1983: 69). He wrote his first major political work on Islam—*Social Justice in Islam* during this period.

From 1948 1950 Qutb was in US on government scholarship to do MA in education from Teacher College at the University of Northern Colorado. American visit exposed him to materialist lifestyle prevalent in States, which lacked spirituality and the

widespread support for Israel in American press (Musallam 2005: 114-119). Qutb identified these as an inherent problems associated with modernity and Capitalism. The American visit made Qutb rediscovers his religion as the source of salvation (Bergersen 2008: 3).

On his return in 1950, Qutb joined Muslim Brotherhood and became the editor of its weekly *Al-Ikhwan al Muslimin*. Muslim Brotherhood had friendly relations with the Free Officers, who under Nasser, came to power following a coup against the King Farooq. The relation between the two deteriorated in 1954, when, a member of the brotherhood made an assassination attempt on Nasser. Following the incidence, Qutb along with many other members were arrested and jailed for fifteen years. Qutb faced immense hardship inside the prison. It was from the isolation of his cell, that he produced thirty volume commentaries on Quran—*In the Shade of Quran* and the most famous text of *Milestones*. He was released from prison in 1962 on an intervention by President of Iraq. Later he was again arrested on charge of armed revolt and terrorism and finally, was hanged on 29th August 1966.

Sayyid Qutb is an important thinker associated with the modern Islamic revivalism. Qutb's conception of religion and secular modernity and the linkage between the two has had an enduring influence throughout the Muslim world (Nettler 1994: 102). Large amounts of writings which are being published by Revivalist in the Islamic world are either inspired by Qutb's views or are a commentary on his ideas (Haddad1983: 81).

Qutb's clarity of ideas and appeal of his writing style ensured his presence in Islamist discourses. Qutb's execution by Nasser conveyed an image of martyrdom. His execution evoked an image of injustice on a Muslim by a secular ruler of a modern Nation state. Qutb, through his writings provided ideas conveying a message of ruthless Western modernity conquering humanity in general and Muslims in particular. The message when combined with the image of Qutb, "the martyr", left an impact with many implications for modern world system. The image of the martyr, favored a radical interpretation of his writings. The combination of the two, the image and the ideas is considered to have paved the way for the emergence of jihadist Islamists in Egypt and Muslim world (Musallam 2005: ix).

The writings of Sayyid Qutb reflect his take on the various social and political currents which were prevalent around him. His thought also offers his interpretation of history, that is, how the world came to its current state.

The Egyptian society in the mid of 20th century was in a state of flux. There was a serious debate on the nature of Egyptian polity, Egyptian identity and its assertion in the wake of attainment of greater independence from the colonizers. On the other hand the Egyptian society, as Qutb has observed in his writings, is full of ills and exploitations of the common masses. As an observer and interpreter of society his ideas reflected his take on issues of identity, exploitation and justice.

In Islam, Qutb found the fixed vantage point for both the confident diagnosis, as well as for the prescriptions, for the treatment of the maladies in society (Tripp 1994: 158). Islam offered the tool to identify the faults of existing order and the treatment to those problems. Qutb offered a different interpretation of Islam, to match his twin concerns of diagnosis and prescription.

His observations and interpretations both through religion and of religion found a large acceptance despite it radical departure from that of Ulemas of the Al-Azhar. This can be attributed to the style of his exegetics. At the core of it lay his incorporation of Quran and its message in his ideas. Qutb presented his arguments with a regular reference to Quran in such a way that it offered an organic linkage between his thought and Quran. He provided a schematic interpretation of Quran in way that not only offered the ultimate proof of his ideas, but also provided answer to his concerns (Nettler 1994: 102-103).

The range of issues that Qutb, engaged with, found him influence among a diversity of actors, from the moderate to the radical Islamist revivalist. It becomes important to understand: what exactly was his program of revival? What was his answer to the distress of common masses in the modern world? What is his diagnosis of the problem associated with Western modernity? How did Islamic polity offer a solution? How to implement those, in other words, how to bring about the change? What is the role of brute force in the process of change? The answer to these questions can be reached by mapping his ideas, by examining the logic behind his thought, and through an assessment of the categories he used.

This chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section maps Qutb's diagnosis of disorder in the modern world. Then second section outlines the details of Qutb's Islamic alternative and the final section will engage with his method of change and how he justifies the use of violence.

1. The Disorder

The situation in Egypt in the middle of twentieth century provided the background against which Qutb developed his intellectual characteristics. It was a society moving towards greater independence from colonialism. The penetrations of colonial structures were deep. The situation of peasantry provided the first concern with which Qutb started his journey of intellectual criticism of the existing political situation. He articulated the concerns of Egyptian masses and of the working class.

Qutb observed a range of issues in the process of his diagnosis of the disorder. He raised several concerns as the deplorable conditions of the peasantry and masses, the damage to indigenous community due to the impact of West, the rupture in existing communitarian values and norms caused due to these structures of power, and finally the deplorable moral conduct which resulted due to the new values encouraging pursuit of material pleasures (Tripps 1994: 166). Qutb identified that the new wave of materialism also redefined the existing moral values which he identifies with Islam. That is, the religion which he observes around himself is a departure from its original past.

The new system in fact as he identifies has given rise to a new morality and a new divinity. This divinity is identified with the cult of the pursuit of endless wealth and power. As a result, many people, classes or groups (capitalists, feudalists etc) have risen to the stature of divinity in the sense that they have brought large number of people into submission to them. The process therefore saw the ouster of God, the real Divinity from lives of people, and thus came to cause distortion:

> On the one hand, some people, class or group rise with claims to divinity and by virtue of their power reduce others into their servitude. On the other hand, because of this tendency to oust God from our lives and the consequent distortion of our true nature, a large number of people surrender themselves to the divinity of the powerful, accepting their right to decide for them. This as I said, is the source of oppression in the world: Islam makes its first strike at this apparatus of divinity (Qutb 2008: 61).

The rise of this new system for Qutb, has led to a certain kind of morality and moral system. This system, due to the very fact of its distortion of nature by replacing Divinity from its original place is characterized with a very large vacuum or void at the core of its moral system. The system is considered to have unleashed, an uncontrolled pursuit of power, damaged the traditional norms and values and caused all the distress of masses and humanity in modern world. This system and all the systems in the modern world have been identified by Qutb through the use of a single term of Jahiliya. Jahiliya is therefore his diagnosis of all the evils of modernity. It is the dominance of Jahiliya which has forced humanity into distress and suffering.

What is Jahiliya?

The term "Jahiliya", is used in Islamic tradition to describe the period before 7th century AD, which is the period that preceded the advent of Islam. The period is considered to be marked by the presence of ignorance and barbarism. A departure in the understanding came with Sheikh Abd al-Wahhab who used the term to describe the conditions of Muslims throughout the world and in Najd in Arabia in 18th century (Shepard 2003: 523). Wahhab used it to describe the adulteration in the faith of Muslims around him and to describe the presence of poly-theistic practices.

Qutb radically departed from the Islamic tradition, in his application of the term. He linked it with the concept of "hakimmiyah", which he understood as 'sovereignty of God' or 'Divine Sovereignty'. The concept of sovereignty of God is the prism, through which Qutb identifies Jahiliya and accordingly divide the world between Jahiliya and Islam (Khatab 2002: 147). Jahiliya as it appears in Qutb's thought is "one man's lordship over another", that is, the assumption of sovereignty by an individual (Qutb 2006: 57).So Jahiliya involves the servitude of one man to another. The Jahiliya as conceived by Qutb is based on his understanding that sovereignty lies with God only, and any one exercising this right apart from God is a manifestation of Jahiliya. So Jahiliya for Qutb is a rebellion against the sovereignty of God:

> This Jahiliyyah is based on rebellion against Allah's sovereignty on earth. It transfers to man one of the greatest attributes of Allah, namely sovereignty,

and makes primitive form of claiming that the right to create values to legislate rules of collective behaviour, and to choose any way of life rests with men, without regard to what Allah Almighty has prescribed. (Qutb 2006: 27)

This linkage with sovereignty sets Qutb's understanding of Jahiliya apart from other traditional understanding of Islam. Bergesen identifies two aspects of Qutubian understanding of Jahiliya, which sets him apart from other traditional understanding of Islam: "First the issue is not traditionalism, meaning turning the clock back to seventh century, but fundamentalism, meaning employment of an abstract set of fundamental social and political relations. Second, the notion of ignorance of God is less the psychology of polytheism—belief in multiple gods, and more a sociology of polytheism—submission to multiple sources of authority" (Bergesen 2008: 21). So Jahiliya as Qutb understands is now based on the pattern of social and political relationship and the kind of government.

By providing such an interpretation, Qutb establishes a strict political connotation of the word Jahiliya. The distinction of Jahili society, from the Islamic society is not only on forms of worship but also on the kind of political set up, their institutions and their laws. That is a Jahili society has institutions and laws which do not recognize the sovereignty of Allah, and do not accept Divine guidance as the basis of all laws. In the opposite way they have assemblies, with absolute powers to legislate laws (Qutb 2006: 93).

This assumption of the right of sovereignty by man, and the rejection of Divine guidance is the root cause of disorder prevalent in modern world and in every society which rejects Divine guidance. Qutb believes that the laws derived with the guidance of God, or say from religion are harmonious with natural laws. This practice by Jahiliya society thus disregards the cosmic unity of God's Law, which inevitably results in the sickness and degradation of modern human existence (Nettler 1994:111-112).

Qutb understands that, the departure from the Divine laws brings a new set of people who act as the new divine, who will claim the right to make laws, and right to create values without any consideration of what God has prescribed. In formulating these rules they will be driven by their impulse of material comforts (Asad 2003: 54). This material impulse underlying the laws has unleashed a greed for wealth and imperialism under the capitalist system and humiliation of the common man under the

communist system (Qutb 2006: 27). Qutb discusses that Jahiliya has led to materialism in two different forms; the capitalist system of Western Europe representing materialism as a way of life and communist system of the Eastern Europe, which offers again a materialist solution (theoretically) to the grievances caused by former.

Materialism: a life style

Among the various concepts, "Capitalism" stands out as the most important symptom of the exploitative tendencies and injustices of the modern world. Capitalism is equated with the pleasure seeking individualism and materialism (Asad 2003: 66). Though Qutb never discusses the origin of capitalism, yet it can be attributed to the same urge for material accumulation which characterizes the Jahiliya.

Qutb identifies an inherent contradiction in Capitalism. Capitalism on the one hand comes with slogans of human dignity and human rights, while on the other hand, it is responsible for the hunger and poverty of the masses (Maarakat 1975: 10-11). The miserable state of the masses and the paralyzing condition of the peasants and other working classes, were actually denying human dignity and human rights. It has also created a class of people who exploit the efforts of the hungry masses. The government which is formed in such a society also represents the interest of such an exploitative class (Musallam 2005: 123). So the society and polity, which is an outcome of capitalism, is actually a deception of those very slogans of dignity and rights which come with capitalism.

Capitalism is held responsible for corruption at two levels. Firstly it corrupts the conscience and character of the individual (Asad 2003: 65). Secondly it causes the proliferation of corruption in the immediate society and the state (Musallam 2005: 123). The corruption of character of both the society and the state is linked with the larger moral corruption which comes with capitalism. Here Qutb identifies that the capitalist structures have absorbed the religious class or ulema, who now acts for the sustenance of those very structures of exploitation. Qutb views that modern Muslims have been exploited and victimized by the ruthless alliance between the ulema (religious leaders) and the capitalists (Rabi 1996: 121). An important concern for Qutb here is that, the whole apparatus of capitalism including the existing ulema are

pushing the masses, particularly the youths towards atheistic communism, which they consider as their only salvation (Asad 2003: 65).

Qutb further links the kind of international politics present in modern world with capitalism, characterized by the motive of exploitations. Capitalism is regarded as the real enemy in the current world. It has led to a policy of commercial domination by West, which it brings in the guise of technical and economic aid programs. In doing so it captures the local markets and subverts the political independence of the country; in a way, brings economic imperialism (Asad 2003: 66).

Not only economic imperialism, but imperialism at large has been ascribed again to this same faith of Western societies in materialism. Materialism had led to the acceptance of pragmatism by Western countries, seen also in the pursuit of their foreign policy. Qutb argues that the doctrine of pragmatism is a result of pursuit of materialism. It flowed to modern European society from the Roman tradition. Rome for Qutb,"lived by the doctrine that all other peoples were to be conquered or exploited for the benefits of the mother country" (Loboda 2004: 12). This has led to the pursuit of imperialist policy by West. In this way Qutb explains the origin of the ills of modern world in prevalence of colonialism and imperialism, which are characterised with the presence of an important impulse of Jahiliya, that is, the selfish pursuit of material gains:

> History reveals a very ungainly picture of Westerners: equipped with all kinds of deadly weapons, they have thrown themselves on the peoples of the world establishing markets for their goods, searching for raw material resources, looking for lands to colonize, and minerals to exploit so that they can fuel their never-ending lust for other people's wealth. Their war is not enough for God but for greed to satisfy the demand of their baser selves. For them, it is enough of a reason for their bloodletting pursuits if others have resources to enrich them (Qutb 2008: 58).

Materialism in theory: the wrong alternative.

Qutb rejects Communism as an alternative to the ills of Capitalism. His rejection of Communism seems to be for two reasons, firstly for its materialist interpretation of

reality (theory) and secondly because he feels the need to check the masses from getting attracted towards Communism.

Theoretically, Marxism has been blamed for its ignorance of the human soul, its nature and history. That is Marxism attributes "all human incentives to the feeling of material hunger and the struggle for material gain" (Qutb 2007: 39). Here human actions being driven by desire is informed by the mode of production. So Marxists reduce both man's action and his history to a reflection of mode of production (Choueiri 1997: 128). So it is ignorant of religious and divine matters in the conception of both its present reality and the past. In the process it denies any space for religion in the conception of society. Marxism does not recognize the spiritual aspect of the human being. It denies both the existence of God and spiritual needs of human beings. It does not provide for an individual the freedom of faith (Asad 2003: 54).

Qutb considers the Marxist solution as an impractical in absence of consideration of and one that cannot be realized:

> Marxism depicts future as void of all human legacies, assuming that human beings will be philanthropic angels: each individual producing his utmost but receiving only accord to his needs. It assumes that all this would take place without control of government, without a heavenly belief alluring man to Paradise and scaring him from Hell, and without any plausible logical reason except that amazing legendary "revolution" which will be instituted in the nature and character of humanity just as soon as the "bourgeois" elements are eradicated and the "proletariat" are at the helm of affairs (Qutb 2007: 39-40).

For Qutb, the presence of religion is central to any scheme of solution. Marxism is similar to that Capitalism in as much as both deny any space for Divine guidance. Divine guidance is the original source which gives a comprehensive interpretation of the status of man in the larger scheme, which is vital for understanding the real necessities of humanity and human nature (Qutb 2007: 38). Both ignore the spiritual desire of human beings. Marxism fails to offer the alternative because of its lack of understanding of human nature.

Both Capitalism and Marxism are characterized by the presence of materialism. In the case of communism, materialism is in form of theory with an interpretation of history,

while in case of Capitalism; it is present in form of production. In both the cases, all other human values are sacrificed through the domination of materialism (Qutb 2006: 109).

Islam, for Qutb is completely opposed to Jahiliya, not only in terms of beliefs, but also in the form of imagination and reasoning (Tripp 1994:171). Islam is opposed to any kind of expression of selfish material desires in the form of concepts, institutions, modes of living and traditions (Qutb 2006: 148). This means that Islam as Qutb views it is opposed to all forms of polities present in modern world. It is this reason that brings Islam in a direct contest with European imperialism. The very spirit of Islam is opposed to imperialism (Qutb 1980: 238-239).

2. The Real Alternative: Leadership of Islam

In Qutbian understanding, the problems of mankind in the modern age are resultant of a leader of humanity by West. This leadership came in form of the domination of its concepts, institutions and its way of organizing the life. The dominance of their way of life created problems, and they failed to offer the alternative.

The real solution lies in a new form of leadership which comes from Islam. Qutb points towards the early history of Islam. In the seventeenth century, Islam rescued humanity by assuming the leadership of human affairs. This happened after the barbaric and exploitative over take by Jahiliya (particularly in Arabia). This new leadership was based on revealed truth in the form of Quran, so based on real guidance from Divinity (Nettler 1994: 108). This leadership, which is based on the knowledge of Quran, is considered to be the true leadership. It is on the basis of their acceptance of Divinity and submission to God that the leadership is assigned to Muslims alone. Islam, due to it's this worldly emphasis based on guidance from Quran, completely focuses on the redemption of society in this world, and seeks to establish the rule of righteousness in it (Haddad 1983: 20).This leadership exemplified its ability in seventeenth century Arabia.

The passage of this leadership from Islam to the modern Jahiliya, with its concepts and ideologies pushed mankind into distress. These forces of modernity (with West as its custodian) displaced Islam from its rightful position of the leader of mankind. This was a moral catastrophe, and for Qutb, it was the worst catastrophe humanity had ever

seen. It led Jahiliya to seize leadership and establish materialist thought (Nettler 1994: 108-109).

Qutb admits that Western civilization has yielded immense 'material fruits' in its course of progress since sixteenth century Renaissance. But then at the same time they caused moral degeneration. All the products of Western civilization, which have appeared in modern times, have lost vitality, because they are deprived of 'life giving values', which is morality (Qutb 2006: 23). The lack of spiritual values has made the West a sterile civilization. Their material progress fails to satisfy the spiritual needs of man (Loboda 2004: 12).This moral bankruptcy of the West and its devastating effects has brought a decline in leadership by Western men. Therefore, the modern age provides Islam with the opportunity to take leadership again and rescue mankind from moral decadence (Choueiri 1997: 129). So modernity, in a way provides an opportunity for Islam to resurrect itself as a leader of mankind.

The assumption of leadership requires Islam to fill exactly that moral void, which is present in the modern world. It is only by doing that, that Islam can rescue mankind:

> It is necessary for the new leadership to preserve and develop the material fruits of the creative genius of Europe, and also provide to mankind with such high ideals and values as have so far remained undiscovered by mankind, and which also acquaint humanity with a way of life which is ...harmonious with human nature, which is positive and constructive, and which is practicable (Qutb 2006: 24).

The attainment of leadership therefore requires Islam to offer a way of life in which it can preserve the benefits of modern science and technology, along with the fulfilment of spiritual needs of humanity. Then it must take a concrete form in human society (Qutb 2006: 26). To offer a correct way of life, Islam needs to be interpreted , exactly the way Prophet did it, so that it can offer solutions to practical problems (Musallam 2005:95).

This requires Islam to pose as an ideology. This can be done by the interpretation of Islam in way that it meets the need of modern society. The ideology derived from a correct understanding of Islam is regarded by Qutb as to be superior to that of capitalism and Marxism. This superiority comes from the Divine validation of it(Haddad 1983:20). Qutb believed that Islamic ideology would solve all the problems of humanity in general and of Muslims in particular. It would release Muslims from

the grasp of both capitalism and communism, and finally it would solve the entire social and economic problem (Haddad 1983: 70). Once the ideology is conceived, it must be applied in the practical realm of life. So it must develop into a system distinct from other Jahiliya.

Islam: ideology, system and method.

The correct interpretation of Islam is necessary to reach the original method propounded by Prophet Muhammad. The model that Prophet established is an eternal solution to all the ills of mankind. This true Islamic vision however, was corrupted due to Islamic philosophers incorporating other ideas from Western ideologies into it (Haddad 1994:76). Such an unacceptable incorporation of Western ideas polluted the purity of the Islamic concept, thereby narrowing its original scope (Bergesen 2008:15). So the original message of Islam cannot be found in the philosophy of thinkers like Ibn Sina, Ibn Rushd etc. It can be found only in Quran and Sunna (Musallam 2005:100).

After the interpretation, application of Islam requires its acceptance in the collective life of human beings. This means application of religion as source of guidance in collective life. This is in direct contradiction with the concept of secularism, which is the most important ideal of modernity. Religion for Qutb provides the moral framework in which all aspects of life are judged (Haddad 1983: 79). Qutb further identifies every system of life with a form of religion. If a system is based on Divine ideological ideal, then it would be adhering to divine religion. If the system is constituted by a ruler or people based on human doctrine, then it would be observing the religion of ruler or 'people's religion' (Qutb 2007: 12). In a way secularism, which is propounded by West is also a kind of religion.

Qutb draws a genealogy of secularism. This idea that religion 'concerns only man and his God' came into Christianity, in a period when it grew in the shadow of Roman Empire. It conceded the public life to temporal laws (Roman laws), because it had no comprehensive laws of its own and most importantly it had no power to put it before the Roman Government" (Qutb 2008: 152). The later form of Christianity was a domain with two constituent domains; the secular dominion of Roman and feudal law, and the religious sphere of the Church canon law. The pattern further turned in favor of secular law, and gradually gave way to the modern secular state (Judy 2004: 117).

43

With this separation, West alienated God from society and thus without faith as guide, society was guided by its bodily instincts (Loboda 2004: 11). These instincts were materialistic, and thus society in absence of divine guidance became materialist.

Such a separation is also responsible for creating a psychological stress. For Qutb, the human being is unitary in nature, and requires a system emerging from one conception to have balance and harmony in his actions. When a human has to live in a state where its conscience and feelings are governed by two different patterns; "when the two laws emerge from different conceptions, one from human imagination and other from the inspiration of God, then such an individual must suffer something similar to schizophrenia" (Qutb 2007: 14). Individuals in such a system, therefore suffer from anxiety and confusion.

Islam as a system based on Divine guidance cannot accept any kind of separation. The religion demands of the translation of faith into social action. It thus manifests in the socio-political system (Rabi 1996:113). As a divine religion sent by Almighty God, it cannot leave the affairs of daily life to "human intuitional religion" (Qutb 2007: 13).

Secularism is not acceptable, because in Qutb's understanding, the religious and the political are fused. The exercise of secularism is an exercise of secular political sovereignty. This exercise, denies an individual from submitting to God in the public domain. The practice is a kind of tyranny, in which people are denied the freedom to submit to God in totality (Bergesen 2008: 22). In a way, the act of secularism is an act of Jahiliya.

Qutb establishes that Islamic system denies any kind of sacred-secular separation. It will be based on Islam. In order to lay the nature of the Islamic system, he describes key principles of the ideology of Islam, the role of Islamic law and finally presents a brief outline of Islamic state.

Qutb makes a regular reference to Quran to explain the basic principles of the religion. Qutb was strict in his prescription of Quran as the source of guidance for an individual. An individual should approach Quran to find out, "What the Almighty Creator had prescribed for him and for the group in which he lived, for his life and for the life of group" (Qutb 2006: 31). Quran has given the means to mankind, through which it can mould itself in ways intended by God (Tripp 1994: 161). Qutb used

Quran to enunciate the theory and practical program for mankind in the modern world. In laying the characteristics of the Islamic way of life, Quran has been regarded as the unequivocal guide ordained by Allah (Musallam 2005:98).

Qutb expounded Quran to derive an all-embracing ideology from it. Qutb departed from traditional textual style of Quranic exegetics. The mediation by traditional textual exegeses is unnecessary to experience the meaning and purpose of Quranic revelation (Nettler 1994:104). Qutb's exposition of Quran has a revelation-al tone, in the sense that he regularly invokes the situation in which a particular verse was revealed. The consideration of the circumstances and events surrounding helped him decipher concepts and ideas that were vital in his formulation of ideology of Islam.

For Qutb, God, as the sovereign is the sole law giver. Quran is the revelation of God which gives the basic framework of an Islamic system. There is no permission to violate this framework (Asad 2003: 81). Qutb derives this framework in form of the key principles of Islam. The concepts that are derived from it are against all the new or old Jahili concepts, and cannot be mixed with them (Qutb 2006: 145-146).Through his expositions of Quranic message and the events which surrounded their revelation, Qutb develops the key principles or concepts of Islam. These concepts form the core of a total Islamic view of life. The Islamic social order is an offshoot of the ideological ideal.

There are three key principles of Islam, which are immutable, and must be followed by any society. These are unity of God, Sovereignty of God and Vicegerency of Human beings.

Divine Singularity

The system of Islam is entirely based on the core belief in 'Oneness of God', and all its institutions and laws are derived from it (Qutb 2006: 45).The institutions which are derived from it can be diverse in their form, yet they will comprehend this singularity. This singularity of divinity ensures a unity in the entire universe. The singular God is one for everyone. This principle provides a harmonizing symmetry to entire universe. Qutb calls this unity as the absolute harmonizing unity of divine singularity (Judy 2004: 119).

This principle of the unity of divine singularity has two implications for human beings. Firstly, it gives equal status to all human beings. Human beings as a creation of God, share a common status in relation to the creator. Any distinction among human beings on basis of gender, ethnicity, race, and class is the violation of this Oneness (Bergesen 2008: 16). Secondly, the individual being part of this unity has both physical and metaphysical desires. Based on it, humanity is a complex of spiritual desires and physical desires. The physical desires are inclined towards earth and the spiritual desires are disposed towards heaven (Judy 2004: 122-123).

Sovereignty (hakimiyah) of God:

This principle is derived from the same principle of singularity of God. For Qutb, it is embodied in the very declaration of faith: *La ilaha illa Allah* (There is no deity worthy of worship except Allah). The act of worship involves act of assigning complete sovereignty to God:

> It meant that only Allah's authority would prevail in the heart and conscience, in matters pertaining to religious observances and the affairs of life such as business, the distribution of wealth and the dispensation of justice; in short, in the souls and bodies of men..... 'There is no deity worthy of worship except Allah' was a challenge to that worldly authority which had usurped the greatest attributes of Allah, namely, sovereignty (Qutb 2006: 38).

In Islam, as Qutb sees it, every act is an act of worship. This necessitates that all human conduct, whether it be political, economic, art and literature etc., must follow the Sovereignty of God (Khatab 2002: 151). This involves disregard of any form of earthly concept that is based on the conception of sovereignty of man or any other creed other than God. The exercise of sovereignty by people, which is acceptance of legislation other than those from God, is a usurpation of right of the God. This also constitutes an act of partnering with God, which is opposed to the foundational principle of Oneness of God (Bergesen 2008: 18).

Position of Human being: Vicegerency

Vicegerency or the concept of khalafah, enunciates the position of man in the larger scheme of a unified universe, observing sovereignty of God. "Man is the most cherished of God on this earth, the fundamental creature therein, the vicegerent over

its potentialities. Whatever is on earth lies at his disposal, or so it should be"(Qutb 2007: 43). This requires human to implement an order on earth according to the law of God.

This is a privileged position, which only man enjoys among all creations of God. As a beholder of this position, man is gifted with free will. His role is that of caretaker (Bouzid 1998: 46). Human beings assume this position of vicegerency through his submission to God (Haddad 1983: 21). Vicegerency also puts a limit on all of his actions. As vicegerent, every action of the human being becomes an act of submission and thanking God (Nettler 1994: 110). The responsibility of vicegerency is fulfilled, if all actions of the human being are in accordance with the law of God. The collective output of such actions ensures a comprehensive and harmonious system.

The implementation of both these concepts of Divinity and human vicegerency would result in establishment of an Islamic system. This system is both comprehensive (applicable everywhere in any era), and in harmony with the universe (as it will be based on the original truth of universe). This comprehensiveness ensures the independence of the Islamic system. As a comprehensive system, it is capable of meeting the demands of new situations (Shepard 1989: 38). This comprehensive nature of Islam and its transcendental world view rejects the validity of all other systems and values, and demands restoration of the pristine Islamic beliefs and system (Choueiri 1997: 123).

Sharia:

Islamic system is based on the universal truth, based in form of law of God. This system of law of God is the Sharia. It is based on the foundational principle of Islam, and is therefore in correspondence with the Divine Sovereignty and Divine unity. These laws are sacrosanct, and contain all the prescriptions for human conduct, which is desired from him by God:

> ..the Shari'ah which Allah Almighty has given to man to organize his life is also a universal law, as it is related to the general law of the universe and is harmonious with it. This obedience of Shari'ah becomes necessity for human beings so that their lives may become harmonious and in tune with the rest of the universe; not only this, but the only way in which harmony can be brought about the physical laws which are operative in the biological life of man and the moral laws which govern his voluntary actions is solely through obedience

to the Shariah. Only this way does man's personality, internal and external, becomes integrated (Qutb 2006: 101).

So Sharia, as Qutb understood means that there is legislation for every aspect of life. These include the principle of justice, principle of administration and principle of morality and human relationship. Sharia prescribes the values and standards of a society. Therefore Sharia sets the standard, according to which all actions in society are measured (Asad 2003: 70).

Sharia, for Qutb, provides the pure system of laws of Allah, without any interference from human being. So it is free of any kind of human influence, and thus free of interest of any particular group or human desire (Qutb 2006: 149). Sharia in this understanding is different from human legislations in democracy or other systems, which represents the section of a particular class. The absence of human desires further ensures that it is not materialistic in nature.

The observation of Sharia for Qutb is vital in ensuring peace and cooperation among individuals. By obeying Sharia, human beings bring harmony between his external behavior and his internal nature. This ensures that a man is at peace with his internal nature. This peace as it is regarded by Qutb, leads to peace and cooperation among individuals and entire system (Qutb 2006: 102). Sharia further harmonizes human behavior with cosmos. The essential oneness of Sharia and natural laws, with both coming from God ensures a perfect unity between Islamic society and the cosmos (Nettler 1994: 112).

Like all revivalist thinkers, Qutb too faces the problem of implementing Sharia, in a modern world. Qutb admits the limitation of Islamic law due to its frozen state in past. Here Qutb suggest the need for reinterpretation of Sharia, so that it reflects the vast array of experiences of humanity in modern world (Choueiri 1997: 97).Sharia has been regarded as eternal and relevant for every time. The need is to deduce a new code of laws (fiqh), from man's application of Sharia, thus making Ijtihad (analogical judgments) an instrument to bring necessary change within Sharia (Haddad 1994: 71). Ijtihad is proscribed for a situation, in which a clear and direct text is available from the Quran and from the Prophet. Ijtihad can be practiced, if there is no availability of a clear judgment regarding a situation. Ijtihad must be in accordance with the well

defined principles of the religion (Qutb 2006: 96). Any departure from the foundational principles of Islam is not permitted in the practice of Ijtihad.

The State

Most of the Islamist revivalists of twentieth century were conscious of the penetration and reach of the modern nation state. The need to engage with the modern nation state or in some cases control the modern nation state is evident in the work of most of the modern Islamist political thinkers. Qutb too, felt the need to control the power centres. For him, "an oppressive immoral civilization derives its sustenance from an immoral governmental set-up. Likewise, a righteous state apparatus cannot be implemented unless the reins of government pass from the mischief-makers to the peacemakers" (Qutb 2008: 63).

Qutb was clear in his thought, that in order to establish itself, Islam must take control of the state. Qutb however does not specify the nature of state, which will be established, after Muslims take control of it. Qutb regularly invokes the first Islamic society, in the entire course of his argument on ideological nature of Islam. But he is not rigid in prescribing the institutions of state based on the first community.

There is a wide range of ways in which an Islamic polity can manifest itself, based upon the necessities of modern life. The particular form of polity does not matter as long as they are within the circle of Islam (Haddad 1994: 70-71). This is the reason that Qutb does not enunciate the particular details of any institution of Islamic state. Any kind of state will be an Islamic state, if it is congruent with the foundational principles of Islam, and it recognizes the sovereignty of God.

But, unlike many Islamist thinkers, who sought to provide an Islamic alternative to Western parliamentary democracy, Qutb out rightly rejects such an approach. He feels that democracy is a system which never stands by the principles of liberty, which it proclaims. Democracy, for him is a form that has led to tyranny of a small minority possessing financial capital (Choueiri 1997: 113-114). Qutb has a similar approach for all other concepts of modernity, which for him are the mode of Jahiliya. Any approach of rapprochement with modern concepts for Qutb is a defeatist act. Such an action will mean defeat of Islam before the West and other mode of Jahiliya (Qutb 2006: 154).

Qutb however is very clear on pointing towards certain attributes of Islamic polity that has existed in the past. He makes it clear, that the sovereignty in an Islamic state will lie with God, and not with the ruler or anyone else. The ruler's right to rule is based on his acceptance to follow the law of God. That is, a ruler derives his authority from his continual enforcement of Islamic law (Qutb 1980: 95). Sharia, therefore acts as the main instrument which gives both authority and legitimacy to a Muslim administrator or a ruler (Rabi 1996: 113).

3. Implementing Alternative: The Change

The process of change involves both the spread of religion and establishment of Islamic system. Both combined together is understood as revolution. Sayyid Qutb in particular, views the advent of Islam as a "Great revolution" in the history of mankind, which brought a paradigm shift (Bouzid 1998: 50).Islam as a movement seeks to change the practices of existing society. The revolution is based on the key objective of changing the Jahiliya system at its roots (Qutb 2006: 35). The existing society has deep permeation of Jahiliya. So it becomes necessary to have a radical transformation rather than a reform in a society (Haddad 1994: 78). Islamic movement does not aim at any kind of reform in the existing structure. It is rather intended at the radical transformation of society.

Qutb considered the establishment of Islam by Prophet Muhammad as a successful model of revolution. His concern in his writings was to establish the uniqueness of this revolution, and interpret it in a way to show that it can be replicated in modern times.

Qutb describes the uniqueness of Islamic movement, through his demarcation of the differences between Islamic revolution and other modern revolutions, by discussing the aspects of early Islamic movement of Prophet. Qutb identifies two key differences;

Firstly, Islamic movement is neither a class nor a nationalist movement. Prophet never used the forces of nationalism or any other earthly categories like class or race as a base for his message (Choueiri 1997: 104). Islam is not addressed to any particular class, but to entire mankind (Qutb 2008: 61).

Secondly, the idea of justice, on which Islamic movement is based, is different from other worldly movements. Prophet as a revolutionary had a different sense of justice. This is attributed to the fact that Prophet did not represent any particular class. So there was no class bias. This is unlikely in case of other non-prophet revolutionaries, who represents a particular class, and thus have a tilted sense of justice biased in favor of that particular class (Qutb 2008: 62).

In order to establish that Islamic revolution can be replicated, Qutb identifies the key reasons for the success of revolution of Prophet. Qutb acknowledges the role of charismatic personality of Prophet, and the patience and sacrifices of Muslims at that time, in the success of the movement. At the same time he points towards those factors which are eternally present, and the realization of which means replication of the success of seventh century AD.

First of all Qutb considers the charm of Quran as the main factor (Rabi 1996: 104-105).Quran was the only source of guidance for the first generation of Muslims. It is this purity of source that separates the first unique generation from later Muslims. Later Muslims mixed the purity of source of guidance with other sources (Qutb 2006: 30-31).

Secondly, the first generation of Muslims rejected Jahiliya in its totality. Such an approach, for Qutb was in cognizance of human nature: "Indeed, the capacity exists in human nature to change completely from one way to another; and this is much easier for it than many partial changes. And if the complete change were to be from one system of life to another which is higher, more perfect and purer than the former, this complete change is agreeable to human psychology"(Qutb 2006: 152).

So Qutb reduced the success of first generation of Muslims to two key factors of Quran and adherence to fitrah (human nature). Quran, in Islamic belief is the only Holy book, which will remain till the 'day of judgment'. On the other hand the same human nature exists in all human beings (Bouzid 1998: 53). In a way Qutb attributes the success to two such factors which are ever present. Thus for him Islamic revolution can be realized at any time.

How to bring the movement?

There are two stages in the process of Islamic revolution. Firstly, it involves the inculcation of faith in individual, leading to formation of the community. For Qutb, community which is also identified as vanguard is formed when the number of individuals submitting to the faith reaches three. Then in the second stage the vanguard will carry the struggle (Qutb 2006: 116-117).

The acceptance of faith is the beginning of the movement. Acceptance of faith, for Qutb is important to transcend the social constraints of the existing societal structure:

> A society has a governing logic and a common mode; its pressure is strong and its weight heavy on anyone who is not protected by some powerful members of the society or who challenges it without a strong force. Accepted concepts and current ideas have a climate of their own and it is difficult to get rid of them without a deep sense of truth, in the light of which all these concepts and ideas shrink to nothingness, and without the help of a source which is superior, greater and stronger than the source of these concepts and ideas (Qutb 2006: 158).

Qutb seems to have understood the role of social structures and limitations in the ability of an individual to overcome those. Here he assumes that faith in the truth (Islam), or a deep sense of truth brings in a feeling of superiority of truth. It provides the strength and the force to challenge the existing social structure and thus bring change.

The acceptance of faith equips an individual and the vanguard with both the commitment and tools to engage with difficulties of the next stage of the movement which is that of Jihad (struggle), an arduous and protracted task (Choueiri 1997: 140).

Qutb radically departs from other revivalists of the twentieth century in his understanding of Jihad, which is the struggle. In Qutbian understanding, it is an act of confrontation with the prevailing order of Jahiliya. Jahiliya, for him is present in form of both ideas and practical institutions supported by political and military authority. For Qutb, the vanguard must make use of all the suitable means, and should not "confront practical realities with abstract theories" (Qutb 2008: 46).

Qutb is in favor of use of force in confrontation with crude material realities. His understanding of Jihad has both elements of use of words and use of violence. Qutb is critical of the traditionalist and other revivalist understanding of Jihad as a struggle without violence. He considers it as an apologetic response to Orientalist attacks (which attacked Islam for being militant in nature):

> And so great is our naivety that when we see portrait thus made we are so terrified that we forget to see the faces of the painters behind it. Worse, we become apologetic, pleading: "Your Excellencies, we do not have anything to do with war; we are as peaceful as the Buddhists and the priests are...We do, however, admit that occasionally when someone comes to beat us we count him against our will. But now we have discarded even our right to self defence. To please your Excellencies we have officially proscribed weapon wielding jihad. Now jihad is an effort waged with our mouths and pens. To fight with weapon is your prerogative (Qutb 2008: 58).

Qutb is of the view that the appropriate means should be followed to confront the "human situation". The vanguard should confront the ideas of Jahiliya through preaching and material obstacles of Jahiliya through forceful movement. In a way the combination of the two, preaching and the movement are the two constituents of Jihad, and both put together confront the human situation with all necessary means (Qutb 2006: 69).

Qutb specifies the two methods of preaching and movement for dealing with the Jahili society. He however does not specify the exact strategies. He wanted the strategies to be formulated by the vanguard, based on the circumstances that the vanguard encounters (Loboda 2004: 21).

There is no ambiguity that Qutb justifies use of violence. At the same time, he also points to certain ethical dimensions, drawing analogies with Prophet. There he clearly prohibits violence against children, women, and elderly people. He is also against any act of extreme torture and disfigurement of bodies (Qutb 2008: 146). Therefore his idea of use of violence is against the modern day practice of suicide terrorism.

Summary

As discussed in the chapter, Sayyid Qutb comprehends the entire problem linked with modernity through his theory of 'Jahiliya'. Jahiliya involved the presence of one man's lordship over other and absence of recognition of God as the lord. This

assumption has gradually paved for the domination of one particular class. Qutb points that capitalism exactly reflects this tendency. Capitalism is considered to reflect the exploitative tendencies of modernity. The tendency is present in all forms of polity present in modern world. It further led to imperialism.

Qutb considers Islamic system as the solution to the problems. Islamic system is based on the recognition of sovereignty of God. The sovereignty of God is recognized by the observation of Sharia. So far the exact nature of polity is concerned; Qutb does not specify the exact form of state. He considers the Sharia as the key criteria of an Islamic polity. In defining Islamic polity, Qutb is strictly against any kind approach which seeks to define Islamic polity in Western terms. Such approaches are considered by Qutb as defeatist acts.

Finally he discusses his scheme of change, which is considered by him as the process of bringing change at the roots of Jahiliya system. Qutb justifies the use of violence for changing the material forms of Jahiliya and use of propagation to counter the ideas of Jahiliya system.

Chapter Four

Khomeini's Politicization of Shias in Occulation Era

> Between 1964 and 1977, as the Iranian monarch spent...millions on the expensive toys of a modern arsenal, the aged Ayatollah sharpened his pencils and sat cross-legged at his tiny desk to write letters, issue edicts, announce declarations, and dispatch telegrams. Khomeini's pencils and papers proved to be not only massively less expensive but infinitely more effective than the monarch's state-of-the-art military technology (Dabashi 2008: 424).

The 20th century saw the Muslim world encountering with the forces of modernity. The rapid changes brought ruptures within the traditional order. Ayatollah Khomeini was born in the year 1902 in the town of Khomein in Iran. He grew up in central Iran, which happened to be an important source producing stream of religious scholars for Shia Islam (Moin 1994: 66).

After his early education in religion in his home town, in 1919, at the age of seventeen, Khomeini moved to Arak for training under Ayatollah Haeri. Khomeini later followed Haeri to the city of Qom to revive the religious learning centres in Qom. Qom after that became the main centre along with Najaf in Iraq for Shia religious learning. The city of Qom assumed further importance in Muslim political consciousness in 20th century.

Khomeini lived series of up downs in the politics of Iran very early in his life. In the first two decades of his life he witnessed the movements leading to constitutional revolution, occupation of Iran by Russia and England and the overthrow of the Qajar dynasty by Reza shah, establishing the Pahlavi dynasty.

Khomeini became Mujtahid (Jurist) in early 1930s and started teaching at the religious centre. His development as a religious scholar after this moved along with series of other changes (modern) in Iran like the establishment of Tehran University as an alternative to traditional religious educational centre and the establishment of trans-Iran railway. In the political realm, there was a growing discontent among masses against Reza Shah, which resulted in protests. The brutal suppression of a popular movement in Mashhad by Reza shah is considered to have left lasting impression on Khomeini's political consciousness (Dabashi 2008: 441). This is

reflected in the first major political work by Ayatollah Khomeini—*Kashf al Asrar,* written during this period.

The 1940s and 50s were again marked with range of political developments in Iran. The allied forces occupied Iran and replaced Reza Shah with his son Mohammad Reza Shah in 1941. The year also saw the establishment of Iranian Communist party (Tudeh Party). The 1950s saw the elected government of Mossadeq in a CIA sponsored coup, which allowed the Shah to come back power. The rule of Shah saw advent of series of modernization projects on one hand and suppression of all form of liberal democratic and radical revolutionary voices in Iran.

The Shia clergy at Qom, during this period was operating under the leadership of Ayatollah Borujerdi, who maintained distance from the political developments in the country. Ayatollah Khomeini also avoided any direct opposition of the regime, thus following the position maintained by Borujerdi.

A major change came with the death of Ayatollah Borujerdi. In his absence, Khomeini as one of the four leading theologians gradually accomplished the fusion of religion with politics (Moin: 85). Khomeini came in direct opposition to series of policies of Shah, which were intended at secular modernization of Iran and development of close alliance with United States (Takeyh 2009: 14).

As a result of the protests, Khomeini was initially arrested and later exiled to Turkey and then to Najaf. During his stay in Najaf, he successfully maintained contacts with his followers in Iran through letters. It was in Najaf, that he delivered his famous lecture series, which were later published as *Islamic government.* He played the most important role in the articulation of the grievances of the masses resulting from the political and economic policies of Shah. Khomeini articulated the grievances in a language which was Islamic and was against imperialism. After his expulsion from Iraq, he moved to Paris to have an access to the international media. He returned from Paris to witness the end of monarchy and establishment of Islamic Republic of Iran.

The Iranian revolution of 1979 was the harbinger of present resurgence of Islam. It established the resurgence of Islam as a major political force, a development which was an outcome of series of changes that took place among the Muslims in twentieth century, beginning with the end of Ottoman caliphate. The revolution led to the first

successful takeover of the state by Islamists. It further posed a serious challenge to the secular expectations of modernization and development theories (Esposito 1999: 656). The prevalent material conditions were significant in bringing the revolution. Despite their presence, the revolution would not have been possible without the "unifying catalytic voice" of Ayatollah Khomeini, who freely expressed the grievances of the masses (Dabashi 2008 415-416). His writings and his ideas were instrumental in unifying all the major sections of Iranian society in their struggle against the monarch who were portrayed as the proxy of American imperialism.

Khomeini's writings are direct response to range of developments that he experienced, which has been discussed earlier. Khomeini established his religious credentials as a prominent religious leader before moving on to the political arena (Moin 1994: 83). He moved to politics at a time when the developing world was encountering range of anti colonial and nationalist movements. These notions of exploitations of third world by the West, oppression of the downtrodden class by the oppressor became his references (Takeyh 2009: 11-15). His writings offer his reflection of the state of human beings in modern world with a particular reference to Muslims through the expression of conditions in Iran. The presence of several instances of injustice both in Iran and the Muslim world at large allowed him to give call for justice. His position as a religious leader and his expressions of concerns of Islam made him the authority speaking for Islam. The significance of his views is best captured by Hamid Dabashi in the phrase that: "His voice became the voice through which 'Islam' spoke" (Dabashi 2008: 416).

In speaking against the injustice caused mainly by imperialism, Khomeini departed from the scholarly language of traditional ulema. Khomeini used a populist language of confrontation, which is the language of an ordinary man (Fischer 1983: 162). In doing so, he introduced a new value system which was not identifiable with the traditional Islamic one. Ayatollah Khomeini used the language of class struggle with a religious tone (Moin 1994: 91). The language appealed both the nationalists and the leftists. He was successful in getting the support of the radical workers, the nationalists and even the leftist groups like Tudeh party (Zibakalam 1990: 64).

Khomeini offered a novel interpretation of many doctrines of Shia Islam, which politicized the otherwise quietist Shia Islam with its indifference towards temporal

politics. In doing so he reinterpreted it to make it a revolutionary ideology which was instrumental in making of Iranian revolution and the state structure that emerged after it. Khomeini successfully politicized Shia Islam with his assertion that a just society can be established even during the period of occulation (this aspect will be discussed later in the chapter) with his theory of governance of jurist, which negated the traditional Shiite belief that a just society can be established only in rule by the Twelve Imams (Hosseini 1999: 90).

The ideology of Ayatollah Khomeini left several implications on the international politics. It contributed a lot in the making of an assertive Iran. It also had paradoxical implications for Clerical institution within Shi'ism. The Islamic revolution of Iran and the doctrinal interpretations of Khomeini led to creation of new institutions, which weakened the traditional Shia clerical structure and challenged all the clerical logics which were in practice, since eighteenth century (Roy 1999: 209).

Ayatollah Khomeini identifies a range of grievances in Iran. Iran is a case with which he identifies in the first place. The situation remains same for the whole Muslim world. He identifies varieties of grievances ranging from the lack of basic necessity of life, moral degeneration and ir-religiosity which have come to dominate the people (Khomeini 1981: 190-191). All these problems are attributed immediately to the non-Islamic system of Shah. Khomeini considers the absence of just system which is Islamic system as the reason for absence of justice and moral corruption. The abandonment of Quran and adoption of foreign, non-Islamic way of life has created problems for Muslims (Khomeini 1982: 16). Muslims have departed from constitution based on Sharia to modern constitutions. This has been regarded as a departure from a higher standard, which has led to corruption in society and paved for a selfish rule by few oppressors (Martin 1996: 23-24). Khomeini believes that the existence of non-Islamic political order leads to implementation of non-Islamic system. The system of rule in such case will be an instance of taghut (Khomeini n.d.: 23)[8]. The existence of non-Islamic political order is attributed to the presence of all the grievances of Muslims.

Khomeini in his larger theoretical scheme, further narrows down the phenomenon of

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[8]Taghut is described as one who surpass all bounds of tyranny and despotism and claims prerogatives of divinity for himself explicitly and implicitly, Shirk is the assignments of partners to God, either by believing in a multiplicity of gods, or by assigning divine attributes and prerogatives to other than God.

imperialism as the key source of non-Islamic system. In doing so, imperialism is identified as the main reason for economic and moral degeneration of Muslims in the modern world.

This chapter intends to offer an answer to these sets of questions, through the interpretative exploration of writings of Ayatollah Khomeini. The Chapter is divided in three parts. First part, will engage with his diagnosis of the problem, which for Ayatollah Khomeini is the imperialist order. Khomeini links modernity with the order of imperialism. The second part, will discuss Khomeini's just order, which is the Islamic order. His conception of Islamic state is part of this order. The final section will look at his recommendations for establishment of the Islamic political order. The section will also look at the role of violence in thought of Khomeini.

Part one: the root of disorder

Imperialism is the framework which is used by Khomeini to explain the oppression going on in the Muslim world. The absence of true Islamic order paves for non-Islamic order, which brings oppression. Khomeini links the absence of Islamic order with imperialism. The absence of Islamic government in Iran in particular and Muslim world in general is considered to be the outcome of plans hatched by imperialist powers with assistance from local proxies, over three to four centuries (Choueiri 1990: 168). This was part of the larger imperialist penetration, which was driven materialistic ambitions:

> These new groups began their imperialist penetration of the Muslim countries about three hundred years ago, and they regarded it as necessary to work for the extirpation of Islam in order to attain their ultimate goals. It was not their aim to alienate the people from Islam in order to promote Christianity among them, for the imperialists really have no religious belief, Christian or Islamic. Rather, throughout this long historical period,...they felt that the major obstacle in the path of their materialistic ambitions and the chief threat to their political power was nothing but Islam and its ordinances, and the belief of the people in Islam (Khomeini n.d.: 7).

Khomeini associates the developments and incidents in Iran with larger imperialist designs. He was particular in citing the cases of the legal immunity which was granted by Shah to American diplomats in Iran, the presence of military base of Israel and its economic presence as instances of American imperialism through the presence of Israel (Khomeini 1981: 197).

Israel is regularly referred in the writings of Ayatollah Khomeini as the example of injustice on Muslim. Israel is regarded as the most unbearable symbol of Western tyranny (Dabashi 2008: 426). Khomeini considers the Zionist state of Israel as the enemy of Islam, and its creation, transgressing on Islam's sacred domain is regarded as the greatest crime of West (Takeyh 2009: 20). Khomeini regularly asserts the role played by both Soviet and US in the creation and strengthening of Israel. Khomeini observes: "Israel was born out of the collusion and agreement of the imperialist states of East and West. It was created in order to suppress and exploit the Muslim peoples, and it is being supported today by all the imperialists" (Khomeini 1981: 210). In doing so he identifies the prevalent political order in world as entirely against Islam.

The presence of imperialism makes world as an arena of continuous struggle between the oppressed and the oppressors. Khomeini expressed the polarization between oppressors and oppressed, which resulted from economic imperialism in an Islamic language (Black 2001: 329). Khomeini identified the Muslim world with the oppressed, who are the victims of Western imperial aggression.

Khomeini identifies several processes through which, an imperial order penetrates and sustains itself. An assessment of his writings can be used to derive his theory of imperialism. Khomeini seems to point at four mechanisms or processes through which the imperial order imposed it self on the Muslim world. The four processes include creation of proxy regimes, distortion of Islam, corruption of Muslims and division of Muslims.

Proxy governments

Governments in the Muslim world are regarded by Khomeini as serving the imperial cause. They are creation of imperialists to serve their purpose of economic exploitation of Muslim world. Imperialists ensure the presence of such regimes through the use of both liberal slogans of democracy and force. The governments that exist in Muslim

world are primarily established through the use of force (Khomeini 1981: 169). Apart from direct installation of regimes, the liberal legislations, and the constitutional system of government serves other means of penetration (Martin 1993: 44).

Khomeini is careful in pointing towards the false rhetoric of human rights as it is propounded by West. He emphasizes the role of Britain and America in supporting and sustaining the tyrannical regime of Shah. In doing so he points towards the contradictions that exist, between the Western preaching of Human rights and democracy and their actual practice. He regards Human rights as the "opium of the masses", which is used to deceive the nations in the Muslim world (Khomeini 1981: 213-214). So in identifying the discourses of democracy, constitutionalism and human rights with the imperialist scheme of penetration in Muslim world, Khomeini out rightly rejects them and limits their scope.

The creation and support of proxy regimes has led to forms of governments, which sustain the imperialist aggression and exploitations. The Pahlavi regime is identified as one such regime. These regimes, which are Western proxies, sustain the imperialist aggression and serve as a tool for larger Western scheme of exploitation of the Muslim world (Takeyh 2009: 19). In the process of exploitation of Muslims and their resources, these governments have made recourse to all kind of coercive and repressive mechanism and created a regime of "terror and thievery"(Khomeini 1981: 189). In a way, the form of government, which is the cause of the grievances in Muslim world, is actually a creation of imperialist design for the exploitation of Muslim world. So these regimes are means and cause of exploitations of Muslims.

Distortion of Islam

The distortion of Islam essentially means its de politicization. Khomeini views that imperialists considered Islam with its ordinances as the main obstacle in the way of their materialistic ambition and posed a major threat to their political power (Khomeini n.d.: 7). The imperialists know that the acquaintance of the real principles of Islam by Muslim youth, will lead to their downfall and subsequently the liberation of resources of oppressed from the control of the imperialists (Khomeini 1981: 209).The Colonizers are aware of the role of Islam in unifying Muslims. So they sought to distort Islam in order to remove its revolutionary and political nature.

The process was conducted through variety of agents and Orientalists (Dabashi 2008: 439). The project in the first place is carried in the name of Islam itself. Here the religious scholars themselves write in the influence of imperialists. In this way imperialists appropriate mosques and other religious institutions (Khomeini 1981: 197). The process was also carried through series of other measures, which sought to remove Islam from the public realm. The Constitutional revolution of 1906 as identified by Khomeini was a conspiracy on part of imperialist government of Britain. A key purpose of this movement was to replace laws of Islam with the introduction of Western laws (Hosseini 1999: 90).

The imperialists, through their penetration in religious institutions have presented a defective version of Islam, which fits the scheme of imperialism:

> ..the servants of imperialism have presented Islam in a totally different light...The defective version of Islam, which they have presented in the religious teaching institution, is intended to deprive Islam of its vital, revolutionary aspect and to prevent Muslims from arousing themselves in order to gain their freedom, ful fill the ordinances of Islam, and create a government that will secure their happiness and allow them to live lives worthy of human beings" (Khomeini n.d: 8).

In the process the imperialists have deprived Islam of its comprehensive and revolutionary character. Thus, Khomeini blames the influence of Western imperialism, for the de politicization of Islam. This linkage of de politicization of Islam with the designs of West created a tension in the consensus that was present in the Shia political thinking. The presence of non-participation was recommended by traditional Shi'ism (Black 2001: 329). Khomeini's identification of the practice with western imperialism posed a challenge to the traditional quietist understanding of Shi'ism, which prescribed abstention from any kind of political involvement.

Dividing Muslims

The unity among Muslims was recognized as a major challenge to the power of imperialists. Khomeini identifies that as one of the elements of political engagement of the western powers in the Muslim world was driven by the concern to divide Muslims and thus prevent them from forming a strong coalition against the imperialists and their penetration in the Muslim world. The imperialists therefore separated and divided Muslims. They further made Muslim countries hostile towards each other in order to

ensure a lasting division and thus preventing the emergence of any kind of coalition (Khomeini 1981: 20).

The imperialists are considered to have used both force of ethnicity, religion and nationalism to create divisions. So far the concept of nationalism is concerned Khomeini here has a mixed view towards it:

> To love one's fatherland and its people and to protect its frontiers are both quite unobjectionable, but nationalism, involving hostility to other Muslim nations, is something quite different. It is contrary to the Noble Quran and the orders of the Most Noble Messenger. Nationalism that results in the creation of enmity between Muslims and splits the ranks of the believers is against Islam and the interests of the Muslims. It is a stratagem concocted by the foreigners who are disturbed by the spread of Islam (Khomeini 1981: 302).

So, the theme of nationalism becomes un-Islamic, if it causes any kind of division among Muslims. Any group or regime that creates division among Muslims on the basis of nationalism or nationality is considered to be a contributor towards the imperialist and enemies of Islam (Khomeini 1982: 27).

Khomeini has considered the sectarian division among Sunnis and Shias as more dangerous than nationalism (Khomeini 1981: 302). The division between Shias and Sunnis is regarded as the outcome of ignorance on part of Muslim and propaganda by imperialists. Khomeini categorically asserts that any Muslim who seeks to create division between Shias and Sunnis are agents of superpowers (Khomeni 1982: 34-35).

Corruption of Muslims

Corruption of Muslims is understood as the process of creating a culture of consumption and westernization by imperialist through the strategic use of the process of modernization. Khomeini calls this culture as the "culture of imperialism", which he feels has penetrated deep into the Muslim world and which has displaced the "culture of Quran" (Khomeini 1981: 195). The process is causing the corruption of Muslim masses. The West is therefore considered to impose its cultural template and subordinate Muslims in the name of modernity (Takeyh 2009: 19). This skepticism towards modernity did not mean that Khomeini rejected all the features of modernity. Khomeini asserts that:

> We have never opposed these features of modernity in themselves, but when

they were brought from Europe to the East, particularly to Iran, unfortunately they were used not in order to advance civilization, but in order to drag us into barbarism. The cinema is a modern invention that ought to be used for the sake of educating the people, but, as you know, it was used instead to corrupt our youth (Khomeini 1981: 258).

Khomeini identifies range of other such features and issues, which fit this scheme of strategic use of modernity by West for imposition of its culture. Western clothing, mixed schools, wine shops, and music were all considered to be the causes of moral degeneration and corruption of Islamic society (Abbot 1995: 252).

Khomeini further identifies the role of local individuals, in takeover of such kind of modernity. These people are considered to be fascinated by the presence of Western domination, which resulted from West's scientific and technical progress along with their plunder of Asia and Africa. Khomeini believed that these people, who act as the custodian of Western modernity have lost all their self-confidence, so they believe that the adoption of Western beliefs at the cost of their own laws and beliefs, is the only way to achieve progress (Khomeini n.d: 15).

Khomeini use the term "Xenomaniacs" to refer to those who are fascinated with West and seek to imitate it blindly. He considers them to be lacking reason, intelligence and senses for their failure to see the motive of imperialists to secure imperialist domination and for their consideration of imitation of West, as sign of national progress (Khomeini 1981: 172-270). These individuals for Khomeini act in favor of imperialists. They act as agent of West, helping the colonial interest of the West (Dabashi 2008: 439).

Khomeini therefore, is highly suspicious of several features of modernity, which he considers to be an instrument of conspiracy, through which West seek to corrupt Muslim world and thus secure its own domination.

Why imperialists were successful?

Khomeini, after his identification of the design of imperialism, explores the main reason for their success. The reason that he identifies is the ignorance and apathy of Muslims. It was the negligence and apathy of Muslims that led to the imperialist

domination of Muslim world, resulting in the economic and moral degeneration of Muslims (Khomeini 1981: 195). This negligence and apathy is linked with the absence of proper leadership and failure of ulema to realize their responsibilities. The lack of proper leadership allowed imperialist penetration of Muslim world (Abbot 1995: 256). This further polluted Islam and, caused the degeneration of Muslims.

It was the lack of political and moral responsibility of ulema, which allowed oppressive rulers to assume the power. These rulers were motivated by selfishness and their lust, which found reflection in their governance. In a way masses were left into the "clutches of the oppressors" (Khomeinin.d.: 68). These oppressive rulers were either installed by the imperialists or they acted in the interest of imperialism. The ulema remained negligent to such developments.

Khomeini identifies two reasons for the lack of responsibility on parts of ulema, based on his reading of tradition related to Imam Hussain. The two factors which he considers are responsible for the silence of ulema are fear and greed. Those ulemas who remained silent due to fear for their life for Khomeini, acted like "slaves of the oppressors" (Khomenin.d.: 68-71). The other group which remained silent due to the attachment of their interest with the prevalent regimes can be considered to be those who have been incorporated in the structure of exploitation. Khomeini, questions the legitimacy of both the categories and calls them "pseudo-saints", for their submission to the oppressive regimes (Khomenin.d.: 90).

Part two: the order of Islam

As we have already discussed, the absence of un-Islamic way has been described by Khomeini as the reason for prevalence of an imperialist political order and grievances of Muslims. Khomeini considers the existence of gap between the teachings of noble Quran and Muslim states, as the reason for the catastrophic situation of Muslims and for the success of imperialist policies (Khomeini 1981: 210).

Khomeini emphasizes on the return to the pristine form of religion, which is political in nature, as the solution to the grievances of Muslims. Khomeini believed that a pristine Islamic order would resist the imperialist exploitation by West (Takeyh 2009: 20). In case of Iran in particular, Khomeini put his faith in the ordinances of Shi'ism to provide solution of all problems of Iran (Abbot 1995: 259). Khomeini further asserts

the need of strong foundations in faith and morality for solution of all the social problems and misery of human beings, particularly in an era of rapid scientific progress (Khomeini n.d: 15).

The need of an Islamic order with roots in faith provides the solution to the problems faced by Muslims. In case of Iran in particular, the salvation will be attained by the removal of Shah and foreign influences and establishment of an Islamic government in its place (Bhasi 1994: 99-102). This requires the political engagement of religion. The task presents two challenges in front of Khomeini: firstly the need to prove that Islam by nature is political and secondly the task of justifying the participation of Shia ulema in issues related to politics in era of occulation. As per, Shia belief of 'Imamate' (leadership), only Ali and his descendants who make up the twelve Imams of the Shias, are the legitimate rulers of the community after Prophet Muhammad. Only Ali, got the chance to rule the community, while others claimed the right to rule and had regular struggle for it. In around 940 A.D, the last of the twelve Imams, which is Mahdi was declared to remain in occulation until the day of judgment. The process moved Shias away from politics. The process of de politicization increased further in 17th and 18th centuries when the Shia tradition of political thinking further defined the concept of Imamate as only eschatological and other worldly rule (Hosseini 1999: 85-86). The doctrine made temporal power illegitimate, and thus the clergy was supposed to divest from engagement in any kind of active politics, concerned with the temporal-political power with its corrupting influence (Takeyh 2009: 16).

Khomeini discards any kind of separation between religion and politics in Islam. The theme of secularism or any kind of separation between religion and politics is attributed to imperialists, who want to check religion from ordering the affairs of world and create rift between the struggling masses and the religious scholars (Khomeini n.d.: 16-17). The act of separation of religion from politics is equal to confinement of religion to religious schools, which in turn means abandonment of Islam itself (Khomeini 1981: 219). Khomeini regularly invokes series of incidences related to various Prophets and interprets them as being political. He points out that more than ninety nine per cent of the Quranic verses are concerned with issued relate to affairs of society and politics (Khomenin.d.: 8).

Khomeini contends the stigma that is attached with any association of religion with the temporal politics with its corrupting influence. Khomeini argues that Islam is political, but his understanding of politics is different. He asserts that politics in Islam is a means through which Imams lead God's servant on the right path (Khomeini n.d.: 87). In his interpretation, politics becomes an important tool for realizing the mission of Islam.

The second aspect which is more crucial is of, how he justifies the participation of Shia ulema in the age of occulation. The issue will be discussed later in the section on Islamic government.

Khomeini offers an entirely political interpretation of Islam in his description of politics of Islam. He makes politics an integral part of the mission of Islam. In posing Islam as an ideology, he lays down its various doctrines and then presents the plan of Islamic government. Islam is a religion which is concerned with both the metaphysical and practical realm of human existence:

> It is undeniable and requires no reminder that the great religion of Islam, the religion of divine unity, destroys polytheism, unbelief, idolatry, and self-worship....It is a religion that provides guidance for conducting the affairs of state and a guide to the straight path, which is neither Eastern nor Western. It is a religion where worship is joined to politics, and political activity is a form of worship (Khomeini 1981: 275).

Khomeini describes Islam as an all-encompassing system, incorporating every aspect of the life. Khomeini is particular in his assertion of political character of Islam. In doing so, he ascribes a political importance to range of Islamic doctrines and practices. Khomeini regards the forms of worship and practices in Islam as related to social and political functions. Khomeini points out congregational prayer as source of both moral as well as political influence. That is, these gatherings are considered to be the forum to discuss political problems along with their religious use (Khomeini n.d.: 81). Khomeini further gives a strict political description of the community. He defines Islamic community as the one which "do not oppress, and do not yield to external powers" (Khomeini 1982: 33). So it is the very nature of the community to fight against any kind of oppression.

The Holy Quran has been described as the most comprehensive presentation of God.

He considers it to contain all the things which are part of Islamic mission and which should be accomplished (Khomeini 1982: 47-48). The book is considered to be the actual source of guidance for both the spiritual life of human being and his political organization (Khomeini 1981: 226). The observation of both kind of guidance is necessary to produce true human beings. Khomeini in a way makes the formation of an Islamic polity as one of the goals which is necessary for perfection of human beings and which is the goal of Islamic mission. In doing so, he makes the whole Islamic mission as a political one, with a responsibility of regulating political life of human beings in accordance with Islam.

The realization of pristine Islam therefore is linked with realization of Islamic polity. This in a way is important for removal of all the grievances of Muslims in particular and mankind in general.

Islamic polity: the State

As we have discussed earlier, Islamic government, as Khomeini understands is needed for salvation. Khomeini argues that Islamic government which he calls the "righteous government" is needed for protection of masses from the rule of oppressive, for the destruction of influences of foreigners from Islamic land, and for the preservation of Islamic order (Khomeini n.d.: 27-28). Khomeini believed that Islam cannot be implemented and evil cannot be eradicated without the assumption of power (Moin 1994: 91).

Khomeini observes that the mission of Prophet was the establishment of just social system, which has to be realized through the implementation of laws and ordinances of Islam. Khomeini believes that implementation of Islamic laws and ordinances are not possible without Islamic government (Khomeini n.d.: 45). Islam has all the ordinances (in sharia) required for establishment for just society and has also prescribed the form of government. The Prophet Muhammad is regarded by Khomeini as the head of executive and administrative institutions of Islamic society, who brought Islamic state into existence by implementation of laws and ordinances of Islam (Khomeini n.d.: 18).

Government is also needed to ensure the enactment of God's law and to ensure that individual does not transgress his limits against the rights of others. Government here

becomes necessary to restrain an uncontrolled pursuit of interest by an individual, which cause harm to others (Khomeini n.d.: 26). Thus government for Khomeini, becomes a moral entity, which ensures the transformation of an individual from an egoistic creature into a moral being (Siavoshi 2007: 34). This, it does by ensuring that the moral ordinances of Islam are implemented.

The political need of defence and security of the community is another reason, for which Khomeini feels why the need of Islamic government is necessary. Khomeini emphasizes that government is needed for territorial integrity and independence of the community. Khomeini attributes the Jewish occupation of Israel on the absence of Islamic government fighting for the defence of Muslims. (Khomeini n.d.:22).

The need of Islamic government, for Khomeini is demanded by the nature of the law and institutions of Islam. Khomeini points that the character and ordinances of Sharia with laws regarding the administration of political, economic and cultural affairs, indicates that they have been laid down with the purpose to create a state (Khomeini n.d.:20).

Khomeini further furnishes argument related to the nature of Islamic tax. Khomeini argues that the very nature and quantity of Islamic tax is not only for the sustenance of ulema and for charitable acts, but also for establishment of Islamic government. There are several sources of revenue generation in form of various taxes like zakat, jizya, kharaj and khums . Khomeini emphasizes the quantity of khums, which is levied on all kind of surplus income of Muslims. The revenue generated by khums is enormous, since it is one-fifth of the surplus income of Muslims (Khomeini n.d: 21-22). Khomeini argues that such an enormous quantity of revenue is meant not only for supporting religious institutions, but also for the creation of Islamic state (Fischer 1983: 158).

How Islamic government?

In outlying the scheme of state, Khomeini is posed with different questions like; what should be the nature of government? Who should rule the Islamic community, particularly Shias in era of occulation? In answering these questions, Khomeini, rejects the prevalent monarchical government in Iran and all other form of governments

prevalent in the world, regarding them as non-Islamic. Then he argues that the rule under the guidance of the jurist is ideal form of government in the era of occulation.

Khomeini rejected Western constitutional democracy. Martin argues that, the main reason for Khomeini's rejection of constitutional state was due to his belief that parliamentary legislations posed threat to Sharia. These legislations are derived from will of people without any consideration of Divine guidance. These laws, Khomeini believed acts against the interest of people since they are based on flawed judgment of human being and are not divinely ordained (Martin 1993: 43).

In his criticism of other forms of governments, Khomeini engages with monarchy in greater detail. This is driven by the immediate context of Iran, where the rule of Shah was prevalent, and who was identified by Khomeini as the proxy of imperialism. Khomeini emphasizes that monarchies lead to an order, which contravened with divine law and principle of tawhid (unity of God). The laws that existed in these regimes are regarded to be product of human mind and are inspired by desire to dominate the people (Khomeini 1981: 329-330). Islam for Khomeini is opposed to monarchy and hereditary succession. It is regarded to prevent believers from worship of God, who has been described as the "True monarch" by Khomeini (Khomeini n.d.: 10-11).

Monarchy and all other forms of government led to rule of tyranny. Khomeini holds that, all other forms of government, other than Islamic government, differ only in name while they are all exploitative of the people (Martin 1993: 43). True Muslims, for Khomeini cannot survive in such corrupt and unjust society (Bhasi 1994: 107). So for Khomeini all such forms of government, in which Muslims are forced to live, are illegitimate (Choueiri 1990: 168). Such systems are regarded to be corrupt, and cause corruption of others. The only option in front of Muslims is to destroy such kind of regimes (Khomeini n.d.: 24).

Divine government

Khomeini considers the Islamic government as being based on sovereignty of God. Islamic government is described as the government of law. That Sharia has absolute authority over everyone. Khomeini argues that Islamic government can be defined as the "rule of divine law over men" (Khomeini n.d.: 29). Sharia has been described as

the sole determining principle of Islamic government, which is based on unity and sovereignty of God. Unlike other forms of government in which law is considered to be the product of human mind, law in Islamic government is considered to be an expression of divine will (Khomeini 1981: 330).

The absence of divine law in "manmade forms of government" is considered to narrow the conception of justice by such governments, which conceive justice only in the natural (practical) realm and not the spiritual realm. Such governments are considered to be concerned only with prevention of disorder. Divine government on the other hand engages with both the domain, and is concerned with both the moral refinement of individual as well as prevention of disorder (Khomeini 1981: 330).

For Khomeini, the incorporation of both the natural realm and the spiritual realm of human being is in accordance with the very mission of Islam. Islam came to make a complete human being, which requires engagement with both the realm. Islam conceives the practical realm as the mean for achieving spiritual ends (Khomeini 1981: 332). Similarly, Sharia (Islamic law), becomes the tool for the moral and intellectual reform. So Sharia should be implemented for establishing a just society, and to cultivate spiritually refined human beings (Khomeini n.d.: 47).

Sharia, as a body of law, derives all laws from Quran and Sunna, which is regarded to contain "all laws needed for a perfect state (Abbot 1995: 255). Sharia embraces range of laws and regulations, making it a "complete social system". It comprises of laws concerning range of issues related to human social and political life. These include regulations relating to his private life, laws regulating commerce and economy and laws regulating war and relationship with other countries (Khomeini n.d.: 20). Khomeini rejects the claim that Islamic laws cannot be applied to modern life, and the claim that there has been a change in the role of religion. The laws of Islam are regarded to be valid for all time (Martin 1996: 38).

Vilayat-e-faqih: Justifying the rule of jurist in era of occulation

The most radical aspect of political thought of Ayatollah Khomeini is his doctrine of Vilayat-e-faqih (governance of the jurist). It marks a major departure in the tradition of

Shia political thought. Ayatollah Khomeini came up with theory in his series of lecture at Najaf, which was later published with the title of "Islamic government". The theory of governance of jurist not only revised Shi'ite political thought, but also rejected all other forms of government (Takeyh 2009: 16).

The doctrine allowed Ayatollah Khomeini to argue his case for a just government in the era of occulation, and justify the participation of Shia ulema in politics. Khomeini makes it a point to assert that, the concept is not his innovation in Islam. He asserts that, he did not originate the concept. It is rather self-evident (Hosseini 1999: 88). The supervision of politics by a jurist, or the rule of ulema, is self-evident in nature of Islam, this can be deduced by a joint consideration of series of hadiths, and examples of Prophet and imams (Fischer 1983: 157).

Khomeini argued that it can be established through various Islamic hadiths (narrations), that the jurists possessed the qualifications to become deputies of hidden Imam. As deputies of hidden imam, they command judicial and spiritual authority along with responsibilities of economic and political matters (Saffari 1993: 65). In arguing so, Khomeini advances the view that the authority of ulema, which is recognized in legal matters due to their knowledge of law can be also be extended to government too (Martine 1996: 20).

Khomeini argued that, Prophet Mohammad appointed successors for the sake of exercising government and not for expounding laws, which was already done by Prophet himself (Khomeini n.d.: 15). This authority, as per Shia belief went to Imams. Khomeini allowed the jurist to assume the place of Imams. This was done by transforming imam's role into a function of governance, which can be assumed by a jurist (Devji 2001: 368).

Traditionally, Shia political thinking, considered the criteria of infallibility as the most important attribute of the leader. Shias believed that only Prophet and the descendants of Ali through Fatima are infallible. Khomeini rejected the criteria of infallibility as a requirement for leadership. With the abandonment of this criterion Khomeini cleared the way for his concept of *Vilayat-e-faqih* (Hosseini 1999:89). Khomeini points that, since the time of Prophet, two criteria were specified regarding who should be the

ruler of community. These two fundamental qualifications for the leadership of the community are the "knowledge of the provisions and ordinances of Islam" and justice, i.e., "excellence in beliefs and morals" (Khomeini n.d.: 32-33). The removal of criteria of infallibility was a major break from the traditional Shia political thinking. It invited criticism from within the Shia clergy. Ayatollah Naini expressed strong reservation towards the theory of *Vilyat-e-faqih*. Naini emphasized the fallibility of ulema, and believed that *faqih* is not qualified to assume the authority of Imam, and will even unintentionally misdirect the believers (Saffari 1993: 72).

The two qualities, which Khomeini asserted, are considered to be necessary since for Khomeini, "Islamic government is a government of law", the knowledge of law and its just application are vital for Islamic rule (Khomeini n.d.: 32). Khomeini believes that these two qualities are present in many *fuqaha* (jurists) in present age. They can establish Islamic government by coming together (Khomenin.d.: 33).

The faqih (jurist) is "one who is learned not only in the laws and judicial procedure of Islam, but also in the doctrines, institutions, and ethics of the faith—the *faqih*is, in short, a religious expert in the full sense of the word" (Khomeini n.d.: 49-50). The faqih, for Khomeini due to his knowledge of law, become eligible for assuming the leadership of community. The ulema as a whole are both eligible and responsible for assuming the responsibility of guidance of Islamic state.

The jurists, for Khomeini, have the right to govern, which has been appointed to them by Prophet and Imam directly, without the medium of Umma (Gouarzi, Jawa and Ahmad 2009: 106). Said Amir Ajomand argues that, in the final stage, when the Islamic government will be realized, the jurists are entitled to sovereignty on behalf of the God, thus leaving no room for popular sovereignty (Arjomand 1980: 154-156). So In Ayatollah Khomeini's scheme of governance of the jurists, people have no independent role to play, and they are expected to be an obedient follower of the leader (Siavoshi 2007: 35).

Ayatollah Khomeini regularly asserts the role of people in the Islamic government. The argument is based on the very character of state, where the government is a government of the law. There is an assumption that Sharia, is accepted by people, and thus represents the consent of people. Sharia provides the framework, within which a

government is expected to undertake its function. The consent of the people on Sharia, and the acceptance of Sharia as the real ruler, makes the government truly belong to the people (Khomeini n.d.: 29). Here in an Islamic state, everyone is given the responsibility to prohibit other including the ruler, from committing any kind of evil (Khomeini 2006: 487-488). This means that everyone should act to ensure that the norms and ordinances of Sharia are implemented and followed by the ruler (Sabet 1995: 439).

Part three: the Change

It is established, that for Khomeini, Islamic government represents the solution to grievances of Muslims. Islamic government is necessary for liberation of Dar-ul-Islam (Islamic homeland) from the imperialists and to ensure the freedom and unity of Muslims. This requires removal of existing regimes (Khomeini n.d.: 24). The struggle against tyrannical regimes and the making of effort to realize the goal of Islam has been described as "one of the greatest form of worship" (Khomeini 1981: 223). It is a duty of believers to institute Islamic government through process of revolution (Rizvi 2010: 1301).

Though Khomeini asks all Muslims to stand up for revolution, he put special responsibility on ulema to remove all tyrannical systems (Khomeini n.d.:23). Khomeini, in his call for revolt against tyrannical regime, poses challenge to the doctrine of *taqiyah* (dissimulation) against tyrannical regime, which had become a norm among Shias. It was the sixth Imam of Shias, who encouraged Shias to adopt an approach of acquiescence and dissimulation towards the Sunni rule after many defeats of Shias in their battle to attain the rightful position of leadership of the community (Hosseini 1999: 85). The doctrine, allowed some kind of accommodation with the temporal state, which is not Islamic. Khomeini rejected the adoption of taqiyah, when the religion itself faces threat, in his case from imperialism. Khomeini, though permitted the common masses to have such an approach, he made it obligatory for the ulema to act against such threat to Islam (Abbot 1995: 265). Khomeini interprets that, the doctrine was brought into existence to preserve Islam and Shia school, but it cannot be invoked to not produce action, when Islam and its principles are in threat (Khomeini n.d.: 90).

Khomeini invokes the speech delivered by third Imam Hussain at Mina, to assert the

responsibility of jurist to expose and over throw tyrannical regime. In placing responsibility of struggle on faqih, Khomeini offers a different reading of the doctrine of *amr-bil-maaruf,wanahi-anil-munkar* (enjoining the good and forbidding the evil): "forbidding the evil means summoning people to Islam, which is a struggle to establish correct belief in the face of external opposition, while at the same time vindicating the rights of the oppressed; opposing and struggling against oppressors within the community" (Khomeini n.d.: 66). This involves struggle against the non-Islamic government, which is the source of forbidden acts.

The ulema have been further asked to raise their voice particularly against two forms of forbidden acts. These include "sinful talk and consumption of what is forbidden". Sinful talk means all kind of misconceptions and propaganda put forth by oppressive regimes, which are considered to be more harmful for Islam than their action. Consumption of what is forbidden is used particularly to point towards the imperialist exploitation of resources of Muslim world (Khomeini n.d.: 69-70). Imperialists and its proxy regimes are considered to perform range of forbidden acts. Khomeini identifies the exploitation of resources like oil as one such act (Khomeini n.d.: 70).

Khomeini believed that, the ulema were assigned with the responsibility of struggle since the beginning of Islam: "In reality, since the very beginning of history, the prophets and scholars of religion have always had the duty of resisting and struggling against monarchs and tyrannical governments" (Khomeini 1981: 204). Therefore, Khomeini made the ulema, the vanguard of the movement, and put the responsibility to launch the struggle on them (Sabet 1995: 430). Khomeini believed that the ulema command "power, courage, and strategy", with which, they can successfully influence the masses for struggle against imperialism and tyranny (Khomeini n.d.: 86).

Strategy of Change

Khomeini has not expressed a coherent strategy of change. But the various methods which he has argued in his lectures and writings point towards the need of both the non-violent and violent actions. There are two forms of nonviolent methods of: propagation and refraining from participation or non-cooperation with the existing state structure.

Propagation

Khomeini presents the example of Imam Hussain, who used sermon, preaching and correspondence as a means to rise in rebellion against the monarch (Khomeini 1981: 204). Propagation of Islamic agenda is important for the articulation political aspects of Islam as an ideological force (Dabashi 2008: 427). Propagation and instruction, for Khomeini is necessary to generate wave of intellectual awakening, which will create current that will result in Islamic movement by informed masses that will revolt and establish Islamic government. The jurists are assigned with the duty to promulgate religion and instruct the people in the creed, ordinances, and institutions of Islam (Khomeini n.d.: 78).

Khomeini identifies the importance of ideological propagation in wake of massive penetration of West. Khomeni believes that, America infiltrated in the Muslim world through the influence of their ideas (Moin 1994: 92). The ideological propagation through the religious seminaries is a mean through which the ideological hegemony of Western colonialism is challenged (Dabashi 2008: 446).

The propagation of Islam is necessary to clear that doubts about Islam, which has resulted due to distortion of Islam that has happened over the centuries:

> "We must impress upon ourselves and upon the next generation—and even the generation after that—the necessity for dispelling these doubts about Islam that have arisen in the minds of many people, even the educated among us, as the result of centuries of false propaganda You must acquaint the people with the world-view, social institutions, and form of government proposed by Islam, so that they may come to know what Islam is and what its laws are" (Khomeini n.d.: 79-80).

Propagation, here becomes necessary to remove the distortion of Islam, and establishment of the political nature of Islam in the mentality of the masses. Khomeini emphasized the need of removal of the corrupting influence of the west, for the establishment of Islamic order (Bhasi 1994: 108).

In the process of propagation, Khomeini lays particular stress on two things; language used and importance of existing religious gatherings as an instrument in instruction.

The simplicity of the language used by the religious scholars is important in acquainting the common masses with the true Islam. Khomeini put a particular stress on the simplicity of language in order to convey the present situation and the vision of Islam, to the masses who are the people in the street, in the bazaar, the peasants, the workers and the students (Khomeini n.d.: 82).

Khomeini believed that Islam has a structure in place in form of religious ceremonies, which is designed for political involvement of the community and, which can be used to propagate and spread Islamic revolution (Abbot 1995: 260). Explaining the importance of religious gatherings and particularly those of gatherings of Muharram, Khomeini expressed: "..the month of Muharram here like a divine sword in the hands of the soldiers of Islam, our great religious leaders and respected preachers, and all the followers of the Lord of the Martyrs (peace and blessings be upon him), they must make the maximum use of it" (Khomeini 1981: 234).

Among the various religious gatherings, Khomeini put a special emphasis on the gathering of Hajj and gatherings of the month of Muharram. This helped in relating the grievances of Shias in present world with the injustices which was unleashed by Yazid on Imam Hussain and his supporters. This connected the existing struggle of Shias with the struggle Imam Hussain had in Karbala. He politicized the historic event which is displayed as a ritual on the occasion of Ashura (Tenth of Muharram), into an act of continuous defiance of injustice (Takeyh 2009: 22).

Non-cooperation with existing regimes

Khomeini believed that, Muslims can cause the downfall of oppressive regimes by refraining from having any recourse to institutions of existing regime (Khomeini n.d.: 57). Khomeini recommends series of such measures like ending relations with governmental institutions, creating new Islamic institutions, and by avoiding any kind of assistance to existing regime (Khomeini n.d.: 92). He prohibits Muslim from any kind of contribution to existing regime in form of taxes and labour (Khomeini 1981: 243).

Use of force: for Change

Khomeini calls for a violent action, when the non-violent forms of actions are

suppressed by the regime by use of force:

> If the oppressive and deviant rulers do not bow to the wishes of such an oppositional movement by returning to the straight path of Islam and obedience to God's laws, but attempt to silence it by force of arms, they will, in effect, have engaged in armed aggression against the Muslims and acquired the status of a rebellious group *(fi'abaghiya)*. It will then be the duty of the Muslims to engage in an armed *jihad* against that ruling group in order to make the policies ruling society and the norms of government conform to the principles and ordinances of Islam (Khomeini n.d.: 70).

The use of force or armed jihad (Struggle), for bringing change is an action of last resort. Khomeini, is concerned of preservation of order. In face of brutal opposition on part of State, Khomeini seems to argue for a controlled reaction on part of Muslims (Khomeini 1981: 261). Abbot observes, that Khomeini believed that, when the change will come, it will be abrupt and violent. Khomeini concluded this, based on the traditions of Imam Hussain (Abbot 1995: 259).

Khomeini compares the struggle of his followers and their sufferings in the process with those of Imams and Prophets (Khomeini 1981: 240).But the very tradition, brings in the notion of martyrdom, which is sacrificing one's life for the cause. This idea of martyrdom, which is dying in the process of change due to violence unleashed by the enemy, dominates over the notion of unleashing violence on the opponent.

World Revolution

Khomeini has argued for a simultaneous revolution in all the Muslim countries. Takeyh argues that, the call for destruction of all oppressive regimes was made by Khomeini, because of his rejection of nationalism and territorial demarcation (2009: 18). But Khomeini has argued that, the reason for his argument of exporting the revolution, which is encouraging such revolution, is not only due to the reason of the absence of recognition of any difference between Islamic countries. Khomeini argues that it is because Islam as a religion itself is champion of all oppressed people. At the same time Khomeini also asserts that the Islamic country needs presence of similar countries around it for its survival and defence (Khomeini 1981: 286-287). The export of revolution for him means that the consciousness of exploitation at the hands of imperialists and awareness leading to revolution against such regimes should spread to all countries and people (Khomeini 1982: 22).

Summary

As we discussed in the chapter, in the identification of problem present in Muslim world, Khomeini presents the phenomena of imperialism as the framework, which fittingly explains all the problems of Muslims in modern world. The framework also explains the prevalence of an unjust political order. For Khomeini, the process of imperialism, which took place over past three centuries, is the main reason for the grievances. The process resulted in Western penetration of Muslim world. The process of imperialism accounts for the various forms of governments, which regardless of their nature acts for the furtherance of imperialist interest. Khomeini further links other aspects of modernity with imperialism in explaining their drawbacks. So many aspects of modern world nationalism, secularism, democracy, and other modernization processes becomes simple tool for the promotion of imperialism.

The correction of the existing for Khomeini, as discussed in the chapter, requires implementation of an Islamic order. This order requires the presence of Islamic state. Khomeini, as discussed in the chapter conceives of a state, which is run by jurists. He justifies the rule of jurist through his theory of Vilayat-e-faqih. Through the theory, Khomeini directly ascribes the authority to the jurist from the God.

The implementation of Islamic order as discussed by Khomeini will be attained only by the removal of imperialist structure and establishment of an Islamic government in its place. Khomeini's scheme of change involves diverse kinds of actions. The change for Khomeini can be brought through propagation, non-cooperation with the existing regime and force as the last resort.

Chapter Five
Conclusion

In previous three chapters, various aspects of thoughts of Mawdudi, Qutb and Khomeini have been explored. This has been done using a uniform scheme in each chapter. Each chapter has been laid down on a uniform scheme with three broad sections. The first section in each chapter discussed their understanding of present situation of Muslims in modern world. The second section in each chapter explored their understanding of Islam. The third section in each chapter discussed their scheme of change. This chapter involves a comparison of the thoughts of these three thinkers, using the same scheme which has been followed in the chapters.

This chapter compares the thoughts of Abdul Ala Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb and Ayatollah Khomeini. It will suggest that despite their convergence in their acceptance of Sovereignty of God, and acceptance of the need of revolution, they diverge in their vision of polity of Islam and the scheme for the process of change.

The encounter of Muslim world with the West in form of colonialism, imperialism and modernity has produced diversity of responses. Different kinds of responses emerged within the Muslim world, which sought divergent things. These included accommodation of West, calling for a Western style of modernization, neutrality towards the takeover by the West and rejection of West. The last strand is described in the academic literature using several terms like Muslim fundamentalism, Islamism, fundamentalist Islam and Islamic radicalism. These terms are regularly invoked to refer to different kind of Muslim thinkers, Muslim political parties and even civil society groups with little recognition of the difference between them.

Islamism or political Islam, is used to refer to the ideology, which believes that Quran and Hadiths provides important guidance for the organization of political life (Fuller 2002: 49). The term is interchangeably used with fundamentalism and radicalism. Fundamentalism, as it is evoked in case of Muslim responses to modernity, is understood as complete rejection of secularism and recognition of the centrality of God and revealed scripture in the organization of human life (Zeidan 2003: 52). Islamic fundamentalism involves rejection of any kind of separation between religious and the political sphere of life (Arjomand 1983: 109).

The other term of radicalism used to describe movements, which seek to establish a totalitarian Islamic state (Choueiri 1997: XIV). Shepard uses the category of "radical Islamism" to discuss, what he calls the orientation of fundamentalists. He describes the rejection of terms like democracy, implementation of Sharia, and stress on authenticity of Islam and acceptance of Ijtihad as some of the basic attributes of radical Islamism (Shepard 1987: 314-317). The Islamists are considered to seek a return to the fundamentals of Islam and are characterized with a call of anti-Westernism (Roy 1999: 4).

The emergence of many of the militant Muslim activists since the Iranian revolution has made the greater usage of the term to describe Islamist militants. This tendency has furthered since the epoch making event of 9/11. Islamist fundamentalism has become a vague term, used to describe the orientation and the militant ideology of Islamic movements (Choueiri 1997: XI).

The existing approaches to study of resurgence of Islam are characterized with the impetus to simplify the complex world of Islam. Here all the terms Islamism, fundamentalism, and radicalism are often used interchangeably, to describe and explain the behaviour of range of political groups in the Muslim world. The quests result in over simplification of the reality.

This is applied to all the actors, organizations and thinkers related to resurgent Islam. In case of thinkers or ideologues of Islam, the categorization pushes for a search for similarities between groups of thinkers within a category.

The three thinkers which are the subject of this dissertation are the pioneers of fundamentalism due to their rejection of secularism and call for complete observation of law of Islam. All the major works on them seem to be driven by the same impetus of search for similarities. Therefore, they tend to look for similarities and hence are driven by the urge to stick to the uniformity created by the idea of "fundamentalism". In doing so an argument advanced by one is accepted as a generalizable statement for all. The approach then creates hurdle the understanding of finer details of their thought and the essential difference between them.

Here, a comparison of thoughts of all the three thinkers will help in understanding the complexities of their thought. It will also help in explore those aspects of their thought, which are otherwise considered or assumed to be similar.

The thoughts of the three thinkers have been explored following a similar structure, which has been used in the chapters to discuss their thought. This involves a comparison of their understanding of disorder, their take on Islam and finally their approach to the process of change.

The Disorder: Modernity

The modern world saw an advent of series of changes in political, economic forms of organization. It saw the emergence of a model of development and organization in Europe based on principles of enlightenment. Modernity offered a major challenge. It was characterized with crisis of identity and involved the emergence of individual in political terms (Thompson 2003: 1).

The project of modernization was simultaneous with the process of colonization and imperialist penetration in the Muslim world. Modernization and colonization led to destruction of Islamic institutions. The situation further deteriorated with the failure of modernization to improve the material conditions of Muslim, which saw the emergence of Islamism as a response (Khan 2001: 215).

Modern world became a realm of suffering and grievances for Muslims. It established the Western domination over the Muslim world. The theme of suffering of mankind in general and Muslim in particular in modern world is present in most of the revivalist writings of Islam.

All the three thinkers, that have been discussed in this dissertation consider modern world as a realm which has caused sufferings and grievances for mankind. They attribute the disorder to the absence of recognition of Divine Sovereignty by the political systems that have emerged in modern world. The absence of Divine guidance and the failure to recognize Divinity, for them paved way for domination of materialism as the guiding force of human behaviour. This found reflection in the political set up that emerged. These three thinkers differ on the exact implication of modernity and how it came to cause the trouble.

Mawdudi identifies all the problems with the principles of modernity, which he calls the "the corner stone of the way of life evolved in modern times" (Maudoodi 2009: 18).This includes the principle of secularism, nationalism and democracy. Mawdudi explains the problem at two levels. In the first place, each of these principles has their draw backs, when considered in isolation. More difficult is the problem, which they create when all these principles come together. Secularism, which has been regarded as the "starting point" of all the "isms" in modern world, is considered by Mawdudi to have unleashed "selfishness" as the guiding force for behaviour of human beings. This domination of selfishness is identified as the servitude of man to himself, which are his own selfish motivations. This domination of selfish motive is considered to manifest itself at the larger level of political community in form of nationalism (Ahmad and Ansari: 25; Maududi 1952:7). The behaviour of both the individual and community is driven by the primary consideration of interest. The absence of religion in public realm due to the domination of principle of secularism is considered to have created a system devoid of morality. Mawdudi here linked morality with religion, that is, religion is regarded to be the only source of morality (Adams 1983: 113).

Mawdudi's take on nationalism is not a complete rejection of it. He rather draws a genealogy of it. He favoured nationalism as a movement for national freedom, in its initial stage, which was directed against the oppression of Pope and Caesar. But then he is critical of nationalism as it manifested in modern age, where it came to determine the moral standard and virtue of political life, by making national interest the standard of virtue (Maudoodi 2009 15-16).Nationalism has been further criticized for creating separation and division between mankind through the creation of geographical borders, which, for Mawdudi, led to the destruction of "deeper bonds" present among human beings (Grare 2001: 22).

The third principle is that of democracy. Mawdudi is not critical of democracy as a system of governance on its own. It is the presence of other two principles of nationalism and secularism, which makes it exercise in such a manner that, it tend to pass those legislations, that reflects the expression of human selfishness and the prejudices of national pride and national selfishness (Maudoodi 2009: 24). Mawdudi extends the criticism to democratic forms of government. Mawdudi believed that democratic government will allow the majority community defined in terms of religious identity, pursue its interest selfishly, and it is not possible to have any kind

of safeguard for interest of religious minority. Therefore democracy for Mawdudi represents "tyranny by majority". It represents a threat to the culture, identity and religion of the minority (Adams 1983: 103). This is entirely different from Qutb's criticism of democratic from of government. Mawdudi saw it as threat posed by a majority defined in terms of religion. Qutb on the other hand saw a different kind of domination coming with democracy. Qutb finds democratic government as an instrument used by exploitative capitalists to further their interests. Unlike, Mawdudi, democracy for Qutb has led to "tyranny of minority" of capitalists (Choueiri 1997: 113-114).

Modernity and modern world as a realm of oppression, in Qutb's thought has many parallels with Mawdudi.

Qutb comprehends the all the problems linked with modern world through his theory of *"Jahiliya"*, which is understood as the "one man's lordship over other, that is assumption of sovereignty by an individual (Qutb 2006: 57). In his identification of the problem, Qutb's view is similar to Mawdudi in his recognition of absence of sovereignty of God at the root of disorder. After this point, Qutb differs from Mawdudi, when he says that it is not only the rejection of sovereignty of God but its assumption by another individual. Here, Mawdudi is more or less silent and rather puts emphasis on the threat which is posed by modern system to Muslims defined in terms of their religion only. Qutb on the other hand by pointing towards the domination of a particular class is similar in his analysis with that of Marxists on subordination of the workers to the exploitative capitalists.

Qutb rather identifies Capitalism as the manifestation of exploitative tendency of modernity and describes it as the most important symptom of exploitative tendencies of modern world (Asad 2003: 66). The exploitative tendencies are considered to have resulted from the pursuit of material benefits, which is encouraged by modernity. The pursuit, then results in exploitation and domination of others.

Exploitation is invoked by Qutb in strictly economic terms. Qutb's notion of an economic exploitation finds resemblances with Khomeini's view of imperialism. Qutb finds the slogans of human rights etc. linked with Capitalism and used by West to disguise the spread of exploitative Capitalism. This again is something similar to that of Khomeini's critic of liberal regime of human rights. Qutb identifies, that

Capitalism has paved for a system, which has absorbed the religious ulema into it and led to a ruthless alliance between, ulema and the capitalist in their exploitation of the masses (Rabi 1996:121). The ulema or religious leader, for their participation in the regime of exploitation have been regarded as "professional men of religion". The Capitalist system, with the impulses of materialism, characterising its laws and therefore its behaviour is considered to have paved way for imperialism (Qutb 2006: 27). Imperialism represents the selfish pursuit of material benefits by Western countries. Imperialism is considered by Qutb to be an important doctrine of Western societies and state, which according to him is justified in name of pragmatism. The notion of pragmatism as Qutb understood it flowed to modern European society from the Roman tradition, which "lived by the doctrines that all other peoples were conquered and exploited for the benefit of the mother country" (Loboda 2004: 12). This provided the impulse for the two dominating tendencies of modern world in form of imperialism and colonialism. Over all the modern world becomes a system characterized with presence of exploitative tendencies in form of capitalism, colonialism and imperialism, and is marked with the absence of any consideration for morality and ethics.

However, despite his critic of the dominating aspect of Western modernity, Qutb acknowledges the contribution of Western civilization in field of modern science and technology, and feels the need to preserve them along with fulfilment of spiritual needs of human beings (Qutb 2006: 24-26).

Khomeini takes forward the Qutb's notion of imperialism as the outcome of Western belief in Capitalism. For Khomeini, imperialism offers the neat framework, which fittingly explains all the problems of Muslims in modern world, or in his case for the prevalence of an unjust political order. As identified in the paper, Khomeini's writings offer a theory of imperialism, which unleashes processes that accounts for all the grievances of Muslims in modern world. Khomeini simply understands the absence of Islamic system as the cause of unjust world order. He does not engage with the particularities of various principles of modern world. For Khomeini, the process of imperialism took place over past three centuries, is the main villain. The process resulted in Western penetration of Muslim world. The process of imperialism accounts for the various forms of governments, which regardless of their nature acts for the furtherance of imperialist interest. Like Qutb, Khomeini also points towards

the disjuncture between the democratic slogans of West and its actual practice of assistance of tyrannical regimes like that of Shah in Iran. For this reason, Khomeini loudly calls Human rights as the "opium of the masses" (Khomeini 1981: 213-214). Khomeini, echoes certain resemblance with Qutb's professional men of religion, when he uses the term, "false saint" for those religious leaders who have developed stake in the project of imperialist exploitation (Khomeini n.d: 90).

Khomeini departs from Mawdudi in his understanding of other features of modernity. For Khomeini, it is not the various features of modernization that is important, but rather their linkage with the project of imperialism. The theme of nationalism is unacceptable for Khomeini not much that it contradicts the concept of Umma, but more importantly, because Khomeini believes that the theme of nationalism is used as an instrument by the imperialists to create disunity among Muslims, so as to assure the absence of any kind of unity among Muslim countries, which can pose a series challenge against the imperialist penetration in the Muslim world (1981: 20-302; 1982: 27). This take on nationalism is different from that of Mawdudi, who rejects nationalism in all form in present world. In fact the very nature of their take on the principle is different.

Similarly, Khomeini believes that various processes, which are undertaken in the name of modernization, are actually part of imperialist design to corrupt Muslims, and create a culture of consumption and Westernization, which has been regarded by Khomeini as the replacement of "culture of Quran" with "culture of imperialism" (Khomeini 1981: 19). Modernity as it has been brought from Europe to East, for Khomeini, was a strategic process, which was never meant for civilizational progress, but for advancing the interests of imperialism (Khomeini 1981: 258). Unlike Mawdudi and Qutb, who are concerned with the features of modernity per se, Khomeini puts his emphasis on the linkage between modernity and the larger project of imperialism. This suggests that, for Khomeini, it is not modernity by itself is bad but, rather how it is linked with imperialism makes it bad.

The correct order: Islamic Polity

The three thinkers, which have been discussed in the dissertation, share similarity in their approach of searching for the solution of mankind. They identify the solution to the problems of Muslims in Islam. Islamic system, which for them is complete

system, is their answer to all the ills of modern world. Islam is presented by them as a complete system, which will lead to a way of life, which will be free of all the evils that characterises modernity. In their quest, they have expanded the scope of Islam. In doing so they interpreted Islam and its various doctrines to meet the challenge that modernity presents. In doing so Islam is offered as a comprehensive system which is eternal and valid for all time.

Their quest of an Islamic solution to the problems created by West, made them pose Islam as an ideology, which will further inform the creation of an Islamic polity.

The ideology which they derive from Islam, or their plan of Islamic polity is entirely based on the principle of Sovereignty and unity of God. All other forms of authority are considered to be delegated by God strictly within the framework of Sharia. They all consider God the sole Sovereign. Sovereignty is understood as the acceptance of God as the only source of law for both the public and private behaviour of individual. The observation of Sharia is considered to be acceptance of God as the master of both the realm (Maududi 2003: 19-20; Asad 2003:81; Khomeini 1981: 330).

Sharia as the body of Islamic law is considered to contain all forms of law which are needed for the regulation of all aspects of human life. They assert the importance of accepting Sharia as the guide not only for the mode of behaviour, but also for collective social life. Sharia is considered to embrace all kind of regulations, and legislations for every aspect of life, thus making provision for every need of human being (Khomeini n.d.: 47; Asad 2003: 70; Maududi 2010: 35).

Mawdudi, emphasizes that, Sharia, as law of God is free from human sensuality and selfishness and is in due cognizance of human nature (Maududi 2010: 35). Sharia provides the pure system of laws of Allah, without interference of any human influence, so it is, free from interest of any particular group (Qutb 2006: 149). It is the departure from Sharia that created tension in society. Sharia is considered to be vital for maintaining harmony and order in society. Sharia is regarded to bring harmony between the internal behaviour and external behaviour of human beings.

So, far the source of law is concerned, they all restrict it to Quran and narrations. So far the application of Sharia is concerned, both Qutb and Mawdudi, recognize the shortcomings of Sharia in meeting the demands of modern life. They recommend the

reinterpretation of Sharia through the practice of Ijtihad, to deduce new code of laws, which will be applicable to modern world (Mawdudi 2004: 152; Qutb 2006: 96). In doing so, they seek to expand the ambit of Sharia, by reinterpretation of what was laid down in early Islamic period. Khomeini does not have the need to emphasise on the reinterpretation, as it is an accepted practice in Shia theology.

Despite, the similarities in their take on various aspects of Sharia, there is fair degree of differences in their conception of the scheme through which the Sovereignty of God is realized in an Islamic society. That is they differ on the exact nature and type of Islamic government and the site of practical location of sovereignty within the state structure as a representative or trustee of God.

They all feel the need of an Islamic state for the implementation of Islamic order. The Islamic state, for Mawdudi is part of broader integrated theology of Islam (Arjomand 1989: 113).Similarly for Khomeini, the very nature of Islam with its institutions and law demands a presence of the state (Khomeni n.d.: 22).They all believed that the establishment of an Islamic order is not possible without the power of the state. That is they recognize the need of government for implementation of Islamic laws and therefore, establishment of Islamic order (Khomeini n,d. 45; Maududi 2006: 19; Qutb 2008: 63).

The consensus which appears in their thought on the need of Islamic State is not reflected in their final scheme of state. Mawdudi's scheme of state seems to be his (Islamic) answer to Western democracy. The state conceived by Mawdudi, which he calls as "theocratic democracy" locates, human beings as the vicegerent of God and therefore the site of practical location of sovereignty on behalf of God on earth. This vicegerency is delegated to the leader, who will be elected by masses and further to the state run by the leader (Maududi 2010: 9). In doing so, Mawdudi recognizes human medium in transfer of authority from God to the ruler. This brings it somewhat closer to democracy. For Qutb, the implementation of sovereignty of God and vicegerency of human being will lead to an establishment of Islamic system (Shepard 1989: 38). Qutb also recognized human being or the people as the bearer of practical sovereignty on behalf of God within Islamic polity. Qutb does not specify the exact form of state and leaves the scope for multiple manifestations of Islamic state (Hadda 1994: 70-71). Unlike Mawdudi, he out rightly rejects the approach of defining Islamic

state as an alternative to Western parliamentary democracy. Such actions symbolizes rapprochement with modern concepts, and which for Qutb is a defeatist act or sign of defeatism (Qutb 2006: 154). So on the one hand, Qutb shows a strict rigidity, when it comes to invocation of any kind of terminology, which is used to show Islam as a parallel to any of the Western system. At the same time, he leaves scope for a state, which can manifest itself in any form, provided that it is in recognition of Sharia as the law of the state.

Khomeini, here comes with a different form of state, run by religious elite. Unlike, both Qutb and Mawdudi, Khomeini identifies the jurists as the representative of the Shia Imam. The jurist therefore, becomes the viceroy. In Khomeini's Vilayat-e-faqih, unlike Mawdudi's theo-democracy, the jurists are entitled to sovereignty on behalf of the God (Arjomand 1980: 154-156). Khomeini directly ascribes the authority to the jurist from God. In doing so, he departs from Mawdudi who acknowledges medium of people between God and the ruler.

The Change

The question of how Muslim should change the world and establish a morally upright system has been at the centre of debate in international relations since the epoch making event of 9/11. The existing literatures and news coverage have regularly used the phrase Islamist fundamentalist as the sole agent behind such pursuits. It has also become acceptable, that all the strands of fundamentalist Islam support violence including acts of suicide bombings and Jihadi terrorism as instrument of change. An insight, into the programme of change in the thoughts of Sayyid Qutb, Abdul Ala Mawdudi and Ayatollah Khomeini clarifies the diversity of position on it.

Mawdudi conceives of the process of Islamic revolution as a complete change in both the individual and society (Ahmad and Ansari 2000:44). Mawdudi understood the struggle against the existing system as an ideational struggle (Maududi 2006: 26). Therefore in his scheme of change, education is the main instrument of change (Nasr 1996: 78). Education here, involves the process of propagation of thoughts through writings and lectures. Mawdudi puts enormous faith on the idea of "attraction", in the success of revolution (Maududi 2000: 37). So his scheme of change, involves process of educating Muslims to produce true Muslims who will form the vanguard of the movement, and who will attract others through the display of their character and

selflessness. This will lead to creation of Islamic state. The state as the perfect polity is considered, that it will further attract other people around the world. In the process it will lead to a universal revolution. There is no room for use of any kind of violence in the process of change in thoughts of Mawdudi.

For Khomeini, the idea of change means the removal of imperialist structure and establishment of an Islamic government in its place. Khomeini puts the main responsibility to realize change on the Ulema. His scheme of change involves several modes of actions. Khomeini also puts emphasis on the need of propagation. This for him is unlike Mawdudi, is necessary to correct the distortions in Islam, which resulted due to imperialist design in the previous three centuries. Khomeini here lays a particular importance on the need to make political use of Muslim religious spaces and gatherings (Khomeini 1981: 234). Similarly there are other tactics, like non-cooperation, avoiding any relations with the existing system, which are believed to be fruitful removal of existing regime (Khomeni n.d.:92).

The use of force for Khomeini is an action of last resort in face of brutal opposition on part of state (Khomeini 1981: 261). But even this aspect gets subordinated to his larger call for resilience and toleration of sufferings, through regular invocations of Shia notion of martyrdom. He emphasises on propagation and lectures, gives a greater prominence to ideas in the process of change. This is evident in Khomeini's view of "export of revolution", which as he regards it as the exportation of consciousness to other countries, thus bringing an international revolution (Khomeini 1982: 22).

Sayyid Qutb understands revolution as the process of changing the Jahiliya system at its roots (Qutb 2006: 35). Invoking the example of first generation Muslims, Qutb asserts that a complete break from Jahiliya order is necessary for success of the movement (Qutb 2006: 152). The process of change for Qutb requires confrontation with both forms, in which Jahiliya manifests itself. The two forms in which Jahiliya manifests itself are ideas and institutions supported by military authority (Qutb 2008: 46). So for Qutb, there should be two different ways of engaging with both forms of domination of Jahiliya order. The two modes of actions for Qutb are preaching to tackle Jahiliya ideas and forceful movement to destroy the institutions (Qutb 2008: 69).

The first form of action, which involves preaching, is similar for Khomeini, Mawdudi and Qutb. In doing so, they all identify a dimension of ideological struggle. It is the second mode in which they departs from each other. There is complete rejection of violence in process of change in the case of Mawdudi. Khomeini's acceptance of violence is reactive in nature. Qutb in his assertion of forceful movement against the material forms of Jahiliya order radically departs from other two. Qutb's justification of violence has been interpreted in several ways by various militant Islamist organizations to justify their own form of violence. It is important to further note that, Qutb though accepted the use of force, at the same time he also asserted ethics of war as it was practiced by Prophet and His companions, to prohibit several types of actions like killing of women, children and elderly people, and acts of extreme torture and disfigurement of bodies (Qutb 2008: 146).

Concluding Remarks

The encounter of Muslim world with colonialism, imperialism and modernity was a complex process. The encounter created a tension between the existing forms of life in Muslim world with the new forms of organization which it encountered. The encounter saw the Muslims responding themselves in divergent ways. The response in the first place came from scholars and thinkers of Islam, who laid the foundation of revival. This diversity of responses is for academic convenience, categorized through the use of labels like modernist, revivalist and fundamentalist etc. These labels though simplify the complex world of Islam, yet, they come with at cost that is the ignorance of finer details of the diversity of various strands of Islamist response. A better understanding of the various actors who are engaged in some form of political activism can be done by engaging with the thoughts of ideologues, whose doctrines inform their behaviour. The understanding will be further enriched by a comparative study of thoughts of thinkers to identify the differences between these thinkers who are usually assumed to be similar. This then help in identifying the difference between the political actors which are informed by the thought of the thinkers.

The three thinkers who have been discussed in this dissertation are usually studied under the category of fundamentalists have pioneered the revivalism of Islam in politics in the post second world war era. The dissertation has pointed that they despite their key ideological standing in fusion of politics with religion with the

recognition of sovereignty, have differences among them in their conception of polity. Even more important is that, there scheme of change or their prescription for changing the existing order are different in numerous ways. The understanding of these differences is important for understanding of various kind of activism which is on display by Muslim political groups within domestic political set up as well as in international politics.

So to conclude, we can note that the present work finds that the existing literature on the ideology of Islamism is largely informed by a tendency to generalize different thinkers into a uniform assumption. We note that this tendency needs to be addressed by considering the differences among the range of scholars who are considered to be Islamist. In addition to this, there is a need for a greater engagement with the primary/original works of Islamist thinkers in the light of diverse strands of thought they represent as well as the possible critical challenges that could be initiated for the larger works of such thinkers who otherwise are addressed essentially as fundamentalist in ideological discourse. We must understand that for a better insight into the works of such ideologues, a comparative research approach should be considered in order to study, analyse, evaluate and comprehend such concepts in order to understand its content. Consequently, such an understanding will surely inform policy makers in terms of their understanding and formulations about the various stake holders within the same religious group, which are otherwise active as well as notorious in the name of Islam.

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