

“The Spectre of Fundamentalism: A Spatial analysis”

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Certified that the Dissertation entitled "The Spectre of Fundamentalism: A Spatial analysis" submitted by Samir Srivastav in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy has not been previously submitted for any other degree of this or of any other University. This is his bonafide work and may be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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To my

Guru Maharaj ji
&
Mummy Papa

*Who Picked with glad heart the spoils of a flower gathering
them one by one.*

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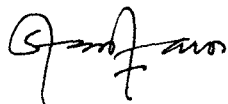
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SAMIR SRIVASTAV

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Etymologically speaking the term Fundamentalism is derived from the word Fundamental which means basic rule or principle. Fundamentalism as a concept was first used in 1910-1915 when an anonymous author published 12 volumes of a work of literature called "Fundamentals".

In the early 20s the print media used this word with reference to conservative protestant groups in North America. These groups were concerned about liberal interpretations of Bible. Alarmed by this the conservatives therein insisted on some fundamentals of faith. These included belief in virgin birth, diversity, the physical resurrection of Jesus Christ and the infallibility of scripture. As mentioned these and other fundamentals were published in 12 pamphlets between 1910-1915. Thus began the specialized usage of the concept of "Fundamentalism". Thus a fundamental movement is one which takes infallibility of scripture as a basic issue and guide to life. Some fundamentalists add that there is no need to even interpret the scripture as meaning in its is self evident. This often accounts to any form of intolerance of any form of disagreement or dissent.

In course of time the more conservative member of each denomination at first

attempted to exclude from their own institutions persons they considered outspoken or unyielding liberals. As a result number of ministers and theologians were dismissed for espousing higher criticism. The exceptionally conservatives however set up various rival bodies and educational institution to spread their creed.

Fundamentalism spread in 1920's. It started from the rural areas of United Status particularly in California, in the border states and in South. In these areas Fundamentalist sharply delineated the issue of biblical infallibility in historical and scientific matters. The controversy over this issue grew most intense in the secular sphere when fundamentalists urged many states to pass regulation forbidding the teaching of evolution in public schools. Conforming to this several southern states and border states passed such laws.

At the same time, the Tennessee statute led in 1925, to the world famous trial of John Thomas Seopes (1900-70), a high school instructor who was convicted of teaching. This incident probably was the first kind in U.S and 20th century to filip seculars for further action.¹

Fundamentalism literally stresses the infallibility of scriptures(religious, eg: Bible, Quran, Granth etc) in all matter of faith and doctrine. The believers accept it as a literal historical record. Fundamentalism in this light would then have very narrow

¹ Smith DE, A Secular State, Princeton, 1963.

spectrum and will exclude the practices of Muslim countries, especially of the middle east (Iran, Saudi Arabia, Afghanistan).

This would seem strange, because along with considering Quran as literal historical record. They consider their pious duty to work for the spread of Islam, especially not through missionary practice. If we neatly explore the fanaticism in Islam vis a vis other religion, its singled out, in use of violent and militant measure to pursue other to believe, the way they do, and to follow the interpretation of the whole scripture from their heart and mind. In other religions too there are fanatics who pursue the society to believe and follow the religion as they do but if large number of people don't, Schism in the religion occur and a different sect takes off shoot, people by and large in other religion are not generally so violent. This aspect of fundamentalism is discussed in detail in chapter II.

The Question than stands that 1) if by abiding to the tenets of fundamentalism (as practiced by Islamic countries especially), the whole society attains salvation, is their peace happiness joy and content, as is the outcome when religion is followed strictly. 2) Do the Guardian of society pursuing strict adherence to religion the religions head themselves abide to religion or the whole text, observation may differ when we focus on individuals or some, but on the large scale the answer is definitely no. In chapter IV its highlights with examples that different fundamentalist groups of

the same religion often pursue paradoxical interpretation of the same holy scripture (as will be seen in case of Algeria in chapter IV) when at command of the helm of affairs, they themselves do not hesitate to deviate(not only this deviation is harmful but at times its also for the welfare, of the society, As will be seen in case of Egypt and Iran), from the infallible text.

However in some religion,society by its various arms (the police,army and so on) attempts to suppress the fundamentalists. This is especially so when they begin acting outside the law.

Word fundamentalism has gained wide currency in the contemporary world. It refers to variety of norms, values, attitudes which either judge the fundamentalists or condemn them outright. The various fundamentalist movement of the world are actually not identical but differ in various ways.²

There are examples when some fundamentalist leaders have guided the way of life of people off the prevalent impurities. They have denounced all corrupt life-style. To this theme we can quote swami Dayanand Saraswati who vehemently opposed the traditional, superstition filled way of life of people in Hindu society, in favour of more radical approach to life. Maulana Madudi (founder of Jamat-i-Islami)labelled the contemporary muslim way of life as "Ignorant"and Bhindarwale

² T.N. Madan, (1993).

talked of the fallen sikhs who shave off their beards, cut their hair and do not observe the traditional sikh way of life. Thus from the above discussion it is explicit that fundamentalist leaders not only were concerned about religious beliefs and practices, but also focused on the cultural and social aspect of the society as well.

Fundamentalist movements are usually collective in nature. They are often led by a leader who has a mass base in society. Thus Ayatollah Khomeini led the 1979 revolution of Iran and the mid 80's sikh upsurge in India was led by Bhindranwala. These fundamentalist leaders need not always have had a religious background, for example, Maulana Maududi founder of the Jamat-i-Islami in India was a journalist, K.B. Hegdewar, founder of Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Sangh was a physician by profession.

In the analysis of Islamic fundamentalism particularly in chapter 4 we will see that by and large fundamentalist movements are reactive and a response to what the persons involved (the leaders and participants) consider a crisis. This crisis calls for an urgent solution. The basic approach in bringing out a solution is usually returning back to an earlier way of life, beliefs and practices, as is considered in tandem to religious scripture. This sometimes involves selective retrieval of tradition or arriving at a completely new form of tradition which is sometimes even in contradiction to the whole scripture, (as will be seen in the case of Iran in chapter 4). Even Swami Dayanand

Saraswati tried to evolve a semitised Hinduism in response to proselytism by christian missionaries. He called people to adhere to vedas and opined that only vedas depict the true form of Hinduism.

In Iran, Khomeni based the governance of the state on the Guardianship of the Juriste. He had also empowered them to defy, sharia at time of need. Similarly Bhindarivala gave selective focus to Guru Gobind Singh's teaching rather than those of his immediate successor.

Fundamentalism, as I could explore through my work has following characteristics.

1. Leader Asserts the spirituals authority and claims to be the messenger of God.
2. Fundamentalists criticize the prevalent culture, its all aspects, shout loud, of it being contrary to will of god as prescribed in religious scripture, though after getting command of the society they never hesitate to go against the will of God.
3. The pursuit of political power is very important to fundamentalism, for without it we would be presented with a case of revivalism. The Arya Samajist were ardent nationalist in North India and the movement had its political overtone. The Jamat-i-Islami formed during India's pre-Independence period also had political pursuits, exceptions apart like Arya Samajist,

fundamentalist parties/groups, especially in middle-east-put a religious cloak to their political pursuits and when for long period they don't get chance to fulfill their political desire they simply turn violent.³

4. Fundamentalism arises from a person's general approach to life. Not all fundamentalists are religions. A fundamentalists unyielding adherence to rigid doctrinal and ideological positions may find position in his or her social and political as well as religious attitude.
5. Fundamentalism is dynamic in nature.
6. Fundamentalism at times denies the power of God.
7. At times Fundamentalism also serves to fulfill the vested interests of groups.
8. Variety and egoistic tendencies are found in fundamentalists.

But before proceeding any further, it will be necessary, to explore some events in brief which do possess characteristics of fundamentalism like Communalism, traditionalism, orthodoxy and Authoritarianism. Most often scholar use these terms interchangeably, however, these connotations have different meanings. Furthermore, it should be noted that traditionalism and Fundamentalism do not apply to religion only, these can also match degree of pursuation of political

³ BRUCE Hunsberger, *Journal of Social Issues*, vol 51 no.2

and cultural ideologies, but by and large fundamentalism and traditionalism are applied to religious beliefs and practices only.

Religious orthodoxy may be desirable and undesirable for some and others. Similar is the case with other mentioned events. Religious orthodoxy has great deal of social implementation but very little political consequences, though not always bereft of it. But practically the past two decades had more political consequences and lesser religious. Though fundamentalism during the early part of the 20th Century had little political and more religious consequences, because during its genesis in western countries the main concern of the fundamentalists was that, Bible's words should be literally understood, without any manoeuvred interpretation.

After Islamic revolution in Iran the word Fundamentalism came to be largely used in political sense. This word began to be used with political overtones by western media to debunk Islamic revolution in Iran as the Iranian revolution directly challenged the American supremacy and political hegemony. Similarly it was in seventies that the Libyan revolution took place and Qaddafi also became an obstinate challenger of the American policing of the World. However Libya was not that Iran was, and the word Fundamentalism was not applied to Libyan revolution. The Shah of Iran had a strategic importance for America and with his help American authorities sought to control the middle-eastern region. The Shah was also pro-Israel and

exercised effective control over the radical movements in the region. Thus the Islamic revolution in Iran in late 70s hurt American Interest much more than the Libyan revolution. Hence the word fundamentalism was re-applied in the new political context.⁴

Though Asgar Ali Engineer has its own perspective by looking the events that took place in 1979 in Iran. To an extent we can agree to him that the way Shah was removed by mass participation and mass unrest was definitely revolutionary but performance of those in power aftermath and the line of argument which they advocated against Shah definitely labels them fundamentalist.

With the same perspective Ali has criticized U.S. for not labelling Saudi Arabia as Fundamentalist (U.S. called the Saudis as 'Orthodox' for their acts) because it was kindly to them and did not threaten their interest in the region. Though his contention sounds better in the case of Afghanistan, where initially Taliban's movement in Afghanistan was thought to be quite innocuous by U.S. & for that reason it hurriedly recognised it. US had also thought of Afghanistan as a launching pad to contain China and Russia and for this purpose it also supplied trims and ammunition to it, via ISI but when Taliban began to threaten its interest in number of ways and even hired Osama-ib-laden to carry out subversive activities against it. It

⁴ Asgar Ali Engineer, Sangat Review. February 2001.

was labelled as fundamentalist and rogue state.

Well in this way, Indian media and academician has also been unable to differentiate between religious fundamentalism, religious orthodoxy and insurgency. For example when Sikh started demanding Khalistan as separate homeland and persuaded their demand militantly they were also labelled as Sikh fundamentalist, but especially in this case, which was basically an insurgency, backed up by hostile neighbour, media and academician are not to be blamed fully. Because the leader of this insurgency tried to give religious tone to their cause. (because their motivation was mobilizing the society, especially the youths, ready to perform terrorist activities and sacrifice their lives) operated from their holiest Shrine (Golden temple).

Though, when closely reviewed, fundamentalism and religious orthodoxy have hair line difference. As pointed out before, religious orthodoxy have little concern with political consequences, however some people are as much put off by religious Orthodoxy as by fundamentalism and religious Orthodoxy does not succumb to violent means, as in fundamentalism, to pursue its cause. However, it can cause alienation of some sect or caste in society and can also lead to schism in the religion itself, as was the case with Hinduism in 3rd and 4th century B.C. where as Religious fundamentalism brings social stagnation and obstructs change and

development.⁵ Though at places religious orthodoxy also plays and have played very positive role. For example in 20th century Jamat-al-ulama an organization composing orthodox theologians opposed the two nations theory and Pakistan movement. Maulana Hussain Ahmad Madani was also a prominent theologian of Islam but stood firm against partition plan.

Similarly there are thin differences between Fundamentalism and Communalism. Communal movement are often brief, dyad in nature, comprising an opposing force or Ideology which has to be countered unlike fundamentalism communalism can only exist dyadically. Clifford Geertz, and American anthropologist while discussing nature of politics in new states of Africa and Asia wrote "when we speak of communalism in India we refer to religious contract, when we speak of it in Malaya, we are mainly concerned with racial ones and we speak of it in congo we talk of regarding tribal ones. Here link between communalism and politics is quite evident. Thus when we talk of India we talk mainly of religious based opposition.

Communalism is sectarian exploitation of social traditions as medium of

⁵ Ernest Gellener, *Fundamentalism as a Comprehensive System*, (Oxford: Pergamon Press), (1988).

political mobilization, especially to punish the interest of entrenched groups.⁶ Thus its an ideology used to fulfill socio-eco-politico hopes of a community or social groups, and requires proposals and programmes to ensure its very existence. These become active especially in phase of social change.

Communalism came in India during colonial period, and the Politics was based on religion and tradition. Communalism differs in its meaning today from that of colonial period. During colonial period it meant to many 'aberration' in Indian polity and society. It was so, not only because it was viewed as antiethical to nationalism, but also because of hatred and violence inherent in its practice, valorizing the anti-colonial nationalism and thus dismissing and disparaging all other form of consciousness.

The Muslim league imputed to minority communalism the character of religion-based cultural nationalism and thus managed to move a section of Indian population away from mainstream secular politics and finally to demand and establish a separate theocratic state and thereafter fashioned a fundamentalist society. Apart from several underlying causes viz. political economic and ideological, apprehension-

⁶ Salisbury. P. Fundamentalism and Politics in Asia, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, (1994).

about the future played a decisive role in fanning minority communalism.⁷

The minority communalism is Qualitatively different from majority communalism in contemporary India. Like propaganda about muslim demographic spurt, by hindus though are not likely to be outnumbered by them. In most sphere of life Hindus (majority) do face some inherent advantage. This majority communalism has instigated in them the feeling of nationalism and some times they even don't hesitate to give it a religious color. Nationalism and communalism are thus frequently overlapped.

Communalism and Fundamentalism have a very important common point. They both serve political motives. In the contemporary period majority of communalist construct a religious national identity in the realm of politics, when this happens one can clearly discern shift in emphasis from communal to religious politics. This change from communal to religious politics is out of compulsion. The compulsion is to broaden the appeal of communalism and not to renounce it. Moreover organizing politics around such a common religious belief has a greater potential for success than resorting to communal hatred and antagonism. A real religious devotee is unlikely to subscribe to the politics of communal hatred or approve of killings in the name of religion. Yet he may support politics which

⁷ Panikkar K.N., Seminar, June 1992.

advocate the fulfillment of common religious interest.⁸

To sum up, Fundamentalism whether Muslim, Sikh, Christian or Jewish- are borne in communally perceived times of crisis. They are concerned with critiques of contemporary ways of life and look to a future where true believer is twice blessed with true faith and secular power. These are defensive movements which resort to selective retrieval of the tradition and in the process its definition is redefined. They do not ignore the resources available to them in the present including those of modern knowledge and technology, but they reject the modern ideology of modernism and secularism. They envelop themselves in the aura of idealism, but are in today's world, generally aggressive, if not violent in character. They are totalitarian and intolerant of dissent. Although each fundamentalist movement has a positive self image and generates self justifying rhetoric, (verbally in writing and on video tape) though no fundamentalist movement can be said to be more desirable than others.⁹

Thus while examining the behaviour of fundamentalists. It can be seen that

⁸ Laffin. John, Violence and Conflict in the name of religion, Military Review 71, no.2 (Feb. 1991).

⁹ Yvonne Haddad, "The Arab-Israeli Wars, Nasserism, and the affirmation of Islamic Identity", In Islam and Development: Religion and Socio-political Change, ed. John L. Esposito (Syracuse, N.Y. : Syracuse, University Press, 1980).

they are usually not averse to modern technological development, even though if its use may be antiethical. For example none of fundamentalist group or their wholly scripture mention the ways and models of violence but simply mention war against, those non adherents to the wholly book. Methods of violence is based on most modern gadgets like Kalishnikov and stringer missiles, thus here they show great flexibility and adaptability in discarding the usual practice of warfare and violence prevalent during those earlier days when the wholly scripture was written.

SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION

We live in a hightime of fundamentalism of different kinds. It is not limited, neither to a geographical region nor a specific society in a local form. In the perspectives of social, cultural, and religious history it is in a certain sense also unavoidable as a recurring factor in the process of a developing or changing culture, religion and society. One or the other form of fundamentalism arises when known patterns of world-view and world-order, of social life and social relations are questioned, and when they lose the all including plausibility.

ISLAMIC COUNTRIES

The Shah of Mohammed Reza Pahlavi, was culturally enlightened but politically -a mere puppet in the hands of the western powers. The vast economic and cultural chasm between the westernized elite and the large mass of the populace went

on widening. In the wake of the movement for nationalization of the oil industry, which finally took place in 1959, and struggle for total independence in matters of politics, economy and culture the Shah of Iran was deposed and an Islamic clerical leadership was installed in 1979.

The right-wing French settlers formed the Secret Army Organisation. i.e. the OAS and resisted even limited independence by violent raids against the Algerians, majority of whom were Arabic speaking Muslim. There was also strife between rival nationalist forces which were resolved to a great extent with the first election in 1962 and the formation of a socialist and neutral government under the premiership of Ahmed Ben Bella. However, his was a one party Government of French speaking elite which

controlled commerce and administration. It failed to resolve the massive unemployment problem. In this situation nearly three million unemployed youth found some kind of hope through participation in the activities of the Islamic Salvation Front. I.e. the FIS.

Neighbouring Libya has also been branded as a leading fundamentalist country. Oil was discovered in Libya in 1957 and with this discovery the whole perspective of Libyan politics and economy changed radically. The USA pumped in investment and

American oil companies were formed. The impact of American presence was felt in every of Libyan life.

The batteline between Libya and US led western countries were clearly drawn. Finally in 1977 Libya changed its name to the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya.

In Afghanistan monarchy was over thrown there in 1973 and the revolution was followed by the creation of a Marxist 'People's republic by Soviet intervention. The rival Superpower US did not sit idle. It sent arms and finance and gave training in guerilla warfare to the 'holy warriors' known as 'Mujahideen' through Pakistans Inter Services Intelligence, i.e. the ISI, which culminated in the Talibanisation of Afghanistan. The role of Pakistan is also a crucial variable in stoking the fires of fundamentalism in Afghanistan. Undoubtedly each country has its own typical characteristic and respective individual features. But there are some common features also the most conspicuous of which is the imposition of western command over the Afro-Asiall countries. The western command, tantamounted to economic and political exploitation as well as cultural and linguistic domination. The foreign powers either deliberately or inadvertently destroyed the popular efforts to preserve the cultural and linguistic identity and to protect the economic and political interest of the respective

countres. Thus pressure and counter-pressure or resistance between the foreign and indigenous forces generated tension which soon overgrew the concept of nationalism and transformed into a passion for the past, reinforced by a zeal to assert indigenous orthodox identity and a militancy against progressive modernism, elitist rationalism and sophisticated culture. This paved the way towards Fundamentalist with a capital.

The foreign presence also had a religious identity, namely the Christian identity, which carried with it the memory of the Crusade, a bloody invasion of the lands of the Muslims.

In the 20th century the western powers did not project their religion as prominently as the Afro-Asians, but the religious factor played in the minds of both the parties. Russia is a case in point, During the Soviet regime, religion was not evident but with the break-up of the USSR orthodox religious sentiments and passions have begun to surface.

Another issue vital to the growth of fundamentalism is the politics of oil. Under the arid soil of West Asia and East Africa lies the world's greatest reserve of oil, 'the black gold of nations'. On the one hand Great Britain, France and the USA in their desperate bid to establish control over the oil fields of Asia and Africa launched military as well as diplomatic-adventures, and on the other, Arab nationalism fired by religious inspiration, consolidated to keep the western powers at bay. This

nationalism and consequently Muslim fundamentalism developed from an urge to defend and preserve their oil. Only recently, in 1993-94, the USA waged a proxy war against Somalia, a small country on the eastern coast of Africa, for control of the sea route of oil and also of Somalia's 'oil storage.

JEWISH STATE AND FUNDAMENTALISM

Jewish terrorist groups like Hagana, Irgun etc. (names of the terrorist groups are from the Old-testament of the Bible) were provided with massive resources of arms and dollars from across the Atlantic. Escalated Jewish terrorism was retaliated by Arab terrorism

(Hamas). Terrorism forced by religious passion became the prime culture of the region. The constant excitement and tension of the region also found fertile ground for enmity in the religious difference between the Arabs and Jews. Both draw inspiration from their respective scriptures, their religious orthodoxy to fight each other.

EUROPEAN SCENARIO

As far as religious plus political fundamentalism is concerned we have to differentiate between state and regions within the European community and outside the European community. Societies and states in east-Europe which are undergoing a total or partial reconstruction after the end of the communist block-system, have

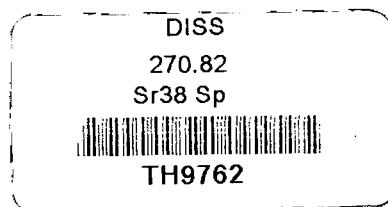
special conditions for the revival of fundamentalist trends. These trends show a growing attempt to new traditional forms of national identity. In South-East Europe the Serbs try to renew their national identity against the Muslim population. The Muslims of former, Yugoslavia have to suffer under the attack motivated by the political vision of Great Serbia and supported by the Orthodox Church of Serbia. While the Church of Serbia is backed by the Church of Russia searching for its own revival and for greater influence on neighbouring churches, the Russian government and even some Traditionalists and political. Fundamentalists grant help to the politics of Serbia. So far as the European community is concerned we observe certain new trends of fundamentalism on different levels and in different social and regional sectors. Among the forms of fundamentalism we see movements like the "Green movement" which combines, for instance, in Germany the so-called "fundia" (the fundamentalists) and the "Realos" (the realists). Another form of fundamentalist attitude can be seen in certain socialist or Marxist movements which continue to defend the party doctrine and the political and economic way with a rigid attitude. They are not able to read the history of the ideology and of

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politics critically but search for excuses and continue to project the unfulfilled utopia against the recent disaster. The religious fundamentalism has different 'faces. On one hand we observe efforts of the Churches (representing the main traditions of Christianity) to stabilize their position in the society and in the state. The social and political role of the Churches, however, differs from state to state. In certain states one form of christian Churches is close to the state or in particular to that: representative of the state. We also set: a revival of Nazi fundamentalism in relatively small groups which try to keep alive the doctrine of Racism and National Socialism. But these groups do not restrict themselves to discussions. Some are ready to start acting against foreigners, handicapped and aged people and against followers of a different political conviction. By their aggressive action they show that they are part of the militant section of fundamentalism.

Another sort of fundamentalism can be seen in different neo-religious movements. They are like the others also bound to authorities. Typical elements of these movements are, for instance, the adaption of religious thinking and taken over from non Christian traditions.

FUNDAMENTALISM IN SOUTH ASIA



As far as the spatial distribution of fundamentalism in South Asia is concerned its spread over India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Srilanka. Regarding its genesis, besides sharing several common causative factors with fundamentalist movements in other parts of world, it has

several factors which germinated in its own socio-cultural and political milieu. The bitter legacy of partition, endemic poverty, illiteracy, failures of state, intra-regional as well as Inter-regional disparities, role of vested interests, socio structural and economic factor as well as role of external factors are noteworthy.

It should also be mentioned that within the South Asian Context, Hindu and Muslim fundamentalism mutually reinforce each other and have thus acquired a self sustaining momentum.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To study the nature of Fundamentalism in selected countries.
2. To explore the difference if any in fundamentalist tendencies in different religion.
3. To explore the difference between the fundamentalism in developed and developing countries.
4. To analyze whether religion is the main cause for religious fundamentalism and test the assumption, of the work that power and politics are more

important factors, in the genesis of fundamentalism in a region, than religion.

METHODOLOGY

This work mainly relies on secondary sources.

Since Genesis fundamentalism starts from opposing a group, (which is either in power or in majority) for some of its ideologies and practices. Thus this work focuses on

1. Ideology, beliefs and practices unacceptable to opposing group.
2. Ideology, beliefs and practices of opposing group.
3. Ideology, beliefs and practices of ones the opposing group gets the command of the same society.

Literature for the above subject matter have been largely collected from speeches, events and ideologies of the above mentioned parties published in various articles in journal and books.

There after policies and practices of Fundamentalists groups have been taken in account and compared vis-a-vis Sharia/Quran and policies, beliefs and practices of the regime to which they had initially opposed and thus conclusion have been drawn.

(Chapterization)

(Chapterization)

1. Chapter I Introduction
2. Chapter II Theoretical Perspective of fundamentalism
3. Chapter III Special analysis of fundamentalism
4. Chapter IV Causative Factors in the growth of Fundamentalism
5. Conclusion

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVE OF FUNDAMENTALISM

The term fundamentalism was perhaps first used in 1920 by Curtis Lee Laws in the Baptist watchman-examiner. It designated those "doing battle royal for the Fundamentals". But it seemed to pop up every where in the early 1920's as an obvious way to identify someone who believed and actively defended the fundamentals of the faith. The Baptist John Roach Straton called his newspaper the fundamentalists in the 1920's. The Presbyterian scholar J. Gresham Machen disliked the word, and only hesitatingly accepted it describe himself, because, he said, It sounded like a new religion and not the same historic christianity that the church had always believed.¹

Ideally speaking term Fundamentalism came up in early days of 20th century to describe those who strictly adhered to christian doctrine, based on literal interpretation of the bible. The roots of this usage can be traced back to 19th and early 20th century trans nominal Protestant movement that opposed the accommodation of christian doctrine to modern scientific theory and philosophy. With some difference among themselves fundamentalists insist on belief in the inerrancy of the bible, the virgin birth, the divinity of the Jesus christ, the vicarious and atoning character of his death,

¹ Mc Intire CT, A History of Fundamentalism in America, Boulder colo; Westview Press; London; Mansell, 1984.

christianity. This minimum was reflected in such early declaration as the 14 point used of the Niagara bible conference of 1878 and the 5 point statement of Presbyterian general assembly of 1910.

Two immediate doctrinal source of fundamentalist thought were Millenarianism and biblical inerrancy. Millenarianism is belief in the physical return of christ to establish a 1000 years earthly reign of blessedness was a doctrine prevalent in English speaking protestantism by 1870.² At the same time powerful conservative forces led by charles Hodge and Benyamin warfield opposed the growing use of literary and historical criticism in biblical studies defending biblical inspiration and inerrant authority of the bible .

As fundamentalism developed, more protestant denominations in the United States felt the discussion between liberalism and fundamentalism. This was how the contagious fundamentalism developed.

with the passage of time it spread to other countries, along with wave of westernisation following the track of colonization,though fundamentalism lost its momentum in early 1930's.The main reason was acceptance, by most people of western countries, modern scientific theories, methods, more liberals religious doctrines and the lack of an

² Averill LJ, Religious Right and Religious Wrong, New york, St.Martin's Press, 1993.

effective national organization to lead the fundamentalist association .

But since this period it started printing its feet in the developing and underdeveloped country. It was so because,of the spread of colonisation and emigration of upper middle class and elite class, of the colonies to the western countries for higher scientific education .These people after their return to homeland, took thè initiative of spreading, more liberal and radical ideas of the west.

Modern day fundamentalism in west is an extreme reaction to the complexity and immorality of todays world. The knowledge and technology has left many people confused and afraid. Their understandable longing for security leads some to look for a way to cut through the complexity of modern life and reestablish fundamental truths. Fundamentalist try to satisfy their lust for certitude by oversimplifying things, by making a passionate commitment to a past and sometimes to a distortion of truth*2.

2. STANLEY RONALD;F undamentalism, Orient long Man, 1981.

However Grant Wacker of Duke University distinguishes, Fundamentalism as a religious movement specific to protestant culture in the United states in the late nineteenth Century from fundamentalism as a generic or world wide phenomena. Accordingly, Generic fundamentalism refers to global religious impulse, particularly evident in the twentieth century that seeks to recover and publicly institutionalize

aspects of the past that modern life has obscured. It takes its cues from a sacred text that stands above criticism. It sees time-honoured social distinctions and cultural patterns as rooted in the very nature of things, in the order of creation itself, that means clear cut specified roles for men and women, parents and children, clergy and laity. Moreover, Generic fundamentalism tends to minimize the distinction between the state and church. To hold that state should operate according to one set of primarily shared principles, while individuals should operate according to multiple set of privately shared principles. Whereas Historic fundamentalism (that prevalent in US in late 19th century) Shared all of the assumptions of Generic fundamentalism, but also reflected several concerns particular to the religious setting of United States at the turn of the century. source of those concerns stemmed from broad changes in the culture such as awareness of the world religions, the teaching of human evolution and above all the rise of biblical higher criticism.

Fundamentalists fought these changes on several fronts. Intellectually they mounted a strenuous defence of the fundamentals (as defined by them) of historic Christian teachings. They insisted upon the necessity of conversion experience through faith in Jesus Christ alone, the accuracy of Bible in matters of Science and history as well as theology and the eminent physical return of Christ to the earth where he would establish a millennial reign of peace and righteousness. Fundamentalists conveyed their

convictions in numerous ways, but most prominently through the wide dissemination of twelve booklets called 'The Fundamentals' (1910-1915).

Nonetheless, this historical Fundamentalism as classified by Wacker, in 1930s moved underground, so to speak where it built a network of day schools, colleges, seminaries and missionary agencies. More importantly the movement soon established a print and telecast industry of its own. It also created a system of parachurch organizations aimed to meet the spiritual needs of numerous socially discrete groups. Above all fundamentalists found innovative ways to address religious concerns of common people. Though it would be unfair to say that they were anti-intellectual, they made a point as evangelist Billy Sunday once said, to keep the cookies on the bottom shelf. They were also quite successful in passing their beliefs on to their children. Historic fundamentals largely forged before World War I helped to produce the massive evangelical and pentecostal and charismatic revivals after World War II, as well as Christian right in the 1970s and 1980s.

But, not questioning the integrity of research of Wacker, if we trace the roots of fundamentalism. It will lead us down to antiquities of humanity.

Before continuing further it would be appropriate to focus at an aspect of definition of fundamentalism, i.e. "Fundamentalists believe in the infallibility of the religious and scripture", to make this aspect more refined and contemporaneous we

should call fundamentalists as those who believe in infallibility of interpretation made by them of Religious scriptures, and this interpretation has always been in a way that beneficial to them especially. It was very much this reason which in the later vedic phase in Indian gave rise to the birth of Jainism and Buddhism, which were more practical and liberal at the time of their genesis.

Unfortunately Jainism and Buddhism also could not remain untouched by flavour of fundamentalism. In both these religion we will see that division of these religion in different sects came when the leadership of each religion was challenged by more than one.

It is said that "200 years after the death of Mahavira, a disastrous famine broke but in Magadha that lasted for 12 years, and in order to protect themselves many a Jain went to South under the leadership of Bhadrabahu, but the rest of them stayed back in Magadha. Under the leadership of Sthulbahu the emigrant Jains at the end of famine came back to Magadha where they developed differences with those who had stayed. The one who stayed claimed that those migrated could not have observed the religious rules strictly so are now inferior to those who had stayed and followed the rule strictly.

The nature of the cause of dispute explicit many things. Unquestionably every religion including Jainism taught tolerance and brotherhood but it seems that these teachings were not meant for the guardians of the religions (the case Jainism,

Sthulbahu and Bhadrabahu). They were more concerned for leadership, and superiority, and at this juncture Jainism was divided in Svetambar and drgambar.

A similar lust for domination, ease loving life lead to emergence of fundamentalist tendencies in Buddhism. "During the Post Maurya times the Buddhist monks and nuns could not afford to loose. Cash donations from growing body of traders and artisans. They now accepted gold and silver took to non-vegetarian food and wore elaborate robes. Discipline became so slack that some monks even deserted the religious order on the Sangha. All these practicises were paradoxical to the teaching of Buddha, and was resisted by those who abided by the teaching of Buddha. Schims occurred, because religious leaders committed no mistakes neither were punishable. Rather they justified their activities by their interpretation of religious text, and thus, those who were deviant Buddhists called their sects as Mahayana or greater wheel and those, the old puritans as the Hinayan or the lesser wheel. What ever mahayanas did was right and was ought to be and worthy of following, because they were infallible. During this period the primary vows which a Buddhist monks was required to take, once enrolled as a member of monestry, of continence faith and poverty, became less significant. It was because of interpretation of these aspects of Buddhism, by new leaders.

Islam also met same fate. The teachings and ideals of Md. Pagamber changed

over course of time Caliphas succeeded by prophet relied on prophecies and Fatwas. Probably Islam was the first instance where religious leaders after prophet Mohammed tried, to become in state leader. slightly similar events did occur in Ancient India, "herein the Hindu Kings like Pushymitra Sunga is said to have persecuted the Buddhists".³

Several instances of persecution occurred in sixth and seventh centuries A.D. The Hunan King Mihirkula, who was a worshipper of Shiva killed hundreds of Buddhists. In the period of Ancient India we find Hindu rulers with fundamentalist tendencies. This case cropped up in Islam, but at a later period of time and it was the other way round. The religious leaders and followers in Saudi Arabia cracked a denounced heavily on the Idol worshippers, and to stop it, they also indulged in blood shed.

The difference between Islamic Fundamentalism and Fundamentalist tendencies in other religions like Hinduism, Jainism and Buddhism is quite clear. In Islam the fundamentalist tendencies cropped up at the time of its genesis, because the followers and religious leaders of Islamic faith vehemently opposed all those who did not abide to the tenets of Islam. They labelled all Idol worshippers as 'But Parast' and themselves as 'Butshikan' the destroyers of the Idols. They felt destroying Idols as

religiousness. Though no religion validates this, act neither Islam. All non-muslims were called as Kafirs, i.e. those they did not abided to the tenets of Islam.

But before going to any further conclusion we should ponder little over the Geopolitical structure of Saudi Arabia. This country at the time of rise of Islam was ruled by different tribal groups with small territories.

This tribal clans and small kingdoms did frequently engaged in war among themselves to expand their territories. Since the battles used to be frequent the ruler labelled their opposition as antireligious . Since the subjects were highly superstitious and could be readily mobilized in the name of God, hence religion was used as tool to mobilize the subjects. Apart from this kingship also was many a times was attained on the basis of might is right. The ruling king declared himself as the agent of God and attached divinity to the throne so that he be regarded infalliable even if his act were not in line with religion and any opposition to him could be equivalent to defying God.

Period preceding the rise of buddhism and Jainism saw marked complexity in hindu religion too. The religion grew rigid. Rigidity was not in interpretation of scripture but was in religious life, and necessity of rituals and ceremonies to be performed and the ways they could be performed. Thus fundamentalism in this case was of different colour. Most of the religous ceremonies were cast specific (some yagnas, sacrifices and rituals were exclusive for Kshatriyas) but all were to be

performed by a brahman or priest. No matter how pious or religious a non-Brahmin be he was always incompetent to perform these. The best result of these rituals definitely depended on the way it was performed but in no less terms the gifts made to the performer or the Brahman were less important in the anticipated result. Thus in hinduism during this period, rituals and ceremonies were compulsory for the 3 castes out of the four and for the 4th one these rituals and ceremonies were strictly prohibitive. Infallibility was not of religious scripture but was of rituals and ceremonies and their place in different stages of life.

Thus we can trace some traits of fundamentalism way back in ancient times. we will see their form in modern times.

ISLAMIC FUNDAMENTALISM

Islam (The act of submitting to God) is the most proper and popular meaning of Quran. Its the most recent of the three great monotheism to have arisen in the middle-east and the last major religion to have appeared in the history. Although a good part of Quran records the preaching of Muhammad in Mecca, in the first two decades of that century, the definite outline of Islam as a system of beliefs and as political organization took shape in Medina after emigration (hijrah) to that city of Muhammad and a band of followers in A.D 622. Two years after the death of Pagambar in 632 the new religion established itself throughout most of the Arabian peninsula not only as a corpus of

religious belief, but equally as a political community, provided with its own laws and embryonic governmental and social institutions.

Century following Muhammad's death saw far reaching series of conquests by the new muslim armies. Their spectacular success testify to the underlying weakness in the existing order and tribal clans which were exhausted by internecine struggles and doctrinal quarells. However, the large number of conversion to Islam at this period may be said to have stemmed more from socio-economic causes than from religious motivation. In the fertile crescent area and in the Egypt the numerous Christians and Jenish communities were legally allowed to continue practicing their religion, but inequalities in taxation which favoured muslims and the natural social desire to become the full members of the body politic with all its advantages furthered Islamisation. In East multiple causes conditioned conversion, to Islam the desire of Bureaucracy to preserve its preveledges, the reluctance of the landed nobility to pay poll tax, and the wish on the part of merchant class to have full share in the material culture of the Islamic empire. In north Africa. Pagan or semi-christianized berbers were more often either genuinely influenced by Islam or spontaneously gave their allegiance to the new religion rather than suffer the alternative loss of life reserved for those other than "people of the book" i.e. monotheste who possessed scriptures,(Muslims).

We have already seen that the roots of Islamic fundamentalism are centuries old

among muslims of South Asia. The decline of the Mughal Empire started with the death of Aurangzeb at the beginning of the 18th century, which also coincided with the birth of Shah Waliullah the leader of fundamentalist resurgence in years to come. Shah saw in the disintegration of muslim emporium a grave threat to the position of not only muslim but Islam itself. He considered recovery of the power of the state, the key to the revival of Islam as a religion and culture. His sentiments were shared by Ulama generally and they to called for spiritual and political regeneration.⁴ When Bahadur Shah, the titular emperor of India was exiled to Rangoon, the loss of control over state was finally rendered absolute. Muslims now faced the crisis of hindu ascendancy via modernization, westernisation and liberal political ideas and institutions. All shades of muslim public opinion ranging from the conservative ulama of Deoband, whose call to Indian muslims was to be the people of practice of the prophet and of community, to the modernists of Aligarh-perceived a new crisis. As the sense of crisis depend, Muhammad Iqbal gave his famous call for reconstruction of Islamic thought in 1920s, seeking to combine the best of Islamic spiritualism with the best in western philosophy and science. But Iqbal like his favourite eagle-soared too high in the sky for the

⁴ Rahman Fazlur, Islamic modernism: Its scope, method and alternative, International Journal of middle east studies, vol.1, no.4, October 1970.

common people to hear his call.⁵

Maulana Maududi's (founder of Jamat-i-Islami) fundamentalism was literalist (the Quran provides explicit guidance to muslims everywhere and at all times and no interpretation or reconstruction is called for) and whose rejection of the western secular world view as the new ignorance (jahilyya) was uncompromising. Madudi emphasized more on the purity of faith. He criticized vehemently, both to Ulamas, Nationalist muslim and muslim league leadership and regarded to all these as bad muslims. He criticized ulama because they were conservative and to nationalists and league because they preached the false ideals of nationalism and secularism.

With the birth of Pakistan madudi was quick to label it as rigorous Islamic State. It was hard going for him and not until Zia came to power in 1977 did he had some measure of success. The Impact of Madudis Ideas were felt far and wide in the Islamic world especially in the Egypt. The Egyptian Islamic Brotherhood (dating from the late 1920s) and the madudi's Jamat-i-Islami were the first two fundamentalist movement of the 20th century among the Sumni muslims.

Most remarking thing about Jamat-i-Islami of India and muslim brotherhood, fundamentalist organization is that each took birth in the shadow of

⁵ Rahman Fazlur, Islam and modernity, Transformation of Intellectual Tradition (Chicago, 1992).

secular power.⁶

CHRISTIAN FUNDAMENTALISM

It was instituted in Palestine in the person and work of Jesus Christ and the fellowship of his immediate followers subsequently this faith was widely adopted in many nations and its now professed by about 2/7 of the world population. Present day Christianity exhibits three main division. Eastern orthodox, Roman Catholic and Protestant.

Unlike Islam which spread by use of force and perception, Christianity was spread by missionaries in the remote areas of the region or areas remote to slightest form of development. Of the three main division Roman Catholics constitute the largest majority.

Christianity began as a movement within the Judaism. Jesus was a Jew as were his chief followers, the Apostles. His followers accepted him as the Christ or chosen one send to fulfill God's promise to Abraham, Issace and Jacob Primitive Christianity as a Jewish sect shared the status of Judaism in the Roman empire. But before the death of Emperor Nero,It had already been singled out as an enemy. Loyalty of the

⁶ Mansoor Mohammadi; Islamic movements in 20th century; Arab Studies Quarterly, vol.19, no.2 spring 1988.

Christians to Jesus as a lord was irreconcilable to Paganism (worship of emperor). This led to persecution of Christians, but "blood of the martyrs" became "seed of the Church".

Fundamentalist tendency can be traced in Christianity to AD 330 when Emperor Constantine shifted his capital from Rome to Byzantium. Western Christians of Rome (later called as Roman Catholics) became increasingly centralized, the apex of which was the pope and king had little interference in this system. Whereas the Eastern Christianity was of decentralized nature having principle centres across the Mediterranean like Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch and Alexandria and moreover emperor had special place in the life of the Church. Medieval Christianity in West unlike its eastern counterpart was single entity.

The reform movement in the 14th and 15th century of which Martin Luther was principle catalyst questioned the Medieval system of salvation and their very authority of the Church, whereas John Wycliffe, John Hoes and Girolamo Savonarola denounced the moral laxity and financial corruption that had infected the church in its members and its head. This movement in the western church led to the emergence of Protestant branch from Roman Catholicism. Now question arises is it a sign of fundamentalism. I will opine, definitely yes because Roman Catholics viewed Bible as infallible and were reluctant to consider the ideologies of Martin Luther and John Calvin which did carry

weight.

Christian fundamentalists believe that they find the truths they yearn for in the literal interpretation of the bible, as the only guide to Christian way of living. The old testaments's traditional strictness of the law and commandments is emphasized more than Christ's forgiving, all embracing love. Christian fundamentalist confidently claim to find easy answers to all the life's difficult question through a simplistic understanding of the bible.

Far from being a religious book the Catholic Church reveres the bible as the record of God's saving presence among us. The Bible is a collection of very old books, written under divine inspiration in ancient languages by many different human authors over a long period of time. The literary style and purpose of each book reflects the particular time and place in which it was written. Biblical scholars study the historical and cultural context of each book, so that thousands of year later, we can better understand each book's message. The various books of the bible were not all meant to be understood literally, but make use of a variety of ancient literary styles to teach important truths of salvation.⁷

Here lies one of the most important difference among the orthodox christians

⁷ Dollar G.W., A History of Fundamentalism in America and American Culture, New York, Oxford University Press, 1976.

and model protestant and catholic scholarship about the origin of the Bible. Rather than trying to understand the historical situation in which the books of the bible were written, and the literary styles they employ, fundamentalist believe that their English translation of Bible must be understood literally, that is the surface meaning must be accepted as true, word for word.⁸ Unlike Catholics and protestant, fundamentalist orthodox christians believe that Bible is meant by God to faithfully teach not only the way to Salvation, but science and history as well. Unlike catholics many believe for instance that the bible teaches that God created universe in literally seven days and that evolution is biblically possible, no matter what modern science may say.

Like other fundamentalists, Christian fundamentalist too are afraid to acknowledge the legitimate place of our God-given gift of reason and science in studying and interpreting the bible correctly. They even do not accept interpretation which is more suitable to present circumstances.

Fundamentalist claim to interpret the whole bible literally. IN reality they do not, while rejecting the church's right to do this, each group takes it upon itself to decide what is literally true to Bible and what is not. There are many different Fundamentalist groups and they disagree among themselves as to what the bible

⁸ J. Fall well, E. Dobson and E. Hindson (ed.),
Fundamentalism and the World of God, New York Oxford
University Press 1981.

teaches, while they all say that Bible is to be followed exactly each group decides which verse to follow exactly. They usually go enthusiastically for literal interpretation but that is very selective in nature. For example the Bible says in Mathew 5:27-30 that if one eye or hand leads to sin, it should be cut off and thrown away. I think we have never met a fundamentalist who interpreted this words to cut the hands of those people who killed millions of people in Hiroshima and Nagasaki by dropping nuclear bombs. Did they shouted to punish Clinton (U.S. President) for deciding to kill innocent civilians of Iraq. Interpretation thus seems more a means of convenience than zeal for religiousness.

Most fundamentalist are well intentioned and receive much support from their faith. But most if not all are either openly or subtly hostile towards Church of other Christian sects. Though Fundamentalist of all the Christian sects Universally show high esteem for the Bible. But then question arises which came first, the Bible or the Church? Jesus never wrote a book and never told anyone else to. Though Jesus definitely established the Church, a community of people who believed in him and followed him. The community of followers already existed, met together to share the lord's supper (Act 2:42), grew astoundingly and gave their lives as martyr's, for decades before the new testament was ever written. The first generation of Christians had no new testament at all. Even the very end of the St. Johns. Gospel notes, no one book not

even the bible would be able to contain all that Jesus said and did (21:25) Jesus himself said that there were many things he wanted to teach to his followers that he had to leave unsaid (Jn 16:12F). But that why he send the spirit to guide his Church. As new situations and concerns arose it was the holy spirit that guided the young Church through uncharted waters (Acts 15:28). And so it has continued for almost two thousand years. Under the spirits guidance from mustard seed beginnings in biblical times, the beliefs life of the church have continued to grow. But even that Church's one sect are denounced by that of other sect.⁹

Thereafter grew up in Algeria. "Reformist Association of Algerian Ulama in 1931 in its motto being Islam is my religion, Arabic is my language, Algeria is my country." The organization stress e. Its pre-occupation with moral education and stayed out of politics. It denounced what it viewed as unorthodox religious practices than prevalent in Algeria, arguing that maraboulism and veneration of mystic saints denied the individual a direct relationship with God which is central pillar of Islam. Subsequently its turning into a fundamentalist group is same as more or less of other group. i.e They started resisting first the liberalism in their own religion than the rices of French Colonial powers and their practices.

Another notable muslim movement came up in Iran in 70s of the 20th Century

⁹ Ronald Stanley OP- 'Defenders of God', New York: W.W. Norton and Company 1992.

with Khomeini as its Supervisor. The Iranian revolution under Khomeini rejected the so called modern, secular World view. It challenged scientific discourse, and the rhetoric of western political democracy both of which had been promoted by Shah. The ideological foundation of the revolution was Islam, but as interpreted by Khomeini. This interpretation was fundamentalist in the sense that it repudiated earlier liberal interpretation and reaffirmed the final authority of Quran, at times also went against Quran.¹⁰

Beyond this Khomeini was selective in what he emphasized most notably the philosophy of responsibility of Jurists. He had empowered the government the parliament of Iran that, "it acting in the general interest of the muslim nation can if necessary abrogate Sharia principles. It can forbid even the most basic pillars of Islam such as prayer, fasting and hajj."¹¹

These are the most important revolutions of Islamic World. At this point I would highlight certain aspects of these revolution.

1) Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, AUMA in Algeria, and Khomeini in Iran, they

¹⁰ Anoushiravan. Enteshami, "After Khomeini, The Structure of Power in Iranian Second republic". Political Studies, (England) vol.39, no.1, March 1991, pp.69-92.

¹¹ Joel Beinin and Joe Stork (ed.), Political Islam, Essays from Middle East Report, Middle East Information and Research Project, IB Tauric Publishers, Washington D.C., 1997.

laid emphasis on pursuing/correcting muslim population. If they were not abiding strictly to the codes of Quran and Sharia rather they always Freed to match the functioning of the then existing authority vis-a-vis Sharia and Quran.

- 2) Nobilised masses in the name of Anti-Islamic functioning of the State, though after assuming power they never matched their functioning vis-a-vis Quran and Sharia and often defied Sharia and Quran when it did not suit them. A particular case can be taken of Khomaini as discussed in the previous page (more instances and detailed discussion will be in Chapter 4)
- 3) All cropped up in 20th, century and the region of Islamic movements either had monarchy or was a colonial power. It seems that before 20th century where even the muslims were ruled, the ruler was perfectly abiding the codes of Sharia and Quran along with the subjects.
- 4) These points are further explored in Chapter. The theoretical perspective about Islamic fundamentalism would remain incomplete unless we stand to the argument put further by some scholars. They say that fundamentalism means the core of all what adherents of an ideology believer and are expected to practice. Every ideology whether, economic, political familial or religious is based on certain characterizing feature and these features are its fundamental principles. Logically than fundamentalism would mean an attitude an effort or



movement which adheres to a tries to promote these fundamentals. For instance when we talk of free market economy and private ownership of property we describe it as the fundamentals of modern capitalism. when we talk of government of the people for the people and by the people we point to the fundamental principles of modern western democracy, likewise when people believe in the principles of trinity and the Gospel as the inspired word of God they call themselves as Christians.

Surprising is that we never hear of democratic fundamentalism, capitalist fundamentalism, socialist fundamentalism or secularist fundamentalism. The term fundamentalism is almost exclusively used in the context of religion. What is disturbing is that whenever used, Hindumentalism is spoken of in a highly value laden manner almost invariably with negative connotations-something highly dogmatic, something that does not belong in the modern world and something that has to be reckoned with. To the sensitive muslim audience then the term with some differences among themselves, fundamentalists always ursist on belief in the

- a) the inerrancy of the Bible
- b) the virgin birth and divinity of Jesius christ
- c) the vicarious and atoning character of his death
- d) his bodily resurrection

e) His second coming

These suppositions in Christianity were decided as irreducible minimum of authentic Christianity and was reflected in such early declarations as the 14 point creed of Niagar Bible Conference of 1878 and the 5 point statement of Presbyterian general assembly of 1910.

As fundamentalism developed, most-protestant denominations in the United States felt the division between liberalism and fundamentalism. The Baptists, Presbyterians and disciples of Christ were more effected than others. Nevertheless talk of schism was much more common than the Schism itself. Perhaps the lack of central organization and a normative creed, certainly the Caricature of fundamentalism arising from the scopes trial (1925), the popularisaion of the liberal response by representatives like Marry Emerson Fosdick, well publicized division among fundamentalists themselves and preoccupation with the depressions of 1930s and World War II curtailed Fundamentalism appeared. By 1950 it was either Isolated and muted or had taken on the moderate tones of Evenglicalism.¹²

But throughout the second decade of 20th century fundamentalist waged the battle in the large northern Church denominations, as nothing less than struggle for true

¹² Huntington P. Samuel, John Muller (ed.), Christianity, Fundamentalism and Racism in America, (New York, Simon and Schuster, 1996).

Christianity against a new non-Christian religion that had crept into the churches themselves. In his book *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923) Machen called the new naturalistic religion "liberalism", but later followed the more popular fashion of calling it modernism.¹³

Church struggles occurred in Methodist Episcopal Church, the Protestant Episcopal Church and even in Southern Presbyterian Church, but the grand battles were fought in the Northern Presbyterian and Northern Baptist denominations. Machen was the undisputed leader among Presbyterians, joined by Clarence E. Macartney. Baptists created the National Federation of Fundamentalists of Northern Baptists (1921), the Fundamentalist Fellowship (1921) and the Baptist Bible Union (1923) to lead the fight. The battle focused on the seminaries, the mission boards and the ordination of clergy. In many ways however the real stronghold of Fundamentalism were the Southern Baptists and the countless new independent churches, spread across the South and mid-west, as well as the East and West.

Fundamentalists also pursued battle through legislatures, courts and denominational machinery. In the 1920s they tried to monitor public school curriculum by presenting anti-evolution bills in the legislature of 11 states (mostly in the South). Undoubtedly the best known instance, the so-called "Monkey Trial" pitted the

¹³ Ibid.

fundamentalist politician William Jennings Bryan against the agnostic lawyer Clarence Darrow in a steamy Courtroom in Dayton, Tennessee in the summer of 1925. Bryan won in the Court but lost in the press. Partisans also fought their opponents, commonly known as modernists in the general conventions of main line denominations, including the northern Presbyterians.¹⁴

Nonetheless as said earlier fundamentalism moved underground in 1930s and by 1970s and 1980s again became an influential force in the United States. promoted by popular television evangelists and represented by such group as the moral majority, the new politically oriented "religious right" opposes the influence of liberalism and Secularism in American life.

SIKH FUNDAMENTALISM

As among the muslims so among the Sikhs, loss of state power the collapse of Ranjit Singh's Kingdom in the middle of the 19th century provided the initial urge towards the fundamentalist interpretation of their holy book which it until then a liberal religious faith. Sense of crisis was lightened by the

- 1) Arrival of Arya Samaj in Punjab in 1870s and its Straight forward denouncement of Sikhism as a independent religious tradition

¹⁴ Paul Merritt Bassett, *Fundamentalism and American Culture*, Sage Publicatio, London 1996.

2) By prosylytising Sikhs back to hindus by process of purification (Suddhi)¹⁵

Demand of Independent state by Sikh, dating from then onwards ran almost parallel course to Muslim league but they failed to Muslim league succeeded in 1947. After independence the urge fro an autonomous Sikh State finding diverse expression and gradually gathering force finally got interviened with the fundamentalist call for the purity fo the faith in the late 1970s.

The Nirankaris were the first target of Sikh fundamentalist rage, but soon Jarnail Singh Bhondranwals identified three enemies, 'The fallen' Sikhs, 'The Hindus' who denied seperate identity to Sikh's and the Hindu dominated Central Government. The path finder in Bhender wales judgement was Guru Gobind Singh, with his message of strict adherence to the current code of conduct and of the quest for power. The Ray Karega Khaba of Daily Sikh prayer points to the two emphasis of power and community of pure faith.

But movement in Sikh was exclusive of all other religious fundamentalist movement. There was no group who deviated from the strict interpretation of 'Guru Granth Sahib' the wholly scripture of Sikh i.e. no group claimed different interpretation from others. Rather the conotion of 'Fallen Sikhs" denotes or signifies those sikhs who did not adhered to symbols of Sikhims. It was, like the religion was used, to mobilise

¹⁵ Singh Tara and Munshi P.K. Tthe Story of Sikhs in Punjab concept Publishing House, New Delhi, 1985.

Sikhs for the cause of Cessation, in the form of Khalistan. It was to justify the terrorist act which they conducted.¹⁶

Hindu Fundamentalism

Many people and Scholars are of the opinion that since Hinduism has no founder, revealed book, minimal doctrine, or Church. It is an unlikely candidate for fundamentalism. Actually the Idea of Hinduism as the religion of variety of cultural groups in different parts of India is a medieval idea, developed in reaction to muslim response. The Hindus, signified peoples of particular region, for muslims now had embraced Islam, and the region had rich resource and wealth unlike the place of Genesis of Islam. Even as late as 19th Century Bankim Chandra Chatterjee could say he was not bothered about what Hinduism meant and that it was for those who used the term to define it. Precisely the social and religious reform movement that culminated 16th after 16th century in India took this tack. Thus Dayanand Saraswati proclaimed that the only true revealed and universally valid scriptures were the vedas that therefore no faith other than Arya Dharma was a true religion. He rejected the Puranas and epics as exercises, and even denounced the upanishads which were the building blocks of Brahmosamaj. He also denounced, Idol worship, ritualism sectarianism and castesim.

Arya Samajist were fundamentalist in nature, having redefined vedas as

¹⁶ Rao. R.K. Religious Fundamentalism in India: Concept Publishing House, New Delhi: 1989.

revealed scripture, laying exclusive claim to the true religion and defined the essentials of faith and practices. Its emergence and development could be attributed to the internal cooption of Hinduism and threat posed by proselytising tendencies of Christian missionaries. Although Swami Dayanand did not make any specific political pronouncements, his encounter with the terror of Hindu nationalism during his visit to Calcutta left a deep impact on him. From then on he looked at Hinduism and Hindu society in relation to other religious traditions and stressed its absolute superiority.

The Hindu Mahasabha and the R.S.S. were definitely inspired by the efforts of Swami Dayanand and they were deeply concerned with the Hindu Identity and the Hindutva. The significance of this claim to Ram Janam Bhumi lies in its symbolic value as a unifier of Hindus on an all India scale against secularists who would privatize religion and against non-Hindus, who are seen to have in the past inflicted humiliation on Hindus and reviled Hinduism as a Idol worship.

Fundamentalism whether Muslim, Sikh, Hindu, Buddhist, Christian or Jewish, are definitely born in time of crisis. They are concerned with critiques of contemporary way of life and look to a future where true believer is twice blessed with true faith and secular power. They are in nature defensive movement which resort to selective retrieval of the tradition and in the process its redefinition. They do not ignore the

resources available to them in the present, including those of modern knowledge and technology but they reject the ideologies of modernisation and secularism. They envelop themselves in aura of idealism but in today's world are generally aggressive, if not violent in Character.¹⁷

Islamic fundamentalism seems to carry a message loud and clear: Believe in Islam if you will; just to not practice it.¹⁸

Dr. Yunus is annoyed why institutions like Democracy, Socialism, Capitalism do not carry the prefix of fundamentalism when its enforceable by law on subject. He thinks that Muslims following Sharia and Quran shouldn't be labelled as fundamentalist.

He forgets that people adhering to the different mechanism have devised these mechanism of sustainability to suit the demands of contemporary economy and policy, where as firstly since the inception of Quran and Sharia their content have got no change especially Sharia which deals with political part of Islam. Though Muslims in Iran Egypt, Algeria take pride in making Sharia as the fundamental Guide to policy economy of state but only 4% of subject matter of Sharia deals with economy and polity of states. How efficiently can be states administration, law and order can be

¹⁷ Pannikar K.N., 'Fundamentalism' Seminar 394, June 1992.

¹⁸ Ilyas Ba-Yunus, IIA:\The myth of Islamic Fundamentalism: Htm
State University of New York College. Corhland.

conducted on the basis of Sharia will be more clear by the following case study.

In the 90s in a village of Punjab (a province in Pakistan, some people reported to police that a 13 years boy, Manjoor Massich, used abusive language about the holy prophet and the Quran. According to Blasphemy law, no witness of Blasphemy was needed and Mnjoor Masch was punished where as the veracity of the matter was that enemies of Manzoor's family brought the charges because they wanted to get his family land.¹⁹ This is a case of Islamic country based on democracy and written constitution, which is interpreted in the light of Sharia, what could be the situation in states based completely on Sharia.

J'Will substitute my argument with a verse of Quran (Quran 5.18) "In blasphemy undeed are those who say that God is christ the son of Marry." This verse can be blasphemous for the christians but they have never reacted to it nor have their state. Because their civilization has matured with time. Rest is left to the construct and conclusion.

¹⁹ Rizvi Rama- A : Women Activism and Fundamentalism in Pakistan.htm.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF FUNDAMENTALISM

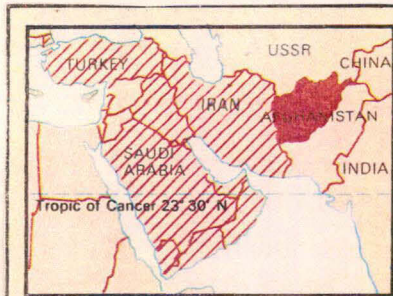
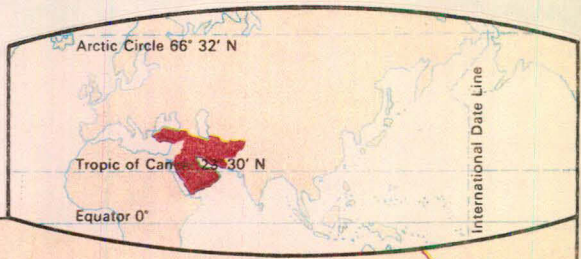
This chapter, while dealing with the spatial analysis of fundamentalism, will specially focus on Islamic fundamentalism particularly in Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa.

Algeria, Sudan and Egypt from North Africa, Iran and Saudi Arabia from middle east and Afghanistan from Central Asia have been taken as case studies. Important events of the 20th century that have led to fundamentalism in these countries have been studied and on the basis of nature of events the spatial analysis has been concluded.

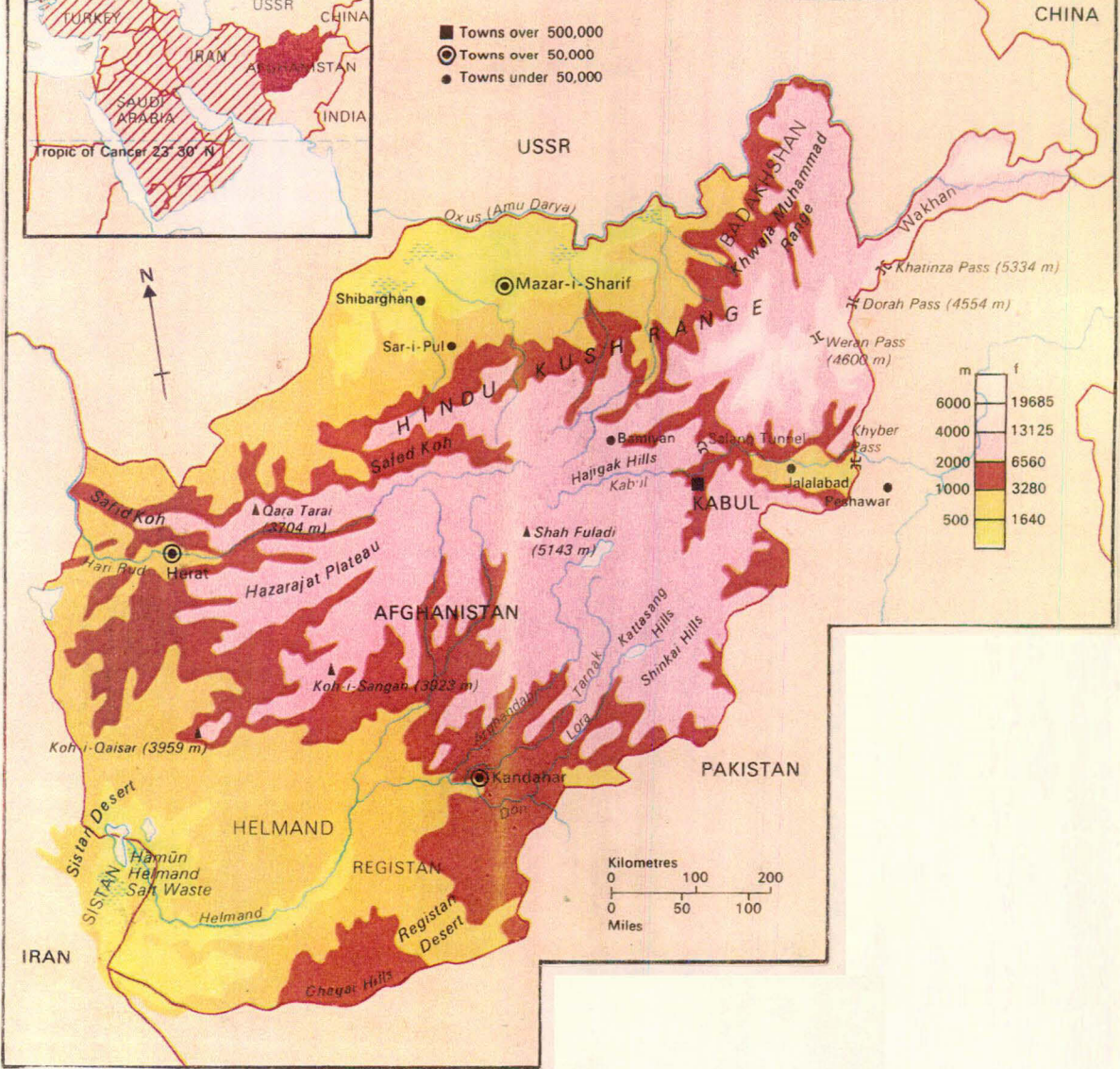
I AFGHANISTAN

During nineteenth century Afghanistan territory was ruled by several tribal chieftains who claimed direct authority from Allah.

- Call for first Jihad in 20th century was given by King Amanullah during Anglo-Afghan war in 1919. After victory King Amanullah went ahead with modernization of Afghanistan, a revolt was launched by Shin warl tribe of North-east Afghanistan against the policies of the King and a year later King was removed.



- Towns over 500,000
- Towns over 50,000
- Towns under 50,000



- Thereafter, for more than 50 years there were little signs of unrest because the tribal chiefs who were empowered by Jirga (tribal assembly) ruled in the Islamic way)
- 1978 Coup d'etal brought peoples democratic party of Afghanistan (P.D.P.A.) to power. P.D.P.A. had hall marks of marxist regime. Thus the power in the region shifted towards WARSAW camp. NATO starts effort to tilt power in its favour.
- 1979 Soviet Invades Afghanistan, Mujahideen the opposition party pumped by U.S.
- 1981 U.S. govt approves a \$3.2 billion assistance to Pakistan to achieve internal security by provoking instability among its neighbours¹ U.S. and S. Arabia combined assist Mujahideens by supplying arms via Pakistan's CIA.
- 1985, US military aid to Muhahideens increased from \$30 million in 1980 to \$258 million.
- 1989, Mujahideen succeed in expulsion of Soviet army by series of agreement between, PAK, US, Afghanistan and USSR.
- 1989 Najibullah comes to power and dropped all Non-PDPA members from the council of Minister.

¹ Roy Oliver, the failure of political Islam, I.B. Taurus, London 1994.

- Mujahideen vow to continue their resistance and press Najibullah to resign, and he resigns in April 1992.

The Myahideens desperate faction formed a Shaky coalition government which failed to find unity and instead fragmented and with it came disillusionment and Law lessness. Out of this emerged the Taliban, whose young leaders are refugees of Mujahideen war against U.S.S.R. The Taliban leader Sheikh Mohammad Omar Akhund was enraged by the worsening abuses committed by militias loosely attached to the disunited mujahideen.

In 1992 Sheikh Omar and others in Kandhar confronted the Miyahideen militiamen and gradually took over policing the town. After 1994 their control spread and mujahedeens forces were pushed back in the face of steady Taliban advance. Taliban seized the capital in September 1996. Thereafter a new war was launched as the Taliban assumed control over the centre of power. The ousted Mujahideen factions retreated to the north. The Taliban has since followed a purely military course of action, invoking this option on the grounds that to follow any other course would be to deviate from its Islamist creed and to invite failure.

ALGERIA

1842-became French Colony in 1842

1954-Algeria achieves independence after 80 years war of liberation led by National Liberation Front (FLN)

June 1976 - Algerian people participated in 3 major referenda

- a. building of a socialist-society
- b. Islam as a state religion
- c. defined basic rights of citizenship

Singled out FLN as a leading force for society.

Early 1970s - Rupture had occurred between regime and religious current regarding new agrarian policy which went for nationalization for infrastructure to reap benefits of agriculture revolution. Ulamas campaigned against it being anti-Islamic because this policy would deprive of private property as cherished in Sharia'.

November 1976- second referenda, approved a new constitution and assigned sweeping power to presidency.

1978 first organized Islamist opposition took place against economic and agrarian policy.

1986 The collapse of International oil price, deprived the country of half of its export income, induced severe crisis, whereas a liberalization and privatization of agriculture markets produced significant rise in the price of vegetables fruits and meat. Landless peasants, seasonal workers, unskilled production workers and the unemployed were major victims.

March 10, 1989 - Islamic Salvation front (FIS) around Ali Ben Hadz was formed. It used religious rhetoric to translate social discontent into political terms. FIS leaders

strategically used the crisis of the masses, and portrayed their regime as anti-Islamic, to grab power.

Currently both the FLN and FIS are adhering to violent measures to pursue people to follow their dictates, while the FIS is totally conservative and is endeavoring to roll back all the reforms and shadow of west whereas as FLN is forcefully compelling people to follow its ideology which is basically prowestern.

THE SUDAN

1820-21- Sudan was conquered and unified by Egypt

1896-98- Reconquered by Anglo-Egyptian force.

1954 - Sudan became self - governing

1956 Complete Independence

Militant Islamist control the lever of the state power and have actively supported groups abroad viz helped failed military coup in Tunis, convened meeting with high officials of Algerian FIS.

December 1988-Wide spread strikes and demonstrations led by newly revitalized, workers and trade unions, federation of professional civil servants and artisans. These were the social groups which in 1950s had supported the influential Sudanese communist party and were responsible for the downfall of the military regimes of

Ibrahim Abud (1958-64) and Zafar Nimeiri (1969-85). Once again these group calling themselves as the 'modern forces' in contrast to the traditional parties that dominated Sudanese politics since Independence, came to the scene.²

December 1998 Primary demand of the Modern forces was to conclude a peaceful agreement with Sudanese Peoples liberation Army (SPLA) and the government to end the long civil war and repeal the Sharia based laws of September 1983.

February 1989- High ranking military officers joined the modern forces cause. These events culminated in national memorandum of peace signed by all the parties except NIF (Political wing of Sudan's Muslim brotherhood, a fundamentalist Organization).

June 1989- Mahdi government announces that a Cabinet meeting on 1st July will repeal September Laws.

30 June 1989 -Mid ranking military officers took over the republican palace, the parliament, and national broadcasting station, rounded up top party and union leaders throughout the capital and announced revolutionary command council under Umar Hassan, with the help of NIF. It was explicit that since brothers had been

² Joel BEnin and Joe Stork (ed.), Political Islam and essay from middle East, I.B. Taurus London (1994).

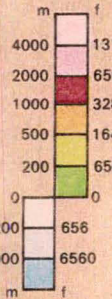
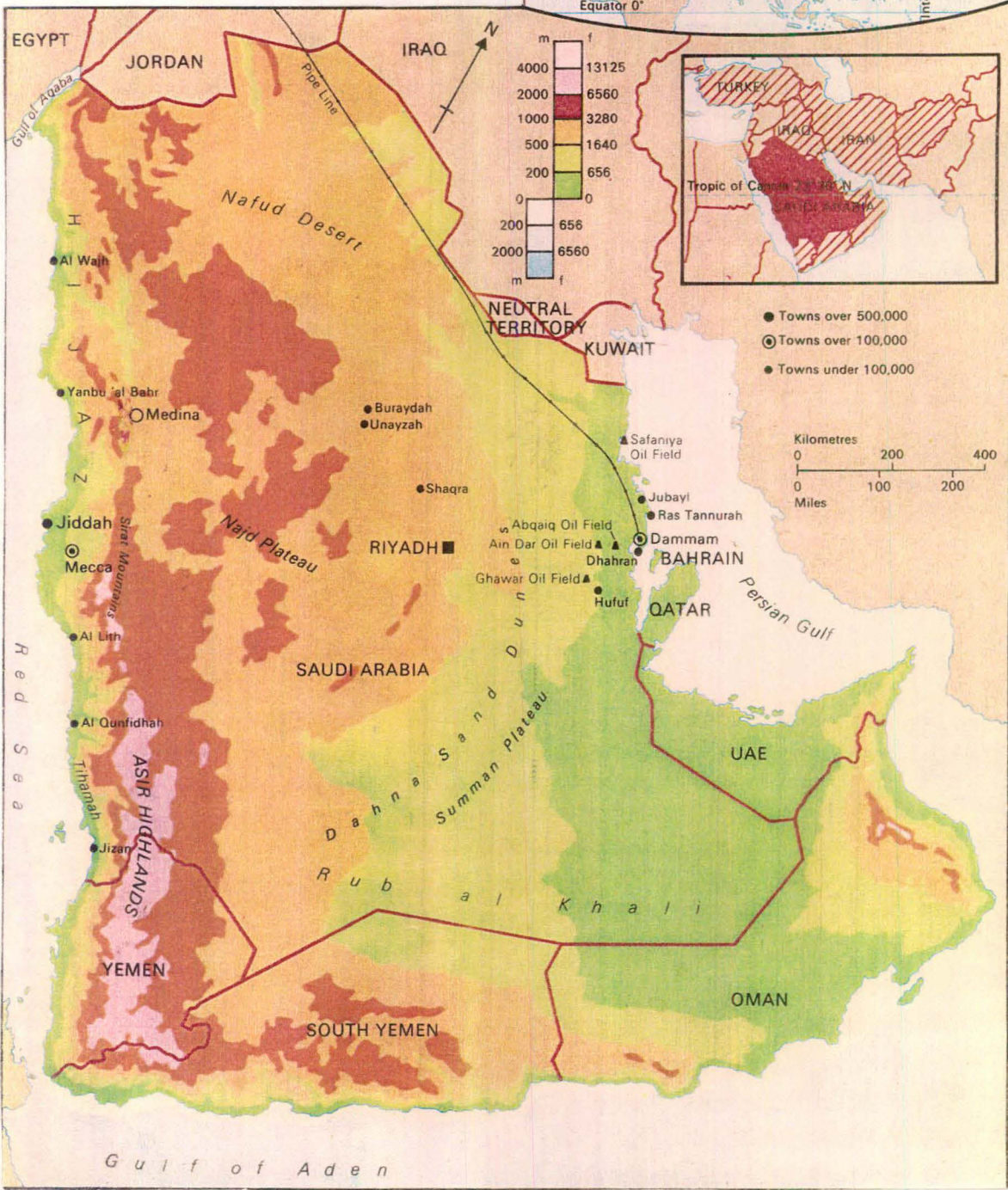
marginalised by widespread popular support, for a swift solution to country's economic problem, hence they hijacked the July 1 resolutions and reversed the ascendance of largely secular forces into power.

SAUDI ARABIA

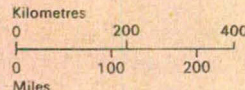
Analysis of Fundamentalism in Saudi Arabia shows how interpretation of wholly scripture can justify or nullify the same event 2) how the monarchs had used the religion to legitimize their regime 3) when the ulamas are marginalised out of the power game, they delegitimise the same monarch.

Modern Kingdom of Saudi Arabia owes its birth to recapture of Riyadh by King Ibn Saud (1925-1953). In order to consolidate and expand his rule Ibn Saud revived Wahabism as State Ideology and found a religio-political Organization called 'Ikhwan' that served two purposes 1) A reserve military force to wage Jihad and secondly their settlements (as a part of state policy) to weaken their tribal loyalty.

With the conquest of Hejaj, Saud's territorial shaping of the Kingdom was complete and now he endeavoured to diffuse Ikhawan (fanaticism) and accordingly Riyadh Ulama recalled their Mutawia from Ikhawan settlements and instructed them to preach that Islam is the religion of the middle road. The implication of new dogma were two fold, first the Ikhwan were expected to shun their religious fanaticism second



- Towns over 500,000
- Towns over 100,000
- Towns under 100,000



to devote their time and resource to the cultivation of land.³

However the Ikhwan rejected the moderate interpretation of Islam

-King Saud managed to secure Fatwa on suppression of Ikhawan along with the fatwa for conquering Mecca, meeting with Roosevelt, meeting with British P.M. Churchill in december and engaging the Americans in the oil exploration activities.

This shows how Ibn Saud had used religion to meet its end.

Here on we will see how the ulemas interpreted Doctrines of Wahabism in favour of Ibn Saud.

According to, a doctrine of Wahabism Bida, every Muditha (innovation) is bida (forbidden) and every bida leads astray, but things which were banned earlier, were reintroduced in society. Fatwas were again managed by king Saud for introduction of

- 1) Photography, on pretext that its simply bringing together of light and script.
- 2) Radio became acceptable after it aired the reading of Quran.
- 3) Similarly Ulamas gave up their opposition to television and telephone on the pretext that it will help to disseminate the teaching of Islam.

It thus seems clear that Islam is a binding if not central reality in Saudi Arabia because the Sauds have relied on it to help unify a desperate peninsula, structure the

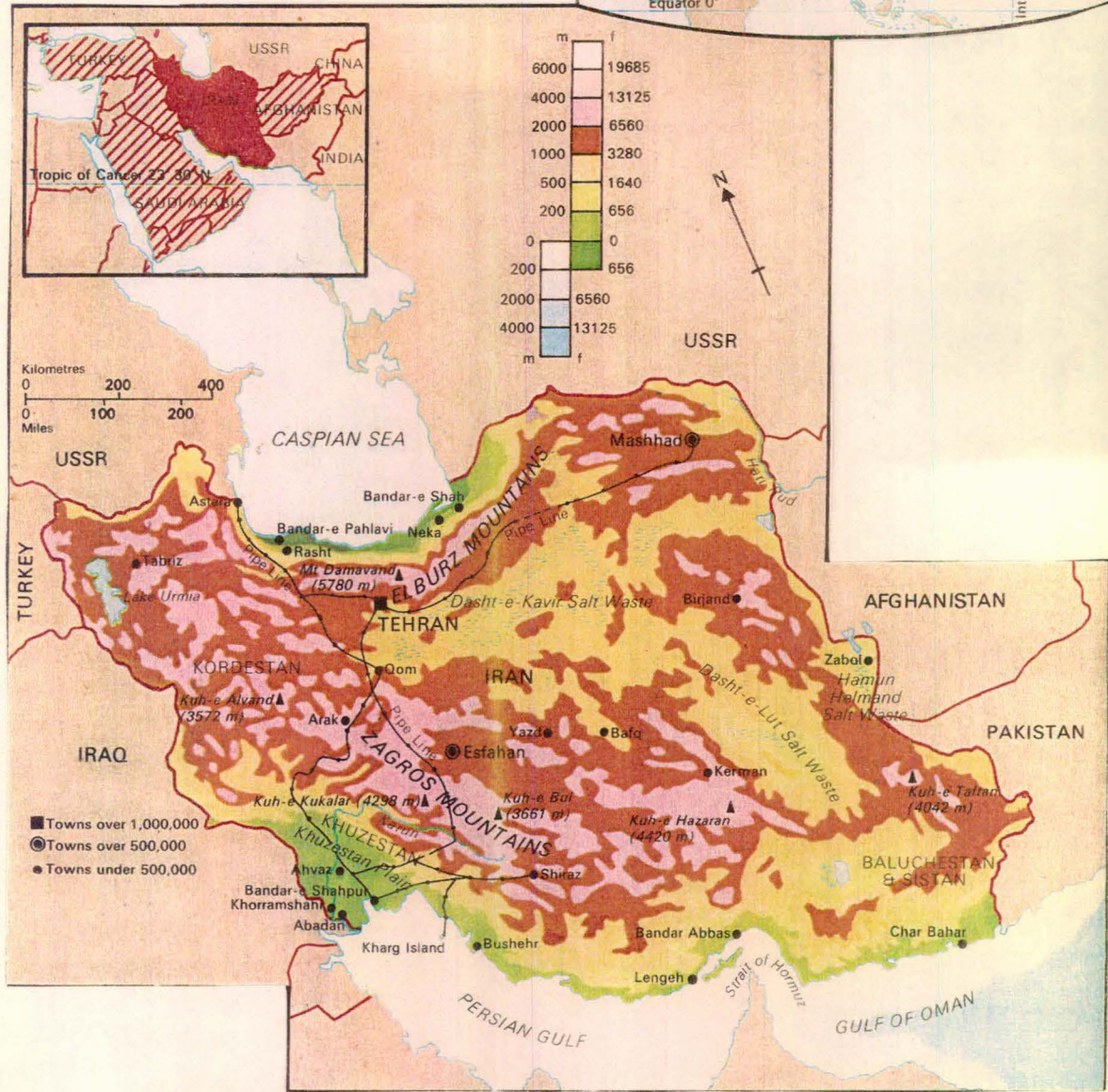
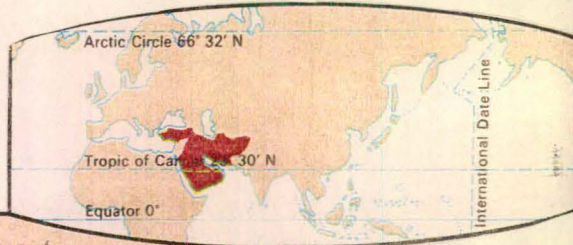
³ Al Yassini Ayman, Religion and State in Kingdom of Saudi Arabia (Boulders West View Press, 1984).

policy itself, Inform their decisions, frame their Innovation and legitimate their role. Change has been possible but the type of change and the place of change had to be constantly calibrated with Islam. The Ulama's have been crucial partner in overall shaping and legitimizing of the policies of Al-Saud's regime. For this reason the royal house, despite the weakened position of the Ulama, avoids open confrontation with them and seeks to obtain their support for reforms through persuasion and propitiation.⁴ By and large, most of the Ulama's have started identifying their well being with the well being of the state and not of the religion and society, but when they see that state in its well beings starts cornering interferences of the religion and Ulema, they endeavour to mobilize masses against the King or the authority to resist the King and his policies.

IRAN

The fundamentalist role of the Ulama in Iran came always on the fore when ever the state went ahead with its programme of modernization which had little role for ulama's. The western inspired reform in the legal and socio-economic field where threat to Ulama's where as Influx of foreign capital in economic sector affected the interest of the merchant class whose donation and religious tax constitute important source of income for the Ulama. The convergence of interest produced the united

⁴ Alam Anwar, Religion and State, Gyan-Sagar Publication, New Delhi, 1998.



opposition to the policies of Qazar and Pahalvi rulers.

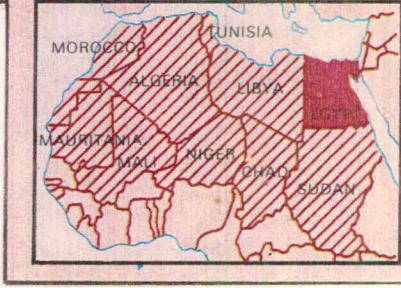
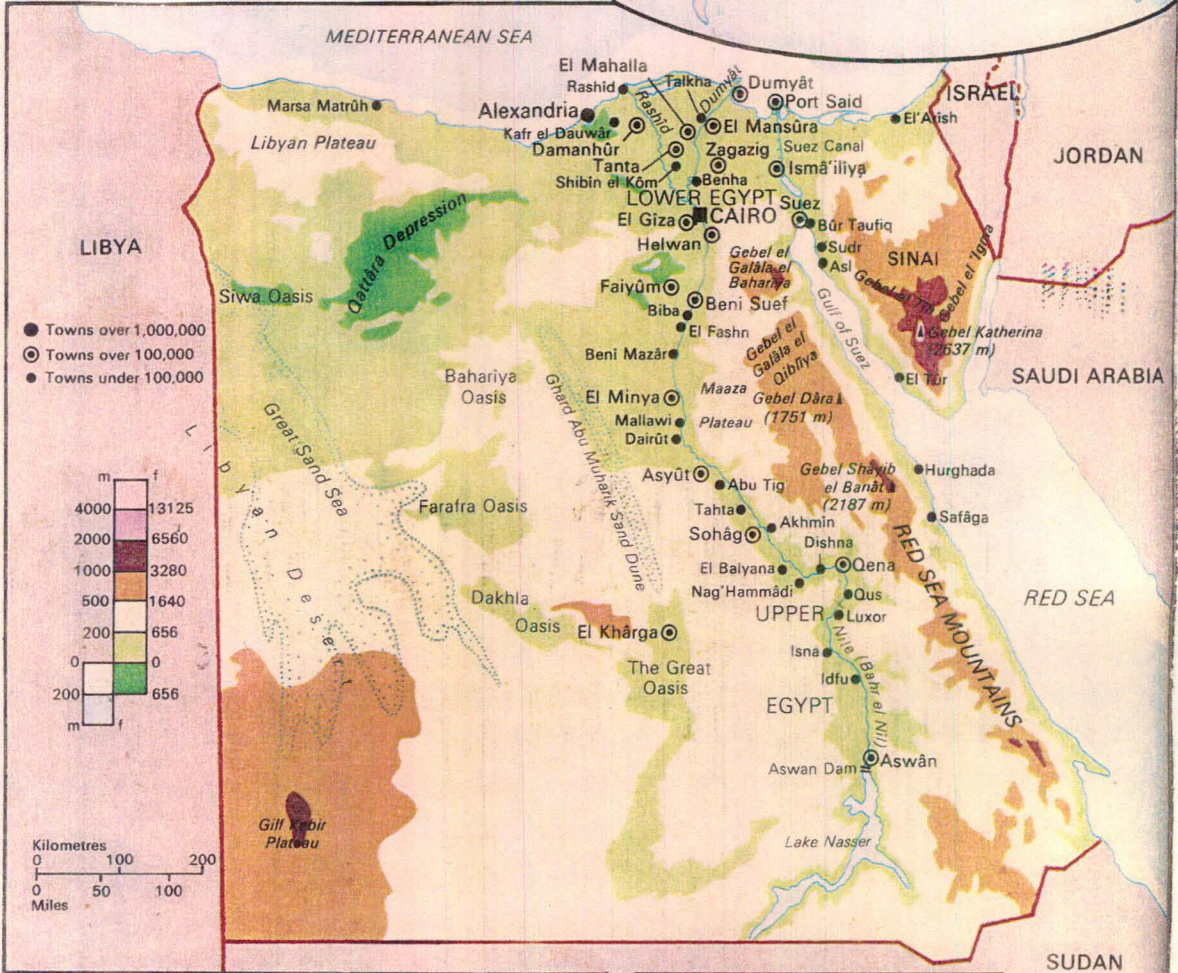
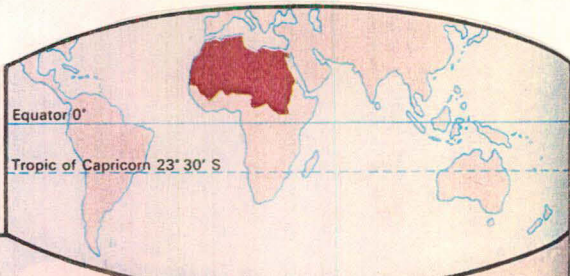
However like rulers of Saudi-Arabia and Egypt the successive rulers in Iran from Saffavides to present day government have used religion and its institution in order to acquire and consolidate power to enhance the legitimacy of the regime. There have been many instances when ullamas justified state actions that were even against Sharia (discussed in Chapter 4).

A section of higher Shii ulama has always been patronized by the successive regime in Iran. Despite the Shie doctrine and Imamat, which theoretically denies the right to any temporal authority to govern the society and reserves the right to rule only to Imam through the line of Ali and Fatima.

In Iran there were many reforms and actions of the state which eroded the power of the ulamas but the bill of rights for women and agriculture reforms which eroded the authority of males (Former) and of land lords (later) were capitalised to mobilize the masses in the name of anti-Islamic regime. Though Khomeni himself, in one of his sermon delivered that if need be the state can act against Sharia in the interest of the nation.

EGYPT

Egypt also went through the patterned style of other Islamic states, where rulers used the policy of use and throw towards influential Islamic organizations, and invited mass interest, against themselves and finally were replaced.



Gamel Abdel Nasser used religion principally to undermine the position of political rivals like the muslim Brotherhood, by contrast Sadat used muslim brotherhood to eliminate the Nasserite and the leftist forces in the country. Sadat in September 1981 attacked the muslim brother and other Islamic association and accused them of collaborating with opposition groups in order to bring down his regime.

October 6, 1981 while attending a military review at Cairo, President Sadat was assassinated by group of muslim militants associated with al-Jihad, Saddat was succeeded by Musni Mubarak who played similarly, and incurred a fatal attack by an Islamic radical group called Talaeh al-Fatah.

Thus its explicit that Egypt is suffering from a different nature of fundamentalism than other muslim countries, the difference lies in the degree of Vendetta. In middle east Radical Islamist want to replace the non-supportive government by some sort of supportive arrangement, but in N. African countries like egypt they don't have an alternative arrangement rather they want political process to play second fiddle to religious process.

Though no doubt that religion plays dominant role in political life of these regions but cases have shown, that if political leadership is dexterous in maneuvering the things to his cause viz. Ibn Saud of Egypt, than he can carry both the things together.

No doubt the separation of Church from state remains an ideal construct but

practically advanced western nation who have adopted the secularist model are even not able to fit in this construct, whereas at the other hand most muslim states have intentionally regarded religion as guide to polity. And for most, their constitution features religion (Islam) as the basis of society, as the national religion and Sharia as the basis of law. Therefore Islam has remained as an ideological system and principal legitimacy instrument of the ruling regimes in muslim countries especially in the middle east.

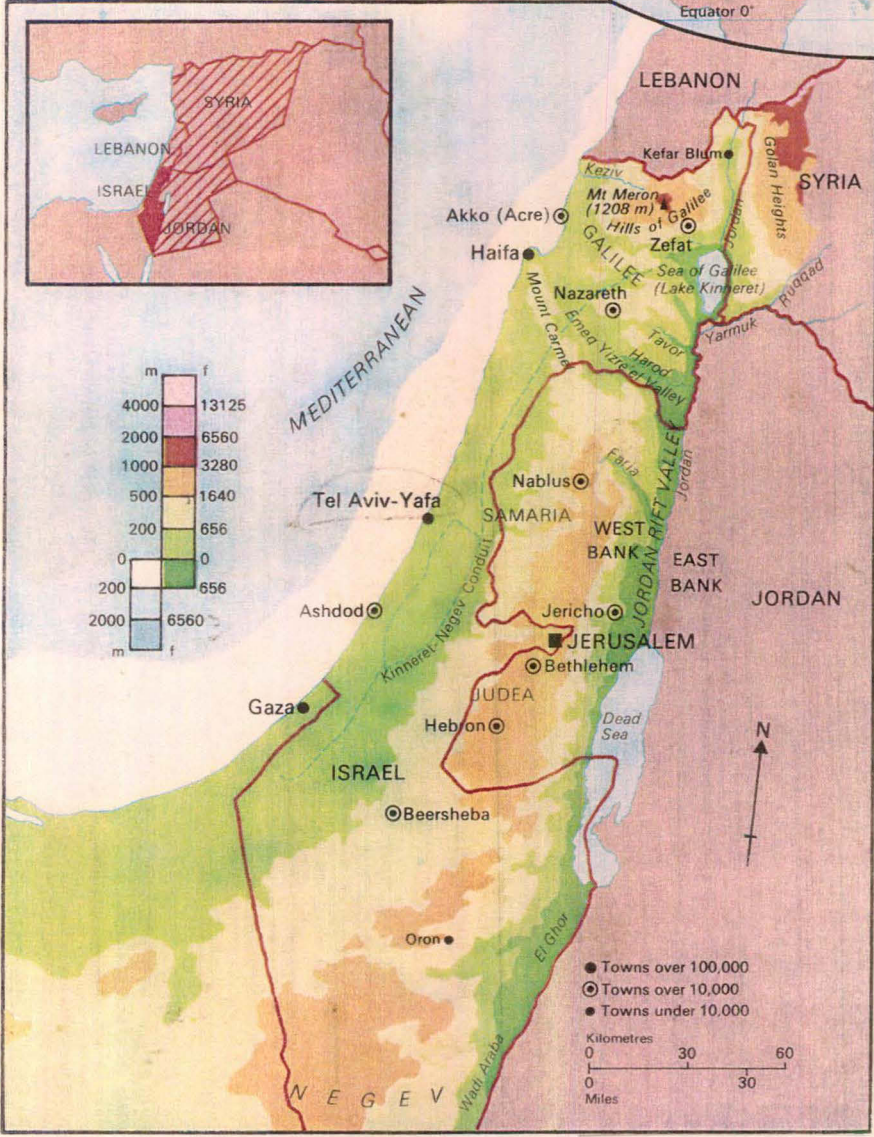
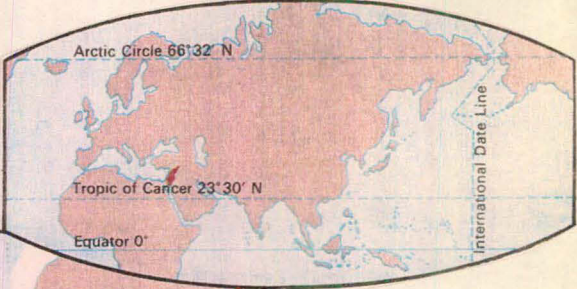
Right from the Abbassid dynasty in the 19th century A.D. to the emergence of the present day territorial nation-state system, various rulers whether they called themselves secular, semi-secular, religious have used manipulated Islamic symbols values and institutions and individual leaders in order to acquire power.⁵

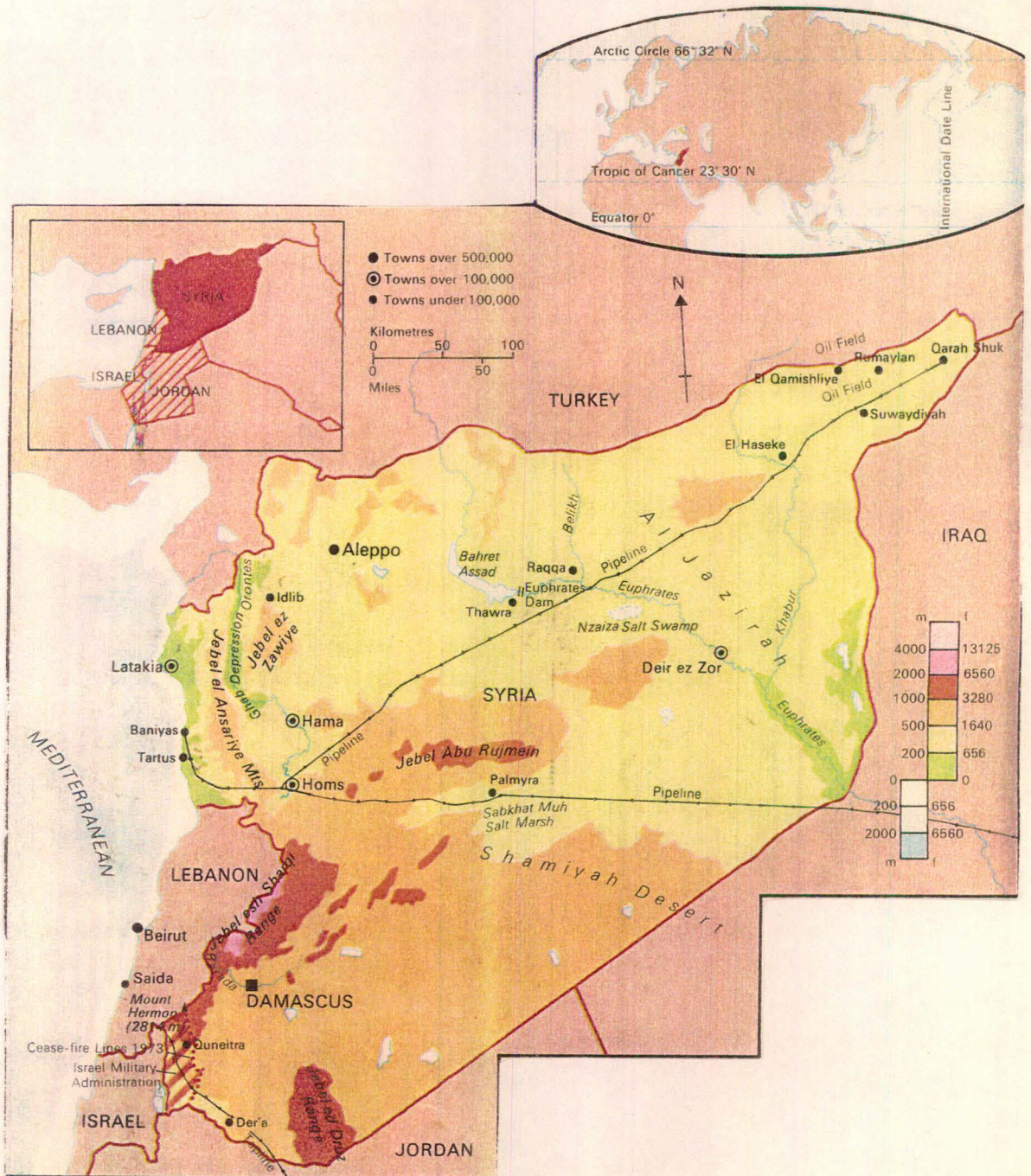
The contemporary muslim societies of N. Africa, Middle east and Central Asia do not differ in their general pattern, over the years long, educational, socio-cultural and economic reforms have been guided by religion and when ever they deviate from religion, it leads to disempowerment of Ulamas and fundamentalism.

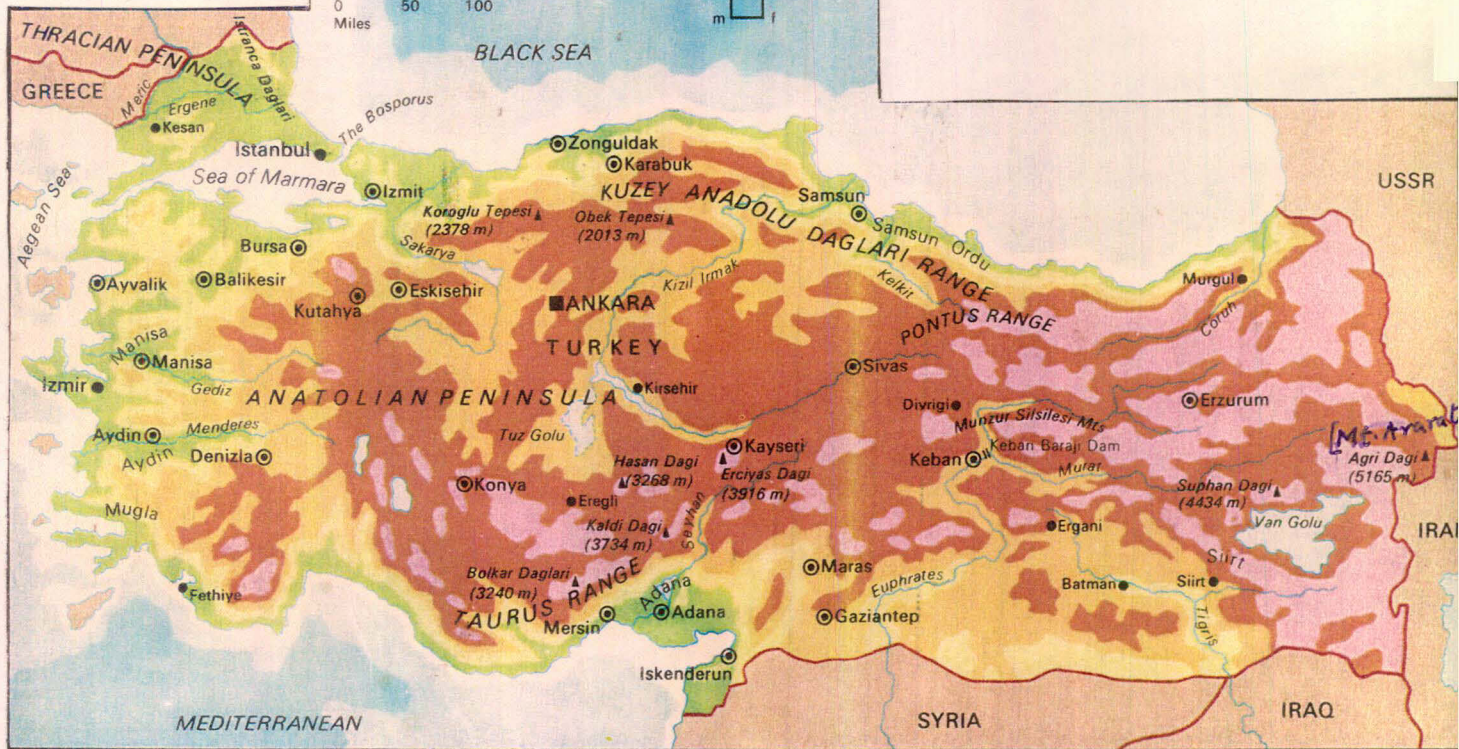
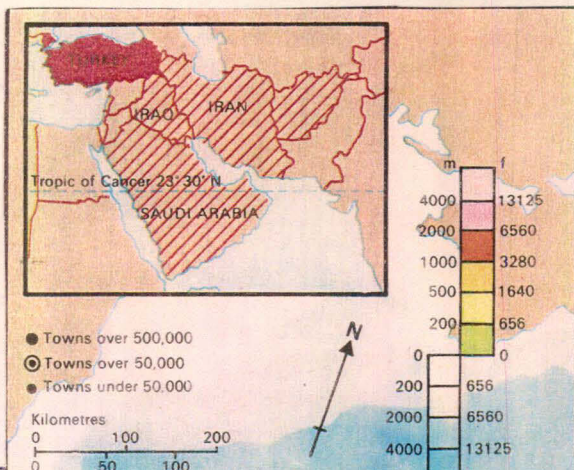
After discussing the violent nature of opposition to regime and proposition by regime in the name of religion the most basic theme that comes to fore is that where ever and whenever these events have occurred or been avoided, was because the

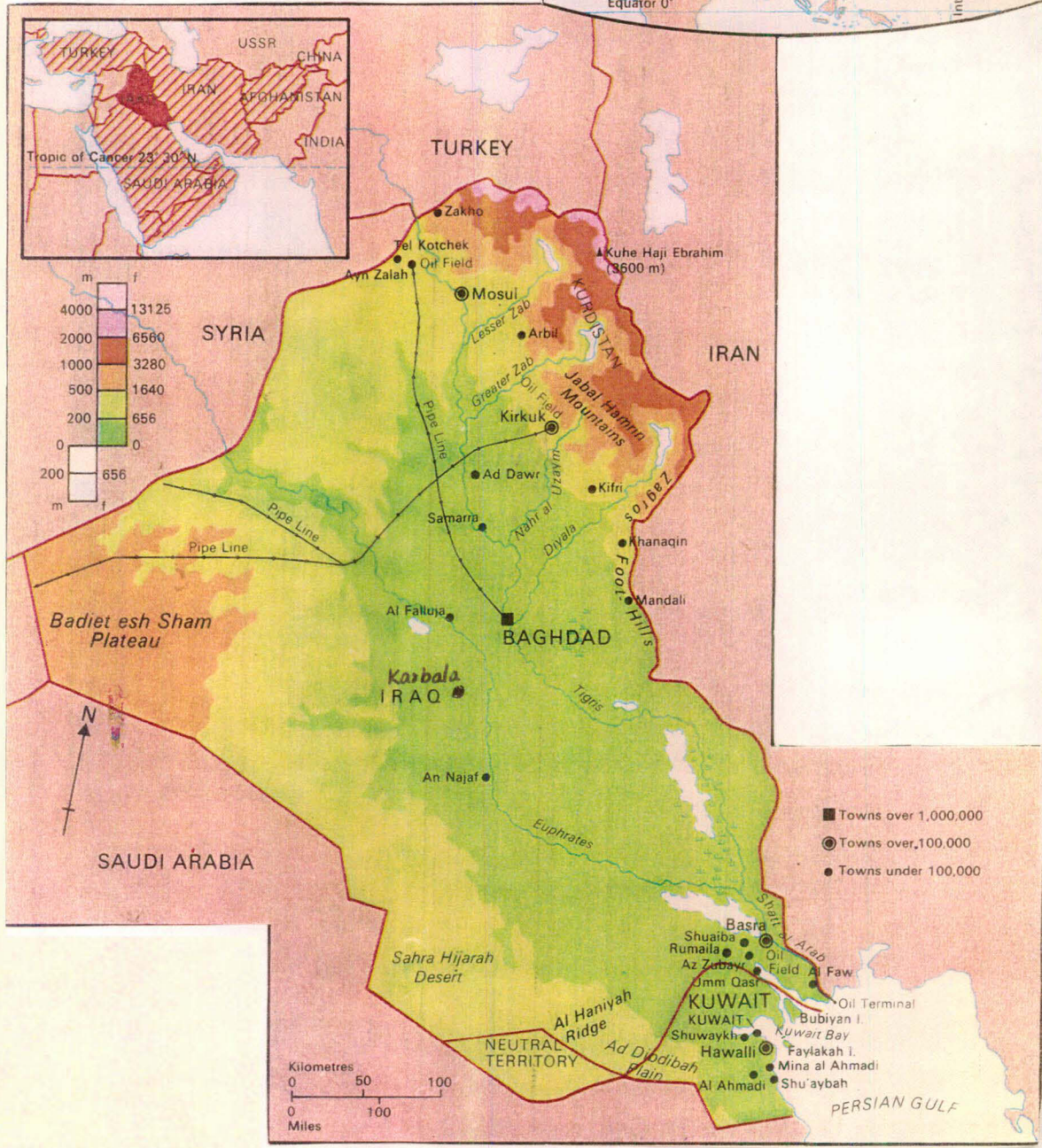
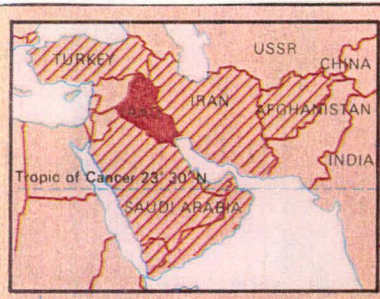
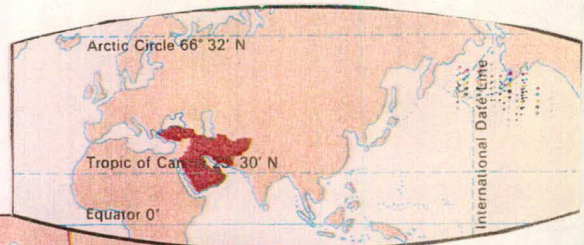
⁵ Vapidus. M. Ira. The History of Islamic Societies, Cambridge, 1998.

religious leaders were easily manoeuvred by the ruling regime and the religious leaders in turn could easily mobilize the masses, against the regime. Though this proposition would not apply to Afghanistan where mobilization at all three levels had been by the use of force.









CHAPTER IV

CAUSES OF FUNDAMENTALISM

Fundamentalism is the result of cumulative factors such as socio-economic, religious and political. But in-depth analysis of fundamentalism in muslim countries takes us near to a probable conclusion that though the causes are definitely cumulative but economic and political reasons dominate the other factors.

This chapter focuses on the causes of fundamentalism that are based on some underlying assumptions which are as follows.

First, in the contemporary period fundamentalism whatever its meaning be, and however it is defined, it generally resembles a state of society which limits freedom of its individual, though not of every member, and is not considered healthy phenomena for the society in particular and world in general. Thus fundamentalism is generally considered in its negative aspect.

Secondly, though fundamentalism has negative connotation but if a particular individual, individuals or society strictly adheres to whatever they interpret from religious scriptures, they all will attain salvation, if not than why?

Islamic fundamentalist contend, to strictly adhere to Sharia, Quran, and Hadith. Besides other things it teaches tolerance, love, brotherhood. Bible also teaches these tenets or for that matter every religious scripture teaches these tenets, but for shame and with no surprise leaving these tenets, all other tenets, by all fundamentalist group of all religions, are regarded as basic tenet. Thus those who strictly adhere to the fundamentals of religion and are fundamentalists in all aspects and teachings of the religion are praiseworthy and saints.

Therefore in every religion there are definitely fewer number of people who are really fundamentalist in true sense.

Thirdly, deriving from the above assumptions, further discussion of fundamentalism, will refer to those groups individuals, society and state who, when strictly become religious, problem occur in the region in particular and to the humanity in general.

Fourthly, if 10,000 Russian start living in U.S.A. the people of U.S. wouldn't be called Communist rather they will be called as capitalist because along with state, by and large majority follows the capitalist ideology. Similarly, in the highlighted fundamentalist regions and people there might be some people in that very region who truly may be abiding to religious scriptures and codes and may also pursue others to do so. But from the orientation of the work they will be to classified as extremely religious rather fundamentalist and wouldn't come under the scope of this study.

Lastly, the causes will specially narrow down to Islamic Fundamentalism

To highlight the factors of fundamentalism, deductive approach is followed where in the growth of important Islamic fundamental movements, their outcome and their own performance is analysed.

IRAN

Shii Ulamas in Iran are key elements who are mainly responsible for peace and harmony in Iran. They were the one who decided that when a particular ruler deviated from Sharia and Quran and replaced them by the one whom they thought is competent. The basic attributes of Shiism are as follows;

- 1) State has to be ruled by Imam
- 2) Symbolizes suffering and sacrifice Martyrdom (Hassan and Hussain)
- 3) The institution of Marja-i-taqliq (source of imitation)
- 4) Conformity to Sharia.

In practice the Ulamas were financially independent of state, held high socio-economic position and cooperated with the merchant class.

There have been many such events in the history of Iran. When the Ulamas, themselves deviated from the Sharia and tolerated, the kings who also did so, till the time the policies of the kings served their interests. But the Ulamas mobilized the masses in the name of the Sharia against the same king, when he did not serve their purpose. Some of the events in the Irania history are described which substantiate the above propositions.

IRAN (A.D. 1500-1600)

During sixteenth Century Shiism was adopted as a state

religion by Safavid ruler, Shah Ismail. During his period the state considered the matters that served the interests of the Ulamas;

-Donation of Waqf property

-Endorsement of the Ulamas control over religious taxes

-Payment of their official and religious functions from state exchequer.

-Shah Tahmasab (1525-76) made Shaykh Ali Karaki, a religious leader i.e Shaykh Ul-Islam, gave him the full power of a sovereign by declaring Karaki to be the real ruler and Tahmasab himself to be assistant¹

-Matters relating to law, education, tax/revenue lay in the hands of professionals in religious institutions.

These policies and practices lead to;

-Shaykh Ali Karaki, the Shaykh Ul-Islam, declares it legal to spend money which was gained through taxation by an oppressive ruler.

-Many leading Ithanaashari jurists in Safavid times developed and endorsed the idea of the ruler being the shadow of Gods that provided religious legitimacy to the Safavid regimes;

¹ Abdul Hadi Hairi, Shiism and Constitutionalism In Iran (deiden, 1977).

Practice against Shiism, endorsed by Ulamas during this period

- Shii doctrine of Imamat theoretically denies the right to any temporal authority to govern the society and reserves the right rule only to the Imam through the line of this Fatima.
- Despite strict denial of religious legitimacy to the temporal ruler as a representative of God many leading Ithnashar's jurists in Safavid times developed and endorsed the idea of the ruler being the shadow of God thereby providing religious legitimacy to the safavid regimes.

In spite of so many contradictions to the doctrine of Shiism none of the muslims and Ulamas protested against the Kings rule & none of the Ulamas identified this error to the masses. There could be few reasons for this;

- Keddi linked the Ulamas support, because of their dependence on the state and acceptance of some of the safavid rulers as descendents of Imam.²

However, it can be fairly concluded that the abundant privilege power and monetary gains with which the religious authorities were endowed by the state carved the combination of "denial of legitimacy with quietist pattern and absention from action" while remaining unyielding to the defacto authority.

CONSTITUTIONAL REVOLUTION (1906-1907)

The political aspiration of Ulama during the constitutional revolution was given

² Nikk R. Keddie, *The Roots of Ulama Power in Modern Iran*, (Berkeley, 1972).

constitutional recognition in the fundamental laws of 1906 and the supplementary fundamental law of 1907 ratified by the first elected Majlis (1906).

Art 2 of the law of 1906 referred to the creation of a five member board to review parliamentary legislations.

- The important provisions of supplementary law of 1907 are;

Art 18 proclaimed for free education and acquisition of knowledge provided its pursuits and attainments did not contravene the Sharia.

Art 20 declared the freedom of press in conformity with Sharia

1911 Education Law - Made instruction in Islamic science mandatory.

1922 Press censorship Law - vested the Ulama, through the appointment of a meytahid by the ministry of education, Waqf and fine arts, with the power of censorship of articles and books judged inimical to Shiism.

These laws were passed under the regime of Quazar dynasty whose rulers were weak, which led to immense economic gains to the Ulamas. It has been estimated that by the end of nineteenth century total Waqf was worth \$1 million which was about half the total state revenue.

In 1923- Reja Khan with the support of Ulama over threw Qazars dynasty and becomes the Shah.

Role of state vis-a-vis Ulama

- Power and prestige of the Ulamas rose to the peak due to fundamental laws made in

1906 aftermath of constitutional revolution.

- Vast economic gains to the Ulamas during this period.
- Matters of personal law were decided by them and attested by them.
 - Commercial affairs, which required witnessing of documents were referred to them
 - Education was under sole authority of the Ulamas

The outcome of the preferential treatment was that the Qazars were supported until they were not challenged by any other powerful contender for the throne viz. Reja Khan.

The Ulamas even tolerated the Education law of 1911 which was against the Sharia

IRAN (1910-20)

The Ulamas supported Reja Shah inspite of getting enormous privilege during Qazars because of;

- factionalism among the Ulamas
- The external threat to Iranian sovereignty during World War I
- The Ulamas anticipated the victory of the Reja Khan.

Events tolerated against Shiism;

- By 1914 British troops were stationed in South and South West Iran and had large influence in internal matters of the region.

- Russian troops had stationed their army in northern and central provinces of Iran.
- Jungle revolution under the leadership of Mirja Kushak, which rose for Darul-ul-Islam, was not supported by the Ulamas in mobilizing the masses.

Reza Khan was launched for the purpose of liberating Iran from the domination of foreign powers, but could not get broad based mass support because of indifference of the Ulamas and as a result movement was hijacked by the Russians.

As the records of the period tell that the privileges of the Ulamas during the regime of Qajar reached to a height that was never paralleled again. Thus this leads us to a probable conclusion that till their prestige and power was satiated, they did not bother much about other things whether religious or anti-religious, occurring in their vicinity.

Though South and South Western portion under the British and North and Central province under Russia did no longer remained Darul-ul-Islam, yet no protest and mobilisation effort came from the Ulama possibly because they did not feel the loss of privileges

IRAN (1920-45)

Reza Khan was made Monarch 'Reza Shah' in 1923,

The states policies,

-Patronized a section of higher Ulamas

-Majalis, a forum to co-opt the higher Ulama and the Imam Jannah's privilege in monetary terms was restored.

-Throughout his rule kept on promising to preserve greatness of the Ulama leadership.

State's practices against Shiism

- Changed Iran into powerful military -bureaucratic-centralized state
- Religious schools and Courts replaced by secular school and courts
- Criminal and Civil Code was introduced in 1930
- Formal secular qualification became the required norm for education-so much so that by 1928 the law demanded the licensing of religious teacher and formal examination of religious students that was contrary to shii practices of self-selection process.

These practices surprisingly invited no-revolution, no mass mobilization, inspite of secular principles and policies of Reza Khan, by Ulamas. Finally allied powers of World War II occupied Iran, exiled Reza Shah for his support for Germany and made his 18 yr old son Mohammad Reza New Shah of Iran³

IRAN (1940-65)

Mossadeq's National Movement

- Movement started in early 1940's for national independence and freedom from

³ Suroosh Irfani, Revolutionary Islam in Iran, popular liberation or Religious Dictatorship, zed books limited, London, 1985.

foreign influence the other contemporary political parties were.

Tudeh Communist Party, Right wing of National front headed by Ayatollah Kashani and national bourgeoisie in National front

- By maintaining balance between super power blocs; Mossadeq, tried to cleanse the Iranian society's of its aberrated economic, political and socio-cultural dimension that were contaminated by influence of these foreign powers
- Mossadeq's movement was based on the support of National Front, a coalition of various political groups fighting for the nationalisation of oil industry. He was also supported by Ayatollah Kashani who enjoyed the support of militant wing of Fedayeen-e-Islam.

He enjoyed support of all these people for more than 10 yrs.

State vis-a-vis Ulamas

- endeavoured to set up Republican type of Government which would have marginalised the role of the Ulamas in day to day affairs of the nation. Even then he was supported for a decade because he succeeded in transferring power from the imperial court to the Majilis (National parliament)
- Mossadeq's attempt to nationalise the AIOC was supported by the fatwa of Ayatollah Kashani
- Nationalisation of Iranian Oil Industry rulers of Bahrain and Egypt to do the same which resulted in Oil crisis. U.S. offered a solution to Mossadeq to avert the crisis. The U.S. effort was backed by Ayatollah Kashani but Mossadeq refused.

The end result was that the Ulama's and the West co-operated with each other and Ayattollah Kashani, who was once vocal critique of Shah and of the institution of Monarchy, and had mobilised 'fatwa' in support his oil nationalisation policy, turned out to be the defender of Shah and thus Mossadiq was removed.

From the preceding discussion some points are quite explicit, such as,

Throughout the history of Iranian nationalism the Iranians held their government responsible for Western depredation., Ayatollah Kashani infact started opposing Mossadiq because of his republican and pro-communist attitude, For this reason, he held him anti-Islamic, shouted that Islam was in danger, and mobilised people against him.

Though Kashani supported nationalisation policy and issued fatwa in its support, the Grand Ayatollah Brayardi, leader of the Shii World, opined that nationalisation of oil violated principles of private ownership and therefore it was un-Islamic,⁴ This shows that interpretation of Islamic and unIslamic was probably a function of the interest of the religious leaders and authorities.

IRAN (1960-75)

Mossadeq fell in troubled waters. He was rejected from every corner, from clergy, from Tudeh party and even more from his army. But even then he was making desperate attempt to retain his position. In the meanwhile Shah had fled to Europe, which led to violent demonstration from supporters of Tudeh party and their clash with Mossadeq's supporters. Capitalising the unrest, U.S. supported General Zahedi massacred hundreds of activists which comprised of both the factions and made Shah to return and occupy the

⁴ Ibid.

throne.

Within a month, 7000 members of Tudes party (Communist, supported by Russia) were arrested. Six hundred army officers and twelve thousand army personnel who had filled Tudeh party membership forms were detected and purged. More than one hundred members of sympathisers of Tudeh party were executed in Qasr prison.

Shah vs. Ulama

Shah introduced some new changes in the Constitution which could erode the patriarchial set up of the society and power and privileges of the Ulamas. These reforms were known as the White revolution. Its important provisions were

- Iranian women were given right to vote and equality with men
- According to new procedure government officers were not required to swear specifically on 'Quran' but by referring to the heavenly book 'I believe in'⁵.
- Earlier the non-muslim candidates were not entitled to muslim vote, the new amendment removed this restriction.
- abolition of land lordism in Iran.

The end result of shahs, policies were that;

- Shah stepped back under the Clergys pressure on his proposed bill, giving equal right to women during local bodies election early in 1962.
- Khomeni declares that Imperial majesty had acted according to Quaranic principles

⁵ Rouhani E., *Nehzat-e-Imam Khomani*, Tehran, 1979.

and therefore it was incumbent upon people to obey the king who was the Guardian of the Constitution and independence and security of the country.

- In 1963 the Shah proceeds with his White revolution and made bills on womens rights to vote and equal legal status irrevocable.
- Khomani declares that,
 - a) Women emancipation and womens right to vote is against the law of Islam and country.⁶
 - b) The under cover agents of the foreigners are conspiring with the likes of Shah's government to annihilate the Quran and to crush the clergy.
- Shah sends the elite unit of Impirical guards, who storm the Faizieh school, the venue of Khomeni's lecture against Shah in Quom.
- Islamic Revolution of 1978,in which the Shah over thrown.

From the preceding discussion its explicit that

Khomeni was bothered, especialy by the women's equal status to men and the land reforms which he indicated were against the Quran. In one of his spechs he also said that, "whereever monarchy existed it meant that Islam has been violated".⁷ But in the favour of Shah, when he took back the proposed bill on women, he had declared him just ruler and

⁶ Homa Nateq, `Ruhaneyat-va-Azadi-na-e-Demokratik (The Clergy and Democratic freedom) Jahan, 13 April 1982, pg.14.

⁷ Rouhani, E., Nehzat-e-Iman Khomeni, Tehran 1979.

advised country men to obey him because he had acted on Quranic principles. Many more events discussed earlier, where he says that women's emancipation and women's right to vote is against the law of Islam and country brings us close to observation that he strongly favoured patriarchal set up in the country that appeased the vast majority of male population.

His contradictory statement, once favouring the king and at other tune regarding monarchy as unIslamic

(because by this time Shah had also arrested Khomeini and cracked heavily on his supporters) shows that the Ulama were more concerned about their self-interest which will be again substantiated in next argument.

IRAN (1979-90)

Khomeini takes over the charge of IRAN and appointed Bazargan as Prime Minister.

The new Constitution was formed, of which the important provisions were;

Art 107, Conferred exclusive power upon Aytollah Khomeini

Art 197, referred to him as Imam and this placed him in the ranks of the eleven rightful successors of Ali thereby claiming the status of infallibility and freedom from sin.

Article 4 laid, Sharia to be the source of all legislation.

There are many instances when Khomeini who fought against anti-Islamic policies did himself many things which were anti-Islamic;

- Ulama who condemned family planning to be against Sharia, themselves launched family planning campaigns and even abortion was not condemned in the regime of

Khomeini..

- Khomeini was completely against the, women's equality to man and rose against their employment in offices, and public places. Statistics show that during his regime women in government employment exceed the pre-revolutionary level. Nearly. 30% of all government employees are believed to be women.
- Even the ban imposed by his regime on female's entry into the particular profession's such as engineering and agriculture was lifted.
- Khomeini himself declared to the extent that, "Islamic government acting in the general interest of the muslim clan, if necessary abrogate 'Sharia' principles. It can for instance forbid even the most basic pillars of the faith such as prayer fasting and haj."⁸
- Council of Guardians is entrusted with the task of vetting each candidate for his qualification for the elections. In the 1992 elections nearly one-third of all the candidates were ruled unfit, given that the council does not have to give reasons for rejecting any candidate. It is wide open to claim of political bias in the context of factional conflicts.
- The power of clerics, who lead the different factions, obtains not only from institutional positions in ministries, foundations and the office of the leader, but also from the material resources based on the control of foundations. Most of those

⁸ Joel Beining and Joe Stork (ed.) Political Islam essays from Middle East Report, I.B. Taurus and Co. Ltd. London

1997.

foundations derive their wealth from the post-revolutionary takeover of the abandoned properties, enterprises and foundations of the ancient regime and rich families associated with it. Bonyad-i-Mostazefin, the largest of these foundations comprises many large enterprises, with considerable revenues, including publishing houses and newspapers. Mullahs in control of these bodies and their appointed managers are hardly accountable and run them as personal fiefs. Widely publicised corruption scandals and investigation by the Majlis led to the resignation of certain clerics incharge in late 1994 and 1995. But the foundations are still widely believed to foster nepotism and patronage which adds to their political clout.⁹

- The post revolutionary set-up of Government was republican type to which Khomeni claimed to be anti-Islamic and opposed during the time of Mossadiq.
- Sharia declares the unity and brotherhood of all Muslims in one Umma. Yet the Iranian constitution and state practices enshrine Iranian nationality, as condition for full citizenship of the Republic. Art. 115 states that the President must be Iranian, both by origin and nationality, and should have a convinced belief in the official school of thought in the country;¹⁰ i.e he must be Shii Jalaloddin Farsi, a long time disciple of Khomeni was prevented from standing in presidential elections of 1980 because his mother was an Afghan.

Thus it can be inferred that;

1. Religion was a tool for mass mobilisation against those governments wherein the Ulamas and clerics were being deprived of their privileges.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

2. When the Ulama themselves took charge of the nation, they deviated from the principles of the Sharia several times.

EGYPT

In the previous discussion we have, at several places highlighted the causes of fundamentalism in Iran. Now it will be seen that what were the circumstances that flamed fundamentalism in Egypt.

For over two decades, slogans such as Al-Usuliya, Al-Islammiya (the roots of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism), Al-Salafijya (the ancestral heritage), Al-Sahwaal-Islamiyya (the Islamic awakening), al-Ihyya al-Islami (the Islamic resurgence) has attracted millions of young people in the muslim world, in general and Egypt in particular. Slogans like these are regarded as a return to the pure sources of Islam and to the divine message of the Prophet Mohammad, which reached a zenith in the days of Mohammad and the first Caliplis (Abu-Bakral-Siddiq).

Islam was perceived by most muslims not only as the supreme religion or faith with rites and ceremonies but as a way of life and culture capable and worthy of organizing human society in its entirety.¹¹ Islamic interpreters stressed that the decline in Egypt began at the height of Abassid rule and was followed by the defeat as a result of the hedonism of the Abbasid Caliphis in the grand palaces as well as waning faith among believers. Hence, the Islamic empire in the Abbassid era fell pray to the Persians, Turks, Mongols, Tartars, and so on. During this period several Islamic religious stood up for reinstating the Islamic practices and ideals. Among these the most prominent were Ibn Hanbal and Ibn Taymiyya. These two religious leaders, came before 14th century to the

¹¹Ahmad B. Hanbal, The Encyclopedia of Islam, Leidon and London, New Edition, 1967.

scene and were strict interpreter of Islam and true to their cause.

But after this period Islam again saw many phases in Egypt under monarchy, capitalism, Western form of nationalism, democracy, Nassirite socialism, monarchial dictatorship, and secularism except for a theological state, which has not yet been tried and which, in the opinion of religious Ulamas will cure ills of Egypt?

One very stark feature of Egyptian policy and society is vis-a-vis role of the Sharia. Many intellectuals claim that Quran and Prophet Mohammad did not dictate a specific form of government that should rule in all Islamic states. Most accept the teachings of preachers, that the Quran and the Prophet apply to the people in all situation, but believe that its necessary to adapt the teachings to the need of the time. Its impossible, they say, for the law to remain exactly as it was in the days of Prophet Mohammad and the first of Caliphs.

Some intellectuals state that Quran refrained from setting out a legal system. Ashmawi and others maintain that the Sharia comes from grammatical root 'Shar's' which appears in the Quran only a few times and which means not a law but a way of life or recommended path. In addition, the Quranic use of word 'Likum' (rule) does not signify the rule in modern sense of 'Govern' but rather means judgement. Thus, when Islamic preachers talk of the rule of Allah, the intent is not a state ruled by Allah, but rather, through the judgement of the Allah. Ashwami and others declare that it was Judaism that first produced a legal system and that Islam never intended to do the same Islam is a religion of mercy, justice and good works. Only 80 of 6000 verses of the Quran can be considered to be dealing with law; thus Quran borrowed from legal judgements in the Judaism.¹²

However, Hussain Ahmad Amin's call to rule by the Sharia is not as simple as most

¹²Ibid.

of its proponents deem to be. Amin says that the Sharia is not fundamentally amenable to changes in the light of the social economic and political developments. He then defines Sharia as constituting all the laws promulgated by God for the muslims to follow in their behaviour towards their relation with the creator and their relations with fellow humans. He like Ashwami asserts that the percentage of the Sharia laws, which appear in Quran and even in Hadith, is extremely low relative to the rules and principles which appear in the books of religious practices. In his view there are no more than 80 verses in the Quran relating to question of law such as, theft, adultery and rules for last wills and testament. The majority of these 80 verses are related make do with determining general principles which enable different interpretations and applications that can be correlated with the needs of the circumstances of the period.¹³

Thus, we see that in Egypt there was no unanimity among religious scholars regarding the role of the Sharia in the society and polity. Similar, was the case with anti-state organisations who wanted to reinstate Islam.

There are many events when individuals and organisations changed their positions and each time they tried to justify by the same religious scriptures. The want of power was contested by different religious groups openly. Some instances are quoted as;

- 1964, Ulama Al Azhar issues a fatwa stating that recognition and cooperation with the state of Israel is not Islamically possible.
- 10, May 1979, Ulama Al Azhar issues a fatwa again stating that Egypt-Israel treaty is in harmony with Islam.

Its to be noticed here that within a span of 15 years, that which was not possible Islamically

¹³Ibid.

came in harmony with Islam.

- leaders of different religious organizations gave their own doctrine of Islam and Islamic state.

Movement of Muslim brothers was founded in Ismailiyya in 1928 by Hasan al-Bana. He defined the mission of his organisation 'Muslim brothers', as activity on behalf of Islam and muslims. The Muslim bothers vehemently objected to, women working alongside men, to the introduction of women to political and social life, to the decreased number of men studying religion at Al-Azhar, to reform the 'Sharia' courts and to the battle of the Liberals against polygamy. The basic tenets of Muslim brothers were;

1. Inclusiveness of Islam
2. Islam must be restored to its first teaching
3. Pan-Islamic; All muslims are one nation and the Islamic countries are one homeland
4. The concept of Calipheth, as previously conceived
5. Islamic Government.

This group ardently opposed King Nasser, because of his anti-Islamic policies and being a Communist. They sided with wakf against Nasser but in 1987 they reversed their policies. They sided with Socialistic labour party and left their alliance with Wakf to contest elections.¹⁴

- Jamat al-Muslim, founded by Ali Abduh Ismail, was lead by Mustafa Shukri in 1971, who outlined the following principles of action for the organization;

¹⁴ Ibid.

1. Creating the organisational structure of the group, the election of Shukri Mustafa as Amir. There after Amir would be chosen for each region under Mustafa, the Chief Amir.
 2. Rental of flats to be used as the local underground headquarters in Cairo, Alexandria and other districts.
 3. Migration of the group to the caves and clefts of mountain region in order to implement this ideology.
 4. Recruitment of as many military men as possible for use in operations and for training members of the organisation to use weapons. The military men were to seize the weapons in their military tents.
- In November Mustafa declares that he is the solution to the problem of Islam. He is the redeemer because the gate of Al-ijtehad (religious judgement) is closed and 'Jahileyya' has been forced on the World. Until his coming, Allah has chosen him to lead them in the correct path so as that he will reopen wide the gate of Al-ijtehad and will interpret the Quran, as he understands it.
 - Three years before Mustafa's organization, a militant organisation named, the Islamic liberation Party was formed by Dr. Salih, `Abdullah Siriyya also known as Shabab Mohammad. He recruited about 100 members from technical military college and on April 17, 1974 tried to capture the Technical Military College. The point of occupying the college was to seize the weapons there and to use them to gain control of key governmental facilities in Cairo and Alexandria, to capture and kill the President and take power and declare the establishment of an Islamic state but they failed because one member of the group, who at last minute informed the

authorities. Siriya had planned to announce curfew and appoint him as Amir of Egypt.

Sirriya had asserted that in an election between an Islamic candidate and a socialistic, nationalist and communist candidate if an individual votes for the non-Islamic candidate he is infidel, but the Muslim brothers allied with Socialistic labour party in 1987 election.

- Simultaneous outcropping of organizations in Egypt, and proclamation by leaders of the organizations that they are the chosen ones, shows that none of them abided to the principles of muslim brotherhood, as proposed by the Sharia, though they all shouted for the rule of the Sharia.

Thus, on the basis of these studies probable factors can be outlined that lead and do not lead to the rise of fundamentalism.

1. Desire for power as is explicit from all the observations.
2. Desire for economic gains and other privileges as was explicit in Iran during 1960-75, where khomeni asserted that abolition of land lordism is against the Sharia where as in one of his speeches he had said (as already mentioned), that if need be, in the interest of the Islamic states laws of Sharia could be abrogated.
3. Interference of super-power; Superpowers did play the policy of divide and rule and encouraged the sentiments of religious groups when monarchy was not favourable

to them, as is explicit by the removal of Mossadeq's government.

4. Disunity among the Ulama themselves as is explicit by the studies of Iran and Egypt.
5. Opportunism; Where as the Governments were toppled and criticised by the Ulama for going against the Sharia but themselves deviated from the principles of the Sharia wherever their interests were concerned, as is inferred by the preceding discussion
6. Religion was by and large, used as a tool to topple the governments when the Ulama were deprived of power, prestige and privileges. The rule of state on the basis of Sharia and Quran never really was the aim of the religious groups.

Thus, it is necessary to borrow laws from the West when they are not in opposition to Sharia. These intellectuals based their ideas on those of the Islamic modernizers of recent generations such as, Riffa Riffa-Tahative, Mohammad Abduhand and others.

The above events and incidents thus substantiate the introductory proposition made at the beginning of the chapter that Economic and political causes dominate the other causes in the rise of fundamentalism.

CONCLUSION

The preceding discussion has thrown ample light on the origin types, causes and characteristics of Fundamentalism. It seems that most of the characteristics or features of fundamentalism (contested by many scholar, to be product of 20th) century except the word Fundamentalism, could be traced back to Medieval period. During this period in middle east Muslims forced, people around their territory, violently, to follow the tenets of their religion. they stood up whemently against social, cultural and religious practices that were contradictory to their religion.

Christianity was divided into different sects, because some or the other group strictly adhered to its interpretation of religious text and condemned the interpretation of others and thus different groups parted their way. they compelled no one forcefully to comply to their ideal and tenets.

Judaism was again not violent but very bluntly denounced now-Jews in their territory. Accordingly God gave all of the lands of Israel including the present day lebanon and other areas to the Jews and non-Jews (Arabs) living in the areas are thieves.

It seems that if we strictly apply the definition of fundamentalism to any religion of the world than probably none of them would be able to stand the test.

Of all the polythesims and monothesium its the Islamic scriptures which have

dealt with most of the aspects of life, though not completely, and in medieval era, this also fanned violent tendencies. Because practices sanctioned by people are generally inherited and learned from others rather scriptures itself, plus because of illiteracy and literacy language of the scriptures religious scripture reading was generally a privilege, to few. This did give room to subtle deviations from practice, which when was known by fellow men, incurred their wrath. But now, (in 20th century) it is so, because the heads of the religions in the 20th century are trying to enjoy Godism. There were people who defied Jesus, he tolerated, there were people who defied Prophet Muhammad he tolerated. Mahavir Jain enlightened never compelled any one to follow him nor did Gautam Buddha. As a matter of fact to begin with, Jesus had nine followers, Prophet had 3, Buddha could gather 5 to whom he delivered first sermon at Sarnath and Mahavira had a favourite disciple Anand. They roamed from villages to villages contacted people to people taught them what they knew and requested to follow it. It was their Charisma and power of soul that started altogether new religion behind them. But religious leaders of the 20th century believe more in the power of the system (state) than the power of the soul. They use system mechanics to make people follow (in the way they prescribed) to one (God), behind whom people rallied and rally without request. In fact they are reluctant to a very basic theme of the cosmos that is the process of evolution. Even these messengers of God who led to the start of different religions were product of evolutionary process.

They were definitely the result of Anthropological evolution of man, the evolution in thinking and practice of man. They could preach through a language which was comprehended by others, this language itself was the processes of research and evolution and has kept itself changing and evolving into new pattern with time. No one can stop the process of evolution, be it Khomeni be it any one. In the frame of evolution religion too has to grow and evolve with time while keeping its basics (of love and harmony) intact. Even the most fanatics of any religion keeping religious thought beside have accepted evolutionary usage of every other thing. Militants don't use sword to wage Jihad now, they rely on A.K. 47, A.K. 72 T.N.T. and R.D.X, aren't these the product of evolution.

But the question is that are they reluctant to accept the evolutionary processes, the answer is no, Fatwas have been reverted, Khomeni himself and declared to go against ssharia if need be, but this attitude does not reflect their believe in dynamism of religion, because had they accepted it, would have preached it and had they preached it religion in the long run would have been separated from the state.

Why is this so, because leaders, initially are religious leaders but as their prestige and influence in the social and political system increases, they turn to become politico-religious leader from only religious, Now changes their perspective for the things and events.

It should be in no sense be construed that these politico-religious leaders are charismatic. They are revered by the masses because they promise them to take to the religious path, masses believe in God, so they believe any one who promise to lead them to him.

But sometimes when the people come to know the politico religious game or at times when they are subjects of frequently changing regimes, they are unable to pickup the ideology in such case Gun power and muscle power is used.

In very simple terms, when large number of people have the psyche that their misery and poverty is because of their Act and their happiness and development can be endowed only by their almighty. They are vulnerable to provocation by voice (competent) which makes them believe that what they are made to do, or are doing is sinfull.

This psyche is shaped in this fashion because of the nature of their upbringing where either they were deprived of education or were educated in a pattern which had a very narrow theological orientation that took them miles away from the ethose of Radicalism.

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