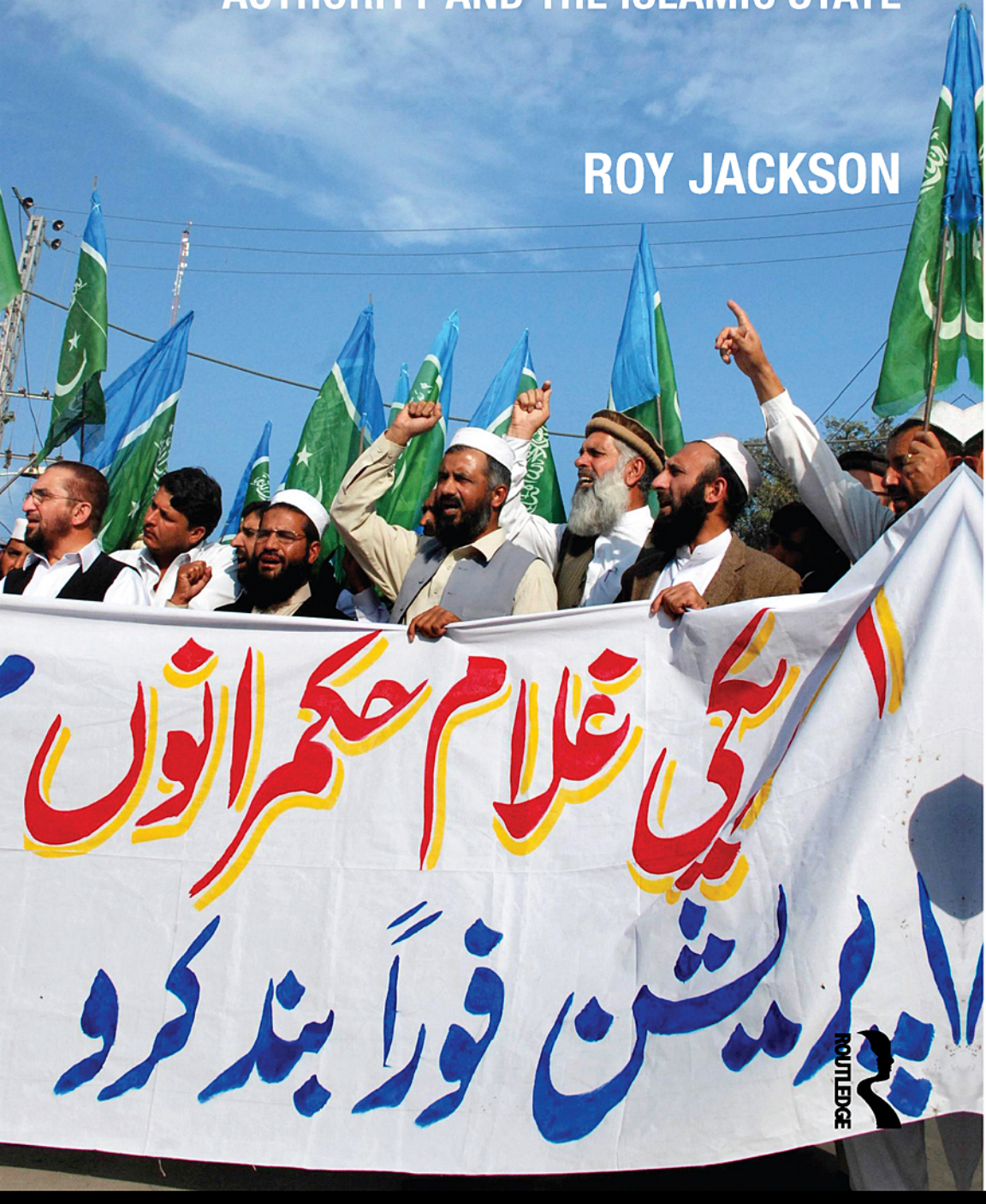# MAWLANA MAWDUDI & POLITICAL ISLAM

AUTHORITY AND THE ISLAMIC STATE

ROY JACKSON

Mawlana Mawdudi and Political Islam

Mawlana Mawdudi was one of the most influential and important Islamic thinkers of the modern world, whose brand of political Islam has won widespread acceptance in South and South-East Asia as well as the Middle East. He was not only an Islamic scholar, but also a journalist and political activist who founded the Jamaat-i-Islami, which has subsequently influenced the development of many Islamic movements and parties throughout the Muslim world.

This book is the first to engage critically and assess his career and legacy within the wider context of political Islam. It includes coverage of his early life and influences, and examines his considerable influence in the contemporary Islamic world. The issues that were a concern for Mawdudi and continue to have resonance for our world today include such questions as the role of women in Islam; the possibilities for democracy in an Islamic state; the importance of jihad; and the moral and religious responsibility of the individual. While focus is on Mawdudi's life and writings, this is placed within the wider context of topical, often contentious, Islamic thought.

Providing an up-to-date and detailed critical study of Mawlana Mawdudi and many issues surrounding political Islam both in Mawdudi's time and today, this book will be an important text for scholars of Islamic studies, political science and philosophy.

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Mawlana Mawdudi and Political Islam

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To Raef and Nadiya

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Introduction

Sayyid Abul A'la Mawdudi (1903–79) needs no introduction for anyone from South Asia. In fact, in the Muslim intellectual world as a whole, his name is frequently mentioned in debates, conferences and Internet listservs on topics such as Islamic revivalism, democracy, sharia, gender, non-Muslims and jihad. What is often surprising is that, despite his notoriety, he is often misquoted and misunderstood, with views and quotes wrongly or misleadingly attributed to him. The result is that Mawdudi is sometimes presented as one of two extremes: either as more 'liberal' than he actually was, or more traditionalist than, at least, he intended or wished to be. The life and character of Mawdudi is a complex one, tied up as it is with the immense political upheavals that surrounded him at that time, together with the accompanying concerns and debates over Islamic identity, if not the very survival of Islam in the region. To this extent, Mawdudi's life and thought can be seen as something of a template that has been repeated across the Islamic world to the present day, hence his name continues to echo loudly.

Mawdudi was many things to many people and, as someone who seems to have rarely taken a moment out to simply reflect and relax, he would approach the world with a kind of vigour and intensity (not always wisely directed, it has to be admitted) that puts most of us to shame. Born in Aurangabad in India, he was a journalist, an Islamic scholar, a Muslim revivalist and a political philosopher. Along with the poet and activist Muhammad Iqbal and the statesman Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Mawdudi is considered at the forefront of the establishment of Pakistan. He is probably most renowned as the founder of Jamaat-e-Islami (the 'Islamic Party') which continues to be active in Pakistan to this day, as well as its sister organizations in India, Bangladesh, Kashmir and Sri Lanka. Founded in 1941, it is much more than simply a religious or political party; rather it is an Islamic movement, a complete way of life, with an ultimate vision of an Islamic statement founded upon the principles elicited by Mawdudi in his writings and speeches. In its methods, ideology and organization, the Jamaat has proven to be an inspiration and model for many other Islamic groups across the world.

The appeal of Mawdudi resides not only in the Islamic world, however, for here is a man who – though perhaps he was reluctant to admit it – was

influenced by non-Muslim, western thought (as much as he was Islamic thinkers) including Plato, Hegel, Bergson and Marx. This resulted in an interest that is prevalent in much of his writings: placing modern western thought within an Islamic world-view. The importance of Mawdudi's thoughts here, particularly his concept of 'theo-democracy', are crucial in understanding such modern 'clash of civilizations' debates. Mawdudi's personality in many ways represents this identity struggle between the values of the west and those of Islam and, ultimately, whether such values are as diverse as people might suppose.

Because of the continued importance of Mawdudi, it is extremely difficult to outline his influence without being painfully aware of what is being left out. Certainly, the Egyptian 'salafis' (revivalists) Hassan al-Banna (founder of the Muslim Brotherhood) and Sayyid Qutb read and were influenced by him. Qutb, the intellectual driving force behind the Muslim Brotherhood and arguably the most significant influence on the more militant Islamic groups that have sprouted, was inspired by Mawdudi's writings on the need for an Islamic 'vanguard'. The Palestinian scholar Abdullah Yusuf Azzam was also influenced by Mawdudi and, in turn, Azzam taught a young student named Osama bin Laden. Mawdudi's influence can also be found within Shi'a Islam, notably Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini who translated some of his works into Farsi and found the concept of theo-democracy (which, in practical terms, is really a theocracy), fitting for Shi'a political thought.

This book intends to present Mawdudi 'warts and all' and to redress the seeming imbalance in terms of literature that seeks to glorify rather than, as much as any book is able to do, objectify. It is not only a biography, however, but it is also an attempt to place Mawdudi within the wider context of political philosophy. No knowledge or understanding of Islam is assumed; rather, the aim is to address an audience – Muslim or not – who are simply interested in such questions as, for example, is it possible to live in a state that requires obedience to God and yet still possess free will? In a state governed by morally impeccable individuals, what scope is there for autonomy? In an ideological state, what is the status of those who do not subscribe to that ideology? What issues are raised in the debate between modernity and religion? These were all of some concern to Mawdudi, but they also continue to have a resonance for our world today. It is, therefore, divided into two parts: the first part is chronological, focusing primarily on Mawdudi's life and times, while the second part considers his views within the wider context of political philosophy.

Chapter 1 covers the period of his birth in 1903, until the start of the Khalifat movement in 1919. What were the influences on Mawdudi's early life? Mawdudi's grandfather was a Sufi *pir* and they were also related to the modernist thinker Sayyid Ahmad Khan. Consequently Mawdudi's father, Ahmad Hasan, attended a modernist Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh for a short while. This chapter looks at his father's modernist upbringing and surroundings, combined with his later abandonment of the 'British ways'

and becoming a Sufi. The life of his father, Ahmad Hasan, should be seen as an important paradigm and represents a not-untypical identity crisis between Islam and western modernism. Another important influence was his literary heritage of poets and writers which encouraged Mawdudi in his own writing. His noble heritage and the witness of their decline financially, politically and spiritually, all reflect upon Mawdudi's concerns in his writings. Mawdudi's father was particularly important in his education as he wanted him to become a theologian and religious scholar: Ahmad Hasan avoided teaching English and western science, and instead gave Mawdudi a solid Islamic education as well as telling Mawdudi stories of Islamic history and great figures in that history. When, from the age of 11, Mawdudi was enrolled in at the Madrasah-i Fauqaniyah of Aurangabad he, for the first time, encountered the natural sciences and remained keenly interested in modern scientific thought throughout his life. Mawdudi was particularly expert in language; that of Urdu and Arabic, and he decided, in 1918, to pursue a writing career.

With Chapter 2, the period up to 1930 and the publication of his *Jihad in Islam* is explored. With the increase in violence between Muslims and Hindus in India in the 1920s, Mawdudi wrote on the understanding of jihad. His published writings on the legitimacy of jihad proved to be hugely influential. Importantly, Mawdudi translated the philosophy of Mulla Sudra and as a result was influenced by the views of the *Asfar*, particularly the importance of sharia for humankind's spiritual being. He became increasingly interested in the politics of Delhi, particularly the independence movement. Mawdudi continued his study of the Islamic sciences as well as his journalism and he was influenced by the Deobandi order, especially its concern over the intrusion of western culture. From this, Mawdudi became heavily involved in the Khilafat movement. Mawdudi became increasingly political and concerned over the future for Islam due to various events occurring at the time that caused this anxiety, notably the Shuddhi campaign, the increase in Ahmadi missionary activity and the growth in the Wahhabi movement in Saudi Arabia. At this time he talks of a 'conversation'; he is a 'new Muslim' and looks for an organization to pursue his new cause of reviving Islam.

Chapter 3 takes us up to 1939. In 1932 Mawdudi wrote *Towards Understanding Islam*, which outlines the basic beliefs and tenets of Islam and established his name among students at colleges across India. Muhammad Iqbal had advocated a Muslim homeland in northern India since 1930 and was looking for a suitable candidate to make this vision a reality through religious and educational means. This led to the creation of Darul-Islam (Land of Islam) with Mawdudi at its head. Here Mawdudi demonstrated his organizational skills, but his desire for the project to be more political conflicted with its original apolitical remit. This is also a time when Mawdudi confronted his own demons and questioned his religious and spiritual integrity. It is a period of self-doubt and questioning which is reflected in his poetry.

With Chapter 4 taking us up to 1947, the most significant event was the birth of the Jamaat-e-Islami in 1941. Why the need for a new party? What

distinguished it from other parties that existed at the time? How was this new party going to respond to the increasing call for a separate Islamic state? The gestation period of the Jamaat is explored here, together with Mawdudi's own struggle between his ideological principles and the practicalities of politics. The final chapter of Part I considers the Pakistan years up until Mawdudi's death in 1979, with the continual conflict between trying to maintain the Jamaat as a principled way of life when confronted with the harsh pragmatism of the political arena and the necessary compromises this entails.

Having looked at Mawdudi's life, Part II, beginning with Chapter 6, will examine his writings in more detail, in particular his concern for 'intellectual independence' as he called it, or cultural authenticity. Despite the fact that Mawdudi was influenced by western thought, he strives to demonstrate that Islam possesses its own '-ism', unsullied by external ideology. Here he looks to the life of the writings of Muhammad Iqbal, although Iqbal himself was influenced by such western philosophers as Nietzsche and Bergson.

Chapter 7 puts Mawdudi into the context of the Islamic revivalism and the movement known as salafi, for Mawdudi shares many features of the salafis, while also being distinguished from them, particularly in his reluctance to engage in independent reasoning. What would Mawdudi's vision of an Islamic state actually be like in practice? This is the question that is addressed in Chapter 8 by examining Mawdudi's four paradigms of the Qur'an, the Prophet Muhammad, the Rightly Guided Caliphs and the great jurists. Mawdudi presents a romantic view of early Islam, and then applies these paradigms to modern times. Islam is thus idealized with a central obligation of absolute obedience to God (his exposition of the concept of *din*).

To what extent would Mawdudi's state be a 'democracy' as opposed to a 'theocracy'? Isn't his concept of theo-democracy a contradiction in terms? Mawdudi's understanding of the term 'Caliph' suggests that all Muslims are Caliphs and we are therefore talking of a democracy in the sense at least that all Muslims have equal representation in the affairs of state. Yet, at the same time, one is bound by the laws of God, which implies a theocracy. When we dig a little deeper, as is done in Chapter 9, we see that Mawdudi had a very strict understanding of what constitutes a Muslim.

It has been said that Mawdudi's views on revolution are essentially Marxist and are tied in with his views on jihad. Mawdudi was clear that an Islamic state could not occur until the existing political order was removed and this inevitably would result in some direct action. However, Mawdudi is ambiguous in his writings and seemed to not be in support of violent revolution and, instead, saw revolution as a piecemeal thing that is *evolutionary* in character. Therefore it would be an orderly transfer of power rather than a spontaneous overthrowing of the existing order. He looks back to the prophetic era as his paradigm, with the Prophet extolling 'patience and pacifism'. Yet, as shall be shown in Chapter 10, once again Mawdudi's views seem often conflicting and ambiguous and need to be seen within the context of his writings on jihad.

The final chapter looks at the activities and views of the Jamaat-e Islami since the death of Mawdudi. The significance of certain events will be considered in the light of more recent events. For example the Jamaat-e Islami's reaction to the 1977 Zia coup and its attempt to promote cooperation between Zia and the PNA, the development of a 'pan-Islamic' image for the Jamaat with its involvement in Zia's Afghan policy and working with the Afghan mujahidin, the Jamaat's support of Iraq in the Gulf War and it's criticism of America's lack of support for Muslims in Kashmir, and the relationship between Musharraf and Jamaat.

Part I

The life and times of Mawdudi

1 A noble lineage (1903–19)

> I belong to one such family that has a 1300 year history of guiding, asceticism and Sufism.[1]

Mawdudi and the Mughals

If you ever visit Lahore, be sure to take in the Diwan-i-Aam, the 'Hall of Public Audience'. This magnificent white marble structure was completed by the great Mughal Emperor Jalaluddin Muhammad Akbar (1542–1605) who, it is said, would use this space to converse with scholars and believers from all religious faiths. If you visit and talk to people of Pakistan about this structure, as well as the Lahore Fort it is housed in, you will most likely be told that during the reign of Akbar, India experienced a time of relative peace and prosperity, as well as religious and social tolerance. Things are never that clear-cut, of course, but certainly Akbar, though a Muslim, had little time for a strict adherence to Islamic law, sharia or for sectarianism between Shia and Sunni Muslims. His ambitious aim was to create a single community of Sunni and Shia, Muslims and Hindus living in an environment that inculcated religious toleration and equality of status. The Emperor also, of course, wished to pass on this legacy to his heir and was in need of a son. There is a story that a mystic by the name of Salim Chisti (1478–1572) came to the emperor and blessed him. This resulted in the first of three sons born to him who was to become another great emperor in Mughal history, Nuruddin Salim Jahangir; the middle name in honour of this mystic. The Emperor Akbar bestowed patronage upon Salim Chisti and this helped the growth of what is known as the Chisti Order, which is renowned for its emphasis on love, tolerance and openness.

The tomb of Salim in Uttar Pradesh is a beautiful marble mausoleum where the current master – *pir*, or sheikh as they are usually referred to – of the Order resides. Women to this day, seeking a child, go to the shrine and pray that Salim will intercede. The Chisti is a Sufi order, that aspect of Islam that is concerned more with the mystical features of the religion. The origins of the Order go back further than Salim, however. In fact, the Chisti Order

originates in around the tenth century AD in a small town called Chist, which is near the city of Herat in western Afghanistan. The order was founded by the Syrian Abu Ishaq Shami (d. AD 940) and the most famous of its saints is Moinuddin Chisti (also known as Khawaja Baba, 1141–1230) who settled in Ajmer in India's Rajasthan state. The beautiful city of Ajmer is an important centre for pilgrimage. The Emperor Akbar himself would come here with his wife every year. Another Chisti master was Khwaja Qutbuddin Mawdud Chisti (d.1133) who spurned a progeny of Chisti saints, known as the Mawdudiyah. One of these in particular is recognized in the Chisti lineage for helping towards the spread of the Order in India: Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi (d.1527).

The central focus of this book is another Mawdudi some four hundred years later. With such a lineage, it is not surprising that Sheikh Sayyid Abu'l-A'la Mawdudi (1903–79) should achieve at least some status. Although not much else is factually known about Mawdudi's family history, he says himself that the Mawdudis moved to Delhi in the eighteenth century. His father, Sayyid Ahmad Hasan, was born in Delhi in 1855 and his grandfather was Mir Sayyid Hasan, a Sufi *pir*, who was quite influential in the Mughal court. Mawdudi was born on 25 September 1903 in the city of Aurangabad in Maharashtra state, India. Various other spellings of Mawdudi are Maudoodi and Maududi, and he is also known as Mawlana (or Maulana). When considering how much authority a person possesses, that person's name and honorific title can reveal much. Mawdudi is one such person. The title given to him of 'Mawlana', for example, means something like 'our lord' or 'our master' and is usually a form of address to a sovereign, although more commonly in the Indian subcontinent for respected religious leaders. In addition, the title of 'Sheikh' (Sheik, Cheikh, Shaikh) literally means 'elder' from the Arabic and was originally the traditional title given to Bedouin tribal leaders. The title 'Sayyid' has really no comparison in the western sense; perhaps the word 'Lord' gives some indication of the nobility that the title possess, and it is given to males who can trace their lineage right back to the Prophet Muhammad in the sixth century AD through his grandsons Hasan ibn Ali and Husayn ibn Ali: the sons of the fourth Rightly Guided Caliph (the prophet Muhammad's cousin) Ali ibn Abi Talib and his wife (the Prophet Muhammad's daughter) Fatima Zahra. In this sense, a Sayyid is a member of the 'royal family' and can also have spiritual connotations, especially in the Shia tradition, and in the mystical Sufi tradition. In fact, in Sufism, only a Sayyid can initiate a Sufi order, or *tariqah*.

The story of the Mughals is closely tied with that of the Mawdudis, for while the status of the Mawdudis increased with the power of the Mughals, it also declined in line with that of Mughals and the arrival of the Europeans in India. Mawdudi comes at such a point when the Mughal dynasty comes to an end. It is believed by many to this day that the Emperor Akbar encapsulated both the political ruler and the spiritual teacher for he believed that spiritual guidance lay especially with a combination of divine inspiration through

spiritual exercise and dialectical reasoning, rather than the observance of Islamic law as dictated by the religious scholars, the ulama. Akbar rejected much of sharia, partly because he was not convinced that much of it came from reliable sources. Legitimacy, rather, did not come from obedience to sharia but rather a more direct access to God's will via divine inspiration. Naturally, many orthodox scholars were suspicious of this approach. This Mughal Emperor believed that he was the 'Perfect Man', *al-insan al-kamil,* who received divine revelation. During the mid-1580s, he introduced a whole new religion, the 'Divine Faith' (*Din Ilahi*), for which Akbar himself was its spiritual master. This was seen as heresy by most orthodox Muslims. His inclusivist policies were continued by the next two emperors, Jahangir (r. 1605–27) and Shah Jahan (r. 1628–58). Many Muslims, as well as Hindus, found such religious reforms insufferable and sought to retreat within their own traditions. The consequences of seeking universality within society is that it can disguise the underlying differences between them. Akbar criticized the caste system, to the chagrin of Hindus, and criticized the *ulama* and sharia, to the annoyance of orthodox Muslims. Although something of a generalization, in many respects the period of Mughal rule was not one of religious self-identity: Emperor Akbar, for example, abolished the *jizyah* tax placed on *dhimmis* (non-Muslims), as well as giving up hunting and becoming a vegetarian, so as not to offend Hindus. He built temples for Hindus and adopted a pluralistic approach to religious belief, embracing all religious traditions. This universalism was not accepted by all Muslims at the time, of course, and the last major Mughal Emperor, Aurangzeb, tried to Islamize all of India, which only resulted in hostility from Hindus and Sikhs. Nonetheless, on the whole, the reason the Muslim Mughal empire survived as long as it did was because it generally did not adopt a 'them and us' strategy. While it is true that many Muslims enjoyed an elite status as the 'rulers' of India, many Indians of other religious traditions also enjoyed positions of patronage. The accentuation of religious differences became much more marked, however, with the arrival of the British, who stressed the importance of religious ties, with good intentions in mind.

The last great Emperor was Aurangzeb who died in 1707 and, although the dynasty continued for another 150 years, they were essentially 'lesser' Mughals. The last Emperor, Bahadur Shah II (1775–1862), ruled over Delhi only and, in fact, was imprisoned and later exiled by the British for his involvement in the Indian Rebellion in 1857. This Rebellion is worth mentioning as it was a major turning point in Indian history, as well as marking out the Mawdudis as anti-British from then on. Indian soldiers had for years fostered an anger for their British officers who treated them badly and, politically, the British came across as indifferent and superior towards the Mughals. The specific reason for the Rebellion was that the soldiers refused to use the new Enfield rifle as the cartridges contained cow and pig fat. Soldiers had to break the cartridges with their teeth before loading them in their rifles, thus offending both Hindus and Muslims. Although this may well have been

the catalyst, no doubt the accumulation of British abuse piled up over the years. The Mughal Emperor Bahadur agreed to lead the Rebellion and the revolt spread throughout northern India before the British finally put a stop to it in 1858 after a series of battles. The British then abolished the British East India Company and was replaced with direct rule under the British sovereign. In 1887, Queen Victoria took the title Empress of India. The Mughal system, which reached its maturity during the reign of Emperor Akbar, should not be seen as a Muslim state which gave power to Muslims to the exclusion of all others. In fact, India at the time was run on the lines of the courts of Safavid Iran, with Persian language and culture at its centre and, although about 80 per cent of the very highest officials, the *umara*, were Muslim[2] there were also many Hindus at the lower levels of the court. Simply being a Muslim, regardless of your individual political or economic position, meant having a special status in India, so long as India was Mughal. However, once India became British after the Rebellion, that association – fictional or otherwise – was broken.

Mawdudi and his family were brought up during the time of the break-up of the old Mughal empire and the imposition of British colonial rule. Mawdudi spent his childhood and early youth in Hyderabad where the extremely wealthy and powerful Nizam-ul-Mulk ('Administrators of the Realm') effectively ruled independently of the Mughal emperors. India, though majority Hindu, was, as a result of Mughal rule, largely Muslim in shape. The Mawdudis were just one family that had enjoyed noble patronage in this unreal world of Paigah nobility who claim their descent from the second Rightly Guided Caliph, Umar. The court had it chamberlains, household troops, Arab mercenaries with daggers and muskets, rajahs and maharajahs. It was in this feudal and somewhat magical place that Mawdudi's character was formed. It is no surprise that the change in regimes to British rule would have a profound psychological effect on Mawdudi and many other Indian Muslims. At the time, Muslim identity was pluralistic in character and was not in any way under state control: people were left to practise Islam as they saw fit, which resulted in a variety of practices – notable in Sufi especially – that may well be considered almost heretical by strict orthodox standards. Muslims tended to cluster in small communities around mosques, schools, the tombs of Sufi saints and gentry residences of the Muslim quarters and *qasbahs* (small towns) of India. With the decline of Mughal rule, this coincided with the decline of Muslim rule as Europeans replaced Muslims in positions of authority, land was transferred from Muslims to Hindus, nobles were deprived of taxes, and unemployment increased. British missionaries suppressed religious practices that they considered barbaric, English was taught in schools, and, in 1837, Persian was abolished as the official language of the Mughal court. Also, sharia was challenged with the introduction of English law and the court system.

How Muslims should respond to this can be categorized in three distinct ways: first, there were those who adopted a non-political stance and so

believed that nothing need be done about British rule other than to carry on 'being Muslim' as in praying, attending mosques, respecting sharia and venerating saints. This was a view held not only by most of the ulama at the time, but by such large groups as the Barelwis[3] who also follow the Hanafi school of law. A second response was typified by the Sufi Indian Muslim Shah Wali Allah (1703–62) who was a Naqshbandi shaykh and promoted sharia particularism over Muslim universalism that was the example set by Moghul emperors such as Akbar. He argued that unbelievers – referring specifically to Hindus – should not be accorded the same social status as Muslims and, in fact, should be agricultural labourers at best who should also pay a hefty poll tax (*jizya*) for Muslim protection. Shah Wali Allah had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca which lasted two years (1730–2) during which time he received some education in other reform movements, particularly that of Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab, who was his contemporary. Wali Allah was influenced by al-Wahhab but where the former differed was in his less confrontational approach towards what al-Wahhab would have regarded as un-Islamic and heretical. Al-Wahhab's militant approach led to the destruction of Sufi orders under the military command of Ibn Saud, whereas Wali Allah sought the reform of Sufism, but his tolerance only extended to Muslims and his concern was with Muslim identity and survival as much as it was for Sirhindi. Wali-Allah was an advocate of Islamic reform and the establishment of a traditional Islamic state, not the watering down of Islam within a pluralistic society. From this perspective, Wali-Allah undoubtedly considered Islam to be the superior religion to that of its non-Muslim counterparts. Wali-Allah's teachings resulted in a revival of Islamic thought in India. His son, Abd al-'Aziz (1746–1824) promoted his father's teachings by encouraging local communities to elect their own imams and adhere to them rather than be subject to the increasing presence of British rule at that time. A disciple of Wali Allah's son, Sayyid Ahmad Barelewi (1786–1831) went further in ushering in a jihad movement against both the Sikh armies and the British. In 1826, with his holy warriors, he defeated an army of Sikhs at Balakot in what is now the North-West Frontier Province in Pakistan. He established what proved to be a short-lived religio-political state based on sharia with himself as leader. Barelewi was killed in battle in 1831, but his jihad movement continued to harass the British. The third response came from the former political elites who sought a compromise between Islam and modernity: rather than reject the west or retreat into Islamic tradition, they sought for a 'modern Islam'. This was typified by the work of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and the so-called Aligarh experiment.

The Aligarh experiment

With the end of the Muslim Mughal emperors, the patronage of Muslims – the minority in India – was also under threat. The British embarked on a political restructuring, admitting Hindu Indians into the civil service.

Indians became more politically aware and better educated, with the founding of the Indian National Congress in 1885 which, although supposed to represent all of India, failed to attract Muslims, feeling that it did not represent Muslim interests. This resulted in the Indian educator and politician Sir Sayyid Ahmed Khan (1817–98) establishing the residential Muhammedan Anglo-Oriental College (also known as the Madrasat ul-'ul[umacr]m Musalmanān) in Aligarh in 1875 with the aim of promoting the education of Indian Muslims by teaching them western-style education. Aligarh is about 80 miles south and a little east of Delhi. The college was partly financed by a British government subsidy, and was an affiliate of Calcutta University until 1887 when it became a part of the new Allahabad University. Ahmed Khan was pro-British, hence the knighthood, and he supported the British during the Indian Rebellion. He said that Muslims should be loyal to the British Raj and to learn from them rather than rebel against them. He was critical of religious orthodoxy and instead encouraged Muslims to study western science. The college, which he intended to be a 'Muslim Cambridge' was established with this intent.

The two original thinkers of Sayyid Ahmad Khan and Mawlana Mawdudi were similar in some respects and vastly different in others. They were both Sunni Muslims who had strong ethical positions in the face of immense social, political and religious change. They were also, of course, from the same distinct Indian Islamic culture and from a privileged status at a time when that status was in decline. In both cases they look to Islamic tradition for answers, although the answers they come up with are certainly different, and at the same time can be described as modern thinkers; not merely burying their heads in that tradition. Importantly, neither of these great thinkers saw modernity as a final nail in the coffin for Islam, but rather saw modernity – at least certain aspects of it – as an opportunity to revitalize their religion. They were concerned with how to be a Muslim in the modern age and they devoted their lives to communicating what they considered to be the best way to be a Muslim. In that sense their message is strongly ethical in the Greek philosophical sense of the term: what does it *mean* to be good?

In India in 1881 there were 50 million Muslims, about one-fifth of the Indian population,[4] and the importance of Ahmad Khan for the British was that he was an Indian Muslim they could talk to. Trying to understand the Indian Muslim was important, especially if you want to control them and, since the 1857 Rebellion, many British were suspicious of Muslim intentions, bringing up the common Christian–Muslim rivalry that goes back to the Crusades: that is, Muslims will *always* resist.[5] In particular, it was against the Muslim aristocracy – of which the Mawdudis could claim to be a part – that had the most to be angry about, as they were losing the status they once had under the Mughals. The danger, therefore, was of a building up of what Nietzsche called *ressentiment*. The events and experience of Aligarh are important, as they provide us with a picture of what it was like to be an Indian Muslim under British colonial rule during this time. That is, what were

the concerns of the educated Muslim in terms of Islamic identity and the confrontation with a force superior economically, militarily and technologically? If Islam were to survive in this climate, then it would need to change. But to what extent can a religion, an ideology, change without losing its essential identity?[6] The Anglo-Oriental College is significant as, in its early (first 25) years under the leadership of Ahmad Khan and the English principal, Theodore Beck, it represents the first generation of English-educated Muslims in north India. Although Mawdudi himself did not attend the college, he was deeply influenced by those that did, not to mention Ahmad Khan himself. In addition, the introduction of distinctively British (or, rather, western European) modes of political and administrative institutions to India was also something new for the India Muslim to confront. The Mughal model of social structures was, though something of a generalization, based on kinship-like alliances where people are defined by their birth and genealogical position.[7] However, the British system presented opportunities to break the traditional family boundaries and offer one's loyalty to other institutions on a voluntary and temporary basis. The rigidity, though not necessarily a negative thing, of the Moghul system was broken. In this context, the Anglo-Oriental College is born: a formally organized institution consisting of young men separated from their family groups and united under a different set of ideals. Inevitably, this leads to a new set of moral, social, political and religious commitments too. A completely new social world which is also an engineered one.

Previous to the Anglo-Oriental College, the new colleges that were springing up still taught in the classical tradition that Mawdudi had experienced, for example the Sanskrit College in Benares in 1791, the Delhi College in 1792, and Punjab University College in Lahore as late as 1870.[8] This reflected the general view at the time that a Muslim's first – and perhaps only – commitment was to learn the Qur'an and that all knowledge could be found within Islamic civilization. In addition, it was also felt that a better education can be had in the *sharīf* (noble) system of correct manners than to mix with vulgar types in government schools. Ahmad Khan's dissatisfaction with the education Muslims were getting in either government schools or in the more traditional manner led him, together with a small group of other North Indian Muslims, to set up a British-style educational institution that would prepare Muslims for, not only the twentieth century, but for positions of responsibility in Indian society. In this sense, the college should not be seen as just an educational institution, but a statement of political intent and, although it may well have a reputation as the 'Muslim Cambridge' it was, in fact, a uniquely Indian creation that catered for the needs of a new generation of young Muslims, although it was hoped that Hindus may also enrol. But Ahmad Khan's concern was with Muslims in particular: at the time of setting up the College, only about 6 per cent of Muslims in the North-Western Provinces were literate and it was hoped that the college would not only attract those from noble families, but would be all inclusive. In reality,

however, those who enrolled were from the ruling class, and not a moment's thought was given to the possibility of also enrolling women.

The impact of Ahmad Khan's visit to Britain in 1869–70 is interesting. Apparently, Ahmad Khan's usual self-confidence took a severe battering when confronted with British technological and cultural achievement and could not help contrasting this with the poverty-stricken illiterate Indian population of the time. In fact, he felt that India had declined since his own day and was now less educated than it was under the Mughals. It was this that led Ahmad Khan to seek for reasons for such British superiority and he believed this was due to innovations in technology and education in science especially; something that was not considered essential in the traditional *sharīf* system. His trip to England provided Ahmad Khan with a much greater sense of urgency that something must be done in India to the education system especially. He was certainly aware that other Muslim countries were making changes, for example in Egypt and Turkey. The once mighty Ottoman Empire was particularly sensitive to western Europe's ascendency and was copying European curricula and teaching methods, as well as military methods, in an attempt to catch up. What is interesting is that Sayyid Khan should feel the need to write a chapter entitled 'Whether Islam Has Been Beneficial or Injurious to Human Society in General'.[9] Even raising such doubts would have been considered by many Muslims as close to heresy, but it does indicate Ahmad Khan's concerns over Muslim identity and the relevance of its theology to the modern age, a concern echoed by Mawdudi. To this end, Ahmad Khan sought naturalistic explanations for miracle accounts and other such topics as heaven and hell in the Qur'an and argued that science is consistent with Islam. Having said that, he would also question the validity of certain scientific claims, such as evolution and the heliocentric theory.

Mawdudi's early paradigms

Mawdudi's father, Ahmad Hasan, became one of the first students at Ahmad Khan's new Anglo-Oriental College. This, however, was by no means an easy decision to make, considering the Mawdudi dislike of British rule and, for that matter, anything British, but it seems that Ahmed Khan's status[10] was enough to allow Ahmad Hasan to go there, at least initially. However, it was not long before Ahmad Hasan's father changed his mind and took him out of the school after learning that his son was playing cricket and wearing western clothing. Ahmad Hasan did go on to study law and, in 1896, moved to Aurangabad where a relative of the Mawdudis, Mawlvi Muhyuddin Khan, helped Ahmad Hasan in his career. Mawlvi Muhyuddin was in a position to do this as he was the Chief Justice of Aurangabad. He was also, as it happened, a Chisti master and this religious influence especially was to have a profound effect on Mawdudi's father. In 1900 Ahmad Hasan took the *bayah* (oath of allegiance) and was thus initiated into the Chisti Order. From then

on, he not only abandoned any remnants of western modernism, but went to the other extreme by engaging in ascetic practices to the detriment of his law career. In 1904 he sold all his property and moved to a village near Delhi with his family so he could be near the Sufi shrine of the saint Hazrat Khawaja Nizamuddin Auliya (1238–1325). This thirteenth-century saint is one of Sufi's most famous and his shrine is visited by thousands each year. Ahmad Hasan spent three years there, neglecting his work and family and concentrating only on mystical pursuits. It was only on the insistence of Mawlvi Muhyuddin that he returned to Delhi and his practice, although he would refuse to defend any clients if it involved deceit. While such honesty may be admirable and rare, it was not a particularly fruitful principle in law and inevitably his practice floundered to a large extent. Enough money was earned to keep his family, but it was a modest income compared to the Mughal days. Mawdudi's father continued to practise until 1915 when he moved first to Hyderabad and then to Bhopal in central India. There he suffered a stroke which led to paralysis, and he died four years later in 1920 at the age of 65.

The importance of his father's life on Mawdudi cannot be underestimated. Here was a man who at first embraced modernity, however briefly, and could have been a successful lawyer, and yet was to turn his back on it and look instead look for spiritual fulfilment. In many ways it acts as a paradigm for not only Mawdudi's life but for that of so many Muslims at the time of Mawdudi and of today. Mawdudi's writings always possess a central concern: that of a perceived spiritual crisis and the belief that modernity could not answer humankind's fundamental needs.

As for his mother, Ruqiyah Begum, her family had migrated from Turkey to India during the reign of the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb (1618–1707) and they served the Mughals as military generals. Like the Mawdudis, they became influential among the Mughal court, attaining the status of *nawabs* (a Hindu term for 'nobles'). Ruqiyah's father was Mirza Qurban 'Ali Khan Salik, a poet of some standing, and so Mawdudi could boast an impressive lineage of mystics, poets and nobles. This perhaps made the decline in this status all the more distressing for him, and the fact that this coincided with British supremacy in India would not have been overlooked by the young Abu'l-A'la.

When Mawdudi was born, Ahmad Hasan already had four other children but it seems that his father was particularly fond of Mawdudi. His birth came at a time when Ahmad Hasan was on the verge of his mystical quest and it is no coincidence that he named Mawdudi after the great Chisti mystic ancestor. Mawdudi's autobiography, *Khud Niwisht*, makes numerous references to his father, all in a praising manner, and the religious influence especially is worth quoting:

> A year after I was born my father washed his hands of the world, and for three years lived like an ascetic. Later on, although he had returned to the world, it was not to his old world which he returned, but to a purely

religious one. The result of this revolution in his life was that as I opened my eyes and gained my senses, I found myself in a religious setting. My father's and mother's lives had a distinct religious colouring. Their example and our upbringing imprinted my heart and my mind with a religious fervour.[11]

Seclusion

In the society that Mawdudi grew up in, women were secluded in the *mahal khānah* (the 'palace') or, more commonly, the *zanānah* (the women's place) and grown men were excluded from it. It was the duty of the man to go out into the evil world once they were old enough to no longer need the protection and nurture of the *zanānah*. The importance of the mother, or a mother figure, in the upbringing of a son is immense in Indian Muslim society, and has sometimes been criticized for being stultifying, resulting in men who are either so weak from being tyrannized by their mothers, or too arrogant as a result of being the spoilt tyrants! The *zanānah* was not just the abode of the mother, but possibly could also include the child's grandmother, aunts, sisters and, if wealthy enough, a wet-nurse. When Mawdudi was born, the family would proudly light firecrackers (previous to the 1857 Rebellion, it would have been gunfire, but this was banned by the British) and a religious teacher or a senior member of the family would whisper the call to prayer in his left ear and the *shahada* in the right, followed by a taste of honey. For the next two years at least, the young Abu'Ala could rely upon the unconditional self-sacrifice of his mother. His early years encompassing celebrations for stages of his life: the first bathing, the shaving of the head, his first special cradle, his first handclap, his first solids, his first tooth, the first crawl. While his mother doted, the role of his father was to discipline. A father was usually addressed by a title such as *huz[umacr]r* (literally, 'the presence') and his authority was considered absolute.

The ceremonies that mark the way from boyhood to adulthood would include the *bi'smi'llāh* ('in the name of God'), at the age of 4 years and 4 months when Abu'l-A'la would have been taught the opening words of the Qur'an, and this would be followed by another celebration, the *hidīyah*, when he had read the whole of the Qur'an. At around the age of 7 the boy would be circumcised, accompanied by the gift-giving, feasts and even a procession through the streets.

Mawdudi's father, who wanted Abu'l-A'la to become a *mawlvi*, a religious scholar, decided to educate the boy at home, teaching him such traditional subjects as Arabic, Persian and Hindu, as well as *fiqh* (Islamic jurisprudence), *hadith* (the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad) and *mantiq* (logic). The learning of Arabic would involve, first of all, spending at least three hours a day on calligraphy and the memorization of Persian classics, although without actually understanding them. The translation from Persian to Arabic would come later when Abu'l-A'la would then have do Persian composition,

Arabic grammar and literature which involved reading classical texts. Whereas the Aligargh experiment focused on western science and thought, Ahmad Hasan deliberately avoided these subjects. Especially important was the recitation and memorizing of the Qur'an and once Mawdudi was able to do this it meant he was a genuine member of the Muslim community, the *umma*. It was not only the teaching of traditional Islamic subjects that concerned Ahmad Hasan, however, for he was also keen to develop a certain character by telling Mawdudi and his other brothers stories of great Islamic figures from history as examples of how to be a good Muslim, as well as recounting great moments in Islamic history to show that Islam has not always been in the state it was currently finding itself in. Significantly, Ahmad Hasan would also read to his children articles from the weekly Urdu newspaper *Al-Hilal*. This paper openly attacked British policies in India and encouraged young Muslims especially to fight for independence for India. It was founded by Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad (1888–1958): a Muslim scholar and politician who was involved in the Indian Independence Movement and the *Khalifat* Movement (see below), although he argued for a Hindu–Muslim united India, not a separate Muslim state, and he was against the partition of Bengal in 1905. Mawlana Azad's revolutionary activities, together with the radical articles contained in *Al-Hilal*, resulted in the paper being banned in 1914.

Mawdudi states in his autobiography, 'Special attention was paid to our speech and accent. I lived in the Deccan [southern India] for twenty years without adopting a single local pronunciation, and continued to speak in pure Urdu.'[12] Ahmad Hasan encouraged his children to be loyal to the local customs and traditions and, in fact, was so strict about this he would not allow them to mix with other children, fearing perhaps that it would affect the 'purity' of their language. This existence was probably quite a lonely one for Mawdudi, although no references in his autobiography suggest that he resented his father for this isolated and studious existence. He spent the hours reading and studying, and finally was able to go into the outside world at the age of 11 when he was enrolled at the Madrasa Fauqaniyah of Aurangabad. The school, which was affiliated with the Uthmaniyah University of Hyderabad, taught traditional subjects, which Mawdudi excelled in, and modern subjects, which he found more testing, having little background in such subjects as mathematics. Nonetheless, he excelled in such subjects as Arabic and, at the tender age of 11, even translated a book from Arabic in to Urdu. This work, *al mara'a al jadida* ('The New Woman') by Qasim Amin (1863–1908), is an interesting choice,[13] as the writer was a modernist Egyptian thinker who sets out in his work to criticize how Islam treats women and argues for the abolition of the hijab. The book was written in 1900 and is a sequel to his work published a year earlier *Tahrir al mara'a* ('The Liberation of Women'). Qasim Amin, considered by some as the 'father of Egyptian feminism',[14] was concerned with the question of why Egypt – once a great civilization – was in decline and under the control of European powers.

He blamed this decline on the low social and educational status of women in Egypt, which meant they were not competent enough to bring up the next generation of children. Amin was a respected judge, a *qadi*, and therefore in a position to interpret sharia, and he argued that women should be allowed to receive an education and to be freed from seclusion (*purdah*). He believed that reforming the *umma* started with the reform of the family and, especially, women's central role within it. Amin argued that some aspects of veiling and seclusion had to be changed and that a woman's face and hands must be free of coverings as this, he stated, is not required in the Qur'an. Women who are not secluded, he insisted, succeeded in developing the necessary skills to manage their lives – and the lives of their family – in a successful and less archaic manner, even if they did not possess an education. Importantly, Amin always insisted that he was not being 'radical', but rather appealed to the Qur'an as his defence.

While Mawdudi's academic achievements were impressive for someone so young, the fact that he had been brought up largely in seclusion made it difficult for him to mix with other children. It no doubt did not help that he would have come across as precocious, haughty, aloof and something of a teacher's pet. As a result he was isolated from his classmates but, again, Mawdudi never saw this as a criticism against his father, but as a blessing:

> Since I had originally been kept secluded, in this there existed benefits as well as drawbacks for me, such that when I became involved in society I was conscious and aware. My father in his talks and education had taught me how to distinguish between good and evil. My early education at his hand had left an indelible mark upon me such that I would not easily fall under the sway of various influences.[15]

Mawdudi continued to live in Aurangabad until 1915 when he and his family moved to Hyderabad. It was during this time that his father became ill and it was not long before Ahmad Hasan went to Bhopal, leaving Mawdudi to be looked after by his mother. Mawdudi was enrolled in the local *darul-'ulum*: these are seminaries or, more literally, 'houses of knowledge', which tend to offer more advanced studies than madrasas, but in most cases would have provided a more traditional Islamic curriculum than that provided by the more 'westernized' Madrasa Fauqaniyah in Aurangabad.[16] However, this seminary proved to be something of an exception as its principal was Mawlana Hamidu'ddin Farahi (d. 1930) who was a graduate of Ahmad Khan's groundbreaking and modernist Aligarh University (as it was later to be called). An influential figure for Farahi was his teacher Shibli Numani (1857–1914). Numani was originally a traditionalist but was in turn influenced by Ahmad Khan into a greater appreciation of western thought. A theme throughout much of Mawdudi's writings is this tension between western thought and Islamic thought, and he had many past examples of Muslim thinkers to follow who likewise felt this tension and attempted in

their own ways to find some kind of common territory. Numani is an interesting figure partly because of his strong friendship with the British philosopher Sir Thomas Walker Arnold (1864–1930, not to be confused with Thomas Arnold, headmaster of Rugby School). Numani and Arnold travelled to a number of countries in the Middle East in 1862 and as a result of their travels and discussions learned a lot from each other, both in terms of Islamic culture for Arnold, and western culture for Numani. From 1921–30, Arnold was Professor of Arabic and Islamic Studies at SOAS, the School of Oriental and African Studies (in London), where he taught one of the most significant Islamic thinkers of the twentieth century: Muhammad Iqbal. Iqbal is hugely important for modern Islamic thought and was a massive influence on Mawdudi.[17]

If it were not for his father's travels and concern for modernism, Mawdudi himself may well have been a graduate of Aligarh University and have been involved first-hand with these modernist Islamic thinkers. As it turned out, Mawdudi got little opportunity to even be exposed to Farahi's modernist tendencies before he had to leave the school. His father, while in Bhopal, had suffered a stroke and Mawdudi had to go with the family to tend to him. While in Bhopal, however, Mawdudi met the journalist and critic Mawlana Niaz Fatehpuri who encouraged Mawdudi to take up writing as a career.

The journalist and political activist

In 1918, at the age of only 15, Mawdudi decided he had to make a living in order to support his family. Fortunately, his older brother, Abu'l-Khayr, was editor of a journal called *Madinah* in the city of Bijnor in Uttar Pradesh. His brother took him on as a journalist, but the journal then folded only two months later. Both brothers decided to move to the more cosmopolitan, lively and politically vibrant Delhi to pave a career for themselves. The northern Indian city of Delhi was the capital of British India at the time, having been Calcutta (on the eastern coast) before 1911. In that respect it was a quite a new political and administrative capital, although remains of seven major cities have been found in Delhi and it is said to have been the capital of the Pandava brothers in the Indian epic the *Mahabharata*, which dates back over two thousand years. The Mughal Emperor Akbar moved his capital to Delhi and 'Old Delhi' is largely the product of Shah Jahan. New Delhi was built to the south of the old city and much of it was planned by the innovative and imaginative British architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944) over a period of some 20 years. At the time the Mawdudi brothers arrived, New Delhi was still in the process of being built, and was not to be completed until 1929. The sight of this massive ongoing project, a symbol of British dominance in India, must have had an impact upon the young Mawdudi. He soaked up the culture and politics of this thriving city, reading the poetry of Muhammad Iqbal and other modernists, including Ahmad Khan. Having previously been wary

of western thought, no doubt through the sceptical influence of his father, he now read voraciously the works of the ancient Greek philosophers, of Kant and Hegel, Nietzsche and Darwin, Marx and Lenin. His approach, however, was not to embrace this thought wholeheartedly, but rather to understand it while remaining sceptical. He studied English, so that he had access to more books and developed an interest in the western sciences and how this could be applied to Islam. In this respect, Mawdudi was in line with Ahmad Khan in arguing that Islam is a religion of reason and, therefore, 'western' rational thought is as much Islamic as it is western: the two are not antithetical. On the one hand, Ahmad Khan strived to show his fellow Muslims that Islam allowed for scientific advances while, on the other hand, he also set out to show the west, and Britain in particular, that Islam was a rational religion capable of relating to the modern world and deserving of admiration and respect. His concern was with cooperation not conflict and he took pains to explain the theological intricacies on such issues as polygamy, slavery and the role of women; issues that were not only controversial but frequently mis-understood by foreign observers. Mawdudi was quite sympathetic with this aim, although he also goes out of his way to condemn modernists such as Ahmad Khan. Rather, Mawdudi perhaps sided more with thinkers such as al-Afghani who criticized Ahmad Khan for being too pro-western and mate-rialist.[18] Early on Mawdudi became involved in two political movements: the Swaraj (home rule) and the Khilafat (preservation of the Caliphate). It was certainly an interesting time in India as it underwent great political turmoil. The First World War was now over, and India, for its part, had provided over one million soldiers and labourers posted in Europe, Africa and the Middle East. In addition, the Indian government and nobles had provided finance and resources, as well as losing some 43,000 lives. Once the war was over, it should not come as a surprise that many Indians wanted greater indepen-dence as recompense for their loyalty. The intransigence of the British authorities, coupled with soaring inflation and heavy taxation, resulted in terrorist attacks, especially in Bengal and Punjab. In 1919 alone there were three major events: first, there was the Montagu–Chelmsford Reforms put forward by Edwin Montagu (1879–1924), Secretary of State for India, and Lord Chelmsford (1868–1933), Viceroy of India, which made changes to the Indian Constitution (the Government of India Act 1919), giving Indians greater control in local and some provincial matters such as health, education and agriculture. Despite these reforms, however, many Indian nationalists argued it did not go far enough as British administrators still controlled finance and law and order. The British repressed opposition and this resulted, second, in the Rowlatt Act in March which effectively meant the British could imprison any Indian suspected of terrorism, as well as restricted freedom of the press. Third, 1919 saw the start of Mahatma Gandhi's (1869–1948) non-violent campaigns by initiating a nationwide protest against the Act, although this did result in deaths, notably the massacre at Julianwala Bagh in Amritsar, which caused Gandhi to suspend the campaign and go on a

three-day penitential fast. Also known as the Amritsar Massacre, on 13 April, British soldiers under the command of Brigadier-General Reginald Dyer opened fire on an unarmed group of men, women and children. They kept firing for some 10 minutes, resulting in official fatalities of 379, although unofficial sources put the number at over 1,000 deaths. The nationalist movement grew in strength within the Indian National Congress, although that body had not been initially set up to oppose British rule, but to rather promote a greater share in government for Indians. In 1915 Mahatma Gandhi, of whom Mawdudi wrote a biography in 1919, became president of the Congress and formed an alliance with the Khilafat Movement. The Congress was predominantly Hindu, however, and one of its original leaders, Mohammed Ali Jinnah (1876–1948), joined the Muslim League in 1913 when it changed its platform from one of loyalty to the British Raj to a call for independence. The Muslim League was to become the sole representative body for Indian Muslims, with Jinnah as its president from 1916.

The Khilafat Movement was a political campaign that began in 1919 which, though existing throughout the Muslim world, was most prominent in India. The Arabic *khilāfa* is most commonly translated into English as 'Caliph', although there are variations on this, and has existed in one form or another since the death of the Prophet Muhammad in 632 until the abolition of the Caliphate in 1924 by the President of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The Caliph is effectively the head of the Muslim community, the *umma*, although dispute over how much authority a Caliph should have, or even if Islam requires a Caliph, has resulted in numerous disputes and splits, the most well-known being that of the Sunni-Shia. The period AD 632–61 is known as the Rashidun (Rightly Guided) Caliphs and suggests that since that golden age, successor Caliphs have not always come up to the standard of the Rashidun paradigm. Following on from the Rashidun, the Caliphate fell into the hands of, first, the Umayyad dynasty in the seventh and eight centuries, followed by the Abbasid in the eighth until the thirteenth century.[19] There followed something of a 'shadow' Caliphate of largely cere-monial figures until the sixteenth-century Ottoman Caliphate based in Istanbul. The Ottoman sultans frequently assumed the title of Caliph as well, or in some cases appointed a separate Caliph, and so claimed to represent a con-tinuation in the line of Caliphs that have ruled over the *umma* since the very first Caliph Abu Bakr. For many Muslims, the symbol of the Caliph repre-sented Muslim unity and so was particularly significant in India at a time when that unity was being threatened. The Caliph acted as a focal point and a rallying cry for disaffected Muslims. At its height, the Ottoman Empire – under Suleiman 'the Magnificent' (c.1494–1596) – had a border of some eighty thousand miles and was feared throughout the world. Among the Turks, Suleiman was known as 'al-Kanuni', the 'Lawgiver', for he oversaw the most detailed codification of Qur'anic, and Sultanic, law that any Islamic state had ever experienced. However, by the end of the First World War, the Ottomans had lost virtually their entire Empire, Istanbul was occupied by

the Allies, and the empire effectively ceased to exist after the Treaty of Versailles in 1919. This was a massive psychological blow for Muslims across the world and questions were raised as to what was to happen with the Caliphate now that the final Muslim empire had been partitioned. The Caliphate was under serious threat, hence the Khilafat Movement.

2 A 'hidden power within me' (1920–30)

The political movements that Mawdudi involved himself in should not just be seen as a reaction against British rule, but also an attempt at self-preservation for a Muslim minority that had enjoyed years of elitist self-cultivation. As Hindu political activity and involvement increased, the need was felt that Muslim political action was also required to maintain any kind of legitimacy. The British Raj identified the Muslims as a separate religious community and, by the Indian Councils Act of 1909, the existence of two separate communal electorates (Hindu and Muslim) was given legal and political status. While this was all part of the British liberal tradition and was well intentioned, it also underlined the differences in language and religion between Muslims and Hindus and gave them the right to petition for grievances, elect their own representatives, and so on. The creation of a Muslim community in India was somewhat artificial because Muslims were by no means united in any kind of communal way at that time, divided as they were by tribal, family, region, class and other factional sections. The fact was, Muslims were incapable of sharing a common identity, and so it was up to the Muslim radicals to invent effectively a new political body: the Muslims of India. This was a movement towards mass politics that at first was somewhat piecemeal and symbolic. One example of this is the Kanpur mosque episode in 1913 when the British wanted to move the washing facilities of the mosque so as to make way for the building of a road. This resulted in local committees being set up to defend the mosque and even in small-scale riots. The significance of the event is that it presented a religious symbol as articulating Muslim identity, whereas previously such an event would hardly have raised an eyebrow. Other riots in Calcutta in 1918, and in Bombay in 1929 (and, in fact, again in Kanpur in 1931) were significant, certainly, but factionalized. It was not until the Khilafat movement that India witnessed its first mass Muslim political action.

Mawdudi's involvement in the Khilafat movement was due to his association with the journalist and poet Mawlana Muhammad Ali Jouhar (1878–1931). Muhammad Ali was a student of Ahmad Khan's Anglo-Oriental College and went on to study history at Oxford University. He wrote for a number of major English and Indian newspapers and set up his own paper, the Urdu weekly

Hamdard, in 1911. Aside from his involvement in helping the development of Ahmad Khan's college, he also set up his own university in Delhi, the Jamia Millia Islamia in Aligarh in 1920 with himself as the first Vice Chancellor. For a short while he was also President of the All India Muslim League (1918). In 1919 Ali travelled to England as part of a delegation to persuade the British government to influence Mustafa Kemal into not deposing the Sultan (and, hence, Caliph) of Turkey. Britain rejected this call and consequently a Khilafat Conference was held calling for the restoration of the Ottoman Empire, as well as the setting up of the Jami'at al-'Ulama'-i Hind to fight for Muslim interests and the preservation of the Caliphate.[1] How this Congress was meant to preserve the Caliphate was somewhat unclear, however, and the movement seemed to concentrate more on overthrowing British rule in India. When the Sultanate was abolished this seemed to remove the actual rationale of the movement and it soon collapsed. However, one consequence of the movement was that it did bring together many of the Muslim Indian intellectuals in a common cause, as well as a realization of the importance of the media as a sounding board for discontent. To this end, Ali had invited Mawdudi to work with him on *Hamdard* in 1924, but Mawdudi chose instead to become editor of another paper, the Urdu daily *Al-Jamji'at*.

Previous to this friendship with Muhammad Ali and subsequent editorship of *Al-Jamji'at*, however, Mawdudi had a series of journalist jobs. In 1919, together with his brother, he edited a pro-Congress weekly newspaper called *Taj* in Jubalpur in the Central Provinces, but this closed down soon after they took over. His brother, Abu'l-Khayr, decided to give up on journalism and in time became an Islamic scholar at Uthmaniya University. Mawdudi persisted, however, and with the relaunch of *Taj* he became once more its editor. An important city at the time, Jubalpur was also a centre for Khilafat activism, and Mawdudi became involved in such activity himself, delivering a number of public speeches and writing articles in *Taj* which criticized the British government. This criticism led again to the closure of the newspaper in the same year Mawdudi had become its editor. At this time, 'I sensed that there existed some hidden power within me which would rise and assist me in time of need. Thence forth I never shunned or hesitated to accept responsibility.'[2] Mawdudi was now becoming a recognized figure, and with a growing reputation he felt a new-found confidence in his abilities, as well as a mission. Back in Delhi, he became more politically active, joining various groups such as the short-lived Tahrik-i Hijrat (Migration Movement) which campaigned for Muslims to migrate en masse to Afghanistan. Also at this time, Mawdudi worked on his English which not only allowed him to communicate better with the British rulers, but also exposed him to a much greater variety of western thought. Mawdudi's childhood education meant that he was throughout his life an avid reader. In 1921, he became editor of the newspaper *Muslim*, which lasted until 1923 when this paper too stopped publication. *Muslim* was run by the Jami'at al-'Ulama'-i Hind mentioned earlier. Aside from his writing and editing duties, this allowed Mawdudi to

meet at first-hand some of the great Muslim intellectuals of the time and, having not gone to university himself, Mawdudi felt he needed to improve his formal education. He came under the tutelage of the Islamic scholar Mawlana 'Abdu'ssalam Niyazi (d.1966) to take a course known as dars-i nizami. On successful completion of the entire course, Mawdudi would gain an *ijaza*, which meant that he would become a competent Imam and scholar (*alim*) of Islamic sciences. Achieving such a status would put Mawdudi into the cultural elite as a true guardian of Islam for many Muslims, although the title of *alim* can also bring with it certain disadvantages, as the ulama were considered by a number of the Muslim intellectuals – for which Mawdudi would quite rightly count himself – as representing traditional, static Islam which is opposed to reform. With the perceived threat of British dominance in India, many of the ulama either adopted a passive attitude to this western encroachment or became more conservative in their stance in an attempt to protect the Islamic tradition. However, Mawdudi's intent in taking the *dars* was no doubt his belief that if one wishes to reform Islam it is important to understand it fully. The course itself originated in the Middle East in the twelfth century and was brought over to India in the seventeenth century where it now dominates in the madrasas. Topics studied include Arabic, jurisprudence, Qur'anic exegesis, logic, philosophy, theology and literature as well as emphasizing the students' moral and religious commitment and their development within the community. However, because *Muslim* ceased publication in 1923, Mawdudi left without completing his *dars* with Niyazi and spent the next year and a half completing his studies in Bhopal.

The move to Bhopal is significant in one particular respect: this was a city where the *Ahl-i Hadith* were particularly strong and Mawdudi would undoubtedly have been affected by their ideas. The *Ahl-i Hadith* tended to be associated with the salafis and, therefore, look to restore Islam to what is considered to be its original teachings and practices as existed during Muhammad and the Rashidun. The name '*salafiyya*' derives from the phrase *salaf as-salihin* ('the pious ancestors') and seeks to reform Islam by referring to the lives and teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions as the primary source for guidance. Mawdudi's writings are very much representative of this view. They see much of Islamic practice as a deviation from the purity of Islam. They also believed that the survival of Islam required the abandonment of *taqlid*; the blind imitation of the medieval interpreters of the Qur'an. An important scholar here is the Egyptian Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905) whose approach to salafi was to call for the dissolution of the four legal schools altogether and instead to use the 'pious ancestors' (that is, the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions primarily) as the 'beacon' for guidance, but in line with man's rational capacity. He stressed that while those laws that governed worship such as prayer, fasting, and pilgrimage were unchangeable, the huge majority of legislation, such as regulation on family law and the penal codes were open to change according to the social and

cultural traditions of the time. In theory, then, a salafi approach to Islam should allow for independent reasoning, although there is always the danger that – in the same way some Muslim scholars have been reluctant to contradict the rulings of traditional legal scholars – the 'fundamentalist' or conservative element could be unwilling to adopt anything other than a literal approach to the 'pious ancestors' and the Qur'an.[3]

In 1925, Mawdudi returned to Delhi to become editor of the new paper *Al-Jam'iat* (a paper associated with Jami'at al-'Ulama'-i Hind), having decided against working on *Hamdard*. His articles for *Al-Jam'iat* included 'The State of Christians in Turkey' (1922), and 'Tyrannies of the Greeks in Smyrna' (1922); both defending Turkey. He also translated from Arabic to Urdu *Al-Mas'alah al-Sharqiyah* (*The Eastern Question*) by the Egyptian journalist and politician Mutafa Kamil Pasha (1874–1908). Mustafa Kamil ('Pasha' is an honorary title, rather like Sayyid) was something of a idol to many Indian Muslim intellectuals, and there are many parallels between the crisis of Muslim identity in Egypt and that of India, with intellectuals in both countries setting up newspapers, political groups and schools at the same time in an attempt to address this threat. Just as India often looked to Egypt, so Egypt often looked to India. Kamil is one example of someone who had founded a newspaper, *Al-Liwa* ('The Banner') as a platform for his political views and also founded a boys' school, as he was only too aware of the importance of education. He argued for state independence and, although considered by some to be quite secular and nationalist, he also had a pan-Islamic element to his views. Mawdudi also wrote a series of articles under the title *Islam ka sarchashmih-i qudrat* ('The Sources of Islam's Power') which were obviously influenced by Mustafa Kamil in that they looked to the past in order to find solutions to the present day. Like Kamil, the importance of the Islamic past was key here, but did not, unlike some within the salafi movement, argue that this necessarily meant a *return* to the past. This is perhaps why Kamil was accused of being secular in outlook, but in Mawdudi's case he was much more suspicious of nationalism as a solution, believing that its nature was too secularist to protect Islam, especially in a country like India where Muslims were such a small minority. Interestingly, only a year after writing a biography of Kamil, he started to then be critical of him: Mawdudi's flirtation with secular nationalism was both subtle and extremely brief.

He also resumed once more his study of the *dars*, although this time under the tutelage of the Deobandi ulama at the Fatihpuri mosque's seminary in Delhi. The formation of the Deobandi is perhaps the most important expression of Islamic reformism in nineteenth-century India. The first seminary was founded in 1867 in Deoband in Uttar Pradesh by Mawlana Muhammad Qasim Nanautawi and was called the Darul Uloom Deoband. Following the *dars* curriculum, its aim was to train the Muslim youth in Islamic knowledge using modern methods of teaching and, like the Aligarh experiment, was influenced by British educational methods in that the

Deobandi schools set up were entirely independent, not being part of a household of religious scholars or associated with a local mosque. It also avoided the patronage of local nobles, instead seeking financial contribution from the general Muslim public. Teaching was standardized in all of its schools and so it could truly claim to have a 'national' curriculum with examinations and affiliated institutions, as well as employing staff on a permanent, professional basis. Within 30 years of its foundation, there were over 40 branch schools which unashamedly practiced *dawa* (proselytizing). However, while 'modern' in many respects, the Deobandis follow the *fiqh* (jurisprudence) of the law school of Abu Hanifa (AD 699–767). The law school he founded, the Hanafi, today has the largest following among the Muslim community. The Hanafi law school, like that of the Maliki, generally encouraged judges to exercise personal reflection and independent reasoning when reaching decisions; a principle known in Islamic law as *ijtihad*. The proviso was that the judges should be sufficiently qualified to engage in such independent reasoning of course, otherwise it would be wiser to imitate (a term known as *taqlid*) previous decisions by those more qualified. What became of increasing concern was the greater emphasis on *taqlid*, even by well-qualified legal scholars, which resulted in the eventual stagnation of Islamic law: hence Abu Hanifa's title of 'rationalist' in his willingness to engage in reason to determine legal decisions in the spirit of the Qur'an. This independent reasoning, however, is not a matter of opinion but is to be understand within not only the context of the Qur'an as a whole, but also from the sources of the Prophet's own words and deeds, referred to as the sunna, for Muhammad was effectively Islam's greatest interpreter of the Qur'an as well as its reciter. Aside from the sources, the Hanafi school developed a methodology in which the underlying principles and divine injunctions can be derived, as well as determining the relative importance of these. This consisted, among other things, of *qiyas* (analogical reasoning) and *istihsan* (juristic preference). The Hanafi school of today remains the most liberal of the four established sunni law schools and is dominant in Central and Western Asia (Afghanistan to Turkey), Lower Egypt (Cairo and the Delta) and the Indian subcontinent. The Deobandis are also affiliated to the Chisti Order – the order that Mawdudi already belonged to – although its form of Sufism would not have been considered in any way 'deviant', but rather very much adhering to traditional hadith scholarship. In 1926, Mawdudi achieved his *ijazahs* and from then on was a Deobandi *alim*, but he preferred not to enter the ranks of the ulama or use his title in any kind of 'clergy-like' manner, quite possibly for the reasons stated above: a suspicion among Muslim intellectuals that the ulama were retrogressive in their views. As he himself said:

> I do not have the prerogative to belong to the class of Ulema. I am a man of the middle cadre, who has imbibed something from both the systems of education, the new and the old; and has gathered my knowledge by

traversing both paths. By virtue of my inner light, I conclude that neither the old school nor the new is totally in the right.[4]

While Mawdudi preferred not to become an *alim* he was certainly influenced by Deobandi ideas in his writings, especially regarding the concern for the decline in Islamic culture as a result of westernization. As we shall see, Mawdudi imitated the Deobandis in emulating 'the practice of an authentic text or an idealized historical period'[5] to argue for his political and ethical views. Also like the Deobandis, Mawdudi was critical of what he saw as 'un-Islamic' practices and groups, for example such Sufi practices as saint 'worship' and music and dancing, or the very existence of the group known as the Ahmadis (see below).

The Shuddi campaign

With the collapse of the Khilafat movement, Muslims in India became more politically and socially active, as well as developing increasingly violent means to achieve their ends. Hindus, in turn, organized their own groups. This was the start of the Shuddi movement, initiated by the Hindu revivalist party, Arya Samaj. This movement helps to explain to some extent why Mawdudi felt that something had to be done among the Muslims themselves and it is coupled with the Congress party becoming more and more Hindu in its identity. Mawdudi perceived these two events as evidence of Muslims being sidelined in India and, worse than that, being discriminated against.

If we consider the Shuddhi movement first, the word 'shuddhi' is Sanskrit for 'purification'. The Arya Samaj ('Noble Society') was founded by Dayananda Saraswati in 1875. Dayananda was a *sannyasi* ('renouncer') who, previous to the setting up of Arya Samaj, had established a number of 'Vedic schools' in parts of India to inculcate Vedic values. Not unlike Mawdudi, then, Dayananda saw the importance of education as a form of social and religious reform. Students at the schools were provided with food, accommodation, clothing and books free of charge and were also taught Sanskrit, considered by many to be the exclusive right of Brahmins. Importantly, only those texts which accepted the authority of the Vedas were to be taught. In fact, Dayananda rejected all non-Vedic beliefs, condemning idolatry, ancestor worship, pilgrimages, child marriages, animal sacrifices and the caste system, all of which he claimed had no Vedic basis. As it turned out, these schools were not very successful[6] which led Dayananda to found the Arya Samaj to drum up popular support. He also wrote *Satyarth Prakash*[7] ('Light of Truth') to promote his teachings. It is divided into 14 chapters on such topics as bringing up children, and social values such as marriage, diet, etc. There is a chapter on the concept of God, in which Dayananda states quite clearly that there is only one God and that the Vedas were revealed by God in Sanskrit (being a holy and universal language, the

'mother of all languages' rather than country specific). The final four chapters deal, respectively, with other Indian religions: Buddhism and Jainism, Christianity, and, finally, Islam (or the 'Muhammadens' as it is referred to). These chapters generally consist of refutations of the claims of other religions, with the chapter on Islam questioning the validity of the Qur'an as the word of God.

While condemning the teaching of Islam and Christianity, Dayananda was influenced by the evangelical spirit of these two religions in his intention to put Hinduism on a par with them in terms of the supernatural authority of the Vedas. This view certainly went against much received scholarship on the matter, but it also fell into the hands of Hindu nationalists who wanted to build a Hindu nation based on universal principles. If it could be shown that the Vedas had such universal principles, then there was no need to look to Islam or Christianity. Hinduism had its own infallible authority.

Although the Sanskrit word 'shuddhi' means 'purification', it was used by the Arya Samaj to mean 'reconversion', particularly of those Hindus who had converted to Islam. Aside from the economic advantages, many Hindus would have converted to Islam to escape the caste system. As Arya Samaj also condemned the caste system, and Hindus were now able and encouraged to get employment in positions of power, there were good reasons for Muslim converts to reconvert to Dayananda's understanding of Hinduism, especially as it was seen as a 'universal church' to which anyone was welcome to join. Dayananda himself was a charismatic figure who was able to hold his own in public debates, and so, coupled with an increase in anti-Islamic feelings, the Arya Samaj grew quickly.

Gandhi and the Swaraj effort

Swaraj, or 'self-rule', usually refers to Gandhi's effort to establish an independent, stateless society. In this sense, it was not intended to be 'nationalist' in character at all, as Gandhi was actually influenced by anarchist literature, so that self-government actually meant being independent of government control in which everyone is their own master. This was certainly an idealistic and utopian goal and, as such, was probably destined to fail. Jinnah was right to be critical in arguing that independence could only be achieved constitutionally rather than through the transformation of individuals. When, in 1920, the Indian National Congress adopted Swaraj as its cause, it was perceived as a political tool to gain independence from British rule, rather than as a utopian vision for Indian society of a stateless, direct democracy. From 1921, Gandhi led the Congress and he introduced a new constitution in the hope of making Swaraj a reality by making it less elite in terms of its membership, but his imprisonment in 1922 resulted in it splitting, with a lack of cooperation between Hindus and Muslims. Although Gandhi himself seems to have said nothing against Islam,[8] the same could not be said for some

other members of the Party, and increasingly the Indian National Congress became identified as pro-Hindu and anti-Islam.

Consequently, Mawdudi lost faith in the Congress Party and in the pro-Congress Jami'at al-'Ulama'-i Hind. In fact, Mawdudi began to lose faith in democracy altogether as the realization dawned that democracy in India would not help the Muslims in India unless they were the majority of the population. The Muslim scholar and politician Abul Kalam Azad, mentioned earlier, always argued that India should not be partitioned between Muslims and Hindus. He was a great supporter of Gandhi's ideas, including the Swaraj movement, and was president of the Indian National Congress from 1940–45 during which he became the most prominent Muslim opponent to a separate Muslim nation. Azad presents us with an interesting contrast to Mawdudi for, although like Mawdudi, Azad was steeped in knowledge of the Islamic religious sciences (jurisprudence, Qur'anic exegesis, philosophy, and so on) and was even destined to become a member of the ulama, and by all accounts was as precocious as Mawdudi was when he was younger, it did not logically follow for him that Muslims need a separate state in order to maintain their identity. In fact, he identified Muslim identity with religious dogma which resulted in his adoption of self-described 'atheism' for some 10 years.[9] Instead, Azad stressed the importance of a united India, one of religious harmony rather than division, and he saw religious dogma as detrimental to the unity of the state. His newspaper, *Al-Hilal*, to which Mawdudi's father would read to him when he was a child, encouraged Muslims to fight in the defence of India, not of Muslims specifically, although he did also support the Khalifat movement. Azad called for India to be a secular nation and, as he grew to be friends with the statesman and future Indian Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru (1889–1964), looked to socialism as a guiding political principle. Mawdudi, however, saw a necessity for Islamic revivalism coupled with a political strategy to defend the interests of Muslims in what he believed was an increasingly hostile India. With the collapse of the Khalifat movement, Muslims could not look to any external authority for identity or support, and so they had to look within themselves. Here, Mawdudi disagreed with Azad that Muslims should see themselves as Indian first and Muslim second. After being a journalist for 10 years, Mawdudi left Al-Jami'at in 1928 and devoted himself to this new vision for Muslims.

The Ahmadis

With the increase in the Shuddhi movement and in Hindu nationalism, an additional concern arose for Mawdudi within the ranks of Muslims themselves: the Ahmadis. The Ahmadiyya Jama'at, to give them their full title, are just one of the many groups that make up sunni Islam, although followers of the Ahmadi argue that they are not a new religion, or an innovation, but rather a fresh presentation of Islam in its original form.

The Ahmadiyya movement itself began life in India as a reaction to the missionary activity of the Arya Samaj. It was founded by Mirza Ghulam Ahmad (1835–1908) at the end of the nineteenth century. Ahmad proclaimed himself to be a *mujaddid*: a 'reformer of the age', as well as being the promised messiah that was foretold by the Prophet Muhammad. The Ahmadiyya sees itself as the true Islam, an attempt to revive Islam as it once was. Their beliefs are interesting and, perhaps not surprisingly, they are considered to be non-Muslims by the majority of orthodox Muslims. In 1924, some Ahmadi missionaries in Afghanistan were brought to trial on charges of apostasy. They were found guilty and executed. Mawdudi himself condemned them as heretics in 1973, and they have been the victims of persecution throughout most of their short history. The majority of Muslims do not refer to the Ahmadis by this name, but use the derogative Qadianis (Qadian, in north-west India, is the birthplace of Ahmad) and Mirzai (referring to Mirza Ahmad). By using these terms, the point is being made that Ahmadiyya is a new religion founded by a particular person at a particular time, unlike Islam which is universal: Muhammad is a Prophet, not a founder, and therefore it is considered derogative to refer to Islam as 'Muhammadism'.

It is a small group, with numbers probably only around 30,000 to 50,000, although promotional literature will talk of a membership of 180 million! Qadian is the birthplace of Ahmad, and it is also where he was buried. Until the partition of India in 1947 it was also the headquarters of the *Ahmadi* before moving to Rabwah in the newly formed Pakistan. Ahmad was born in the mid-1830s, probably 1835. Like Mawdudi, Ahmad was raised in a noble Moghul family and therefore received a good classical education in the Islamic sciences. He worked for a while as a court clerk, but hated this, preferring to devote himself to reading the Qur'an and other holy texts. Following the death of his father in 1876, and roughly at the same age when the Prophet Muhammad started receiving his revelations, Ahmad claimed he started to receive visions and divine revelations. In these visions, Ahmad claimed to have met 'some of the prophets of the past and saints of high ranks who have passed in this *Ummah*'.[10] In one of his visions he was told to fast, and so he did this for six months, taking only one meal after sunset: 'As a result of fasting the wonders that were disclosed to me, were various forms and types of visions.'[11] He claims to have seen the Prophet Muhammad, as well as the Prophet's grandsons, Hasan and Husain, and his cousin (and fourth Caliph or first Imam for the Shia) Ali. Ahmad went on to publish his *Barahin-i-Ahmadiyyah* ('the Ahmadiyya proofs') over the period 1880–4. The publication of this work caused controversy in the Muslim community. According to tradition, based upon a well-known hadith, each one hundred years a 'renewer', a *mujaddid*, will come who will restore Islam to its right path, having, one assumes, veered away. Such generally recognized 'renewers' include al-Ghazali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Shah Wali Allah. These were, for the most part, scholarly and unique individuals. One requirement of being a *mujaddid*, however, is that it is up to the public to

recognize him, rather than for the *mujaddid* to declare it himself. Ahmad, however, claimed himself that he was the next *mujaddid*: 'then, when the thirteenth century came to a close and the fourteenth century was about to dawn, God the most high, informed me by revelation: you are the Mujaddid of this century'.[12] Ahmad's claims became more exaggerated, that he was now the Indian Messiah, and that 'he had come in the power and spirit of Jesus, and that his personality and character bore close resemblance to Jesus'.[13] He claimed to have received *ilham* (personal divine inspiration) and *wahy* (messages from God), he was the *Mahdi*[14] for Muslims as well as the Messiah for Christians and a manifestation of Krishna for Hindus. The ulama, of course, rejected his claims and issued a fatwa against him, denouncing him as a kafir. Ahmad, nonetheless, formed his Ahmadiyya Jama'at on 23 March 1889 at Ludhiana, with 41 followers who took *bai'at* (a pledge of allegiance). The first official gathering of the Ahmadis occurred at Qadian in 1891 and there followed an annual conference. At the second conference there were 500 Ahmadis and the decision was made to engage in missionary activity with the movement's first missionary, Sayyed Muhammad Ahsan, and to establish a printing press and school. In April 1908 Ahmad fell ill with an attack of diarrhoea while visiting Lahore and he died a month later.

After his death, the Ahmadis were led by the Khalifat al-masih-I anwal ('the first successor to the Messiah'), who was then followed by a succession of Khalifats to this day in one group. However, a split occurred among those who were against the idea of total obedience to one Khalifa, leading to the formation of a much smaller group,[15] the Lahore Ahmadiyya Association for the Propagation of Islam, or the Lahori Ahmadi, with its headquarters in Lahore. This latter group is led by a collective body of senior members, called the Anjuman, with an appointed Amir, or President who is elected for life but who has less authority than the Khalifa equivalent. They also do not accept the view that Ahmad was appointed as a prophet. They consider Ahmad to be a *muhaddath*, that is someone who has the qualities of a prophet while not actually being appointed as a prophet. It is rather like saying someone has 'kingly properties' without actually being appointed king. The properties Ahmad possessed are not, in fact, dissimilar to a *wali* (saint) in Sufism, although they say that Ahmad never made a claim to be an actual prophet and that, therefore, Muhammad remains the last prophet. The Lahori Ahmadi are also more 'orthodox' in accepting that those who are not Ahmadis are still nonetheless Muslim provided they have recited the *kalmia shahada* (profession of faith), whereas the second khalifa stated that the Ahmadis should regard all non-Ahmadis as non-Muslim. For these reasons, the Lahori Ahmadi are at pains to distance themselves from the Qadian group.

What is significant about the events of 1924 are that the British were critical of the executions of the Ahmadis, which Mawdudi perceived as, on the one hand, a condemnation of orthodox Islam and, on the other, support

for a form of Islam that Mawdudi, like so many orthodox Muslims, would not have wanted to be perceived as in any way Islamic. The concern was that the British may be more accepting of the *seemingly*[16] more peaceful and all-embracing form of Islam presented by the Ahmadiyya. Other Muslims too may find this more attractive as a reaction to Muslim aggression towards Hindus, for example in the killing of a number of prominent figures in the Arya Samaj, such as Swami Shradhanand in 1926, by Muslims. Swami Shradhanand, or Lala Munshi Ram as he was also known, has been quoted as saying, 'Many of the Muslim religious leaders have said in their speeches that the snake and the mongoose can be friends, but there can be no unity between Hindu *kaffirs* and Muslims.'[17] While the Ahmadis were also against the Arya Samaj, they were equally against violent jihad, regarding this as anti-Islamic. More than ever, Mawdudi felt the need to articulate Islamic doctrine, in particular the concept of jihad.

One doctrine that both Ahmadi groups agree on is on their view of a peaceful jihad. Mirza Ghulam Ahmad's views on jihad emphasizes the jihadi *akbar* ('greater jihad') as opposed to the jihadi *asghar* ('lesser jihad'): the 'greater' involving a struggle for the individual believer against *nafs* (the self) and the pursuit of *taqwa* ('God consciousness' or inner righteousness) and so has nothing to do with holy war, violence or terrorism. Ahmad set out 'to convince the world that Islam, as its name showed, was the religion of peace, and that it could bring about a revolution in the world without the use of physical force'.[18] Advocating the Qur'anic principle 'there is no compulsion in religion',[19] the Ahmadi 'strongly reject violence and terrorism in any form and for any reason'.[20] Ahmad, in his work *Government-I angrezi awr Jihad* ('The British Government and Jihad') presented *asghar* jihad as primarily a defensive doctrine in that there are only three legitimate types of war in Islam: war 'undertaken in self-defence'; as 'chastisement for aggression'; and 'those undertaken for the establishment of freedom of conscience, that is to say for breaking up the strength of those who inflicted death upon such as accepted Islam'.[21] Therefore, jihad by the sword is not *wholly* rejected here, but Ahmad is reflecting the general view that the promised Messiah would put an end to fighting:

> with the advent of the Promised Messiah[22] it is incumbent on every Muslim to give up Jihad. If I had not come, there could not have been some excuse for this misconception. But with my advent you have become witnesses at the appointed hour. Now you have no excuse for using swords for religious battles before God.[23]

Among many orthodox Muslims is the belief in the Ghazi Mahdi, a divinely guided warrior who will spread Islam by the sword. However, the Ahmadi reject this, arguing that the Ahmadi will actually bring an end to violence. The Ahmadi use Qur'anic support,[24] and the example of the Prophet Muhammad is cited as a model of non-violence, patience, justice and mercy.

It is only because, the Ahmadis argue, the Meccans were aggressive towards the Muslims that they fought in self-defence.

Historically, Ahmadis have not always remained pacifist. *Asghar Jihad*, remember, is acceptable in certain circumstances (see above). Ahmad stated that: 'Islam does not allow the use of the sword for the faith; except in the case of defensive wars, or in the case of wars waged to punish a tyrant or to uphold freedom.'[25] Consequently, the Ahmadi have been involved in some conflicts. For example, the second Ahmadi Khalifa supported the Kashmiri Muslims against the Hindu Maharaja during the 1930s and, in 1948, after the creation of Pakistan, the Ahmadis raised a volunteer fighting force to fight against Indian troops in Kashmir. It formed its own militia to defend itself during the India and Pakistan partition, and the second Khalifa also gave full support to the British during the Second World War, urging Ahmadis to join the army and fight, for which perhaps up to 15,000 joined the Punjab Regiment.

The Ahmadi were subsequently criticized by some Muslims for fashioning their beliefs simply to gain British support. As Ahmad pointed out: 'To every persuasion the [British] government has granted full freedom to preach one's beliefs. Hence an opportunity has been afforded for followers of all faiths to scrutinise and assess the principles on which various faiths are based ... for this reason again and again in my writings and speeches I have been making mention of the favours of the British Government.'[26] Ahmad argued that to fight against British rule, which he equated with just rule, would not be jihad, but a crime.

The Ahmadis have often found themselves persecuted, in Pakistan especially. Mainly due to pressure from the ulama, on 7 September 1974 the National Assembly of Pakistan passed a resolution which declared that all Ahmadis in the country were a non-Muslim religious sect. In 1984, General Zia-ul-Haq went further in imprisoning Ahmadis for practising their faith. Many Ahmadi mosques were burned to the ground and they have been persecuted, harassed or even murdered, resulting in many finding refuge in Europe or America. Some blame must be placed on Mawdudi for inflaming the passions of many Muslims against the Ahmadi in the first place. Two pamphlets in particular, *The Qadiani Problem* and *The Finality of Prophethood*, contain strong attacks on Ahmadi teachings.

In *The Qadiani Problem*, Mawdudi starts by defending the proposals, initially put forward by the ulama in 1953, to declare the Ahmadis a non-Muslim minority. He begins by explaining how the term *Khataman Nabiyyeen* ('Seal of the Prophets') is to be understood. Whether as the 'last' prophet or, as Mawdudi argues is the view of the Ahmadis, that no one can be a prophet after Muhammad unless he bears Muhammad's 'seal', as in 'authority'. Mawdudi goes on to state: 'The Qadianis contend that the prophethood of Mirza Ghulam Ahmad is not the only issue on which they fundamentally differ from Muslims. They also hold that their God, their Islam, their Qur'an, their fasts, in fact everything of theirs is different from that of the Muslims.'[27]

He makes reference to a number of Ahmadi pieces of literature to show that it is the Ahmadis who have cut their ties with other Muslims, not the other way around:

> This cutting of ties is not merely of an academic nature confined to speeches and writings. It has been translated into action, and millions of people in Pakistan are witness to its practical demonstrations to the effect that Qadianis have, as a matter of fact, severed religious and social relations with the Muslims and have organised themselves into a separate and distinct Ummat. The position being what it is, what reason on earth could there be to thrust Qadianis upon Muslims and forcibly tie them with the Muslim community? Why should not the fact of their separation be constitutionally recognised which has been there, in theory as well as in practice, for the last fifty years or so?[28]

Mawdudi goes on to argue that the existence of the Ahmadi is the very reason why Muhammad is the final prophet, for otherwise it is a demonstration of how the *umma* would have disintegrated into parts. But it is in Mawdudi's use of language, of scathing attacks against the Ahmadi, that certainly incite hatred towards the Ahmadiyya. For example, he raises his own question as to why the Ahmadis should not be tolerated in the same way certain other Muslim minority groups are. Mawdudi responds to his own questions so:

> the continuous propagation of the Qadiani creed is a constant menace to the religion of the millions of ignorant Muslims. Moreover it has created many a social problem for the Muslim society. It has separated husbands from wives, fathers from sons, and brothers from brothers. In addition to this, it has developed acute economic rivalries between the Qadianis and the Muslims. The Qadiani community as a separate group is opposing the Muslims in Government offices, in the fields of commerce, industry and agriculture, etc.[29]

Such statements seem, to say the least, unfounded and inflammatory.

In *The Finality of Prophethood*, its message is summed up clearly in the Foreword, which is worth quoted in full here:

> Of all the conspiracies hatched against Islam in modern times, the most dangerous is a false claim to Prophethood made in the beginning of this century. This claim has been the main cause of wide spread mental chaos amongst the Ummah for the last sixty years. Like all other schisms, the root cause of this mischief is that the Muslims are generally ignorant of their religion. Had they been truly imbued with its knowledge and developed a clear understanding of the article of faith relating to the finality of Prophethood, it would have been well-nigh impossible for any false claimant to Prophethood to take root and thrive among the people

of Islam after the last ministry of Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessings of Allah be upon him). At this juncture the most perfect and effective remedy for eradicating this evil is to educate the maximum number of people in the best possible manner about true faith in the finality of the Prophethood of Muhammad (peace be upon him) and stressing the importance and value of this article of faith in the religion of Islam. It is also imperative that all doubts and skeptical notions about the final ministry of Prophet Muhammad (peace be upon him) should be dispelled through reason and logic. This booklet has been prepared to serve this very purpose. Readers who find it useful should take a step further and extend their full co-operation in the propagation of its contents. This booklet ought to reach all literate people and they having studied it themselves should read it out to the non-literate. It is hoped that a study of this booklet will not only immunize people who have not been contaminated with this malady but would also make the truth manifest to the right-minded persons among those who have received some of its germs. However, those who have fallen victim to falsehood and are impervious to all reason – for them, hope and salvation lies only with Allah.[30]

As the title suggests, the primary aim of this pamphlet is to demonstrate that Muhammad was the final prophet, with, again, considering in some detail the exact meaning of the phrase *Khataman Nabiyyeen*:

It is evident that the text can bear one meaning and it is that Khatam-al-Nabiyyin stands for the Finality of Prophethood with a clear implication that the prophethood has been culminated and finalized in Muhammad (PBUH). It is not only the context that supports this interpretation but also the lexicography.

According to Arabic lexicon and the linguistic usage Khatam means to affix seal; to close, to come to an end; and to carry something to its ultimate end. Khatama al-'Amala is equivalent to 'Faragha min al-'Almali' which means 'to get over with the task [sic]'. 'Khatama al-Ina' bears the meaning 'The vessel has been closed and sealed so that nothing can go into it, nor can its contents spill out.' 'Khatam-al-kitab' conveys the meaning 'The letter has been enclosed and sealed so that it is finally secured.' 'Khatama-'Ala-al-Qalb' means 'The heart has been sealed so that it cannot perceive anything new nor can it forswear what it has already imbibed.'

'Khitamu-Kulli-Mashrubin' implies 'the final taste that is left in the mouth when the drink is over.'

Katimatu Kulli Shaiinn 'Aqibatuhu wa Akhiratuhu means 'The end in the case of everything denotes its doom and ultimate finish.' Khatm-ul-Shaii Balagha Akhirahu conveys the sense, 'To end a thing means to carry it to its ultimate limit.'

The term Khatam-i-Qur'an is used in the similar sense and the closing verses of Qur'anic Surahs are referred to as Khawatim. Khatim-ul-Qaum Akhirhuum means 'The last man in the tribe.' (Refer to Lisan-ul-'Arab; Qamus and Aqrab-ul-Muwarid).

For this reason all linguists and commentators agree that Khatam-ul-Nabiyyin means 'The Last in the line of Prophets.' The word Khatam in its dictionary meaning and linguistic usage does not refer to the post office stamp which is affixed on the outgoing mail. Its literal meaning is the 'seal' which is but on the envelope to secure its contents.[31]

Having examined the lexicon of the word 'Khatam' as expressed in the Qur'an, Mawdudi then, in typical fashion, provides support for this understanding by referring to hadith literature, although more will be said about the reliability of such hadith later on in this book. In addition, Mawdudi also argues that there was a consensus of the Companions (those who were Muslims contemporaneous with Muhammad) that he was to be the final Prophet:

All authentic historical traditions reveal that the companions of the prophet (PBUH) had unanimously waged a war on the claimants to the prophethood and their adherents after the demise of the Holy Prophet. (PBUH).[32]

He cites the example of Musailama who claimed co-prophecy with Muhammad, but an army was sent against him by the Companions not because he rebelled, but because he made a claim to religious authority that was not accepted by the majority. Following on from the Companions, Mawdudi utilizes the views of the ulama:

A glance through the history of Islam from the first century up to the modern times reveals to us the fact that the ulema of all periods in every Islamic country of the world are unanimous in their conviction that no new prophet can be raised after Muhammad (PBUH). They all agree in the belief that anyone who lays a claim to Prophethood after Muhammad (PBUH) and anyone who puts faith in such a claim is an apostate and an outcast from the community of Islam.[33]

Mawdudi proceeds to lists over 20 quotes from religious scholars from a variety of periods and places to support his view that there is a consensus among the ulama that Muhammad is the final prophet. Mawdudi then makes three more points to argue against the Ahmadi's claim to a new Prophet. First, he argues that if it were indeed the case that there were to be future prophets, then surely on such an important matter, God would have made this clear in the Qur'an: 'The Apostle of God would never have passed away without having forewarned his people that other Apostles would

succeed him and that his followers must put their faith in the succeeding prophets.'[34]

Second, Mawdudi raises the question as to whether a prophet is needed at this particular time, that is, whether the conditions of prophethood are ripe. He cites four Qur'anic conditions necessary for the arrival of a prophet:

> Firstly there was need for a prophet to be sent unto a certain nation to which no prophet had been sent before and the message brought by the Prophet of another nation could not have reached these people.
>
> Secondly, there was need for appointing a prophet because the message of an earlier Prophet had been forgotten by the people, or the teachings of the former prophets had been adulterated and hence it had become impossible to follow the message brought by that Prophet.
>
> Thirdly, the people had not received complete mandate of Allah through a former prophet. Hence succeeding prophets were sent to fulfill the task of completing the religion of Allah.
>
> Fourthly, there was need for a second prophet to share the responsibility of office with the first prophet.[35]

As none of these conditions need to be fulfilled at the present time, there is therefore no need for another prophet.

Third, and finally, Mawdudi argues that God has completed his mission through the Prophet Muhammad and so there is no room for further prophets.

Mawdudi ends this pamphlet by considering the status and possibility of a Mahdi who, it might be argued, does not come as a new prophet, thus not breaking the tradition that Muhammad is the final prophet, but is the re-emergence of Christ, a 'Christ incarnate', or perhaps 'a man like Christ'. Mawdudi again appeals to hadith in considering the meaning of this '*al-Masih*' (Messiah). He first of all presents 21 traditions from Islamic scholarship that present the view of a 'Christ incarnate'. However, Mawdudi argues that these are all reference to Jesus born to Mary by immaculate conception, not to someone who is born from the sperm of a father (as was the case with Ahmad):

> Yet another point which is made equally clear by the traditions is that Christ son of Mary will not descend in the capacity of a newly appointed Apostle of God. He will not receive any Divine revelations. He will not be the bearer of any new message or repository of a fresh mandate from God, nor will he amend, enlarge or, abridge the Shariah of Muhammad (PBUH), nor indeed will Christ son of Mary be brought into the world to accomplish the renewal of faith. Christ son of Mary (PBUH) will not call upon the people to put their faith in his own prophethood, nor will he found a separate community of followers.[36]

So what we have leading up to Mawdudi's writing on jihad was what he perceived as a threefold threat to Muslim survival in India. First, the Hindu ascendency with the Indian National Congress coupled with the collapse of the Khalifat movement and what Mawdudi perceived as Gandhi's unwillingness to side with Indian Muslims. Second, the rise in popularity of the Arya Samaj and the Shuddhi movement with such anti-Islamic remarks from its leading figures such as Swami Shradhanand and Dayananda. Third, the challenge to orthodoxy from the Ahmadis.

Mawdudi's move away from journalism and recognition as a scholar and writer began with a little book *Risala al Dinyat* ('Towards Understanding Islam'), published in 1928 which became a staple for Muslim schoolchildren. But his first major and original work was *Jihad fil islam* ('Jihad in Islam'), published in 1930 and consisting of a collection of essays that had originally appeared in serial form between February to May 1927 in *Al-Jam'iat*. He received a number of accolades from Muslim scholars for this work, which no doubt encouraged him to pursue this new career. Rev. Dr Jan Slomp, who lived in Pakistan for a number of years and studied Islam, has written a chapter-by-chapter summary of this book which he considers to be 'probably the most comprehensive book on this subject ever written by a Muslim'.[37]

3 Crisis of the spirit (1930–9)

I can divide my forty-nine years into two parts. The first thirty was spent in reading, listening, thinking, observing, and experiencing, and also in finding a goal in life. My thoughts are the products of reasoning of all those years of intellectual activity. Then I set my goal to strive in the path of truth, to propagate its cause, and to bring my vision into reality.[1]

Mawdudi the scholar

Mawdudi's *Jihad in Islam* received numerous accolades, which no doubt prompted Mawdudi to forgo journalism as a career and seek a higher vocation, especially in terms of writing more scholarly works. He left Delhi in 1928 and went to stay in the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, Hyderabad. It is possible that Mawdudi found this environment more suitable for his studies, given its reputation as rich in history, its culture and inspiring architecture, and the strong Muslim presence that it has to this day. He spent two years there working on a history of the Seljuq dynasty.[2] Mawdudi also translated from Arabic to Urdu a history of the Fatimid dynasty[3] written by Ibn Khallikan (1211–82). Khallikan was a Kurdish Muslim scholar whose historical writings are still regarded as containing a high degree of accuracy and thorough scholarship. It is interesting that while Mawdudi comes across in his own writings as ideologically conservative and Sunni, he has always been prepared to study the beliefs of other religious traditions, adhering to his own view that in order to criticize your enemy, you need to understand them. Mawdudi's familiarity with other traditions was not just in the religious sense, and not just with Islamic or 'pseudo-Islamic' (Ahmadi, Ismaili, etc.) beliefs. At the time of his studies in Hyderabad he would spend a great deal of time at the renowned Translation Institute (Darul-Tarjumah) at Uthmaniyah University in Hyderabad. Mawdudi's brother, Abu'l-Khayr, taught there and was also a member of the Translation Institute which at the time was renowned for its translation into Urdu of a number of important works by British philosophers and other scholars. But the Institute did not just translate; it encouraged lively intellectual debate that arose from these translations

of western texts, which Mawdudi was certainly a part of. What becomes apparent is that Mawdudi's educational inheritance was immense and varied. As we have seen, he was well acquainted with not only the Sunni Islamic sciences of sharia, Qur'anic interpretation, *fiqh*, Islamic philosophy, and was himself a trained alim, but he was also a student of Shi'a Islam and Sufi mysticism. In addition, he was familiar with the legal, political and philosophical debates in western thought.

Like his brother, Mawdudi became an affiliate of the Translation Institute and, in 1931, he started work on translating the *Al-Asfar al-arba'ah* ('Four Journeys') of the great Persian philosopher Mulla Sadra (1572–1640). It is a curious fact that, despite a lack of political philosophy in Mulla Sadra's writings, Mawdudi cites him as a major influence, and it is interesting that in more recent times Sadra has been regarded as the 'philosopher of the Revolution' by those involved in the Iranian Revolution of 1979 such as Ayatollah Khomeini and Mortaza Motahhari. However, this should not be so surprising for anybody who has made a closer study of Sadra for his seemingly grand, abstract Heideggerian intellectual exercise was also meant to be translated into communal and individual action on an everyday level.[4] Mulla Sadra, or Muhammad ibn Ibrahim al-Qawami al-Shirazi to give him his birth name, was certainly a remarkable intellectual and is rightly considered to be one of the most influential philosophers in Islamic thought. His works represent a synthesis of one thousand years of Islamic thought which preceded him, and he was expert in Islamic philosophy, theology, mysticism, Qur'anic interpretation and history. Sadra's literary output is considerable with over 50 works attributed to him. He wrote insightful commentaries on the works of the founder of the Illuminationist (ishraqi) school of philosophy Shihab al-Din al-Suhrawardi (1154–91) as well as on possibly the greatest philosopher the Islamic tradition has produced, Ibn Sina, (better known in the west as Avicenna, 980–1037). He also wrote original short treatises on theological and philosophical topics, on Islamic jurisprudence, Qur'anic commentaries and hadith scholarship. His major works are *al-Mashha'ir* ('Apprehensions'), *Kasr Asnam al-Jahiliya* ('Breaking the Idols of Paganism') and *al-Asfar al-arba'ah al-'aqliyyah* ('Transcendental Wisdom', better known as 'The Four Intellectual Journeys').

In his 'Four Journeys', Sadra argues for the compatibility of philosophy with that of religion, and was no doubt a reflection of a concern at the time that philosophy was not 'Islamic'. Sadra's 'synthesis' is that both philosophy and religion represent a single truth that was revealed to the first man, Adam, and was then transmitted to the prophet Abraham and the other prophets, the Greek philosophers, the Prophet Muhammad, the Muslim mystics and finally the philosophers of more recent times. However, by not making a distinction between prophets and philosophers in terms of having access to truth, it can be seen how this might offend the more orthodox Muslims. For Sadra, such philosophers as Empedocles, Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle and Plotinus are all, in his words, 'pillars of wisdom' who have received the

'light of wisdom' from the 'beacon of prophethood', hence his view that they all share the same outlook on such issues as the unity of God (*Tawhid*), the creation of the world and of resurrection.[5] Sadra presents an imaginative philosophical history with a synthesis of Sunni, Sufi and Shia Islam. Although the prophetic stage of history comes to an end with the death of Muhammad as the Seal of the Prophets, what follows is the Imamate stage of the 12 Shia imams which will continue until the 12 imam returns from his temporary occultation (*ghaybah*). Sadra stresses that these imams are not prophets, but are 'executors' in that they execute the truth that has been revealed by the prophets. In fact, these 'executors' have a history that goes back to before the twelve Shia imamas, going right back to Sheth who was executor to Adam. When the Twelfth imam, the Mahdi, comes out of occultation at the end of time, humankind will return to a pure monotheistic state that existed at the time of Abraham.

Mawdudi had gone from being a journalist to a scholar, but he was also a political activist. Mawdudi was not one to sit in some ivory tower, but felt a need, probably inspired by the views of Mulla Sadra among others, to put religion into the realm of politics. We have seen in the previous chapter how Mawdudi's upbringing affected his views on the state of Islam in India; his feeling that the very existence of Islam was threatened and that Jinnah and the Muslim League were nothing more than symptoms of '*jahiliyya*', of ignorance. A jihad was required if Islam were to be revived, and someone was needed to lead this jihad. Hyderabad seemed a natural destination for Mawdudi for his ancestors had done much to build up and preserve Nizamic rule in this state and its decline at this time reflected Mawdudi's concern with the decline of Islam's greatness in India and beyond more generally:

> This city [Hyderabad] has for some 200 years been the seat of Islamic culture and civilisation. Great ulama, men of virtue, generals and courtiers are buried here … What a pity that their legacy is alive in stone and dead in the people … In this old Islamic settlement my eyes have searched and found neither a great man of God nor a skilled traditional craftsman … Every search of mine attests to the death of that nation.[6]

This concern with Hyderabad was given a boost when he had the opportunity to do something concrete about it. Nawab Salar Jung (1889–1949) was the Prime Minister for the seventh Nizam-ul-Mulk ('Administrator of the Realm') of Hyderabad. The Nizams were some of the wealthiest people in the world and considered themselves patrons of the arts. Nawab Jung himself has a museum named after him, the Salarjung Museum, which is the third largest museum in India and houses the biggest one-man (Jung's) collection of antiques in the world. Jung took it upon himself to approach Mawdudi and requested he work on promoting Islam in Hyderabad. Such a request seems reminiscent of Dion's request for Plato to go to Syracuse and create a Platonic state. However, like Plato's efforts, these were over-ambitious and doomed

to failure. Jung paid little attention to Mawdudi's ideas and Mawdudi for his part became disillusioned with Muslim Indian monarchy: a model he saw fit not to try and emulate in his own political views.

Towards Understanding Islam

However, this was all good practice for later on. In 1932 Mawdudi wrote *Towards Understanding Islam* which outlines the basic beliefs and tenets of Islam, and this short work established his name among students at colleges across India. *Towards Understanding Islam*, which Mawdudi wrote in 15 days, outlines the basic beliefs and tenets of Islam, and it was written at the request of Hyderabad's director of education, Manazir Ahsan Gilani. It is divided into seven sections, covering the meaning of Islam, knowledge of God, prophethood, the five articles of faith, prayer and worship, *din*, and sharia. In a preface to the Khurshid Ahma translation in 1960, Mawdudi states the aims of this text:

> My object in writing this book has been to provide all those – Muslims and non-Muslims alike – who have no access to the original sources with a brief treatise giving a lucid, comprehensive and all-embracing view of Islam. I have avoided minute details and endeavoured to portray Islam as a whole in a single perspective. Apart from stating what we Muslims believe in and stand for, I have also tried to explain the rational bases of our beliefs. Similarly, in presenting the Islamic modes of worship and the outlines of the Islamic way of life, I have also tried to unveil the wisdom behind them. I hope this small treatise will go far towards satisfying the intellectual cravings of Muslim youth, and that it will help non-Muslims to understand our real position.[7]

In this respect, *Towards Understanding Islam* was highly successful and, in the context of the time, there was nothing else of its kind although, by today's standards of what is available on Islam, it would not be able to keep its head above water. It is, on the whole, uncritical in its presentation, starting off with the view that the pursuit of knowledge and that of faith are compatible. Having considered the need for prophecy, Mawdudi provides a brief history of the Prophet Muhammad whom he describes poetically: 'In brief, the towering and radiant personality of this man, in the midst of such a benighted and dark environment, may be likened to a beacon-light illumining a pitch-dark night or to a diamond shining in a heap of dead stones'.[8] Upon receiving the revelation of the Qur'an, Mawdudi goes on to describe the Prophet Muhammad's career in equally eloquent and grandiose terms:

> He expounded the complex problems of metaphysics and theology. He delivered speeches on the decline and fall of nations and empires, supporting his thesis with historical fact. He reviewed the achievements

of the old reformers, passed judgements on the various religions of the
world, and gave verdicts on the differences and disputes between nations.
He taught ethical canons and principles of culture. He formulated laws of
social culture, economic organisation, group conduct and international
relations whose wisdom even eminent thinkers and scholars can grasp
only after lifelong research and vast experience of men and things. Their
beauties, indeed, unfold themselves progressively as man advances in
theoretical knowledge and practical experience. This silent and peace-
loving trader who had never even handled a sword before turned suddenly
into such a brave soldier that he was never known to retreat however
fierce the battle. He became such a great general that he conquered the
whole of Arabia in nine years, at a time when the weapons of war were
primitive and the means of communication very poor. His military
acumen and his ability to transmit the skills of war to a motley crowd of
Arabs (who had no equipment worth the name) meant that within a few
years he had overthrown the two most formidable military powers of the
day and become the master of the greater part of the then known world.[9]

Although undoubtedly the Prophet Muhammad was a remarkable person,
and his achievements are quite astounding, Mawdudi's particular image of
the Prophet is hugely important in trying to understand his view on the
Islamic state and the need for genuine Muslim rulers, given that the Prophet
always remains a paradigm in this respect. The problem with such paradigms
is that human beings, being what they are, rarely can live up to such see-
mingly perfect models. Mawdudi's portrayal of Muhammad is like that of
Plato's Philosopher-King:

> His is the only example where all the excellences have been blended into
> one personality. He is a philosopher and a seer as well as a living embo-
> diment of his own teachings. He is a great statesman as well as a military
> genius. He is a legislator and also a teacher of morals. He is a spiritual
> luminary as well as a religious guide. His vision penetrates every aspect of
> life. His orders and commandments cover a vast field from the regulation
> of international relations down to the habits of everyday life like eating,
> drinking and personal hygiene. On the foundations of philosophy he
> established a civilisation and a culture without the slightest trace of a
> flaw, deficiency or incompleteness. Can anyone point to another example
> of such a perfect and all round-personality?[10]

Mawdudi stresses the need to adhere to sharia, stating that the four law
schools are 'correct and true',[11] and is critical of Sufis who argue that adher-
ence for sharia is not important:

> They polluted the pure spring of Islamic Tasawwuf with absurdities that
> could not be justified by any stretch of the imagination on the basis of the

Qur'an and the Hadith. Gradually a section of Muslims appeared who thought and proclaimed themselves immune to and above the requirements of the Shari'ah. These people are totally ignorant of Islam, for Islam cannot admit of Tasawwuf that takes liberties with the Shari'ah. No Sufi has the right to transgress the limits of the Shari'ah or treat lightly primary obligations (Fara'id) such as daily prayers, fasting, Zakah and the Hajj. Tasawwuf, in the true sense, is an intense love of Allah and Muhammad (blessings of Allah and peace be upon him) and such love requires a strict obedience to their commands as embodied in the Book of God and the Sunnah of His Prophet. Anyone who deviates from the divine commands makes a false claim of his love for Allah and His Apostle.[12]

A spiritual crisis?

What is interesting when reading *Towards Understanding Islam* is that Mawdudi comes across as very conservative in his views that would not look out of place among the ultra-conservative ulama. However, Mawdudi was at pains to distance himself from the ulama and the image they portrayed, as has already been mentioned in his 'secret' qualification as an *alim*. However, he also distanced himself by way of his appearance, preferring to adopt western-style dress and, to the distress of a number of the ulama, he was at that time clean-shaven, which was considered a sign of a lack in religious commitment.[13] But this presentation of himself tells us a lot of the inner contradiction that was Mawdudi: on the one hand a man who was well educated and versed in Muslim and western traditions and, on the other, a man concerned with reviving Islam as it once existed at the time of Muhammad and stressing the need for an obedience to God. This is why, in *Towards Understanding Islam*, he emphasizes that there is no contradiction between the pursuit of knowledge and faith in God, and he refers to such atheist philosophers as Bertrand Russell on more than one occasion in his footnotes to support his own views. In Masudal Hasan's biography he states that Mawdudi's faith in Islam, at least of the more orthodox kind, wavered during this time,[14] and he seemed to be undergoing a period of religious uncertainty, expressed with a greater interest in mysticism and poetry. He wrote poetry in the style of Sufi verse and used the pen-name of 'Talib' which is a word often used in Sufi to refer to a 'seeker'. While much of his poetry, which he kept hidden and was not published until after his death, are questionable in terms of literary merit, they do show another side of Mawdudi where he makes full use of Sufi imagery, with references to wine and taverns (not usually in a literal sense, but the experience of being a Sufi, of spiritual ecstasy, is often compared to being drunk with wine; the moth and flame metaphor is one of the most loved in Sufism).[15] They give us a rare picture of Mawdudi undergoing something of a crisis and an uncertainty that we all experience at some stage in our lives, in which 'friendship is reciprocated with betrayal' and

where 'in the robe of success, failures are hidden'. The world is seen as impermanent where a drop can 'bring commotion'.[16] Mawdudi here shows his anger over what he sees as an unjust world but, unlike many Sufis, he does not choose to retire from the world, to seek seclusion, but instead engages actively within it. Mawdudi's life stages include, then, an education in Islamic orthodoxy, followed by a period of doubt, then a return to Islam but of a different kind from that of the orthodox ulama:

> There was a time when I was also a believer of traditional and hereditary religion and practiced it … At last I paid attention to the Holy Book and the Prophet's Sunnah. I understood Islam and renewed my faith in it voluntarily. Thereafter I tried to find out and understand the Islam system in detail. When I was satisfied in this I began to invite others to the truth.[17]

What comes across here is something of a 'reconversion', but with its foundations within the Qur'an and Sunna rather than the institutions built up over the centuries by Islamic scholars and jurists. It is a 'return' and a 'renewal', hence: 'There was a time during my early childhood when I myself acquiesced in the traditional orthodox religion and conventionally followed it, but when I gained direction, this dormant practice of "we follow upon where we found our father" (Qur'an 2:17) struck me as completely meaningless.'[18] How successful Mawdudi was in divorcing himself from the ulama is another matter that will be explored in some detail in this book. Suffice to say for now that in some senses Mawdudi was radical, but in others he does not entirely escape his upbringing in traditional Islamic teaching. Mawdudi's writings are very much a product of the whole of his diverse upbringing and his own sense of confused identity.

Tarjuman

In September 1932, Mawdudi bought the journal *Tajuman'l-Qur'an*[19] ('Qur'anic Interpretation'), which was published in Hyderabad by Abu Muhammad Musih Sahsaram. Mawdudi devoted a great deal of time and energy on this journal, doing all the editing, and writing most of the articles himself. However, its status was helped by contributions from some of Hyderabad's most eminent scholars and would probably not have survived long if the Hyderabad government subscribed to what was half its circulation during its early years. In fact, its circulation was never huge, perhaps never getting beyond the 600 mark. Aside from half of these going to government offices, the rest found their way to libraries and various Muslim institutions, with about 100 as individual subscriptions. It was not a money-spinner, and had limited influence despite contributions from some notable Muslim figures. This certainly disappointed Mawdudi who had hoped for a massive response, though it no doubt reinforced his view that most Muslims were suffering

from apathy. The journal was not, originally anyway, a supporter of any political programme as such, although Mawdudi's articles would often reflect his concerns for a renewal of Islam as well as his anti-colonial sentiments. Despite this lack of response, however, Mawdudi remained the editor of *Tarjuman* until 1979.

If nothing else, *Tarjuman* did provide Mawdudi with a focus for his energies and a platform for his views. However, it was not until 1937 that Mawdudi, after a visit to Delhi, decided to put his political views into action. Mawdudi had not been to Delhi since 1930 and he was shocked by what he experienced there: on the social level, Muslims no longer seemed concerned with observing such things as *purdah* and appeared secularized in outlook and practice while, on the political level, power had shifted considerably from Muslims to Hindus. If Mawdudi thought Hyderabad was bad, then Delhi was considerably worse. This experience is perhaps reminiscent of the Muslim Egyptian reformer and founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Bana (1906–49) who, when he went to Cairo in 1923, was shocked by the sights of the big city; by the dominant British presence, the neglect of Islamic morality, the streets rife with gambling, the consumption of alcohol, and the general indifference shown towards religious matters.[20]

Mawdudi's writings, in *Tarjuman* especially, became much more focused politically, as opposed to the previous rather random pronouncements on the sad decline of Islamic values. Now he became increasingly critical of the Congress party, accusing them of neglecting the rights of Muslims over the preference for an independent India. Despite his brother's advice to tone down his political statements, Mawdudi took it upon himself to serve the Muslim cause in direct conflict with his former employers, the Jam'iat-i 'Ulama-i Hind. The leader of this party at the time was Mawlana Husain Ahmad Madani (1879–1957). Madani was a learned Islamic scholar, educated in the Islamic sciences as well as a Sufi *pir*. He was actively involved in India's freedom struggle and remained president of Jam'iat-i 'Ulama-i Hind until his death in 1957. He was anti-British, although he was, however, against the two-nation theory, believing that Muslims could thrive within an independent pluralistic Indian society. It is on this point especially that Mawdudi disagreed: in line with the writings explored so far in this book, a Muslim is not a Muslim unless he lives in an Islamic state. To be a 'Muslim' in a pluralistic society is a contradiction in terms because Muslims are not able to live according to God's laws. While this was seen as divisive by the Jam'iat and many members of the Congress party, it also won Mawdudi a great deal of support from many Muslims, including some within the Congress Party.

Keeping in mind that *Tarjuman* provided little income for Mawdudi, it is perhaps surprising why he refused the offer, in 1935, of a teaching position at the 'Uthmaniyah University, and how he was able to support himself. It also comes back to an issue that plagued quite a few of those suspicious of Mawdudi's true intentions and beliefs. This was not only because of his western-style dress and his clean-shaven appearance, but in 1937, Mawdudi

went to Delhi to find himself a wife and married his distant cousin Mahmudah Begum. Mahmudah was quite modern and liberal in many respects, riding a bicycle around Delhi (a rare sight to see women do this) and not observing *purdah*. It is curious that Mawdudi wrote of his demands of *purdah* among others, yet this was not the case in his own household; even when he first met Mahmudah. But she was, however, from a very wealthy family descended from the Bukhari family of Delhi, who to this day serve as the hereditary imams of Delhi's impressive Jami mosque. The family's wealth derived from, most notably, money lending, and it has been said that Begum Mahmudah was the daughter of Delhi's 'biggest Muslim usurer'.[21] Again, given Mawdudi's views on usury, this does smack rather of double standards. However, Mawdudi's marriage meant that he no longer had to concern himself with financial issues, allowing for comfortable housing with servants, as well as owning large tracts of land elsewhere.

The Darul-Islam project (1937–9)

Newly married and financially secure, Mawdudi purchased some land in Hyderabad with the intention of setting up an Islamic institution. What this institution was to be, exactly, was unclear in the mind of Mawdudi, but certainly something that promoted his own ideals, his '*dawa*' ('mission') to promote Islamic identity in some form or other. The starting point was in approaching a retired civil servant whom Mawdudi knew, Chaudhri Niyaz Ali, who had wanted to establish a *waqf*. A *waqf* is a religious endowment, such as a building or a plot of land, that is to be used for charitable purposes. Mawdudi persuaded Ali to establish the *waqf* for his organization at Hyderabad.

There now enters the scene of one of India's greatest Muslim scholars, poets and writers: Muhammad Iqbal (1873–1938). In his younger days, Mawdudi had voraciously digested the poetry of Iqbal. To this day, Iqbal's writings remain an important influence not only in South Asia but also in the Middle East. He is renowned and admired for his passionate poetry, for which he has inspired millions, but he was also a philosopher, political thinker and spiritual father of Pakistan. As Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr eloquently states:

> Iqbal has become the most popular poet of Pakistan and an infallible and omniscient philosopher and sage. His name bestows a legitimacy on all ideas and programs associated with him. He has gained an almost prophetic reputation in Pakistan, far exceeding the claims of the modest poet and thinker of Lahore. His ideas and sayings are invoked to legitimate various policies, sanctify sundry views and decisions, and silence opposition and criticism. In short, for Pakistani people all across the political spectrum, from Left to religious Right, Iqbal became a figure larger than life, a repository of great wisdom and charisma.[22]

No wonder Mawdudi would want him on his side! Iqbal's life bears a number of parallels with that of Mawdudi. Although not perhaps of such noble Moghul stock, Iqbal was born, in Sialkot, in the Punjab, to a middle-class family whose origins lay in Kashmir. His father was a tailor by trade, but was well versed in Islamic theology and mysticism. Not unlike many Islamic reformers, including Mawdudi, Iqbal's education consisted of a mix of both Islamic and western. He went to modern schools and attended the grammar school the Scotch Mission College in Sialkot, the Murray College, and then Lahore's Oriental College. He was a particular expert in Arabic and English and obtained a Master's in Philosophy in 1899. He was appointed to the McLeod Readership in Arabic at the Oriental College, but soon gave this up to teach philosophy at the Government College in Lahore. While teaching there he met and became good friends with the noted British Orientalist T. W. Arnold who encouraged Iqbal to travel to Europe. This he did between 1905 and 1908, where he studied in both Britain and Germany. In London he qualified for the Bar at Lincoln's Inn, and then went on to study at Trinity College, Cambridge with the Sufi specialist R. A. Nicholson and the neo-Hegelian John M. E. McTaggart. He then went to Heidelberg and Munich where he completed his doctorate in 1908 entitled 'The Development of Metaphysics in Persia'. In the same year he returned to Lahore to teach briefly, but he had already established a reputation as a poet and preferred to devote his energies to this while pursuing a profession in law, although he also pursued a path in politics. In 1924 he joined the National Liberal League of Lahore and, in 1926, he was elected to the Punjab Legislative Council. He was an active member, speaking on land revenue and taxation and advocating compulsory education and better sanitation for the villages. In 1930 Iqbal became president of the Muslim League and in his presidential address he talked of the need for Pakistan. He attended the second and third round-table conferences on the future of Pakistan held in London in 1931 and 1932 respectively. In 1932, Iqbal was knighted.

While in Europe, Iqbal also continued to write his poetry in between his studies. He wrote a eulogy to the Prophet Muhammad which describes the golden age of the Islamic empire and laments its subsequent decline. His eulogy argues that the Muslims need to free themselves, rather than rely on external forces. His poem *Portrayal of Pain* (*Tasweer e Dard*) expresses his anger over the sufferings of the Indian people under colonial rule. In particular, his nationalist poems are concerned especially with the Muslim community in India and hopes of ending not only colonialism, but also the conflict between Muslims and Hindus in India itself. Iqbal's poetry is a synthesis of eastern and western influences, combining the thoughts of Muslim reformers, jurists and mystics such as the Sufi poet Rumi, with that of western philosophers such as Hegel, Bergson and Nietzsche. Like Mawdudi, his underlying concern, which was reflected in all his output, was with the revival of Islam. His writings were often political and he regularly published poems on subjects related to nature, religion and politics in the

Urdu journal *Makhazan*, which was founded in 1901. Again, like Mawdudi, he was highly critical of the complacency among Muslims in India especially and, more broadly, in other colonized lands. In his controversial poem, *The Complaint* ('Shakwa') Iqbal levels a complaint against God for allowing Muslims to be subjected to poverty and humiliation. However, he still lays the blame squarely on the Muslims themselves for the political unawareness, factionalism and lack of activism in the political sphere. Because of the controversy the book raised, Iqbal made a point of writing another poem, *The Answer to the Complaint* (*Jawab-i-shakwa*) in which he attempts to reply to those critics who accused him of complaining to God.[23]

In perhaps his greatest work, *Secrets of the Self* ('Asrar-i-Khudi'), Iqbal writes of the need for Muslims to re-awaken their soul and act. Just as Mawdudi saw the Prophet Muhammad as a paradigm of the ideal Muslim and leader, Iqbal too saw the Prophet as the perfect Prophet-Statesman who founded a society based on freedom, equality and brotherhood reflected in the central tenet of 'unity' (*tawhid*). In the practical sense, Iqbal believed that a requisite of being a good Muslim was to live under Islamic law which acts as the blueprint for the perfect Islamic society, as envisioned by the Prophet Muhammad.

He believed democracy was the best form of government in terms of allowing the individual to emerge, whereas aristocracy suppressed such individuality. When he looked to Indian Muslim society, he saw only sectarianism and a caste system that he believed outdid Hindu society. He also argued that democracy was not merely a pragmatic form of government but was also rooted in Islam itself and he looked to the early years of Islam, the time of Muhammad and his companions, when the small society, in Iqbal's eyes, operated on the basis of largely egalitarian principles and unity. Iqbal argues that this system was soon destroyed as Islam expanded, rapidly resulting in factionalism and the adoption of non-Islamic forms of government. While Iqbal did stress the importance of equality and democracy, in reality it would not be unlike Mawdudi's concept of 'theo-democracy: democracy is only for those who are sufficiently learned to know what they are voting for. The logic of this was based on the belief that the best person to rule the Islamic state should be the best Muslim, not someone who may be particularly good at rhetoric or play the popularity card. Therefore, only those who have a degree of expertise in what it means to be a good Muslim, i.e. have a knowledge of Islamic law, history, and so on, are equipped to vote. Therefore, Iqbal argues for the need for education so that Muslims are informed enough to partake in the affairs of the state.[24]

Iqbal's views can often come across as confused and contradictory. He talks of egalitarianism and democracy, but is elitist in terms of who has the right to be enfranchised. Further, he often talked of pan-Islamism, at least in his writings, yet he devoted his political energies to the formation of an independent Muslim state separate from India. There is considerable debate over

how much Iqbal actually supported the creation of Pakistan. Consider this quote from Edward Thompson:

> In the *Observer* I once said that he (Iqbal) supported the Pakistan plan. Iqbal was a friend, and he set my misconception right. After speaking of his despondency at the chaos he saw coming 'on my vast undisciplined and starving land' he went on to say that he thought the Pakistan plan would be disastrous to the British Government, disastrous to the Hindu community, disastrous to the Moslem community. 'But I am the President of the Moslem League and therefore it is my duty to support it.'[25]

We will later consider Iqbal's pan-Islamism and what he actually meant by this, but it is worth noting that in his letter to Edward Thompson, Iqbal said that he was opposed to 'a separate federation of Muslim provinces', but preferred a 'Muslim province' in a 'federated India'.[26] Iqbal's statements are important in understanding Mawdudi's views, for there was obviously at the time a number of options that were being considered, not only by Iqbal, but by many other Indian Muslims. Iqbal seemed open to the possibility of Indian Muslims forming a 'province' in a federated India, but equally the possibility was not ruled out of an amalgamation of the Muslim majority provinces of Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan into what effectively would be a separate state. An important study by Ayesha Jalal[27] argues that until 1946 the idea of Pakistan was not seriously considered but was rather presented as a bargaining tool by Jinnah and the Muslim League to pursue other political possibilities. Seen in this context, much talk on Pakistan by Iqbal and the like should be seen as playing the political game, rather than being entirely sincere in a desire for a separate Muslim state.

It is also interesting to consider whether Mawdudi, who was genuine in his desire for an Islamic state, believed that Iqbal was also. Certainly, Iqbal saw an important starting point to be the education of Muslims, which is also something Mawdudi could agree on, and Iqbal actively supported the creation of a model *darul ulum*[28] to lay the foundation for a Muslim revival in whatever form this may eventually take. Iqbal wrote a letter to the rector of the prestigious Islamic university al-Azhar in Cairo, Sheikh Mustafa al-Maraghi, asking for someone to be the director of this new educational institution. Iqbal stressed that the candidate needed to be not only well educated in the Islamic sciences, but could also speak English and had studied the natural sciences, economics and politics. The Sheikh replied by stating he could not think of anyone who could fill such a position. Iqbal persevered and assigned Niyaz Ali to find someone. It seems, however, that Mawdudi was not Niyaz Ali's first choice as he first of all turned to the renowned Deobandi *alim* Mawlana Ashraf Ali Thanwi (1863–1943),[29] but he rejected the offer, so only then did he turn to Mawdudi.

Mawdudi was at first reluctant, not least because the *waqf* was to be located in the Punjab rather than Hyderabad. However, he was persuaded by

Niyaz Ali to write formally to Iqbal for the position, as the Hyderabad project was having little success and no doubt Mawdudi saw the advantage of being aligned with Iqbal. Iqbal had met Mawdudi only once, in 1929 in Hyderabad, where he was lecturing, although he was well aware of Mawdudi's name through his writings, especially in *Tarjuman*. While Iqbal was unlikely to be in full agreement with Mawdudi's views on an Islamic state, he seemed agreeable to Mawdudi coming to the Punjab to help in the development of the school. As this school did not at present exist, however, Iqbal offered Mawdudi the position of imam at the Badshahi ('Emperor') mosque in Lahore on a salary of 100 rupees a month. This in itself would have been quite an accolade, for the Mughal Badshahi mosque is Lahore's most famous landmark and is the fifth largest mosque in the world. Mawdudi, however, refused the post, stating that a salaried position would restrict his freedom, remembering that at this time in Mawdudi's life he had his own independent financial means.

In October 1937, Mawdudi went to Punjab to act as the newly appointed unpaid overseer of the development for a new *darul ulum*. With Niyaz Ali, Mawdudi met Iqbal at Lahore and the appointment was officially confirmed. It is interesting to speculate, and to some extent it has to remain speculation, as to the extent to which Iqbal and Mawdudi were in agreement over the agenda for this new *waqf*. The school was to be based at Pathankot in the Gurdaspur district of Punjab. It is a major city of Punjab and is ideally located as it is the meeting point of three northern states: Punjab, Himachai Pradesh and Jammu Kashmir. In Hyderabad, Muslims were becoming increasingly marginalized, and so Mawdudi realized that the future for Muslims was to be mainly in the northern provinces. Even though he was offered the prestigious and lucrative position of head of the Department of Islamic Studies at Uthmaniyah University, Mawdudi decided that his future lay in the northern provinces. The geographical location together with the backing of Iqbal were good enough grounds for Mawdudi to take the appointment, despite his own reservations and his strong political agenda, but it must be seen as a compromise for both parties. Mawdudi was certainly not Iqbal's first choice and he had his own reservations concerning the appointment, describing Mawdudi as 'just a mullah'.[30]

Mawdudi's first task was to establish a well-defined curriculum for the new school which would include Islamic law as well as modern subjects. Although Mawdudi harboured great political ambitions for this project, Iqbal stressed that its primary task was in education. However, it is perhaps significant that the name for this new school was Darul-Islam ('Land of Islam'). Mawdudi was now named on the school's governing committee, the Darul-Islam Trust, and Mawdudi had considerable independence in what would be the form and nature of the school, although Niyaz Ali warned him against making any political associations with the school. Mawdudi agreed to this arrangement and he moved formally to Pathankot on 16 March 1938. One year later, Sir Muhammad Iqbal was dead.

The death of Iqbal eliminated one of the reasons Mawdudi had taken on the project in the first place, that is, to be associated with Iqbal but, at the same time, it gave, in theory anyway, Mawdudi more independence to do what he wanted with the project. It was Mawdudi's intentions for the project to be not only an intellectual, but also, in time, a political force; the latter now seeming more possible with the death of Iqbal. However, even the former objective, the Darul-Islam as an intellectual force, had a number of obstacles. At its inception it had 12 members of staff who were mainly from nearby towns and villages and possessed little education at all. None of them were of any standing, although the Trust could claim membership of the Muslim scholar Muhammad Asad (1900–92), this was largely a backseat role for him.[31] Despite this, Mawdudi launched into the project with great energy and enthusiasm. In October, 1938, he wrote numerous letters to Muslim scholars across India inviting them to take part in the project. Eleven, about a quarter of those Mawdudi wrote to, responded by visiting Pathankot for discussions. Among the significant participants was Muhammad Asad and the Deobandi scholar Muhammad Manzur Numani (1905–97). Although Numani attended, he chose not to join the project, apparently displeased with what he regarded as Mawdudi's lack of Islamic purity.[32] This observation by Numani is an interesting one and it comes back to what was said earlier in this chapter concerning reservations certain of his peers had concerning Mawdudi's religious credentials. It might seem strange for a modern audience to consider Mawdudi as particularly irreligious, but this is an indication of just how conservative so many were at that time and how radical Mawdudi was.

The meeting that took place between 14–16 October 1938 is a turning point. Perhaps surprisingly, given Mawdudi's own independence and stubbornness, he took to heart Numani's observations and began to reform himself by, to begin with, growing a beard. But this was also an important occasion in that, in many respects, it signifies the beginning of what was to become the Jamaat-e-Islami, for many of those who responded to Mawdudi's Pathankot call were also to become leading members of the Jamaat. Also, soon after the Pathankot meeting, Mawdudi organized his 'school' into the tripartite organization that was to be the basis for Jamaat: the *rukn* (member), *shura* (consultative assembly of five men) and sadr (president). It seems Mawdudi was now well on the way to succeeding in his aims of a political community, even though this would have horrified Iqbal if he were still alive.

However, although Iqbal was no longer alive, the man who was initially given the role of finding an overseer for the Darul-Islam, Niyaz Ali, was still very much alive and active and was none too happy with the direction the *waqf* was going, in particular he was not impressed with Mawdudi's reference to the Darul-Islam as '*Islami hukumut*' (Islamic government). It wasn't just this, however, but Mawdudi's now active engagement in the production of books and pamphlets in the name of Darul-Islam, and which spoke of it as an 'Islamic community'. He propagated this material to educational centres

across India. Niyaz appealed to the members of the Trust, but Mawdudi would not budge. In time the members of Darul-Islam supported Mawdudi, declaring him to be their *sadr* and voting that the Darul-Islam should move to Lahore, away from Niyaz's influence. In January 1939, Mawdudi resigned his position as overseer of the Pathankot Darul-Islam and headed off to Lahore to found a new holy community, a new *umma*.

4　The birth of a new party (1940–7)

Why the need for a party?

Although Mawdudi shared with Iqbal the view on the importance of education, Mawdudi was far too impatient to devote his time merely to the establishment of a school. From 1939 onwards his political ambitions grew, and this was no doubt spurred on by moving to the politically vibrant Lahore. In actual fact, soon after arriving in Lahore Mawdudi took a train to the Mewat district of Haryana in north-western India to meet up with a remarkable man: Mawlana Muhammad Iliyas (1885–1944). To this day the Mewat district has a large number of Muslims who are referred to as 'Mev' or 'Meo', and it was also the centre for a group known as the Tablighi Jamaat which – although it has become controversial in recent years – was founded by Iliyas in 1926 as a voluntary, pacifist and independent movement. Although considered a 'party', it remains apolitical. Iliyas set out initially to establish a network of madrasas to educate the Meos about correct Islamic beliefs and practices, but was frustrated by the limited impact this had socially and politically, and so he formally launched the Tablighi in 1926 with the slogan 'Oh Muslims! Be Muslims'. It proved to be remarkably popular as thousands joined in a relatively short period. Iliyas had a very simple but effective method of propagation: he would organize units (*jamaat*) of at least 10 people and send them off to various villages where they would gather together the Muslims of that village and educate them in the basic Islamic tenets. When Mawdudi met Iliyas on his visit it is recorded that he was very impressed with this figure, describing him as the heir to such venerable names from Indian history as Shaikh Ahmad Sirhindi (1564–1624)[1] and Sayyid Ahmad Shahid (1786–1831).[2] Undoubtedly this visit is key in reinforcing Mawdudi's belief in the need for his own 'jamaat' and he was not, of course, the only one in Lahore at the time that was discussing this as a real possibility. Whereas the Tablighi had a reasonable following in Mewat it was not, at that time anyway, a major player in India.

In fact, no Muslim group could claim to have much sway in India, unlike the Hindus, Sikhs and even the Ahmadis. As for the Muslim League, Mawdudi continued to be critical of this 'party of pagans', yet this was

the only national representative for the Muslims in India at the time. At the time if you were a Muslim in India who wanted to engage actively in Muslim renewal there seemed to be a number of options. First, you could join the Congress party. This was founded in 1885 with the primary objective of obtaining a greater share in government for educated Indians, regardless of the religious identity of those Indians. It became more radical, calling for independence for India. In 1907 it split into two factions: the 'hot faction' (Garam Dal) and the 'soft faction' (Naram Dal), with the 'hot faction' more extremist in their attitude against British rule. The Congress Party was important because it was the only mass organization that represented Indian interests and it produced some of India's greatest leaders, such as Muhammad Ali Jinnah (who was later to become leader of the Muslim League and then first Governor-General of Pakistan), Jawaharlal Nehru and, of course, Mahatma Gandhi who became President of the Congress in 1921. Under Gandhi the party increased in popularity, but was predominantly Hindu. However, it had members from every religious, economic, ethnic and linguistic group, and claimed to represent them all, unlike other parties that represented only Hindu interests, such as the Hindu Mahasabha or Forward Bloc. However, Mawdudi saw the Congress differently. Despite its overtures to Muslims, the predominance of Hindus in the party and its policy of an independent India was, for Mawdudi, a prologue to the creation of a Hindu raj in which Muslim identify would be threatened. Joining the Congress party, therefore, was not an option for Mawdudi.

Second, a Muslim could join the Muslim League. This was founded in Dhaka (now the capital of Bangladesh) in 1906 with the specific aim of protecting Muslim interests in India by representing their needs and problems to the government. The first Honorary President of the Muslim League was Sir Sultan Muhammad Shah Aga Khan (Aga Khan III, 1877–1957), who was the imam of the Nizari Muslims; a branch of Ismaili Shi'ism. The Aga Khan, a man of great wealth, had worked towards Muslim education for many years, and laid the foundations for Aligarh University. However, as the knighthood might suggest, he was pro-British rule and supported reforms introduced by the British. In fact, the first article of the League's platform was 'To promote among the Mussalmans of India, feelings of loyalty to the British Government'. The headquarters were established in Lucknow and the principles of the League were contained within what is called the 'Green Book' written by journalist and poet Mawlana Muhammad Ali Jouhar, the same person who had invited Mawdudi to work for his paper *Hamdard* in 1924. The loyalty towards the British deteriorated among members of the League, and among Muslims in India generally, because of the events following the partition of Bengal in 1905. This partition was initiated by the then Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon partly for administrative regions. Bengal was as large as France, but with a much larger population, so by splitting the region into east and west it was hoped that the neglected and under-governed east would benefit with a much more manageable region. However, it also

meant that East Bengal would have a Muslim majority which led to protests, some of which were violent, from Hindus. As a result, the British reversed the partition in 1911 and the League altered its platform to one of Indian independence. This appealed to more Muslims, notably Jinnah who joined the League in 1913 and became its President in 1916, although later taken over by Muhammad Iqbal who, in 1930, first put forward the possibility of a separate Muslim state. This was essentially the beginning of the 'two-nation theory': the view that Hindus and Muslims were two separate nations and could not live in one state. This theory grew in popularity, and with Jinnah's return to the League it received new impetus. At the League conference in Lahore in 1940 they committed themselves to an independent state called Pakistan.

The creation of Pakistan seemed more and more likely, but Mawdudi did not throw his hat in with the Muslim League either. In fact, his criticisms of them only increased. Why? If Mawdudi did not want Muslims to be a minority in India, then surely it made sense for there to be a separate state for Muslims. As this is what the League was working towards, why wasn't Mawdudi in support of this? To some extent this can be explained by Mawdudi's Mughal heritage. Remember he is a product of a golden era of Muslim rule in India, while the League was calling for Muslims effectively to leave India altogether. This would result in 'handing over' the dominion of the Mughals to the Hindus and would make it even easier for Islam in India to disappear entirely. Before 1939 the idea of a separate Muslim state was discussed but was not inevitable, and Mawdudi hoped to halt the rise of Hindu power in India by converting the whole of India to Islam, rather than the alternative of creating a relatively small separate Muslim state. His *Musalman Awr Mawjudah Siyasi Kashmakash* ('Muslims and the Current Political Struggle'), which consists of three volumes written between 1938 and 1940, argues against the Hindu nationalism supported by the Congress Party and Muslim nationalism argued for by the Muslim League. The Muslims would still, therefore, be in India, but India itself would be a Muslim state. The initial, and rather vague and abstract, motto of the jamaat (with a small 'j') was to act as a 'counter-league' to the Muslim League, with political and social ambitions that seemed incredibly idealistic! While certainly idealistic, it should not come as a surprise given Mawdudi's view of Islam. His paradigm, which seemed to be always at the forefront of his mind, was the life of the Prophet Muhammad. Muhammad, for Mawdudi, was a historical demonstration of what one man can achieve despite seemingly against all the odds. Muhammad and the first Muslims did not succeed because he had an instant large following, but because he actually had the opposite, a small group of dedicated and disciplined followers who were morally upright and observed the rigours and disciplines of their religion. As Mawdudi himself said, 'I was of the opinion that the importance [of a party] lies not in numbers of its members, but in the dependability of their thoughts and actions.'[3] Given this paradigm, which led to an Islamic empire

that spread from the Atlantic to the Indus within 80 years of the Prophet's death, Mawdudi's optimism may well be understood. But Mawdudi was no prophet, and he soon realized that the possibility to an Islamic India was simply unrealistic, but he stubbornly refused to side with the League. The Jamaat ultimately became a vehicle for Mawdudi, who wanted to be the one who would be the founder of a separate Muslim state rather than Jinnah.

A third option for Muslims was to join one of the other existing Muslim parties. Mention has already been made of the Tablighi Jamaat, but Mawdudi's independence and stubbornness explains his unwillingness to join with Iliyas, despite his admiration for him. In addition, Mawdudi believed that the Tablihgi were *too* religious, and as a result unable or unconcerned with social matters. This is the opposite to another concern he had with the Muslim League, namely, that they were too secular. Talk of a separate state was usually couched in terms of a state for Muslims to live in, rather than a state that has any specific Islamic identity, and Jinnah himself came across as very secular and westernized, far more so than Mawdudi. Essentially, however, Mawdudi wanted to lead, rather than be led. This, then, was the fourth and final option: start up your own party.

This new party was to be led by Mawdudi, and was to be hierarchical in nature. We have already seen how Mawdudi looks to history for examples of Muslims forming groups to battle against adversity. First and foremost is the example of the Prophet Muhammad, but Mawdudi could look to more recent examples in Indian history such as the Khalifat movement which, although unsuccessful ultimately, was the first example of how Muslims could be brought together for a cause. The views of Azad and Hezbollah were also firm in Mawdudi's mind, and the administration of other Muslim bodies, notably Jinnah's organization of the Muslim League.[4] Mawdudi was impressed by the charisma and organizational ability of Muhammad Iliyas, and another highly successful and well-organized Punjab group under the leadership of Inayatullah Mashriqi (1888–1963), the Tahrik-Khaksar had come to Mawdudi's attention. The Khaksar movement was phenomenal in it success. Founded in Lahore in 1930, it reportedly had 4 million members by 1942. Its programme was essentially to free India from colonial rule and to revive Islam, although it also aimed to give justice and equal rights to all faiths. Mashriqi, considered by some as something of an anarchist, adopted revolutionary language: 'Khaksar' being derived from Persian 'khak' (dust) and 'sar' (life) and so roughly translated as 'humble person'. The Khaksars all wore the same khaki uniforms, the colour chosen to represent the colour of the earth. Each member was also given a spade, as symbolic of 'levelling' society. Membership was strict and all had to adhere to a charter. Mashriqi himself was a charismatic and highly intelligent figure who was nominated for and offered a knighthood, which he declined. It is interesting to speculate what his organization could have achieved if he had not disbanded it in 1947.[5]

Mawdudi's own Sufi background was also an influence in his ideas for the organization of the Jamaat:

> Sufis in Islam have a special form of organization … known as *khanaqah*. Today this has a bad image … But the truth is that it is the best institution in Islam … [I]t is necessary that this institution be revived in India, and in various places small *khanaqahs* be established. Therein novices can read the most valuable religious sources, and live in a pure environment. This institution encompasses the functions of club, library and *ashram* [Hindu place of worship] … [The] entire scheme rests on selection of the *shaikh* [master] … [A]t least I do not know of someone with all the qualifications … [I]f this task is to be undertaken, India should be searched for the right person.[6]

Although Mawdudi was often critical of Sufism for what he saw as a lack of religious observance in his own time, Mawdudi himself, remember, was a Deobandi and had first-hand experience of Sufi organization. The revival of the *khanaqah* (a kind of hospice where Sufis take up residence so they can be close to their *pir*, or master) that Mawdudi speaks of is nothing other than his Jamaat, his own holy community. His conception of Sufism is not that of some mystical branch outside Islamic orthodoxy, but rather what is central to what the umma is. Briefly, a Sufi order (the term used is *tariqah*) is organized hierarchically in a series of concentric circles which eventually culminate in a pyramidal structure, the top of which is the *pir* (or *shaikh* or *murshid*). The order is essentially secluded from the outside world so that the novice may work his way towards being the master; thus the master is the paradigm for the novice. Sufi orders are strict in their discipline and command total sub-mission and obedience to the *pir*, involving an allegiance (*bai'ah*).[7] Mawlana Abul Kalam Azad when talking of recruiting people to accept him as their *amir-i hind*, also used the term *bai'ah*, and Mawdudi too used the term in comparing it to becoming a member of Jamaat. Therefore, membership of Jamaat is not parallel with, for example, joining a political party in the west. In fact, it is somewhat inaccurate to describe the formation of the Jamaat as a political party at all. Mawdudi had in mind more of a holy community, a new umma, that requires far more than mere membership; it requires commit-ment, submission, obedience and, in certain respects, a kind of conversion.

It must be remembered that Mawdudi was formulating his political ideas in the 1930s: a time of considerable political upheaval and ideas in Europe and, although there were Islamic precedents and paradigms for Mawdudi to tap into, his uniqueness lies in his 'Europeanism'. At the time, liberal-democratic parties that represented the people and formed policies on that basis was still a relatively new idea. In fact, democracy itself was still a new idea to which chunks of Europe did not yet subscribe. You had the growth of the Third Reich in Germany, the Spanish Civil War, communism in the Soviet Union, fascism in Italy. When Mawdudi kept a watchful eye on Europe (in fact, it

was much more than a watchful eye: it was a careful study), it might be understandable that liberal democracy did not immediately stand out as the only and best option under which a state could be governed, least of all a *religious* state. The parallels between the structure of Mawdudi's Jamaat and Lenin's Bolshevist movement are self-evident. Certainly, the Bolshevist organization was also hierarchically governed, with centralized control and with a quasi-military discipline. Members had to adhere rigidly to a central committee, in the same way Mawdudi insisted on strict obedience to the shura.[8] An important difference, however, and which will be examined later in more detail,[9] is the ultimate goal in terms of revolution. Although Mawdudi often made use of the word 'revolutionary' and utilized the emotive revolutionary language and propaganda with reference to the 'masses' and the 'people', Mawdudi's understanding of revolution was more of a gradual nature than Lenin's concept. Also, Lenin talked of a revolution of the 'proletariat' whereas, for Mawdudi, the 'masses' could only control the mechanisms of the state when they are fully qualified Muslims. In that sense, the Jamaat is very much a top-down organization, with solid and supreme leaders that must be obeyed. The influence of communism on Mawdudi does help to explain his optimism, which in retrospect may strike the modern reader as unrealistic, that Muslims could, in time, convert the whole of India to Islam, rather than section themselves off in a separate Islamic state. For a time, Mawdudi genuinely believed such a thing was possible because he saw what could be achieved by the communist movements in Europe, and he believed that religion was far more powerful than any political ideology, given the evidential support of the historical paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad and other Islamic events. However, Mawdudi didn't even need to look to Europe to firm up his convictions: in the 1930s and 1940s he could look to Hyderabad and the communist Telangana movement. The Nizam's regime in the 1930s was essentially feudal with an extremely wealthy ruling class and a poor peasant class, most notably among the Telangans. The communists emerged within the Hyderabad State Congress during the Second World War as a result of the suffering of the poorer classes who were effectively funding the war effort through heavy taxation. The Communist Party championed the cause of the peasants and gained huge support. Though certainly the economic situation was crucial here, the fact the support also came from Hindus at a time when Nizam was considering the formation of an independent Muslim state was also an important factor.[10] This resulted in an armed struggle, but by 1951 it had become obvious that this was ineffective and the party joined the democratic process, although the movement had brought considerable gains for the peasantry.[11] This movement certainly impressed Mawdudi, as he said himself: 'no more than 1/100,000 of Indians are Communists, and yet see how they fight to rule India; if Muslims who are one-third of India can be shown the way, it will not be so difficult for them to be victorious.'[12]

   Originally, although Mawdudi's notion of what the Jamaat would be were vague, to say the least, it was essentially to be a religious community inspired

by historical Islamic paradigms and contemporary revolutionary movements. However, it might be argued that this mixture of a holy community on the one hand and a political party of some form on the other has not always been to the benefit of the Jamaat as it prevents a clear platform from which to launch its political and social agendas. At the same time, the benefits of such a movement has meant it has not fallen foul of the party factionalism experienced by other parties such as the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the Muslim League. At first, however, the confusion in its identity – reflected somewhat in Mawdudi's own personal cultural split in his identity – made it difficult for it to find a place within the changes that were taking place at the time. Mawdudi's initial statement in 1934 argues for the following: 'The erection, endurance and success of a social order requires two things: one, that a jamaat [literally, "party" or "society"] be founded on that order's principles … and second, that there be patience and obedience to that jamaat.'[13] Words such as 'social order', 'patience' and 'obedience' suggest that it is revolutionary, gradual and top-down, but says little else. As Nasr clearly points out:

> It could not remain abstract for long. The definition of the Jama'at had to be narrowed from an amorphous community to a concrete entity. Although Mawdudi knew this, he failed to appreciate the need to draw a clear line between holy community and political party. Consequently, the Jama'at since its inception remained committed to both its avowedly religious and its essentially socio-political functions.[14]

We will look in much more detail at the historical and theological notions of an Islamic state in the second part of this book, but Nasr is right to point out further that the reason Mawdudi did not draw a clear line between holy community and political party is because, for Mawdudi, *there is no clear line*: the two are actually one and the same thing. Again, Mawdudi looks back to his favoured paradigm: the life of the Prophet Muhammad, for which, in Mawdudi's eyes anyway, he saw an ideal community where there was no division between the religious and the political. What Mawdudi keeps on emphasizing in so much of his writings is that you cannot be a true Muslim unless you are 'politicized' in the sense of being an active, participating citizen of an Islamic state. This is how Mawdudi saw his Jamaat, his holy community. The extent to which, in real terms, such a utopic vision can be planted on a social reality is the problem that exists with all such utopias and has its origin at least as far back as Plato's *Republic*. It was this problem of welding ideality with reality that caused confusion for those involved in the Jamaat: what was to be the actual role of the Jamaat? What was their agenda? What was their political platform? What concrete actions should they take? It was inevitable that such questions would result in Mawdudi having to be much more of a political animal, whether he wished for this or not. This is another side of Mawdudi; in one respect a highly intelligent

scholar who is used to being shut away alone with only books for company, but in another respect the demand was felt not only from others but from himself that he needed to put his words into action in some way. It seems that Mawdudi held the view that as the Jamaat developed into a new 'umma' under his leadership, then the political side would sort itself out in some sort of organic process. However, it was not enough merely to attack the inadequacies of the other parties while maintaining an abstract ideal; he would have to take that extra step and formulate a party with a clear platform. No doubt, Mawdudi believed there was a need for another party, especially given the fact that with the beginning of the 1940s the present parties seemed to do little else but fight among themselves. Also, by this time, it was evident that there would be a separate Muslim state, whether Mawdudi liked it or not. Mawdudi did not want to be left out in the cold, with the Muslim League bossing policy entirely, so he gradually changed his views from one of desiring an India that was Muslim, to a kind of grudging acceptance of a separate Muslim state, but one that would be very different from that envisioned by the secularist tendencies of the Muslim League and its leader Jinnah. As Mawdudi's brother, Abu'l-Khayr, said, 'Abu'l-A'la not only compared himself to Jinnah, but also viewed himself as even a greater leader than Jinnah.'[15] Mawdudi saw that Jinnah and the Muslim League had weak credentials in representing Muslims because they themselves were hardly good examples of adherence to Islam. However, although that may well be the case, the Muslim League reflected the religious inclinations of the mass of the Muslim population of India more than Mawdudi did, which is why Mawdudi had to tread a very thin line between being perceived as too religious or too westernized.

Although Mawdudi may well have harboured a desire for a united Muslim India, realism forced him to concentrate his energies on just part of it: the Muslim-majority north-western provinces. From 1938 onwards he began to talk of the 'two-nation theory' as a distinct possibility, but presented himself as the rightful leader of a new Muslim nation. In his pamphlets and lectures at schools and colleges, Mawdudi attacked Jinnah and his 'party of pagans':

> No trace of Islam can be found in the ideas and politics of Muslim League … [Jinnah] reveals no knowledge of the views of the Qur'an, nor does he care to research them … yet whatever he does is seen as the way of the Qur'an … All his knowledge comes from Western laws and sources … His followers cannot be but *jama'at-i jahiliyah* [party of pagans].[16]

A new party is born

Having said more than enough in words, Mawdudi now had to engage in some concrete action. Using *Tarjuman* as his instrument for the new party,

in the April 1941 issues, he invited those who would be interested in joining this new party to meet in Lahore. The official date of the founding of the Jama-e-Islami, therefore, is 26 August 1941 when 70 men, most of whom Mawdudi knew already, gathered and professed the Muslim testament of faith (*shahadah*) to this new umma. This meeting lasted for three days, during which the constitution was developed. Already, however, there were some disagreements, notably over the form of leadership. Some, including not surprisingly Mawdudi himself, wanted one supreme leader, an *amir* to lead, while others preferred a shura, a ruling council. A compromise was reached: the Jamaat would be led by an *amir* but with limited powers. Having decided on the mode of leadership, the next decision was who should be the first leader of the party. Although Mawdudi was selected, it was not without some competition. The fact is that the Jamaat was at this point in time a party of intellectuals and, in actual fact, Mawdudi's audience in terms of his journal *Tarjuman* and in his lectures – which tended to be at schools, colleges and universities – were educated Muslims. This rather elitist approach has always been a problem for the Jamaat from its very inception, and helps to explain why it has usually done badly in the political arena. It adopted a top-down approach with little regard for those at the bottom, which Mawdudi considered to be lacking in sufficient education to be good Muslims. Mawdudi always associated the importance of education if one wanted to be a morally upstanding Muslim, for to be a good Muslim required an intellectual understanding of the complexities of Islamic law and Qur'anic interpretation. Until Muslims were educated enough to understand Islam for themselves, they must rely on those few well educated enough to understand it for them. If the Jamaat were to be a community of pious Muslims, then, logically, the poor and uneducated were excluded from this community for, in actual fact, they weren't really proper Muslims at all. But this meant that the Jamaat has through most of its life remained withdrawn and cut off from society; a society rife with inequality, poor education, poverty and suffering. If the Jamaat could not bring itself to get its hands dirty and involve itself more with this 'underclass', then it could never win popular support. While it would engage in social work and education, it never really expressed this as an ongoing concern in its political platform, but preferred to engage in intellectual polemic that might well appeal to the middle and upper classes, yet had little to entice the lower classes who saw this as too abstract to be of any real concern. As a party, in this sense, it differs greatly from Lenin's Bolshevism: this was not a party of the 'people' calling for revolution here and now, but a party for the elite working for a gradual trickle-down change in society that could take hundreds if not thousands of years.[17] It is not surprising that in its early years especially so much of its membership was made up of young ulama or what are known as the *ahl-i hadith*; a puritanical, fundamentalist group largely from the educated middle classes who were highly critical of populist Sufi practices. In this sense, Mawdudi's paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad and the first Islamic community is ill-fitting with

Mawdudi's Jamaat, for Muhammad was considered to be illiterate and many of the first Muslim were likewise so, often from poor uneducated backgrounds, or were even slaves. Mawdudi, on the other hand, inherited an elitist, literati social base that was selected for his Jamaat.

Consequently, among that first gathering of the Jamaat were a number of considerably influential and intellectually well-achieved individuals. While Mawdudi was a scholar of considerable status, he did not stand out above his peers on this occasion. Others there harboured ambitions of leading the new party. Mention has already been made of the Deobandi scholar Muhammad Manzur Numani who attended the initial meeting in Pathankot in 1938 and from whom Mawdudi sought advice. In fact, Numani believed that the Jamaat was conceived jointly by himself and Mawdudi and he had made use of his own journal to garner support for the Jamaat. In fact, Numani could certainly claim some credit for the formation of the Jamaat, for a number of those influential figures at that first meeting would not have been there if it were not for his efforts.

Another possible contender was the eminent scholar Amin Ahsan Islahi (1904–97), who was editor of the journal *Al-Islah* and teacher at the seminary Madrasatu'l-Islah. Islahi had previously been a prominent pupil of another great scholar, Hamidu'ddin Farahi (d. 1930) and had carried on his work in Qur'anic exegesis, writing a monumental nine-volume work *Tafthir, Tadabbur-i-Qur'an* ('Reflecting on the Qur'an'). He was not just a scholar, however, being politically active for a while, but was a resident of his local Congress Party and was an excellent orator. His support for the Jamaat was probably due to his own distaste for politics, hoping that the Jamaat would be a 'party' that was not sucked into the political arena in the same way the Muslim League or the Congress Party were.[18]

Nonetheless, the bulk of these initial members felt that the position should go to Mawdudi, if only because he had obviously put much more effort into its formation than the other contenders, and so he was elected by the majority on 27 August 1941. Once the members dispersed, the next stage was to propagate its message and increase membership. This was done largely through *Tarjuman* and Numani's (who still claimed joint leadership) journal *Al-Furqan*. For the most part, those who joined the Jamaat were like-minded in the sense that they were disillusioned with the current batch of pro-Muslim, anti-British parties on the scene. They remained, on the whole, educated Muslims, including quite a number of the younger ulama. At first, its concern was not in winning elections or even campaigning for elections. Initially, the focus was on the propaganda of its message, which was essentially attacking the laxities of the others' parties, and on working towards the education of Muslims in line with the initial Darul-islam. In fact, the party, on 15 June 1942, moved its base back to Pathankot. The reason for this must again be seen in the Jamaat's paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad and the first Muslim community which left Mecca to found a new community in Medina. This *hijra* has become a powerful symbol of the Muslim need to withdraw

from a corrupt, non-Islamic environment in order to renew itself. It was felt that Lahore was too embroiled within politics to be a suitable environment for this new umma.

The Pathankot years (1942–7)

The Pathankot years were a time for the party to organize itself and develop its unique platform to distinguish it from the other parties. It must have been a vibrant and interesting time, for many of the members would move to Pathankot or spend some time there to discuss and create this new party. Imagine such a collection of intellectuals from so many different schools of Islam: Deobandis, Nadwis, Islahis, the *ahl-i hadith*, all mingling, arguing, debating within the confines of a quiet provincial Pathankot community. All was by no means peaceful and united, however, and much of the initial disputes had to do with the ambiguity of the role of the *amir*, coupled with the competing egos of Mawdudi and Numani. Undoubtedly, once again utilizing the model of the Prophet Muhammad and the burgeoning Islamic umma of the seventh century AD, Mawdudi saw himself as the spiritual and ideological head of the Jamaat, whereas others saw him in a less ignoble role as a kind of administrative manager dealing with the paperwork and day-to-day administration that his fellow intellectuals preferred to avoid. Although, of course, Mawdudi would never claim or expect to have the same kind of obedience the Prophet could expect from his followers, he nonetheless constantly reiterated the need for discipline and obedience. The discrepancy arose as to the extent to which that obedience should be towards Mawdudi or towards the Jamaat as a whole. What arose yet again, as it had done at the 1938 Pathankot meeting, was the extent of Mawdudi's religious piety or, even more specifically, the length of his beard! Given the status of so many members who had religious training this should not be surprising, and it was probably for the best that Mawdudi failed to attract older members of the ulama which would have caused even greater discord. Numani, especially, was still concerned over Mawdudi's piety and would constantly challenge his authority, not to mention his moral standing. On the latter, Numani did have a point, relative to the image other members presented, in public at least. To begin with, Mawdudi, through his marriage to Mahmudah, was financially secure, and he seemed perfectly willing to display his new-found wealth, maintaining a separate house with a servant, while many other members lived spartan communal lives. Mahmudah's relative laxity did not go unnoticed either. Numani argued that as Mawdudi had demanded that its members sacrifice their own personal gain for the sake of this new community, then Mawdudi should do the same: at the very least donate his earning from royalties of his books to Jamaat. Mawdudi responded that his royalties were a result of work he had done before the formation of the Jamaat and so it had no proprietary rights over these, which seemed like a rather puzzling argument. Numani also was critical of Mawdudi's short beard and that he was lax in his attendance for

dawn prayers.[19] In the belief that he had support from other important figures in the Jamaat, Numani argued that Mawdudi should relinquish his position as *amir*. In a meeting of the shura in October 1942, Mawdudi offered to resign his position as *amir* or, alternatively, to dissolve the Jamaat altogether. It was a gamble that paid off, for the shura, in a panic, took Mawdudi's side. As a consequence, Numani, together with a small number of his followers, resigned from the party altogether. In some ways this was a victory for Mawdudi's leadership, but it was also a blow to lose some key intellectuals so early on in the gestation of the Jamaat. It was not to end there, for Numani continued his tirade against Mawdudi through his organ *Al-Furqan*, claiming that he, not Mawdudi, was the true leader of the Jamaat, and campaigning for others to join him by leaving Mawdudi's party.

  Although Numani was not successful in breaking up the Jamaat, or even causing any others to leave, it does demonstrate that the party was not as strong or united as it would like to be, as well as needing to address the very serious concern of the position of Mawdudi within the organization. Mawdudi was certainly in a stronger position now Numani was ousted and his other possible contender, Islahi, had stated: 'I am not fanatical enough to jeopardise the future of Islam over the length of Mawdudi's beard',[20] which is tantamount to declaring that regardless of Mawdudi's public expression of piety, or lack thereof, it was far more important for the Jamaat to be unified under one leader. Having said that, Islahi would on occasion publicly express his concern over Mawdudi's power over the party.

  A further meeting of the shura reiterated the importance of the *amir* and, in 1945, Mawdudi was re-elected to that position. From then on, Mawdudi could work from a position of greater strength as he spread the word through a series of conventions across the country, which helped the party to grow in membership and stature. At the convention held in Pathankot in 1945, 800 people attended which, though still small by the standards of such parties as the Muslim Party or the Congress, was still significant given its meagre beginning only four years earlier. What was debated at these conventions were such things as Mawdudi's theory of *hukumat-i ilahiyah* ('divine government' – see Chapter 10 in this volume) and, much more importantly at the time, how the party was to be organized. Despite growing numbers attending the conventions, it seems Mawdudi wished to steer well clear of a 'populist' movement, especially given his emphasis on the purity of Islam and the strict adherence to an Islamic code. This led to some dramatic purges, including 300 members – over 50 per cent of the membership at the time, being expelled in 1944 due to their perceived lack of piety! This seems somewhat ironic considering the accusations levelled against Mawdudi on previous occasions, and would not have gone unnoticed. Here was a serious problem for Mawdudi: how was he going to build up huge popular support – surely necessary if the party was to complete with the 'giants' – while being so drastically strict over the moral compass of its membership? Coupled with this was the dilemma of Mawdudi's wish for a gradual transformation of society when

the political changes around him were anything but gradual, with the ever-increasing prospect of Pakistan and the growing popularity of Jinnah. Mawdudi still seemed to be of the view that a small group of sincere, faithful and knowledgeable Muslims could somehow band together and a new society would organically 'emerge'. This idealism got in the way of the political reality of Pakistan, and so it was becoming more and more essential for the Party to act in some concrete way on this matter. Vague 'two-nation' statements by Mawdudi were not enough.

5 The Pakistan years (1947–79)

Birth pangs

Gandhi had for some years struggled to keep Muslims within the Congress Party, the latter of which was becoming more secularist in outlook. He hoped for a united India that was pluralist in religious outlook, but the opposite was occurring as religious factions fought against each other with the possibility of civil war increasing unless something was done. On 16 August, the Week of the Long Knives began with massive riots in Calcutta in which over 4,000 people were killed. Jinnah, calling for a separate Pakistan, declared 16 August to be Direct Action Day; effectively a general strike by Muslims which would involve a series of processions starting with Calcutta. But with such influential newspapers as the *Star of India* labelling the day a 'jihad' which – coinciding with the holy month of Ramadan – was a re-enactment of the paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad's conflict with polytheists and his sub-sequent conquest of Mecca, it was inevitable that these processions would not go peacefully. Hindu papers and politicians were equally antagonistic. The rioting only ended after a week with the intervention of British troops.[1]

On 18 July 1947, the British government passed the Indian Independence Act, following on from the report known as the Radcliffe Line which divided Pakistan into two enclaves, East Pakistan (now Bangladesh) and West Pakistan which consisted of the majority Muslim areas. It was left to the 625 Princely States to decide whether to remain part of India or join with Pakistan. The events that followed are much documented and need not preoccupy us here.[2] In terms of Mawdudi, he took the side of favouring a Pakistan, but distanced himself and the Jamaat from the policies and pronouncements of Jinnah and the Muslim League. The Jamaat was split into two bodies, the small Indian Jamaat (Jamaat-e-Islami Hind) which continued with Mawdudi's original mission to build a society in India based on Islam, and the Jamaat-e-Islami Pakistan. Mawdudi chose to be *amir* for the Pakistan Jamaat only which also had the majority of Jamaat members.

The Jamaat returned to Lahore where it became a much more tight-knit, well-organized unit as numbers increased. Mawdudi saw his party as the natural leader of Pakistan and believed it was only a matter of time before it

took over the political reigns of the new nation. Pakistan would be Islamized in opposition to Jinnah's view of Pakistan as primarily secularist in nature. Although now better organized, it was still unclear as to what actions to take. Its platform still focused primarily on the 'long revolution' of educating Muslims before there could be a change in the social and political structure of the country. Somewhat bizarrely given the incredible changes that were occurring at this time and place, the Jamaat went through something of a relative hibernation, shutting itself away from day-to-day politics and instead engaged more in religious work. It is curious that Mawdudi saw the Jamaat as the natural leader of Pakistan, yet it failed to take advantage of the opportunities that arose by being politically opportunist. Its approach seemed to be very much like that of the ulama which saw politics as essentially a dirty business. In fact, Mawdudi seemed more on the side of the ulama, certainly in the call for an Islamic constitution for Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan, the Jamaat urged Muslims to refuse to pledge allegiance to the state on the basis that it was not Islamic, and that a Muslim's only allegiance should be to God. This was a direct challenge to the Pakistani government's legitimacy, which was tested even more with the growing crisis of Kashmir.

During partition, Princely States were given the right to side with Pakistan or India. Kashmir was in a curious position in that the majority of the population was Muslim and so it was expected to join with Pakistan. However, the Hindu maharaja was reluctant to do this and instead acceded his territory to India. Pakistan supported insurgents in Kashmir and, in 1948, the government called for a jihad in the territory to drum up support. However, Mawdudi, who had of course written and talked a great deal on jihad, stated that the state was not in a position to declare a jihad as they were not Islamic: its only options were either to accept the terms of a ceasefire or to call their action a war, not a jihad, which Mawdudi perceived as two entirely different things. The government, in response, stated that the Jamaat was pro-Indian and anti-Pakistan, and so arrested a number of its leaders, including Mawdudi, on the charge of sedition.

The politicization of the Jamaat

While continuing to attack the Muslim League, Mawdudi portrayed the Jamaat as the moral guardians of Pakistan: a holy community that did not dirty its hands in the mud of political wrangling. This was, of course, politically naive of Mawdudi. However, the actions of the government against the Jamaat to some extent catapulted the party into the political arena and, in hindsight, it may have been better for the government if it had simply ignored the statements of the Jamaat as inconsequential rather than imprison its leaders. The next step, then, was to get more involved in politics by actually running in an election, and the occasion was the March 1951 elections in Punjab. While Mawdudi was in prison, the two acting amirs, Abdul Hasan and Abdul Ghazi, put the proposal before the shura that the party should

start participating in elections. The motion was passed, though with some opposition. However, it was not so straightforward, given the general ethos of the party that offering to be a part of a government for a state that it sees as un-Islamic seemed somewhat hypocritical. Instead a compromise was reached by which the Jamaat would not have its own candidates but would give its support to candidates that it considered to be 'virtuous' (*salih*): in this way the Jamaat could argue that its actions might prevent the election of a candidate that they considered to be of insufficient moral and religious integrity. It was thus 'sanitizing politics' rather than engaging directly in it. Perhaps this distinction was lost on the electorate, for those candidates the Jamaat supported had little success. Despite that, however, the Jamaat were now more within the political circle than before, which caused some discord among its members as they were divided over the role of the party. Should it engage in further elections in a more direct manner, or should it 'withdraw' once more and concentrate on its religious role? Mawdudi, released from prison in 1954, was now more inclined to become engaged politically, which resulted in dissension with many members arguing that the Jamaat had strayed from its original mandate of religious education, or 'upholding the truth' (*haqq-parasti*) to that of political opportunism (*maslahat-parasti*).[3] The division that developed seemed to be among the largely younger, more politically inclined members, as opposed to the older, more ulama-oriented faction. In November 1956 the shura met to resolve this issue and proved to be the 'longest and liveliest session in its history'[4] lasting for 15 days. Some within the party argued that the Jamaat needed to return to its original activities, which caused Mawdudi to threaten his resignation. The result of the meeting was a four-point resolution: one, the Jamaat had veered from its original and proper course; two, the party should desist from its involvement in political elections; three, the platform of the Jamaat was based on Islamic principles, not on those of any particular individual or faction (an attack on Mawdudi); and, four, a new committee was to be established to ensure the resolution was carried out. In terms of Mawdudi's authority, this resolution was significant, for it challenged his position within the party and essentially asserted that the party comes before the man. Mawdudi did not take this lying down, however, but called for the resignation of the members of the new committee established to enforce the resolutions. These committee members, Mawdudi argued, were exceeding their powers and were factionalizing the Jamaat, as well as acting against the Jamaat's constitution. These were, frankly, somewhat unfounded accusations, given that the shura had appointed the committee members in the first place, and Mawdudi himself had been instrumental in that approval. Mawdudi went even further by resigning from the Jamaat altogether. This was a gamble, but a calculated one by Mawdudi given that he was now a national figure and something of a hero for many, having served a prison sentence. With his resignation, the party as a whole was in danger of collapse as no one else had the same amount of authority and charisma as Mawdudi by this stage. Mawdudi *was* the party. Ironically, Mawdudi had previously

argued that no one man was bigger than the Jamaat, whereas now he was taking advantage of his support within the party to argue for his own authority as greater than that of the shura. Mawdudi was reinstated and he made sure that his opponents either resigned or were expelled. In a six-hour speech, Mawdudi demanded that the Jamaat engage in more political action and he introduced a new agenda to replace the four-point resolution of 1951. While remaining true to its ideals as a religious party, a 'holy community', the Jamaat would also engage in electoral politics as a primary aim. This was not only a shift for Jamaat, but for Mawdudi also. Although the Jamaat was 'purged' of some of its influential members, it did not suffer terribly in numbers and it meant, of course, that Mawdudi's power was as absolute as it was possible to be with no dissenting voices of any worth. As the Jamaat became more of a political animal, Mawdudi became more of a politician in reflection of that.

The tables were now turned: instead of the view that you have to start with the individual soul before you can change society, it was now society that came first and would eventually lead to the transformation of the individual. In a way, this u-turn was inevitable if the Jamaat were to survive, and it seems that Mawdudi must be given credit for realizing this. Pakistan was, some 10 years after its creation, a given fact, and the Jamaat had to find a place within this political reality. Jinnah had died soon after partition and so was no longer the target of attack for the Jamaat, and in 1956 it became a republic with a constitution which Mawdudi had helped to draft and which addressed a number of the concerns of the Jamaat. The party needed a new direction and a new target for concern:

> By 1956 the Jama'at had lost its intellectual momentum. Its zeal and ideological perspective had been important for the development of contemporary Muslim thought in the Subcontinent and elsewhere, but the party was no longer producing ideas which would sustain its vitality as a religious movement and secure a place for it at the forefront of Islamic revivalist thinking. Most of Mawdudi's own seminal works, outlining his views on Islam, society, and politics had been written between 1932 and 1948. His worldview and thought had fully taken shape by the time he moved to Pakistan. All subsequent amendments to Jama'at's ideology pertained to politics more than theology. Its experience over the decade of 1946–56 had shown that its contribution and influence lay not so much in what it espoused but in its organizational muscle and political activism. Its survival as a holy community could no longer be guaranteed; it was in politics that the party had to search for a new lease on life.[5]

To this end, in 1957, Mawdudi took the decision that the Jamaat would participate in the 1958 national elections. The party now moved away from its 'ideological' period to a more pragmatic political phase, with the amir now having much greater control over the platform of the party. However, before

these elections could take place, General Ayub Khan initiated a military coup and would remain in power until 1969. One of Ayub Khan's concerns was the encroachment of religion into politics, opting for a modernizing, secular agenda. This coup was actually quite popular among much of the population of Pakistan, but was a severe blow for Jamaat's hopes of a religious state. Any talk of an Islamic state was silenced and the Jamaat's offices were closed down with its funds confiscated. The state-controlled media pursued a propagandist attack against religious parties and members of the Jamaat were unable to function in any effective way. Any activities Jamaat engaged in had to be done surreptitiously through subsidiary organizations that remained as distant from Jamaat as possible. The party relied heavily on its publications, not only financially but also in promoting its message and acquiring new members and supporters. While Ayub Khan was in power, in 1963, the Jamaat set up a subsidiary publishing house in Lahore called Islamic Publications and which actually has become the Jamaat's main source for its publications in Pakistan. Another subsidiary set up the same year was the Islamic Research Academy of Karachi, the primary role of which was to disseminate, under the guise of a 'think-tank', the Jamaat's policies among the civil service.[6]

Mawdudi survived one attempt on his life and was imprisoned twice during the Ayub Khan years (1964 and again in 1967). Given the severe restrictions of religious parties, the best that the Jamaat could do was to seek alliances with secular parties, the so-called Combined Opposition Parties, in support of democracy against the military regime. This, curiously, seems opposite to Mawdudi's views on democracy and, even more of an apparent compromise of his views on women in society, the Jamaat supported the candidacy of Muhammad Jinnah's sister, the popular Fatima Jinnah (d. 1967) in the 1965 elections.[7] These certainly seemed to be examples of political pragmatism taking precedence over ideology, although Mawdudi attempted to justify it, rather unconvincingly for many members, by arguing that it was a warranted evil to combat a greater evil. This simply did not wash with many as it got to the very roots of the extent to which the Jamaat could even be called a religious party, or 'holy community' any more. Mawdudi could have appealed to historical and theological precedents and may well have had these in mind as his 'paradigms' for behaviour. For example, when Yazid, the son of the fifth Sunni Caliph Mu'awiyah, succeeded he was considered weak and corrupt, but the majority simply accepted that a united umma under an evil Caliph was preferred to a disunited umma. The important thing is the maintenance of the umma, regardless of the piety of its ruler, and shura 4:59 is often quoted as a defence of this doctrine: 'Believers, obey God and obey the Apostle and those in authority among you.' For Mawdudi, what was more important was the unity of the Jamaat rather than allowing for ideological debate and dissent. Consequently, Mawdudi would more and more rely upon simply expelling members who disputed his programme. The party, as so often happens when they become 'political', ceased to be a diverse and vibrant hotbed for intellectual debate, and instead became a monolithic, pragmatic, reactive political

animal: a Platonic 'large and powerful animal' instead of a 'Republic' of Philosopher-Kings.

Ayub Khan reneged the 1956 constitution and established a new, more secular constitution in 1961 which Khan stated was modelled on the policies of Thomas Jefferson. Although elections were held during his presidency, they were most likely rigged. Undoubtedly, Pakistan experienced a period of modernization and economic prosperity during his Presidency. Khan, for example, introduced the Muslim Family Laws in 1961 which abolished unmitigated polygamy and gave greater powers to the wife who had to consent to a second marriage, and also could not be divorced merely by the husband pronouncing *talaq* three times. He also allied the country to the US against the Soviet Union which resulted in major economic aid. The economy grew rapidly during this period, but it also resulted in a greater gap between the rich and the poor which resulted in more people, outside the prosperous cities especially, looking to Islam. In fact, Ayub Khan would at times have to look to Islam to legitimize his actions, most notably during the Indo-Pakistan War of 1965 when he appealed to Mawdudi to declare the war a jihad. However, on the whole, these appeals to Islam were few and far between which resulted in the Jamaat becoming even more politicized. Ayub Khan's chosen successor, Yahya Khan (1917–80) held elections in December 1970, in which the Jamaat took part. Mawdudi did a tour of Pakistan, declaring that he would be the country's next leader. The party fielded 151 seats, but won only four seats in the National Assembly. The current amir, Syed Munawar Hassan (elected April 2009) was leader of a group who, in 1970 after defeat in the elections, was highly critical of Mawdudi and argued that they had lost the elections because of him. Essentially this was an indirect attack on Mawdudi as being considered too old and out of touch, and it was a call for new leadership. This defeat had an effect on Mawdudi who, now disillusioned with politics, resorted back to his vision of the Jamaat as a holy community divorced from the political world, but by this time many members of the party simply ignored him as his status had now diminished. Mawdudi, after suffering a mild heart attack, stepped down as amir in 1972 following the election of a rather uncharismatic Mian Tufayl (then secretary general) which led to even greater political activism of the Jamaat, especially as a reaction against the socialism of the Pakistan People's Party (PPP) and the rise of Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto (1928–79), although this time under the banner of Islam rather than an anti-Ayub Khan protest in support of democracy.[8]

Although Mawdudi had stepped down as amir, he nonetheless remained involved in Jamaat activities. In fact, while Mian Tufayl was in prison in 1977, Mawdudi returned as de facto leader of the party and spearheaded opposition to Bhutto's leadership. When Bhutto called for fresh elections in the same year, nine seats were taken by the Jamaat and, when General Zia ul-Haqq announced martial law, the General acknowledged the importance of Jamaat and other religious parties, according Mawdudi the status of senior statesman. Much to Mawdudi's pleasure, Zia began a process of Islamization

of Pakistan with the establishment of sharia benches to replace what was essentially British law, which included the controversial Hudood Ordinance that substituted imprisonment or a fine for theft with the amputation of the right hand. The drinking and selling of alcohol by Muslims was banned and, under the Zina Ordinance, anyone married and found to have committed adultery would be stoned to death. Mawdudi also approved of Zia's decision to execute Bhutto.

Mawdudi, however, would not live to see how far Zia was successful in his Islamization programme, for, in April 1979, he went to Buffalo in New York for treatment for a long-time kidney ailment and heart problems. Following a series of operations he died there on 22 September 1979. The funeral was in Buffalo, but he was then transported to Lahore for another, large funeral procession through its streets.

The organization of Jamaat

The way the Jamaat was organized has proved to be an important model for many significant Islamic groups that came after it, both in India and elsewhere in the Islamic world, and so it is important to devote some space to how Mawdudi'a Jamaat was a concrete expression of his own ideology. As we shall see, it was also a reflection of how Mawdudi envisioned the structure of an Islamic state.[9]

In actual fact, in the party's early years, it was organized very simply, consisting of Mawdudi as the amir, the majlis-i shura and its members (*arkan*). In line with Mawdudi's principles, the Jamaat was strict in its hierarchy for not only its members, but also non-members who were divided into three sections, the lowest being the mutaarif (those only introduced to Jamaat), next the mutaathir (those acknowledged as being influenced by the Jamaat's policies) and finally the hamdard (sympathizers). This 'pool' of non-membership was dipped into to find new members, but also fulfilled a role as helpers, or 'workers' (karkuns) for various menial but necessary party tasks (stuffing envelopes and the like). With the upcoming Punjab elections of 1951, the Jamaat hierarchy was revised with the replacement of mutaarif and mutaathir with mutaffiq (affiliates) who actually were considered higher than the hamdard as they were targeted as potential members and had to abide by the code of conduct of the Jamaat.

The problem of membership was heightened as the party became more political: if the party wanted to be popular, then it had to enrol more members, but this conflicted with Mawdudi's insistence that members should be 'pure'; that is, as 'Islamic' and morally upright according to the party's codes. Given Mawdudi's own perception of most people in Pakistan as failing miserably in attaining this level of piety, this did not bode well for a huge membership base. In many ways, the category of 'affiliate' resolved this, for, although they were supposed to abide by the party's code of conduct, the fact that they were not members did not require them to be so pious and

committed in all respects. Also, the affiliates were closely scrutinized and sent to training camps to determine if any were suitable to rise to the status of membership.

Commitment was a key aspect of membership, for it certainly was not a matter of simply signing a card and getting on with your life as if nothing had changed. This was a reflection of the fact that you were not merely becoming a member of a 'party' but a citizen of a new religious community with a set of values that must be obeyed. To ensure adherence, the Jamaat – which was divided across the country into units – held weekly local meetings to which all members must attend. If a member missed more than two of these meetings without a good excuse, then he would be expelled from the party. At these meetings, discussion and the airing of views were allowed but, by the end of the meeting, all decisions reached must be abided by for all members. There were also regular national meetings, the first in 1945 in Pathankot and, with the creation of Pakistan, the first in this new nation was in Lahore in 1949. These meetings, until 1989, were only open to members and affiliates.

Mention has already been made of how the Jamaat was organized as a series of concentric circles. That is, how the party was structured at national level was reflected at provincial, divisional, district, city, town and village levels.[10] At each level, then, the hierarchy of amir, deputy amir, secretary-general and shura was mirrored as much as possible. Obviously, the position of amir is the most important and the supreme source of authority. Mawdudi was originally elected by the shura by a majority vote for five years until 1956 when he was then elected by all members. The shura select three candidates for amir and the members then vote for these in a secret ballot. Although the authority of the amir is immense, there are certain checks and balances. Any matters concerning doctrine, for example, must go before the shura, and the amir can be impeached by a two-thirds majority of the shura. So far, an amir has never been voted out of office and so in all its history it has up until now only four amirs,[11] which is quite exceptional when considered along other parties. The position of deputy amir,[12] incidentally, at least during Mawdudi's reign, had little power, except to act as amir when Mawdudi was absent.

More importantly was the majlis-i shura. Originally it consisted of 12 elected members but, again due to the 1951 Punjab elections, membership increased to 16 and, by 1972, that number had enlarged even further to 60 in order to give its members greater representation. By escalating in number this gave the shura greater power, which on the whole did not concern Mawdudi as it also resulted in reducing the power of individual members, usually with the exception of Mawdudi, whose power of personality was sufficient in most cases. The shura would meet normally only once or twice a year, although it could be called to meet at any time by either the majority of its members or by the amir. Its function is to review party activities and to make policy decisions. Consequently it has a number of subcommittees in various areas of policy making. Mawdudi believed that the concept of the shura had its origins in the first Islamic society, with the Prophet Muhammad as the amir.

Like the time of the Prophet, the shura of the Jamaat could only decide policy through *ijma*; consensus. That is, ideally, the whole of the shura must agree to a decision which would, on occasion, involve lengthy debate of persuasion of one party attempting to convince another. The secretary general is appointed by the amir via consultation with the shura. His role is essentially to deal with the bureaucracy, although it is a position of considerable power and has, since Mawdudi, usually resulted in the secretary general becoming the next amir.

So far, no mention has been made of women within the Jamaat but, in actual fact, there has been a women's wing since February 1948 which, although it has no amir, does have a secretary general and a shura. The majority of its membership consists of the wives and daughters of men who are members of the Jamaat, and it also has its own seminary, the Jami'atu'l-Muhsinat ('Society of the Virtuous') which trains women to become religious teachers and even preachers. It also has its own publications, most significantly *Batul* (this means 'virgin' in Arabic and is an epithet of the Virgin Mary), which devotes its pages to articles on women's roles in Islam, as well as encouraging membership.

Financially speaking, throughout most of Mawdudi's reign as amir, the Jamaat barely kept itself at subsistence level, relying as it did from the sale of books and from voluntary contributions. This situation changed for the better with the coming to power of Bhutto in 1971 who promoted socialist policies. These policies put private industry in a panic as nationalization came into place, and so private companies and wealthy entrepreneurs would plough money into any parties that were in opposition to Bhutto's policies. The Jamaat also benefited from such foreign governments as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait who, as monarchies, were not keen to see socialism succeed in a Muslim country. This funding has increased considerably since Mawdudi stepped down.

Mention has already been made of the importance of dissemination of Jamaat's views through the medium of its publications and institutes. Due to the nature of the material, this tended to appeal to highly educated Muslims, but there were also more populist magazines such as the *Urdu Digest*[13] which, though not officially part of Jamaat, have tended to reflect the ideological views of the party. Unions too have had an extremely important role to play, notably the long-standing student union, Islami Jami'at-i Tulabah (or IJT as it is popularly known), in recruiting younger educated Muslims to its cause. The importance of recruiting young Muslim students (*talibs*) to a cause cannot be overstated, as has been evidenced historically with such organizations as the Taliban. The IJT was officially formed in December 1947 in Lahore by just 25 students, most of whom were the sons of Jamaat members. The union quickly spread to other colleges and universities across Pakistan. It was unashamedly proselytizing, engaging in missionary (*dawa*) activity, including such techniques as a 'study circle' and all-night study sessions. It has produced a journal, '*Azm*, and an English-language magazine, *Student's Voice*. Ayub Khan's socialist policies galvanized the IJT into an anti-leftist body that

was not always peaceful, organizing demonstrations against leftist students that resulted in violent clashes. This was not always to the liking of Mawdudi and the Jamaat, who often had to engage in more subtle methods, and the activities of the IJT often had to be reigned in from above, which also meant that members of IJT became more involved in the day-to-day activities and debates of the Jamaat. The more radical and politicized IJT did not always see eye to eye with the relatively more moderate and ideological Jamaat. At other times, however, Mawdudi, becoming more political later on, saw the advantage of a radicalized, militant group of young Muslims, and would actively encourage the demonstrations at opportune moments to express to the government, Ayub Khan's especially, the unrest among the future leaders of the country. In addition, as was clearly demonstrated in the Paris riots of May 1968, the evidence was there as to what chaos students could cause and what power they had with the right incitement. Later on, in the early 1970s, the IJT even formed paramilitary groups to fight Bengali separatists. As a consequence again of Ayub Khan's leftist policies and the introduction of socialist unions, Jamaat student unions sprung up in the 1960s to represent such bodies as medicine, law, peasants, female students, and so on.

The identity of the Jamaat was always a problematic one during Mawdudi's amirship, primarily because Mawdudi was not always sure what ideology the Jamaat was meant to uphold, moving as he did from a more universalist, pan-Islamic outlook, to a particularistic perspective focused on Pakistan. However, the Jamaat, while on the one hand needing to concentrate on the day-to-day political issues that arose in Pakistan, always felt – at least Mawdudi always felt – that whatever it did in Pakistan was a paradigm for how Muslims should behave everywhere. Ultimately, the aim for Mawdudi was the creation of an Islamic society, a new umma, which may, pragmatically speaking, have to start off 'small scale' with Pakistan, but ultimately the aim was a Muslim world. Mawdudi, like so many Muslims before and after him, had a dualist view of the world; a bifurcation of the 'abode of peace' and the 'abode of war', of good and evil. Ultimately, the battles that Jamaat fought in the political arena were symbolic of a metaphysical battle between Islam – the force for good and divine law – and Jahiliyyah – the force of evil and disorder. This is why many Muslims in the Arab world supported the activities of the Jamaat. The fact that this was a Muslim party in a country far removed from the Arab states politically, ethnically, socially, and so on, was entirely irrelevant to the fact that it was a *Muslim* group and, as such, national borders did not matter. What mattered was the never-ending paradigm of Islam acting upon the world, which had its origins with the Prophet Muhammad and the first Islamic community. To this end, Jamaat's activities were not limited to Pakistan. Jamaat-e-Islami sprang up in other countries, in India of course, but also Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, North America (the Islamic Circle), and the UK (Islamic Mission).[14] Mawdudi's considerable writings have also, from the beginning, been propagated across the world by

translating his writings into the lingua franca of the Muslim world, Arabic (Mawdudi wrote in Urdu), and then also into English, Turkish and other languages as diverse as Japanese and Swahili. Although the Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan has always remained focused on Pakistani affairs, it has also supported Muslims in other parts of the world when necessary.

Part II
Mawdudi and political Islam

6 The need for 'intellectual independence'

So far we have looked at Mawdudi's career and have, to a small extent, interspersed his political progress with some of his ideas. This chapter, and those that follow, will consider in much more detail what Mawdudi's teachings actually were, as well as the philosophical, political and historical context of his views. As we have already touched upon, Mawdudi's ideology is peppered with historical paradigms, most importantly the career of the Prophet Muhammad and the establishment of the first Islamic state in Medina. It makes little sense in considering Mawdudi's views without a full appreciation of this context, as well as that of other religious and philosophical movements and figures that have had a profound effect on Mawdudi. As we have seen, Mawdudi was brought up in the specific historical and social context of India at a time of decline in British colonial power, coupled with a likewise decline in Muslim Mogul dominance and the subsequent rise of Hindu nationalism and secularism. All of these events are obviously important in understanding Mawdudi, and the first five chapters especially have related these events to his political program. However, what must not be forgotten is Mawdudi's ability to operate 'outside' of the present time. It is a common characteristic of many religions and religious movements that the world is perceived in both a concrete real time of contemporary events and socio-economic considerations, while also operating within a framework by what may be referred to as the 'transhistorical'. As the great American anthropologist Clifford Geertz (1926–2006) has remarked, ideologies bridge 'the emotional gap between things as they are and as one would have them to be, thus insuring the performance of roles that might otherwise be abandoned in despair or apathy'.[1] Mawdudi is strongly representative of his use of Islamic ideology in this way. On the one hand, he is confronted by an Islam as it is practised and engaged in by contemporary, particularly Indian, society in the twentieth century while, on the other hand, this is fed by Islam as an ideology that is utopic in character. For Mawdudi, this utopic ideology is very much present in the everyday. In that sense, the transhistorical has been transcended by informing the everyday with its paradigms.

Mawdudi and the transhistorical

As an Islamic revivalist, Mawdudi, as do many revivalists, looks to the past, to key Islamic paradigms that inform a 'golden age narrative'. History, for Sayyid Qutb (1906–66) is 'a memory determined by the authority'.[2] By 'authority' Qutb means events, people or myths that can impose themselves upon the collective memory of a culture. For Islamic discourse, that authority is primarily the golden age narrative and this is what is meant by transhistorical Islam. For Mawdudi, there are four specific paradigms. First, there is, of course the holy scripture of Islam, the Qur'an, which Mawdudi was extremely familiar with and, in fact, had written a famous commentary on the Qur'an which is still used today. Second, the deeds and words of the Prophet Muhammad. As the divinely chosen 'vessel' for the Qur'an, the life of the Prophet is seen as the paradigm for the perfect Muslim. Third, the creation of the first Islamic state of Medina, formerly Yathrib. Finally, the period following the death of Muhammad known as the period of the Rightly Guided Caliphs (*Khalifat-e-Rashidun*). The first four Caliphs that followed the death of Muhammad are considered 'rightly guided' primarily because they all knew Muhammad personally and so are the first generations of Muslims, or what are known as the Companions of the Prophet (*sahabah*). The Companions are the men and women who lived, worked and fought beside the Prophet and, consequently, the practices of these Caliphs are seen as paradigms of Islamic leadership. In total, this golden age narrative is a relatively short period of time, from Muhammad's first revelation in around AD 610 until the death of the fourth Rightly Guided Caliph, Ali, in AD 661. The fact that it was such a short period of time is all the more remarkable given how Islam, in the space of just 50 years, had spread. Given this narrative, it is understandable that Mawdudi felt that Islam, if 'revived' in the way it was in the seventh century, would soon overcome India and beyond.

An important facet of Islamic ideology that is often cited by revivalists is that there is no separation between religion and politics. Whether this is *actually* the case will be considered later on, but it highlights here how the transhistorical can impose itself upon the historical, how a utopic conception of Islam can mould contemporary political ideology. Pure Islam, as understood by Mawdudi, *is* life, not just a *part of* life. It is all-encompassing and so is just as much political as it is social, economic, 'religious', and so on. This differs from the more modern western perception of politics as concerned with formal institutions and power relations within an organized setting that are separate from religious organizations,[3] and so one can talk of the realm of politics as separate from the realm of religion. Also, as it is separate from religion, politics is effectively secular.

Mawdudi's conception of Islam in its pure state is certainly utopic, as we shall explore, but having a utopic vision need not be seen as necessarily negative. Although Plato, in his *Republic*, goes into considerable detail on the nature of his utopic state which suggests that Utopia, 'no place' being the

literal translation of the Greek, can actually become a reality. The problem with a utopia arises when it is considered seriously as a possibility which can then result in a state that is ideological, impotent and static.[4] We are always inclined to see people's philosophical writings in a global sense, but sometimes it makes more sense to see it in a local manner. Perhaps Plato's criticisms of democracy, for example, had more to do with its responsibility for the death of his friend and mentor Socrates. As another example, Nietzsche's philosophy is often *ad hominem*, concerned more with responding to Wagner, Schopenhauer, etc., than presenting a global view. And, indeed, many Nietzsche scholars would argue that he does not have a political philosophy at all. It has been argued that to some extent Mawdudi can be read in a similar manner: the complexity of Mawdudi's treatment of democracy perhaps has to do with the context in which he first encountered it: Indian nationalism promised democracy in a pluralistic society, while many Muslims saw Indian nationalism as a vehicle for Hindu supremacy. For that reason, Mawdudi was suspicious of democracy while also aware of its positive connotations. Ultimately, it is argued, Mawdudi conceived of the state in ahistorical terms as an ideal type in which the question of democracy would not even arise. However, although Mawdudi may not have *intended* to present a detailed account of an Islamic state, the realities of day-to-day political engagement meant that he did just that in considerable detail and, like Plato, we cannot simply ignore these writings and treat them merely as speculative whims. Mawdudi engages in a form of active utopianism, that is he wishes to engage actively in creating a utopia on earth. Generally speaking, as in Plato for example, speculation upon the nature of a utopian society is founded upon a recognition that these societies have never existed in any substantial form. Certain forms of philosophical Romanticism do make reference to a historical utopia, most notably that of Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–78) in his brilliant *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality* (published in 1755), where he deals most clearly with humankind's alienation from nature. Rousseau presents us with a 'hypothetical history' of man in a pre-social condition:

> I see an animal less strong than some, and less active than others, but, upon the whole, the most advantageously organised of any; I see him satisfying the calls of hunger under the first oak, and those of thirst at the first rivulet; I see him laying himself down to sleep at the foot of the same tree that afforded him his meal; and behold, this done, all his wants are completely supplied.[5]

Rousseau did not see the state of nature as a brutal war, as Hobbes did. Rousseau's 'savage man', taken further back in history than Hobbes', does not live in fear and anxiety, being in a position to fight or flee from other creatures. It is only as humankind moves out of its natural condition that it fears death.[6] In addition, 'In proportion as he becomes sociable and a slave to others, he becomes weak, fearful, mean-spirited, and his soft and effeminate

way of living at once completes the enervation of his strength and his courage.'[7] Importantly, however, Rousseau does call for a return to this form of utopia and, in fact, argues that such a thing would be disastrous for the human race. Rather, he argues for a greater role for nature within a modern social setting. This is where Mawdudi differs so much, for not only was his utopic vision regarded by him as being a historical reality, he also argued for its recreation in the modern world: not an exact copy, of course, but nonetheless within the same framework in terms of the paradigms referred to earlier. Because of the golden age narrative, utopia was a concrete reality in a relatively not-too-distant past. It follows, so far as Mawdudi is concerned, that if something actually did exist in the past, then it could be realized once more in the future. There could be no prophet, of course, but there could be a leader, a 'sheikh', with considerable authority. Further, and this is rather like Rousseau here, Mawdudi's Islamic society is completely in line with nature. In fact, it *is* nature. As Islam is the one and true religion and Medina was its incarnation on earth, governed by the Prophet of God, then this was a society governed by the laws of God/nature (God being the creator of nature and the harmony within it). Man is a natural being in the sense he is a religious being. The Qur'an is full of such references to man, who by turning away from God, is also turning away from his own true nature. As another famous American anthropologist, Ernest Gellner (1925–95), pointed out, 'Islam is the blueprint of a social order'.[8] To be a Muslim is to live in an Islamic state, for ultimate authority rests in divine order. A political order living under sharia is the realization of a utopia. The *topos* where this order of perfection exists is the time of Prophet Muhammad and the *Rashidun*. Medina is perceived as the authentic Islamic community, with Muhammad as the authentic Islamic leader. While Mawdudi talks of this state as being a theo-democracy, and more on this later, his understanding of the Islamic state is that it does not fit neatly into any form of existing political order, whether it be Marxist, socialist, democratic, dictatorial or a monarchy. These are 'imported ideologies'. To be religious is 'to bind' (*religio*) oneself to the Divine and so the Muslim both exists in the temporal, historical world and in the eternal, transhistorical. The Islamic community, in its perfection, mirrors the heavenly archetype; the *exempla* is that of Medina. The Muslim's relation to the community defines his relationship with Allah so that to be a good Muslim in the Islamic community is to follow the laws laid down, primarily, by the Qur'an: the 'descent of the Absolute'.

For Muslims in particular, this 'binding' to God has political implications. It is considered by Mawdudi as much more than a personal relationship, because Islam concerns itself with all matters of human society, whether social, political or economic. Whereas in Christianity, for example, salvation effectively lies in the acceptance of Christ as the Messiah as manifested in sacramental rituals such as baptism and matrimony, for the Muslim salvation is living one's daily life. The everyday decision he or she makes are religious acts:

> Christianity is essentially a mystery which veils the Divine from man …
> In Islam, however, it is man who is veiled from God … Islam is thus
> essentially a way of knowledge; it is a way of gnosis (*ma'rifah*) … Islam
> leads to that essential knowledge which integrates our being, which
> makes us know what we are and be what we know or in other words
> integrates knowledge and being in the ultimate unitive vision of reality.[9]

However, as Patrick Bannerman points out:

> For Muslims, there is an added complexity in that the era of *Rashidun*,
> the 'Golden Age' of Islam, has become an idealized state in which
> pristine and pure Islam sprang forth, like Aphrodite from the waves,
> completely furnished with all the impedimenta of a fully-fledged state and
> society – law, philosophy, administrative machinery, economic principles,
> etc. Yet as many authorities, including Muslim authorities, have con-
> clusively demonstrated, the evolution of the impedimenta of a fully
> fledged state and society took place over a period of some three
> centuries or more following the Golden Age. Furthermore, the period
> of the *Rashidun* was itself one of the most innovative in the history of
> Islam.[10]

As will be shown, the problem with Mawdudi is that he does idealize the
Islamic state and fails to take account of its social and cultural milieu and
development. The very thought that Islam could have been influenced by
something outside of Islam was inconceivable for Mawdudi. To help to
understand Mawdudi's concept of the transhistorical, there is an interesting
article by Bert de Vries, 'Theocracy in Islam', which is worthwhile summar-
izing here as he provides such a succinct account of the features that make up
the transhistorical view of the Islamic state, borrowing heavily as he does
from traditional and medieval sources of political theory.

(a) *Every* act is a religious act. This is something that the Prophet Muhammad
believed to be the case. What he said and what he did was not merely the
acts of the political leader of a state, but it was the acts of a human
being – eating, drinking, socializing – who is considered the perfect
Muslim.
(b) The state of Medina was a perfect theocracy. In its initial stages it was
little more than a tribal confederacy ruled by the Prophet. However, even
as it grew rapidly into a world empire ruled by the Abbasids from their
capital in Baghdad, the basic framework of this first theocracy remained
in place.
(c) In these Islamic societies, there is no distinction between the spiritual and
political realms, for God expresses His will directly and clearly to
humankind through the body politic. A harmony between humankind
and state is therefore achieved.

(d) The Qur'an is the literal word of God, communicated through the Prophet Muhammad. It is not simply a 'holy book', but a comprehensive guide to every aspect of the Muslim life. Daily life *is* sacrament, and salvation comes through living every aspect of your life as a Muslim. In the Qur'an it is stated: 'This day I have perfected your religion for you and completed My favour to you. I have chosen Islam to be your faith' (5.4). The key word here is 'perfected'; it is the perfect, the complete religion. The Qur'an, therefore, provides political direction, especially given that the Prophet Muhammad was also a political leader. In time, the Qur'an and the words and deeds of Muhammad, the hadith, became that body of law known as sharia. Sharia, as the law of God, stands above the state and its ruler. 'In this sense it is perhaps more apropos to characterize Islamic politics as "nomocratic" rather than "theocratic".'[11]

(e) As the Islamic state is governed by divine law, its full citizens must, by implication, be Muslim. Looking back at the first Islamic state, the umma consisted of those who had submitted to the will of God. The Islamic state, therefore, is not defined by national boundaries, or by race, gender or class, but by its membership of Muslims. This is what constitutes the *Dar al-Islam* ('The House of Islam').

(f) The following are characteristic theocratic institutions of the Islamic state:

    i.   The Caliphate. Prophethood ended with Muhammad, but the role of political leader of the state was passed on in the form of the Caliph; the 'successor' of the prophet of God. The first four Caliphs are considered 'rightly guided' (*rashidun*), because they lived concurrently with the Prophet and knew him personally.

    ii. The ulama. Although it is often stated that there is no 'priesthood' in Islam, the ulama – as experts in the Islamic sciences – have often in the past wielded considerable authority. As interpreters of God's will, they are often seen as the guardians of theocracy and a check against the abuse of power by the political authorities.

De Vries goes on to note that the traditional theocratic concept of the Islamic state was threatened and undermined by the European conquests during the period of roughly 1750–1950, which saw the introduction of alien ideologies such as liberalism and nationalism. When talking of an Islamic resurgence, this began in around 1950 as a reaction against these alien ideologies. At first this resurgence seemed, ironically, to be characterized by the adoption of other – seemingly alien – ideologies such as socialism or communism, although it was argued by figures such as Qaddafi in his Green Book that it is actually compatible with Islam. More recently, however, revivalists have looked to the golden age narrative as the model for Islamic revival.

Iqbal and the concept of selfhood (*khudi*)

Although the characteristics above are inevitably a generalization, they do to a great extent fit with Mawdudi's form of revivalism. What Mawdudi meant by 'intellectual independence' was for an Islam that was pure, that was unsullied by external cultural influences. This was most specifically in terms of the ascending culture of Hinduism, but more widely it was a desire for Islam to be divorced from any external influence, any '-ism', whether Marxism, Communism, secularism, and so on. Mawdudi saw Islam as possessing its own '-ism': Islam *is* Islamism. It is a completely independent alternative to other systems that existed. This concept of intellectual independence derives to some extent from Mawdudi's readings of Muhammad Iqbal and his concept of *khudi* (selfhood), which Mawdudi interpreted as Islamic self-assertion against alien '-isms'.[12]

The importance that Mawdudi places on the Prophet Muhammad as a paradigm is also evident in Iqbal's poetry, *Asrar-i-Khudi* ('Secrets of the Self', 1915), as are a number of Iqbal's poems, in turn, influenced by Nietzsche's views on the Ubermensch, and Iqbal, indeed, saw the Prophet Muhammad as something of a Nietzschean 'superman'. As Malise Ruthven notes:

> Iqbal's mystical humanism reflected his reading of Bergson and Nietzsche, as well as ideas developed from the traditions of Islamic neoplatonism, Nietzsche's 'superman' and Ibn Arabi's 'Perfect Man', Bergson's '*elan vital*', and Rumi's evolutionary spiral, merge in his thinking, along with perceptions drawn from Hegel, Whitehead, Russell and Einstein.[13]

Iqbal is much more philosophical, and more subtle, than Mawdudi and, although they both emphasized the importance of the Prophet, Iqbal's paradigm was less political in character. Also, Iqbal – unlike Mawdudi – thought that the perfect Islamic state has never existed in past history and so to create such a state requires looking to the future, not the past.

In the Ruthven quote above, mention is also made of Bergson as an influence on Iqbal. Mawdudi's concept of the transhistorical is also, indirectly, an influence of Bergson's distinction between 'time' and 'duration': the influence is indirect in that it was through Iqbal that Mawdudi directly encountered this view. Iqbal looked to western thought; not to 'borrow' from it, but to see how it helps to illustrate what he considered to be universal truths that are indigenous to Islam. Iqbal was not threatened by external thought, as he had sufficient confidence in the resilience of Islam to withstand such external forces. Knowledge, no matter where it comes from, is there to be used and it is not necessary to agree to it. As he says in *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 'Approach modern knowledge with a respectful but independent attitude and to appreciate the teachings of Islam in the light of that knowledge, even though we may be led to differ from those who have gone

before us.'[14] The appeal of Islam for many Muslims, and Mawdudi included, is that he took Islam out of its historical context and made it transhistorical by appealing to its universal and absolute principles. By applying these principles to any given time or place allows for Islam, in principle at least, to remain fresh and creative. Coupled with this was Iqbal's unwavering confidence in the ability of Islam to adapt and withstand attacks upon it. The response to external, 'alien ideology', was not to submit and admit defeat, but rather to see within other ideologies common universal ideas that are shared. Like Nietzsche, Iqbal has been described as a philosopher of the future, and it can be seen why.

Two concepts that were important in Iqbal's writings were *khudi*, mentioned above, and *tawhid*: 'humanity needs three things today, spiritual interpretation of the universe, spiritual emancipation of the individual, and basic principles of a universal import directing the evolution of human society on a spiritual basis'.[15] The *khudi*, or ego, is expressed in both an existential sense of emerging and evolving, but also in a communal sense of being part of the group consciousness of the umma. In a way, it's a resolution of the moral problem that is encountered in a study of existentialism of how the individual can be a moral agent *and* be free. For Iqbal, the agent's freedom is expressed through the communal, but he also wants to stress that the moral conclusions the individual draws are universal in nature.

The importance of *tawhid*, the oneness of God, was equally emphasized by Mawdudi. For Iqbal, *tawhid* implied the rejection of the Cartesian dualistic conception of the world as mental and physical. If we may digress for a moment and consider what is meant by this Cartesian view and why it is significant here: for the French philosopher René Descartes (1596–1650), the physical world is subject to strict mathematical laws that can be controlled by humankind. For Descartes, the world is essentially there to be appropriated by humankind, a 'utility' to be used for the service of humankind, for humankind is able to make itself master and possessor of nature. Descartes had an unbending confidence in logical deductive reasoning over the uncertainty of mere probabilities, in isomorphic method with its reliance on the supposed a priori analytic certainty of mathematics. Iqbal's existential philosophy, alternatively, allows the human body much greater freedom to escape from the limitations of scientific determinism. The concept of *tawhid* contains within it a unity of body and soul, spirit and matter, the individual and the communal.

For Iqbal, the ultimate *khudi* is God. God is both transcendent, but also, in another sense, immanent, as God is intimately connected with humankind through his creative power. This is very much a Sufi conception of God: not a distant, unobtainable figure, but as the often quoted verse in the Qur'an states: 'We created man. We know the promptings of his soul, and are closer to him than his jugular vein.'[16] Mention in the Ruthven quote is made of the influence also of 'Rumi's evolutionary spiral' for God, as the Ultimate Ego, manifests Himself from the lowest forms of matter to the highest evolutionary

form which is humankind. For Iqbal, 'Reality is essentially spirit', but 'Indeed the evolution of life shows that, though in the beginning the mental is dominated by the physical, the mental as it grows in power, tends to dominate the physical and may eventually rise to a position of complete independence …'[17] The human ego evolves gradually from the position of possessing hardly any freedom at all and subject to the laws of nature of human appetites, to a more spiritual state of independence and dynamism: 'The "unceasing reward" of man consists in his gradual growth in self-possession, in uniqueness, and intensity of his activity as an ego.'[18] Like Mawdudi's view, the paradigm of the perfect human for Iqbal is also the Prophet Muhammad as the creator of new values. The purpose of human life on earth is the creation of self-creative egos, the men with *khudi*; the lords of creation. Iqbal's Vicegerent is his perfect Muslim; of which the finest example is the Prophet Muhammad. Speaking of the Prophet, he says:

> He is the preface to the book of two worlds,
> All the people of the world are slaves and he is the master.
> Mankind is the cornfield and thou the harvest,
> Thou art the goal of life's caravan.[19]

The Prophet spoke of the divine within the human and so, in theory at least, humankind is capable of overcoming the transcendent and taking part in the divinity. The separation between the divine and human can be linked; the rope that ties humankind to God can be pulled in. Although not always easy to determine, Iqbal seemed to have a much greater faith in the individual to overcome his or her animal-like inclinations and partake in the divine, for his or her conception of humankind does seem to be more existential and capable of freedom than Mawdudi's humankind who, on the whole, is perceived as weak and ineffectual and reliant upon authority for spiritual guidance. While Mawdudi accepts the paradigm of the Prophet and other occasional individuals through history such as the Rashidun, he has less faith in the majority of the population to achieve this.

The goal for humankind is *tawhid*; unity with God. As Iqbal stated in one of his speeches, 'It was Islam and Islam alone which, for the first time gave the message to mankind that religion was neither national and racial, nor individual and private, but purely human and that its purpose was to unite and organize mankind despite all its natural distinctions.'[20] *Tawhid* is not just the oneness of God, but it is also the interconnectedness and intrinsic unity of all things, even though it appears disparate. In this sense, Iqbal's concept of *tawhid* is far more mystical than Mawdudi's political mind would allow. Having said that, as we have seen, Iqbal was aware of the political implications of his philosophy. His call for the unity of the umma was not just in a mystical and abstract sense, although he did not address the specifics as much as Mawdudi did. Rather, he dealt with abstracts, believing that the central principles of tolerance, equality and brotherhood would provide

the framework for the diversity that is the umma. To some extent this organic emergence was evident in early Mawdudi, but political reality resulted in the need to put such abstracts into a more pragmatic and concrete programme. Iqbal saw this development of the umma always as a gradual, evolutionary spiritual growth, whereas Mawdudi realized the need for political practicalities. Inevitably, however, translating abstract ideals into specifics opens Mawdudi to criticism, which will be explored in more detail in later chapters.

Iqbal's notion of the individual, the ego, the *khudi*, emerging in an evolutionary manner like Nietzsche's Ubermensch, begs the question why the *khudi* would feel any need to acquiesce to the ethical requirements of Islam. The clash between the existential self and 'being moral' is a topic that Sartre, for example, never satisfactorily resolved, falling back on a form of Kantian categorical imperative. Likewise, Nietzsche's 'creator of values' has raised questions as to the moral character of these Ubermensch. It is perhaps for this reason that Mawdudi was more reticent in his confidence that Muslims could be morally responsible for their own actions or, rather, that those who called themselves Muslims were not technically Muslim because they were not morally responsible.

Iqbal described *khudi* in the following way:

> Metaphysically the word *khudi?* (self-hood) is used in the sense of that indescribable feeling of 'I' which forms the basis of the uniqueness of each individual. Ethically the word *khudi?* means (as used by me) self-reliance, self-respect, self-confidence, self-preservation, self-assertion when such a thing is necessary, in the interest of life and power to stick to the cause of truth, justice, duty etc. even in the face of death. Such behaviour is moral in my opinion because it helps in the integration of the forces of the Ego, thus hardening it, as against the forces of disintegration and dissolution, practically the metaphysical ego is the bearer of two main rights that is the right to life and freedom as determined by Divine Law.[21]

Here then, the self is an ethical self-possessing certain moral qualities that, for Iqbal, are universal. Like Plato's Philosopher-King, they would be good, because good is a universal truth. For Iqbal, his concept of the universe is spatio-temporal with millions of egos interacting in an ever-changing evolutionary soup. The ego is disintegrated in hell, whereas in heaven it is distinct and self-conscious. This, if nothing else, is an important motivator for humankind to strive towards *tawhid*, and it also gives purpose to one's existence in the temporal world. In the Augustinian sense, the world is 'soul-making'. Again, Iqbal gets very mystical and poetic when he emphasizes the role of the heart (or *dil* or *'ishq*) in his philosophy (Bergson's *élan vital*) as the vital force for creative evolution:

> Beneath this visible evolution of forms is the force of love which actualises all strivings, movement and progress. Things are so constituted that

they hate non-existence and love the joy of individuality in various forms. The indeterminate matter, dead in itself, assumes or more properly is made to assume by the inner force of love, various forms and rises higher and higher in the scale of beauty.[22]

Unlike Bergson's *élan vital*, however, the *khudi* must be attached to some goal. Iqbal's evolutionary process is teleological. While the Prophet Muhammad was the perfect man, others can achieve this too, and this is what Iqbal meant by the mujahid. As already suggested, how many can achieve this spiritual state is unclear, however, from Iqbal's writings. Although Iqbal's understanding of humankind's potential seems more democratic than Mawdudi's, he also seems more in line with Nietzsche in supposing that most people will not listen to this message. This raises problems for his conception of the umma if it is to remain hierarchical. Humankind must first become conscious of its own true *fitrah*, or nature, which has its roots in the Divine: 'It is by rising to a fresh vision of his origin and future, his whence and whither, that man will eventually triumph over a society motivated by inhuman competition and a civilization which has lost its spiritual unity by its inner conflict of religions and political values.'[23]

It is this conflict between a faith in humankind to utilize its creative power in creating an organic community, a 'higher religion' symbolized in Islam during the Prophet Muhammad, and the seeming unwillingness for most human beings to be either capable or motivated to engage in the *itjihad* required to achieve such a goal. Iqbal felt that a society must be created that cultivates humankind's creative power and, one suspects, Mawdudi hoped for this too. Yet, at the same time, Mawdudi is more conservative, practically speaking, which only results in suppressing creativity. In the same way Iqbal called for a new Islam that faced modern realities, Mawdudi hoped to change Muslim popular values and redefine Islam as something unique, a new force that was not hitching a ride on other prevailing ideologies. To this extent, Mawdudi was much more reluctant than Iqbal in making use of western intellectual discourse. At least, he was more reluctant to admit this influence. As much as possible, Mawdudi tried to view Islam as an independent ideology, completely unreliant on other belief systems or cultures. If an 'alien' culture made a scientific, political, social or what-have-you claim that was in line with Mawdudi's Islam that was only because Islam possessed that claim independently. And Islam, originating at the beginning of time, and even timeless, means that its claims came first. That is to say, if it is argued that Islam is democratic this is not because of what has been learned from examples of democracy in other states, but because Islam has *always been* democratic. Democracy has just been 'forgotten', because the teachings of the Qur'an are being neglected and need to be revived. Similarly, when talking of scientific claims: scientific discovery in the west did not conflict with Islam, it *is* Islam. Mawdudi used the same kind of terms as Iqbal when talking of Islam: It was 'revolutionary', it was 'dynamic', it was a 'total way of life'.

Mawdudi's understanding of Islam was in many respect backward-looking, but, like Iqbal, it was intended for this constant reference to the past to act as a framework for the modern world. In his own words:

> We aspire for Islamic renaissance on the basis of the Qur'an. To us the Qur'anic spirit and Islamic tenets are immutable; but the application of this spirit in the realm of practical life must always vary with the change of conditions and increase of knowledge … Our way is quite different both from the Muslim scholar of the recent past and modern Europeanized stock. On the one hand we have to imbibe exactly the Qur'anic spirit and identify our outlook with the Islamic tenets while, on the other, we have to assess thoroughly the developments in the field of knowledge and changes in conditions of life than have been brought during the last eighteen hundred years; and third, we have to arrange these ideas and laws of life on genuine Islamic lines so that Islam should once again become a dynamic force; the leader of the world rather than its follower.[24]

By emphasizing the unique, independent nature of Islam, it inevitably resulted in an early form of a 'clash of civilizations', unlike Iqbal who seemed more ready to accept common ground among different cultures. Although the differences are subtle, Mawdudi saw the world in much more black and white terms: an apocalyptic battle between the forces of good and evil. In real, local, political terms this meant a perception of Hindu culture – as well as British colonialism – as evil. Unlike, Iqbal, there would be no knighthood for Mawdudi. But, although Mawdudi 'rejected' the west in public parlance, he also looked to the west in order to emulate it. The fact was, supremacy at the time was firmly in the hands of the colonial powers. The west represented the display of power and self-confidence in the modern world that Islam seemingly lacked. Mawdudi is something of an enigma: in many ways a romantic, especially when it came to the Islamic past, but in other ways deeply pragmatic, certainly when it comes to adapting Islam to the modern world. This pragmatism is a result of Mawdudi's concern for restoring Islam to its former glory, to a position of power in the world once more and, in many ways, the pragmatic approach is very 'Islamic' when one looks to the life of the Prophet Muhammad and the early rise of Islam. A fact that Mawdudi would have been well aware of, despite his romantic view of the past, is that Islam would not have spread so successfully if it had not been pragmatic in accepting other belief systems and political orders. However, the enigmatic quality of Mawdudi or, perhaps more appropriately, his almost schizophrenic quality, was that he seemed to express often an inner tension between this need for pragmatism for the sake of power and for the restoration of what he saw as a pristine Islam. It raises the question, which will be explored later, whether Islam had ever in its history been 'pristine' in the way Mawdudi perceived it and, in that case, Mawdudi was fighting a lost cause, a utopia that could only ever remain in the mind of Mawdudi.

7 The salafis

Ibn Taymiyya and the Wahhabis[1]

It is important to pause and consider in some detail what exactly is meant by the term Islamic 'revivalist' and, in that context, what kind of revivalist Mawdudi was. In considering what the 'problem' is with Islam in the modern world, this has been explored by many scholars, both Muslim and non-Muslim, and the conclusion more often than not is that Muslims are in a state of psychological trauma and a malaise caused by an awareness that the Islamic worldview fails to correspond with the modern world. As Wilfred Cantwell Smith states, 'the fundamental malaise of modern Islam is a sense that something has gone wrong with Islamic history. The fundamental problem of modern Muslims is how to rehabilitate that history: to set it going in full vigour, so that Islamic society may once again flourish as a divinely guided society should and must.'[2] However, Mawdudi's form of revivalism is not harking back to a social order that existed in the past. In fact, it is extremely difficult to pigeon-hole Mawdudi, which is one of his attractions. Mawdudi tends to borrow from so many different traditions as and when it suits. For example, he could hardly be described as a 'traditionalist' in the sense usually understood as those who reject the west entirely and instead aim to return to a 'pure Islam' with little need for western technology. Despite being trained as a Deobandi alim, Mawdudi was not against modern thought, whether scientific, social, economic or political. In fact, it is somewhat difficult today to determine who would qualify under the 'traditionalist' label, as even modern Wahhabism, that which exists in Saudi Arabia, makes use of western technology, as do such groups as Al-Qaeda. It is best characterized by the founder of the Wahhabi movement Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab (1703–92) who modelled himself on the Hanbali thinker Ibn Taimiyya (d. 1328) in that he possessed an uncompromising dislike for what he perceived as non-Muslim innovations which contaminated the purity of Islam. Al-Wahhab attacked 'innovations' (*bid'ah*) and idolatry (*shirk*), such as the celebration of Prophet Muhammad's birthday and the visit to Sufi shrines, because he viewed these as diluting pure Islam and causing its decline. Wahhabism[3] is important because it reflects significant trends in Islamic

thought during the eighteenth century. What is particularly interesting about it is, unlike movements in the nineteenth century onwards, it was not a reaction against western ideas. In fact it was the result of internal conditions, in the sense of what was happening in the Islamic world; for example, Egyptian ritual and belief. Having said that, in terms of doctrine and organization, the Wahhabi shared much with the 'modern' movements and, in fact, is a precursor of them, including Mawdudi's Jamaat. Like his model Ibn Taymiyya, al-Wahhab did not argue for a blind adherence to the traditions, the Qur'an and hadith. He argued for ijtihad: engaging in active reasoning and interpretation of hadith to ensure it is conducive with the message of the Qur'an. The aim of reform was to prevent the engagement in practices for which people had little or no understanding of why they engaged in them. While al-Wahhab stressed that it is important to obey sharia, he also stressed that sharia needs be a correct interpretation of the Qur'an, which requires the skill of ijtihad. Al-Wahhab did not want Muslims to follow sharia merely because it is the law, but rather because it was in tune with the word of God. Although there have always been some independent jurists in the Islamic world who have engaged in ijtihad, to a large extent the 'gates of ijtihad' have been closed since al-Shafi'i in the thirteenth century. The guidelines and teachings of the legal scholars became so enshrined that judges would rarely dare do anything other than imitate (*taqlid*) these predecessors. The important contribution al-Wahhab made to Islamic revivalism[4] was that, while acknowledging that the Qur'an is universal and eternal, the rulings of humankind are not. The question needed to be addressed, if Islam was to reform, whether the legal rulings of scholars from the Middle Ages could have any bearing on the modern world. In theory, at least, Wahhabism allowed that anything that is not explicitly forbidden in the Qur'an or in the Sunna was therefore permitted. However, in practice, the more militant element of the movement resulted in actual physical attacks on any actions that were perceived as 'innovation', such as the visit to the tombs of saints or such superstitious practices such as spitting in a particular way or wearing charms to ward off evil.

There are, then, certain features of Wahhabism, at least in its original form, that reflect Mawdudi's own views, and this can be traced back to Ibn Taymiyyah (1263–1328). There are a number of similarities between Ibn Taymiyyah and Mawdudi. Indeed, Mawdudi was very praising of Ibn Taymiyyah:

> Ibn Taymiyya removed these dangers, revived Islam's spirit of idea and morals and accomplished the explorations of renewal. A little before him, no one had dared to invite the people to Islam out of the fear of being calumniated; the narrow-minded scholars had cooperated with the cruel rulers, and it was his lot to unfurl the flag of renewal against them. He was profound in interpretation of the Qur'an and a leader in the Hadith and he took Islam from where al-Ghazali had left it forward.

He defended Islamic faith and found more beautiful proofs for Islamic spirit than al-Ghazali had. Al-Ghazali's judgement had remained under the harmful influence of rational thoughts. Ibn Taymiyya was more effective and chose the way of reason, which was closer to spirit of the Qur'an and Sunnat. Thus, he won a wonderful success. Men of knowledge did not know the interpretation of the Qur'an. Those who were educated scholastically were not able to establish the connection between themselves and the Qur'an and Hadith. It has been only Ibn Taymiyya's lot to accomplish the real explanation of Islam. He made ijtihads by deriving his inspiration directly from the Holy Book, from the Sunnat, and from the way of living of the Prophet's companions. Ibn al-Qayyim, his disciple, studied over the divine causes, the meanings of which had not been solved, and put Islamic rules. By clearing out the evil effects that had leaked into Islamic system, he purified and refreshed it. He attacked the bad customs that had been accepted as parts of Islam and had been support for religious punishments and tolerated by scholars for centuries. This honest act turned the whole world against him. Those who came later raced with one another to calumniate him.[5]

It is important in understanding Mawdudi what intellectual tradition he inherits, and we can see here that much of his thought was not particularly original; it has its origins in at least Ibn Taymiyyah in the thirteenth century. Many of the early members of the Jamaat were part of what are known as the Ahl-i hadith, and this was also an important influence on Mawdudi's teachings. This term was originally applied to the great transmitters and collectors of hadith such as Muhammad al-Bukhari and Muslim ibn Hajjaj, although, again, Ibn Taymiyyah is linked with this group. Essentially, what binds them together is the view that, next to the Qur'an, only reliable hadith should be considered as possessing genuine religious authority. Anything else is open to question, debate and adaptation. The reason for this is that the Ahl-i hadith claim that their beliefs and practices are the same as those Muslims who lived during the time of Muhammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs: they are effectively living the life of genuine Muslims, untainted by external influence. The movement is also referred to as the *salafi dawah*, or the salafiyyah.

Mawdudi shares many features of the salafis, certainly, although 'he endeavours to expound, by an idiosyncratic combination of ijtihad and literalist exegesis, the Islamic dogma as he sees it, covering every field of human activity from politics to the sexual life'.[6] Ibn Taymiyyah, like Mawdudi, emphasized a return to what he perceived as the pristine ideals and practices of Islam at the time of the Prophet Muhammad especially. He was critical of groups that he considered un-Islamic, notably Shi'a and Sufi practices. He was educated in the Islamic sciences and was a prolific writer in the fields of Qur'anic studies and its exegesis (*tafsir*), on jurisprudence (*fiqh*), theology (*kalam*), logic, ethics, politics and hadith studies. Of particular note is his *al-Kitab al-siyasa al-shar'iyya* ('Treatise on the Government of the

Religious Law) and *Minhaj al-sunna* ('The Path of Prophetic Tradition'), the latter being considered one of the richest works of comparative theology to survive the Middle Ages. Ibn Taymiyyah, because he is often cited among fundamentalist groups, is considered to be something of a literalist himself. This is not strictly correct for, like al-Wahhab, he also endorsed the use of independent reasoning, on the condition it is done by someone suitably qualified, a *mujtahid*. In fact, he advocated a 'happy mean' (*wasat*) between reason, tradition and free will. Likewise, Mawdudi understood how important it was for Islam to adapt to the modern world, but that only those who were learned in the Islamic sciences could possibly fit the complexities of modernity within an Islamic framework. Similarly, Ibn Taymiyyah placed the blame for what he saw as the malaise occurring in the thirteenth century of the Islamic world – a state of ignorance, injustice and a loss of faith and knowledge in Islam – as a result of turning one's back on the true Islam. The cure to this malaise was a return to what he perceived as the pristine ideals encapsulated in the Qur'an and Prophetic traditions. Rather than rely upon what he regarded to be erroneous texts post this period, the Islamic scholar should struggle (the literal meaning of ijtihad) to determine what the original sources have to say. Ibn Taymiyyah, like Mawdudi, believed that if Muslims behaved like genuine Muslims should and emulated the practices as sanctioned by God and contained in the Qur'an and examples provided by the Prophet Muhammad as contained in the hadith, then the malaise will be overturned. Practices outside of this are 'innovation' (*bid'a*) and, therefore, to be condemned. Again, it should be stressed, that this need not result in Islam becoming restrictive, for Ibn Taymiyya was only concerned with those practices sanctioned by the Qur'an and the Prophet. Activities not referred to in these primary sources demanded a much more flexible approach requiring independent reasoning. The problem was that even Muslim scholars became too fearful of engaging in ijtihad, of questioning the works of great scholars of the past. A great deal of this is due to a name already mentioned: Al-Shafi'i (768–820). He was an incredible figure: a jurist, theologian, teacher, poet and essayist who effectively established the foundations of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*) that remain with us to this day. His greatest contribution was to put Islamic law on a more solid and scientific footing, especially in his strict approach to the authentication of the sayings of the Prophet Muhammad as a source for law. Certainly, more than any other figure of his time, he restored the unity to an Islamic community that was on the verge of breaking up. In that respect, his contribution was much needed. However, the need for stability often results in the compromise of principles, and this is a tension that Mawdudi often felt himself, as have many Islamic revivalists.

Al-Shafi'i is an important figure for Islamic revivalism and needs to be briefly mentioned here. In AD 815, when al-Shafi'i moved to Cairo, he was declared by many to be the next 'renewer' (*mujtahid*) of Islam. The title 'Renewer of Islam' is a designation based on a popular hadith that at the beginning of each century a great man will come to restore and revitalize

the Muslim community, to renew (*tajdid*) Islam, returning Muslims to the straight path.[7] As already said, al-Shafi'i laid the foundations for Islamic jurisprudence, *fiqh*. His first point of call for *fiqh* is, of course, the Qur'an and, in theory at least, the Qur'an is meant to be comprehensive so that all laws should at some point derive from divine revelation. The problem, of course, is the Qur'an is not explicit in terms of providing detailed rules and regulations. Consequently, the next point of call in *fiqh* is to look to the Qur'an's greatest interpreter: the Prophet Muhammad. For al-Shafi'i, the Prophet is essentially the Qur'an 'made flesh' and so his practice (sunna) should act as a model of correct behaviour, for it is sanctioned by revelation. However, unlike other earlier legal schools, al-Shafi'i limited the sunna to the Prophet only, whereas previously it included the deeds and words of the Prophet's Companions and Successors as equally authoritative. However, this resulted in raising the status of Muhammad to that of virtually equal to the Qur'an and, from this, developed the notion of the Prophet's infallibility. Given the status of Muhammad's Sunna, al-Shafi'i recognized the need to be sure that the Sunna is correct. In other words, that the Prophet's sayings, the hadith, are true and not spurious.

At the time of al-Shafi'i there were many thousands of hadith, and so what al-Shafi'i did was to develop a science of authentication. For example, the chain of authorities that transmitted a saying of the Prophet must not be broken, and those transmitters themselves should be shown to be reliable sources. The importance of the Sunna lies in its ability to explain and illustrate obscure and ambiguous passages in the Qur'an, but it is important that these Sunna do not contradict nor abrogate Qur'anic verses. Previous to al-Shafi'i, theologians often preferred to ignore debatable hadith altogether and instead relied upon their own skills of dialectic (*kalam*) to determine the meaning of the Qur'an directly. This way, you have a much more direct link between the holy book and the contemporary Muslim. However, al-Shafi'i did not have such great faith in theologians of his day in being able to interpret the Qur'an correctly, and to a large extent he probably had a point. Al-Shafi'i believed that once a Sunna of the Prophet has been fully authenticated its authority has equal footing with the commands of the Qur'an. We need not go into the finer complexities of *fiqh* here, but suffice to say that other roots for Islamic law were also put in place and clearly defined by al-Shafi'i, notably *ijma* ('consensus') and *qiyas* (literally, 'measurement', or the use of analogy). Importantly, with all these roots in place, there was little room left for ijtihad, and it became virtually redundant. From then on, jurists looked to the corpus of past judgments for their decision making. With this establishment of the science of *fiqh*, al-Shafi'i succeeded in providing a comprehensive and coherent legal system. The Shafi school became the fourth legal school (known as *madhhabs*) after the Hanafi, Maliki and Hanbali. None of them differ to any considerable degree and, as a result of al-Shafi'i, the other schools adapted their views on their own sources, particularly their reliance on spurious hadith. The problem, as we shall see, is that Mawdudi is

reluctant to engage in ijtihad and relies very heavily on hadith that continue to be spurious.

Returning to ibn Taymiyyah, in his main political work, *Treatise on the Government of the Religious Law*, he argues that under the Rightly Guided Caliphs, the *Rashidun*, the Islamic state achieved a position of moral and political purity and that, he argued, the main objective of sharia is to re-establish that state of existence. This is what he referred to as *siyasa sharia:* 'righteous rule'. The ruler of the state, the Caliph, should follow rigorously the tenets of *sharia*, applying it firmly but fairly, and relying on it for all legal opinions and rulings. Those who are ruled, for their part, should obey the authority of the Caliph, provided the latter obeys sharia. Like Mawdudi, Ibn Taymiyyah believed that religion cannot be practised without state power. The religious duty of 'commanding good and forbidding evil' (*hisba*) cannot be achieved without a central power and authority, and so there is a necessary link between state and religion. Religion and government need one another.

Sayyid Ahmad Khan[8]

Someone else who would certainly qualify as belonging to the salafis is Sayyid Ahmad Khan for, like his counterparts in the Middles East – such as al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida – he believed that the survival of Islam required the abandonment of a reliance on *taqlid*, and argued that the more obscure passages of the Qur'an had to be interpreted symbolically, allegorically or analytically in order to reveal their true meaning. Ahmad Khan emphasized the importance of reason in this process, and he believed that the main principles of the Qur'an were perfectly in tune with scientific progress and the laws of nature. Here, Ahmad Khan is echoing the writings of one of Islam's greatest thinkers, the twelfth-century 'Averroes' (Ibn Rushd, 1126–98), as well as being influenced by western nineteenth-century rationalism and 'natural philosophy' as it was then called. But Ahmad Khan, like Mawdudi, also drew heavily from other internal traditions, including the reformism of Shah Wali Ullah as well as the rationalism of *Mu'tazalites* and the *Ikhwan al-Safa*: the Ismaili-influenced 'Brothers of Purity'. He argued that Muslims have the right to engage in unrestricted personal ijtihad, although based on a good understanding of the text.

Ahmad Khan, like Mawdudi, realized that the understanding of the Qur'an by Islamic scholars would differ from that of the mass population, which is why he focused primarily on what he regarded as the main underlying principles of the Qur'an, leaving aside the more specific references to, for example, such things as angels – which Ahmad Khan said are to be interpreted within the legendary context of the time and are 'properties' of things which encourages humankind in its struggles in life – or 'jinn' (demons) which really symbolize evil desires. Ahmad Khan saw no conflict between religion and science. In fact, he believed that God's laws are identical with the laws of nature and that all morality and social ethics derives from these natural laws.

Here, however, we have a concern that has plagued Islam for many centuries and has often caused an inner conflict between *kalam* and *falsafa* (theology and philosophy). For if it is indeed the case that morality is 'natural law', then it begs the question why we should have a need for divine guidance at all, for surely the scientist, by determining the laws of nature through the tools of reason, can also determine how we should live. Ahmad Khan further upset the ulama by his criticisms of what he called 'unrecited revelation', that is the writing of hadith collectors, but maintained that the 'recited revelation', the Qur'an, was the only authority. Stripping down the Qur'an to its very basic principles and leaving the rest to human reason threatened the centuries of Islamic science and orthodoxy that amounted to Islam's own reformation. To his credit, Ahmad Khan aimed to show his fellow Muslims that Islam not only allowed for scientific advances, but that science and reason were Islamic. He also wanted to demonstrate to the western world, and the colonial power of Britain in particular, that Islam was a rational religion and could hold its own in the modern world. For this reason, Ahmad Khan has been accused of being a 'modernist', but this is far too simplistic, given that modernism is a term usually applied to Muslims who adopt a secular approach. This is not quite the case with Ahmad Khan, whose argument was that there was no distinction between the secular understanding of the world and the Islamic understanding. However, if this is indeed the case, then why have faith?

Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani'[9]

The fact is, even the term 'salafi' describes a disparate group. Under that umbrella term comes the Iranian reformer Sayyid Jamal al-Din 'al-Afghani'[10] (1838/9–97) who, in 1881 wrote, in Persian, the pamphlet 'Refutation of the Materialists' which unfairly attacked Ahmed Khan among other 'materialists' (by which he means those lacking in religiosity, citing such people as Democritus, Marx and Darwin) for their rejection of religion in favour of science. However, in his early twenties, al-Afghani spent time in India and was influenced by Ahmad Khan's modernist views. Where al-Afghani differed especially with Ahmad Khan was in rejecting a pro-western stance. A central concern for al-Afghani and, indeed, for the salafi movement generally, including Mawdudi and Ahmad Khan, was the seeming decline in the power of the umma – the Muslim community – corresponding with an increase in the supremacy of the western world. This concern was not just a matter of economic and political status – important though this undoubtedly was – but also a genuine fear that religion itself was being eroded. The concern for the salafis was that the whole basis for an understanding of the world, the Islamic paradigm, was being threatened by a radical shift in the form of secularization and modernization. Whereas the western world had time to adapt to this shift, the Islamic world did not. Until the nineteenth century, the military – as opposed to the commercial – advance of western power into the Islamic sphere was limited primarily to areas of the Balkans and along the northern

and eastern shores of the Black Sea. However, we then witness the occupation of Egypt by Napoleon Bonaparte in 1798: 'the first armed inroad of Europe on the Arab near East since the Crusades'.[11] The event is significant in that it began the period of western intervention in the Islamic world and completely shattered any remaining illusions of the superiority of Islam:

> The great Ottoman Empire, which had aspired to convert the world to Islam, now was obliged to look to the West for inspiration; instead of being Europe's nemesis, it soon would be its 'sick man'.[12]

The psychological impact on the residual collective memory of the Islamic world cannot be overestimated here, especially when considered against the background of what was a confident, wealthy, efficient and technologically advanced Ottoman Empire which previously could contrast itself with a frightened, fragmented and superstitious Europe. In addition, the seemingly 'natural' triumph of the west over Islam must contribute to an orientalist perception of the Islamic world as incapable of being 'modern'. Indeed, al-Afghani agreed with the view of many western orientalist scholars that the Islamic world had an anti-scientific attitude, but where he disagreed was that this had always been the case or that it was a necessary consequence of religious belief. Rather, he believed, the decline in independent reasoning was not the result of religion as such, but rather political despotism. Al-Afghani, like Mawdudi, was not only calling for an intellectual revival but he was also a political activist – in fact, some say he was much more of an activist than a thinker – who cast himself as a Lutheran figure calling for an Islamic reformation that would allow the Muslim people to think for themselves without fear of oppression. What al-Afghani also shared with Mawdudi was the view that the Islam that existed at the time of the 'pious ancestors' (i.e. the Prophet and the Companions especially), was perfectly in tune with intellectual and critical rigour, as well as providing social cohesion and a positive community ethic. What al-Afghani saw as virtues in the western world, those of rationality, science and patriotism, he saw as the same virtues as the essence of Islam. It should not seem surprising, given the events over the past two hundred years, that Islamic scholars refer to its own 'golden age' as its justification for the 'natural triumph' of Islam over *Jahiliyya* (the unbelievers). The fact that Islam has suffered under the western dominance also, for many, brings into question the validity of Islam as superior to other civilizations and ideologies. This collective memory on both sides – Islam versus the west – continues to be evident in contemporary events and modern movements that see the conflict in metaphysical terms.[13] The problem has been how the Islamic world has been able to respond to this western 'threat' and the frustration felt by many that ulama either adopted a passive attitude to this western encroachment or became more conservative in their stance in an attempt to protect the Islamic tradition. Others believed that Islam has essentially failed and that westernization should be encouraged. Al-Afghani certainly saw the

benefits of science and reason, but looked at it through Islamic eyes by taking full advantage of his own culture and education to argue, like Ibn Sina and others before him, that prophecy, mysticism and the rational tools of philosophy are all expressions of the one truth. Science was not a European phenomenon but, he argued, an *Islamic* one in its origins. Although this does not appear any different from Ahmad Khan, al-Afghani criticized Khan whom he believed represented someone who was in the pocket of the British and who was later knighted for his services to Britain. Al-Afghani looked back to the time when Islam ruled the world in terms of technology and so he argued that scientific discoveries are not in conflict with Islam. Where the problem lay, then, was in the fact that the Islamic community had closed the gates of ijtihad and allowed the western world to overtake it. Like other salafis, al-Afghani argued for a new generation of scholars who would no longer blindly imitate (*taqlid*) the views of scholars from primarily the Middle Ages.

Another similarity between al-Afghani and Mawdudi is worth mentioning. That is, al-Afghani's ambiguous stance when it came to his political agenda. He talked of the adoption of a constitutional or republican government in which the citizens partake in political affairs. However, whereas at times al-Afghani sought a pan-Islamic ideal, he would also use nationalistic terminology as a tool against European encroachment. Like Mawdudi, his political views seem contradictory, but perhaps to some extent it is also a case of making use of whatever means necessary to rid the Muslim world of western domination. However, as a result of this flexibility, it meant that al-Afghani was not always taken seriously by scholars, being perceived as an opportunist rather than someone with intellectual weight. Again, however, the nature of being successful in the political arena is to be opportunist, and this fact was not entirely lost on Mawdudi either: using the term 'democracy' even though the Islamic state would not be democratic, or promoting Islamic nationalism even though Islam does not recognize national boundaries. Both Mawdudi and al-Afghani are chameleon figures who at times seem radical libertarian, while at other times conservative.

Muhammad Abduh[14]

Considering the weakness and uncertainty of political authority that existed at the time, it is difficult to see how a republican system could so readily be put into place. Interestingly, another important salafi, the Egyptian Muhammad Abduh (1849–1905), who was to break away from al-Afghani and pursue a more balanced and considered intellectual path, at least saw the need for an authoritarian political structure to be in place if Islam were to reassert itself initially. Unlike the largely pan-Islamist ideas of al-Afghani, Abduh possessed a strong nationalist temperament and, indeed, represented the generation in which the ideas of nationalism became explicit among not only Egyptians, but Turks, Arabs and Tunisians especially. Egyptian nationalism emerged during the British occupation in the 1880s, although it did not become an

effective force until the early twentieth century. While some nationalists argue for complete independence from British control, other nationalists like Abduh saw colonial rule as a necessary evil at least until Egypt could stand on its own two feet and become a modern state. Abduh, more of a theologian than a political activist, regarded religion as an essential ingredient for social cohesion and providing a worldview that secularism lacked. One of Abduh's major works, based on the lectures he gave in Beirut, was *The Theology of Unity* (*Risala al-tawhid*) which argued that religion and reason were complementary. Abduh was in agreement with other salafis in arguing that religion and science can be harmonized, and this view is consistent with his own attempts to reconcile the apparent conflicts between the successes and superiority of the west with its scientific knowledge and the comparative weakness of Muslim Egypt with its traditionalist views on religion and the prevalence of what he considered to be un-Islamic practices such as visiting the shrines of saints. Abduh was also not averse to European science and culture, and he encouraged a broad-minded liberalism. He was also, however, a trained religious scholar with a traditional Islamic education. He believed reason should be exercised to determine legal decisions and, as a mufti himself, he regularly engaged in ijtihad. His reformist ideas were incorporated in his legal rulings and published in his influential journal *al-Manar* ('The Beacon') which he published with Rashid Rida (1865–1935). Criticizing *taqlid*, Abduh adopted a method known as *talfiq* ('piecing together'), according to which decisions can be made by comparing the views of the four legal schools, and then going behind them to the Qur'an, the hadith and, importantly, the *salaf al-salih*. In fact, Abduh's approach to salafis was to call for the dissolution of the four legal schools altogether and instead to use the 'pious ancestors' (that is, the Prophet Muhammad and his Companions primarily) as the 'beacon' for guidance, but in line with humankind's rational capacity. Abduh argued that certain things in Islam were immutable, such as laws governing worship (prayer, fasting and pilgrimage, for example) but that the huge majority of legislation, such as regulations on family law and penal codes, were open to change according to the social and cultural traditions of the time. In theory, at least, a salafi approach to Islam should allow for independent reasoning. However, there is always the danger that the 'pious ancestors' are put on a pedestal so that Muslim thinkers become reluctant to question the acts and deeds of the Prophet Muhammad and the Companions. More importantly, the question arises as to how reliable the accounts of the pious ancestors are. Even ignoring scholars that came after, and the legal schools that developed, the hadith material is still nonetheless dubious. This is where Mawdudi is at fault in his reliance on hadith. Politically, incidentally, Abduh believed that Islamic doctrine does not prescribe any specific form of government, provided it follows the general principles of consultation (shura) as well as supporting the Maliki principle of *maslaha* (public interest) as the basis for legal decisions. Like Mawdudi, he stressed the value of education so that the Muslim citizen is sufficiently well informed to voice political

(and Islamic) opinions. However, he also later on seems to be in agreement with Mawdudi when he argues that Muslims are not yet ready for any kind of representational government and, until they achieve the required education, it is reasonable for a 'just dictator' to rule and work towards educating the population. If this despot – who, theoretically at least, should be constrained by Islamic law – failed to do this, then the people had the right to overthrow him. Nonetheless, Abduh's progressiveness was in his call for a modernization of Islam, the stress on education for all, and equal opportunities for men and women. He was also critical of laws that he considered to be backward and un-Islamic, such as polygamy.

Rashid Rida[15]

Finally, Mawdudi needs to be seen within the context of one more influential salafi. The already mentioned Lebanon-born Muhammad Rashid Rida forms a trinity with Jamal al-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh as the great synthesizers of modern Islam and the founding intellectual fathers of the salafi movement. Rida is a hugely influential figure, not only for Mawdudi but Rida's spiritual heir, Hasan al-Bana (1906–49), the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. Rida did not go abroad until he was in his thirties, and even then it consisted of a brief spell during the winter of 1897/8 to mostly Islamic countries. Unlike many other Muslim reformers, he had little interest in learning foreign languages or spending time in the west, making only a brief visit to Europe in 1921. Rather, Rida was less influenced by western ideas and instead focused more on what he considered to be essentially Islamic teachings. The turning point in Rida's life came when he went to Cairo in 1897 to work with Abduh on the journal *al-Manar*. Rida also published a hugely influential *tafsir* of the Qur'an in which he argued for a rationalistic approach to understanding the holy text. By 'rationalistic', Rida meant that it was important to dismiss any claims to a miraculous aspect of the Qur'an, aside of course from its divine origins.

Rida's political views, particularly on the Caliphate, are important here. Like Mawdudi, who took part in the Khalifat movement, Rida recognized that the abolition of the Caliphate would only weaken the unity of the Islamic world and cause them to fall prey more easily to western influence. Rida wrote 'On the Caliphate' (*al-Khalifa*) in 1922, when the Caliphate still existed at least in a nominal sense. In this work, Rida not only argued for the preservation of the Caliphate but for its strengthening with a call for a future Caliph as a great 'renewer' (*mujtahid*) who would be sufficiently charismatic and knowledgeable to modernize Islam. Like his counterparts al-Afghani and Abduh, Rida was convinced that Islam was perfect and fully equal to the achievements of the west, while also holding fast to the traditional concept of the *umma*, and that *sharia* could provide the bind to unite all Muslims. There are strong comparisons with Mawdudi's concept of the ruler of his Islamic state here. Rida saw the Caliph as a ruler who would preside over

a 'commonwealth' of Islamic states. Like Mawdudi, Rida looked to the Rashidun as his model of the power and prestige that the Caliph should possess, arguing that the successors to these rightly guided Caliphs fell well below the mark. For this, he blames the religious scholars, the ulama, who failed in their historic duty to exercise their role of guiding the community and calling on them to disobey unjust rulers. The failure of the ulama to exercise their responsibility was, according to Rida, a result of a reluctance to engage in ijtihad. The importance of the somewhat ambiguous Islamic principle of shura, of 'consultation', is emphasized by Rida as a keystone in all dealings the Caliph has with the ulama. He argues that the Caliph, after the Rashidun, became too monarchical, and that they abandoned shura. In Rida's state, then, the essential governing 'power' would be sharia, which all had to abide by: Caliph and ulama alike. Rida felt that the ulama of his time were ill-equipped for such a duty and his aim was to establish a seminary where students are taught the principles of international law, sociology, world history, organization of religious students, western science and, of course, *sharia*.

   In regards to the power of the Caliph, Rida cites the papacy as his model, and so it seems that the Caliph would be more of a charismatic figure than an actual implementer of law, whose role would essentially to act as a uniting figurehead and to organize religious education and personal laws. This is curious, as this seems to go against the vision of a Caliph as a mujtahid, although it is perhaps a more accurate portrayal of the power and status that the Rightly Guided Caliphs actually did possess. Perhaps it is an acknowledgement on Rida's part, that such exceptionable human beings are too idealistic: a Philosopher-King or an Ubermensch that is an ideal, rather than ever being a reality. Certainly, in Rida's own time, there seemed to be a dearth of suitable candidates. In fact, his own suggestions for Caliph are curious to say the least, eventually putting forward an imam from Yemen of the *Zaydi* branch of Shi'a Islam.[16] The choice of a Shi'a to represent all Muslims is in itself a puzzling one, and then to also suggest a Zaydi would hardly meet with the approval of the *umma*.[17]

Blame the Muslims!

Recalling Esposito's remark quoted above that Mawdudi's method is an 'idiosyncratic combination of ijtihad and literalist exegesis', it is that 'idiosyncratic' element that causes Mawdudi to stand out and be distinguished from the salafi. Mawdudi could not quite push himself to accept ijtihad wholeheartedly and smash his idols. He has one foot in independent reasoning, and one foot in blind imitation: a schizophrenic ijtihad–taqlid figure struggling with contrasting ideologies, ideals and methods. It is a struggle Mawdudi never quite resolves, burying himself in a pile of contention and, ultimately, a worrying conservatism that would not look out of place among the most dogmatic of the ulama. As a result, he relies over-heavily on

the six canonical hadith, lacking the kind of critical intellectual rigour found in much more recent scholarship. He adopts a largely literalist approach to the Qur'an and, unlike many of the salafi, he blindingly accepts the teaching of all four legal schools.

Like the salafis, Mawdudi was not against science, which he saw as value neutral. It was more the case of what you *do* with science, rather than science itself. Provided it is encompassed within an Islamic framework, a set of sound ethical values, then science and technology are 'Islamic' and should be utilized. Modernization was fine for Mawdudi, but he did not believe that equated with westernization. As Mawdudi's disciple and Jamaat spokesman Khurshid Ahmad states, 'The approach of the Islamic movement is to … modernise without compromising on Islamic principles and values … It says "yes" to modernization but "no" to blind westernization.'[18] This is an important point: science and technology was not seen by Mawdudi as necessarily dehumanizing, it could be quite the opposite. A television, for example, is just a technological tool; it is what is broadcast that makes the difference. Islamic fundamentalism is often misconstrued as calling for a return to the Middle Ages, but if you consider many fundamentalist groups today they are adept at utilizing technology. While Mawdudi was against westernization, he did not blame westernization or the rise of secularism and modernism in the west for the decline in Islam. Rather, he placed the blame for the decline of Islam upon Muslims themselves:

> The future of the whole world of Islam will depend upon the attitude that the Muslims ultimately adopt towards Islam. I, unfortunately, the present hypocritical attitudes … persist, I am afraid that the newly liberated Muslim nations will not be able to preserve their freedom for a long time.[19]

The west, so far as Mawdudi was concerned, was only in the ascendency because the Islamic world had allowed it to be so. Similarly, the same case applied to Hindu domination in India and the decline of Muslim Mughal society. It was individual Muslims themselves, or rather 'partial Muslims', who were responsible for the Islamic malaise. Because individual Muslims are to blame for the decline, then it is individual Muslims who must reverse this decline. Mawdudi's aim, his *da'wah*, was to 'scientifically prove that Islam is eventually to emerge as the World-Religion to cure Man of all his maladies'.[20] For Mawdudi, Islam was 'scientific' in the sense that it is divine, and nature is divine. It follows logically that if people live their lives according to Islam, then they live their lives as nature, and God, intended. The result: a universal Islamic order would emerge from this group of regimented individuals.

Mawdudi's *tajdid*, his 'renewal', was therefore a logical process that starts with the individual and ends with an Islamic world order, and his paradigm throughout is the Prophet Muhammad and Medina. What was required was a paradigm 'shift', but one that is not a *new* way of seeing the world, but

a *renewal* of what came before. Central to Mawdudi's *tajdid*, is the concept of *tawhid*: the absolute oneness of God and, in logical consequence, the requirement of absolute obedience to God. 'Islam is nothing but man's exclusive and total submission to God … True religion means total obedience and submission to God',[21] for 'You must remember that you are a born slave of God. He has created you for His servitude only.'[22] On the one hand, Mawdudi wants to strip Islam of all its complex accretions over the centuries and get back to its very basics, summed up in that one word '*tawhid*'. On the other hand, Mawdudi's dealings in the dirty world of politics means he is compelled to put meat back on the bones in, it has to be said, a contradictory and incoherent manner.

While Mawdudi presents abstract ideals based on the bare fundamentals of Islam, the need to pad this out with specific detail opens Mawdudi up to inevitable criticism. What would Mawdudi's Islamic state actually be like in practice?

8   Mawdudi's paradigms
The four sources of his Islamic constitution

Mawdudi's salafi credentials rest in his return to the frameworks of a set of paradigms that existed during what he perceives as Islam in its original, 'pristine' condition. This may be termed his golden age narrative or his transhistorical perspective and are important for Mawdudi declares them to be his 'four sources' for what would be his Islamic constitution. This chapter will consider in some more detail these paradigms in an attempt to determine how accurate Mawdudi is in perceiving them in this manner. Inevitably the conclusions that will be drawn are obvious, for utopia by its – and human beings by their – very nature is that which is non-existent. However, a great deal can be revealed by adopting a more critical–historical approach to these paradigms in understanding where Mawdudi and other similar revivalist movements go astray.

The first source: the Qur'an

> It [the Qur'an] is the first and primary source [of the Islamic constitution], containing as it does all the fundamental directions and instructions from God Himself. The directions and instructions cover the entire gamut of man's existence. Herein are to be found not only directives relating to individual conduct but also principles regulating all the aspects of the social and cultural life of man. It has also been clearly shown therein as to why should Muslims endeavour to create and establish a State of their own.[1]

Mawdudi considered an Islamic form of government to be a moral imperative, for it is ultimately the only way for which natural, God-given laws can be translated into a concrete form. Hence, there is a movement from the metaphysical to the physical, from the transhistorical to the actual historical. For this to become reality, Mawdudi's starting point is with the Qur'an. As the above quote demonstrates, the Qur'an, so far as Mawdudi was concerned, is a blueprint for every aspect of human life, if only it is interpreted correctly. He also argues that the Qur'an makes clear that Muslims should strive to create an Islamic state. Submission to God is not merely an individual and his relationship with God, but a political demand for an Islamic state.

However, although undoubtedly the Qur'an is rife with variously translated terms such as 'Lord' and 'Sovereign',[2] the question arises as to whether such terms can be equated with *political* sovereignty. In other words, does divine sovereignty necessarily lead divine guidance in the affairs of the state: to give orders, decide on policy and to render decisions? Does God's regency allow for the freedom of human beings to engage in political discourse independently of God? If it is indeed the case that God's will, as dictated in the Qur'an, is sufficiently detailed to allow for absolutely no room for interpretation or human reason in relation to contemporary affairs of state, then it would logically follow that humankind has no room for independent action or, indeed, no need for it. Although the Qur'an is 'comprehensive' in the sense that it covers an incredible amount of subjects as diverse as social legislation, commentaries of events at the time of the Prophet Muhammad, salvation, Satan, the day of judgement, biblical events, parable, prophecies, faith, and so on, it would be something of a struggle to determine any specific instructions on the complexities of modern life and certainly not 'all the aspects of social and cultural life of man' as Mawdudi states. The Qur'an is composed in a rhythmic style, making considerable use of symbolic and allegorical imagery, and is full of allusions and indirect explanations that allow for a multitude of interpretations. Within the Qur'an, there are well-established principles: for example, the Prophet Muhammad often engaged in consultation (shura) with others before coming to a decision[3] and God approved of such virtues as 'justice' and 'kindness'[4] but these principles, if that is indeed what they are, do not in themselves allow for concrete ways and means to apply them to everyday modern affairs in a political state.

In the tradition of many Islamic scholars, Mawdudi extrapolates specific verses from the Qur'an to support his thesis. For example, he quotes sura 3:159 'Take counsel with them in the conduct of affairs, and when you are resolved, put your trust in God.'[5] This quote is provided by Mawdudi to show that a head of state should engage in mutual consultation, but the argument is fallacious in that the verse is making reference to the activities of the Prophet, but not heads of state in general. There is an 'is–ought' gap between the specific to the general that does not seem justified. As will be considered below, the importance of Muhammad as a paradigm for political rule is highly significant, so if Muhammad 'sought counsel', then so should rulers of an Islamic state. Can this specific reference be extrapolated to apply to all heads of state and, more pointedly, is it even correct to say that Muhammad was a head of state in the way Mawdudi understands him to have been? Interestingly, in *First Principles of the Islamic State*, Mawdudi goes on to say that the head of state can nonetheless exercise his veto, whether or not those he consults reach a unanimous or even a majority verdict. He bases this conclusion, not on the Qur'an or even on hadith, but on the 'conventions of the Caliphs and the judgements of the eminent jurists of Islam'.[6] The Qur'an, however, does not explicitly give such excessive authority to a temporal leader.

Mawdudi also makes reference to the Qur'an to point out that it empha-
sizes that the state can exercise 'coercive power'[7] to enforce a moral code
upon the people by quoting sura 57:25: 'We have sent Our apostles with
veritable signs, and through them have brought down scriptures and the scales
of justice, so that men might conduct themselves with fairness.' Further along,
Mawdudi quotes sura 22:41: 'God is powerful and mighty: He will assuredly
help those who, once made masters in the land, will attend to their prayers
and render the alms levy, enjoin justice and forbid evil.' Both these quotes are
interpreted by Mawdudi in a political sense: the first quote, with reference to
'men' he interprets as 'the state'; the second with reference to 'masters in the
land' to, again, 'state'. Such references need not imply a political entity,
however, for it seems equally justifiable to interpret it to mean the common
theme within the Qur'an of guardianship of the environment, of a 'vice-
gerency' that is non-political but more akin to man as 'priest on earth', as
guardians of God's creation. What *political* form, or forms, these guardians
may take is irrelevant.

That the Qur'an does not make specific mention of the state as a force of
Islamic authority leads Mawdudi to quote the well-known hadith, 'God
brings to an end through the State what He does not eradicate with the
Qur'an', but this is acknowledged today by a number of scholars as unreli-
able. This is a trap that Mawdudi frustratingly keeps falling into: after digging
unsuccessfully into the depths of the Qur'an for a justification of his ideo-
logy, he resorts to unreliable hadith literature. 'Sovereignty', defined as the
highest unlimited power, rests with God. Therefore, when Mawdudi states
that 'sovereignty belongs only to God. He is the lawgiver. Any person, even a
prophet, is not entitled to issue orders or withdraw the orders [of God]',[8] then
no legislation in a state can be passed without first reference to God. Of
course, this raises crucial problems, not least of which is that God does not
personally intervene in the everyday complexities of modern-day living and
the Qur'an is not comprehensive enough to provide detailed legislation how-
ever expert one might be in the symbolic and hermeneutic interpretation of
the Qur'an. Mawdudi, in his interpretation of the Qur'an, frequently adopts
an atomistic, unintegrated approach which does not take account of social
conditions that existed in his time. Qur'anic significance rests upon the read-
er's ability to deduce general principles to Qur'anic solutions to rulings upon
specific and concrete historical issues:

> In building any genuine and viable Islamic set of laws and institutions,
> there has to be a twofold movement: First one must move from the
> concrete case treatments of the Qur'an – taking the necessary and
> relevant social conditions of that time into account – to the general
> principles upon which the entire teaching converges. Second, from this
> general level there must be a movement back to specific legislation,
> taking into account the necessary and relevant social conditions now
> obtaining.[9]

This is essentially a hermeneutical task. While Mawdudi has a point in arguing that the Qur'an, being the word of God, has a certain timelessness and universality, it is also a text revealed to a particular people, at a particular time, in a particular place, in a particular language. The Qur'an's 'general principles', such as justice, equality, freedom of expression, freedom of conscience and conviction, freedom of association, and so on[10] reflect the Qur'an's timelessness and relevance in the quest for universal truths and – so far as one is able to speak of the universality and objectivity of morals – are principles that are, or should be, upheld in any society. Note the following remarks, made back in 1883, by the Indian scholar Chiragh Ali:

> The Koran does not profess to teach a social and political law … The more important civil and political institutions of the Muhammadan law, Common Law based on the Koran are mere inferences and deductions from a single word or an isolated sentence … In short the Koran does not interfere in political questions, nor does it lay down specific rules of conduct in the Civil law. What it teaches is a revelation of certain doctrines of religion and certain rules of morality.[11]

Making the transcendental into the earthly always results in a degree of necessary interpretation. The Qur'an does not explicitly outline a structure for an Islamic state, although that is not to say that as a holy text it does not have an important place in framing a Muslim's relationship to the world. However, that need for the Qur'an to provide a 'framework', an 'essence', if you will, seems radically different from Mawdudi's claim that the Qur'an provides directions and instructions that 'cover the entire gamut of man's existence'. The Qur'an is undoubtedly central to the Muslim collective consciousness, even more so than the Prophet. All Muslims read it, all Muslims are familiar with the text, although the degree of familiarity is incredibly varied of course: some know the Qur'an via translations, others have read it in Arabic, although possibly with limited understanding, while others know the whole of the Qur'an by memory, having devoted much of their lives to interpreting it. The problem arises in the extent to which the fundamental tenets of the Qur'an can be determined and, if this is indeed possible, how those tenets can be applied to an Islamic state and whether it is indeed contingent upon an Islamic state.

Mawdudi undoubtedly is guilty of a literalist interpretation of the Qur'an, completely ignoring the important tradition of a hermeneutic understanding of the text. It is important because it raises the question of how we are to make sense of the Qur'an given that the reader comes from a different time period, culture, and possibly different language and place, from the text. This question gets at the very root of hermeneutics, a term originally defined by Carl Braaten as, 'the science of reflecting on how a word or an event in a past time and culture may be understood and become existentially meaningful in our present situation. It involves both the methodological rules to be applied

in exegesis as well as the epistemological assumptions of understanding.'[12] However, since Rudolf Bultmann, the term hermeneutics is 'generally used to describe the attempt to span the gap between past and present'.[13] Essentially, every reader brings to the text his or her own 'baggage' of beliefs, perceptions, expectations, and so on, to the extent that it would be 'absurd to demand from any interpreter the setting aside of his/her subjectivity and interpret a text without pre-understanding and the questions initiated by it [because without these] the text is mute'.[14] Mawdudi sets out with the premise that the Qur'an is a 'scientific' text, that Islam is 'scientific', possessing within it all the knowledge of the world. However, even this understanding of science as 'value neutral' has come under question in recent years. The object cannot be seen by the subject in an objective way.

Again, however, Mawdudi is not so simplistic or coherent. At some points he argues for the comprehensive nature of the Qur'an, yet he also said in *Towards Understanding the Qur'an*, 'Although the Qur'an addresses itself to all of humankind, its contents are, on the whole, vitally related to the taste and temperament, the environment and history and customs and usages of Arabia.'[15] Here, Mawdudi is acknowledging that it is neither possible nor desirable that the Islamic state of the sixth century be recreated in the twentieth. At the same time, the Qur'an possesses a timelessness and universality. It is one of those perennial concerns that preoccupy all monotheistic belief systems: how to reconcile a timeless, immutable God with what appears to be '*tadrij*', 'progressive revelation'. Even Sayyid Qutb noted that, 'We see how the Qur'an took [society] by the hand step by step, as it stumbled and got up again, strayed and was righted, faltered and resisted, suffered and endured.'[16] The Qur'an was not transmitted as one whole text, but as a response to the demands of concrete situations. This is evidenced from parts of the Qur'an, for example: 'We have divided the Qur'an into sections so that you may recite it to the people with deliberation. We have imparted it by gradual revelation.'[17] When the unbelievers ask, 'Why was the Qur'an not revealed to him entire in a single revelation?',[18] the response is, 'We have revealed it thus so that We may strengthen your faith. We have imparted it to you by gradual revelation.'[19]

In tackling, or struggling, with an understanding of the Qur'an, Mawdudi was insistent that this required complete obedience to God, as opposed to the use of human free will. This view certainly came into conflict with that of many of the ulama, even, who argued that choice is crucial in matters of faith. For Mawdudi, it is choice that has led to the decline of Islam into the malaise it currently is. Mawdudi simply does not trust human beings to make the right decision, at least not most of them. Rather, they must blindly obey those who 'know what is best', and it is therefore logical for there to exist a hierarchical state structure to ensure that all Muslims are virtuous. The comparisons with Plato's *Republic* are quite remarkable. Yet Mawdudi, despite his wide reading and expertise in the Islamic sciences, has a curious tendency to ignore the complexity of the religion and instead reduces it to the bare bones

of obedience to God through a rigid political command structure. The Deobandi 'alim Muhammad Manzur Numani wrote that Mawdudi completely misunderstood what Islamic revelation was all about, which 'is not an establishment of a government, but the promotion of faith and piety … [and the] gaining of God's favour'.[20] The very complexity of the Islamic faith is its very undoing so far as Mawdudi was concerned. This reflects his 'salafi' nature: his desire to rid of Islam of all those accretions of the years that are impure. Here, Mawdudi's view of history is important because, whereas most scholars see the past as Islamic history, Mawdudi sees most of it as 'jahiliyah history'. Although Muhammad certainly had an interest, as well as a great deal of knowledge, in Islamic history, he nonetheless saw most of it since the end of the 'golden age narrative' as corrupt and impure: interesting, certainly, but not giving us a window to any Islamic truths. It follows, therefore, that any revival in Islam requires simply ignoring all that came after the period of the Rashidun.

The fact that it has often been argued that Islam as a religion has been separate from politics through much of its history would not hold much water for Mawdudi, therefore, unless it can be shown that this was also the case during the period of the golden age narrative, which, for Mawdudi, is the only truly 'Islamic' history. For Mawdudi the true spirit and intent of Qur'anic revelation (*istinbat-i ahkam*) was as a socio-political text, not simply a poetic work to be enjoyed and, as we have noted, it is not just *a* source for legislation, it is *the* source. Mawdudi did agree that the Qur'an was revealed in piecemeal fashion and that it was revealed to a specific community and, to Mawdudi's credit, his own commentary on the Qur'an is written in modern Urdu and in a style that encourages a study of the meaning of the Qur'an beyond mere recitation. Yet, at the same time, for Mawdudi the meaning of the Qur'an was obvious and should be taken obediently at face value. There are no 'hidden meanings' that are suggested within, especially, Sufi and Shi'a *tafsir*. In many ways, it reflects Mawdudi's unwillingness or inability to engage in intellectual debate with the Qur'an, for he would have seen this as engaging in intellectual debate with God, which is nothing more than hubris. The Qur'an, the word of God, is a political manifesto and must be obeyed, but, of course, it must also be *understood* if one is to obey it correctly.

When Mawdudi looks back into Islam's early history, he does not see individuals struggling to determine a personal relationship with God. Rather he sees an activist communal religion, setting out to change society for the better and to lead to a new world order. There is only one true religion, and that is Islam. In fact, Islam is not a religion, it is *din*. Although the term *din* literally means 'religion', for Mawdudi it meant something much more, for it was the true religion; all other belief systems that call themselves religion are not *din*. To become a true Muslim, one must stop following the beliefs and practices of 'their' religion, purge themselves of these impure accretions, and obey the will of God. Only then can one truly call himself a Muslim. This view of *din* is reminiscent of the writings of the renowned Indian traditional

scholar and reformer Shah Wali Allah Dehlawi (1703–62). Dehlawi developed a theory of the relationship between revelation and its socio-historical context by arguing that the ideal form of *din* (which he interprets to mean primordial ideal religion) is synonymous with the ideal form of nature. The actualized manifestations of the ideal *din* descend in successive revelations depending upon changing material and historical conditions. Every succeeding revelation reshapes the world into a new gestalt which embodies *din*. *Din*, though in essence unchanging and universal, adapts in form to fit within the contemporary customs, faiths and practices of the receiving community. Dehlawi uses the analogy of God as the physician who prescribes medication according to the needs, temperament, age, and so on, of the patient.

Determining what this din *is* remains the problem, and there is a danger of prescribing the wrong medication for the patient. However, ultimately, much more problematic is equating the revelation of the Qur'an with scientific discoveries. Again, the similarities with Plato are evident: politics as a science in the same way a doctor is a scientist. If the state is sick, then a cure can be found and, for Mawdudi, the cure is to be found in the Qur'an: 'found', not 'questioned'. Yet, the Qur'an is not a medical encyclopaedia. We are not dealing merely with a text, but an interactive process between the reader and the author and so it needs to be seen more of an organic entity than a static text.

Mention has already been made above concerning the need for a hermeneutical approach to the Qur'an, it is worth our while briefly summarizing the important contribution made by two scholars: Fazlur Rahman (1919–88) and Mohammed Arkoun (b. 1928).[21] Rahman was a key proponent of the modernization of Islam, while arguing for the need for metaphysical solace and guidance. As he states in *Islam and Modernity*:

> If metaphysics enjoys the least freedom from assumed premises, man enjoys the least freedom from metaphysics in that metaphysical beliefs are the most ultimate and pervasively relevant to human attitudes; it is consciously or unconsciously the source of all values and of the meaning we attach to life itself … Metaphysics, in my understanding, is the unity of knowledge and the meaning and orientation this unity gives to life. If this unity is the unity of knowledge, how can it be all that subjective? It is a faith grounded in knowledge.[22]

Rahman has been criticized for doing the opposite of Mawdudi by downgrading many of the hadiths[23] his aim was to create a Qur'anic *Weltanschauung* is admirable and much needed. Rahman's attack on the salafis rests on it being a form of revivalism that is both anti-western and anti-modern and sets out to demonstrate how different Islam is to other systems of belief and practice, notably those practised in the west. Rahman would agree with Mawdudi that education of Muslims is vital, but he differs concerning what form that education should take. Moving away from a transhistorical (or 'normative', as Rahman calls it) approach to the text, Rahman argues that

while it is very important to study the Qur'an in the context of its general
ethos, it is also necessary to assess its pronouncements against a backdrop of
the historical–social milieu from which it emerged:

> It is strange … that no systematic attempt has ever been made to under-
> stand the Qur'an in the order in which it was revealed … by setting the
> specific cases of the … 'occasions of revelation', in some order in
> the general background that is no other than the activity of the Prophet
> (the *Sunna* in the proper sense) and its social environment.[24]

There is at least a unanimity concerning what Fazlur Rahman calls 'the
situational character of the Qur'an'.[25] In other words, we can accept that
verses were revealed in a progressive manner within the context of particular
social conditions. As Muslim society took shape, the Qur'anic revelations
kept up with the changing circumstances. However, although historical con-
text is important, the Qur'an is also a living whole and an organic inter-
pretative text. For anyone committed to determining how Qur'anic
injunctions can be applied to societies of today, the Qur'an, 'despite it being
clothed in the flesh and blood of a particular situation, outflows through and
beyond that given context of history'.[26] Therefore:

> The challenge for every generation of believers is to discover their own
> moment of revelation, their own intermission in revelation, their own
> frustrations with God, joy with His consoling grace, and their own gui-
> dance by the principle of progressive revelation.[27]

The objective, then, is not to search for accounts of isolated historical inci-
dents which occurred during Muhammad's era and then attempt to construct
a 'politically correct' view for the modern world. Rather, an understanding of
the Qur'an in its historical context must be understood in relation to its inte-
grated whole and definite ethos.

   The Algerian scholar Mohammed Arkoun is an example of a proponent of
combining modern hermeneutics with literary criticism. He differs from
Rahman, particularly, in being less essentialist. He has embarked on an
'intellectual crusade'[28] by arguing for pluralism within Islam and an accep-
tance that the text is subject to multiple interpretations and favours an his-
torical approach to Islam:

> the main intellectual endeavour represented by *thinking* Islam or any
> religion today is to evaluate, with a new epistemological perspective, the
> characteristics and intricacy of systems of knowledge – both the historical
> and the mythical.[29]

As a professor at the Sorbonne, Arkoun has a great affinity with modern
French scholarly thought, notably influenced by the writing of Paul Ricœur

and Michel Foucault. His method is deconstructive, adopting a sociological and anthropological approach to Islamic studies. To do this it is necessary to start with the Qur'an, for:

> historically, everything started with what I called the 'Experience of Medina' including the communication of the Qur'an received as revelation and the historical processes through which a social group, named believers (*mu'minun*), emerged and dominated other groups – named unbelievers, infidels, hypocrites, polytheists (*kafirun*, *munafiqun*, *mushrikun*).[30]

To this end, Arkoun presents a hermeneutical methodology in which realities are expressed through what he refers to as a 'system of signs'.[31] These 'signs' include activity, experience, sensation, observations and, significantly here, scripture which all together provide 'a locus of convergent operations [i.e., perception, expression, interpretation, translation, communication] which engages all of the relations between language and thought'.[32] The Qur'an, then, is part of a 'system of signs' that is bound to history, which raises a fundamental question for Arkoun: 'How can we deal with the sacred, the spiritual, the transcendent, the ontology, when we are obliged to recognise that all this vocabulary which is supposed to refer to stable, immaterial values, is submitted to the impact of history?'[33] Faith is organic in the sense that it is 'shaped, expressed and actualised in and through discourse'.[34] In addition, although Arkoun distances himself from the salafis, he has little truck with classical Islamic theology or jurisprudence because its epistemological claims are a product of 'the ruling class and its intellectual servants … [and] are authoritative only because they refuse to be engaged by the changing scientific environment'.[35] Arkoun is radical in providing a historical perspective of the Qur'an as it achieved textual objectification. This objectification, which resulted in the Qur'an being a closed canon, is, Arkoun argues, actually a result of often-ignored historical contingencies. Some of the 'imperfect human procedures'[36] which determined the shape of the written word he refers to as 'oral transmission',[37] the use of 'imperfect graphic form … conflicts between clans and parties … and unreported readings'.[38]

This approach is far removed from Mawdudi, and even that of Rahman, for the inevitable consequences of Arkoun's methodology is existential, resulting in no universal 'essence' contained within the Qur'an at all except that of the collective memories of the group which can only be maintained, 'only as long as the cognitive system, based on social imaginaire, is not replaced by a new, more plausible rationality linked to a different organisation of the social historical space.'[39]

If we follow Arkoun, there is a danger that we are left with nothing solid; only a shifting text and a collection of individuals with their own individual autobiographies that may, or may not, be expressed collectively as memory and signs. Arkoun demonstrates how far hermeneutical methods – and

philosophy more generally – has gone since Mawdudi's time, but may leave us in a vacuous state, lacking moral certainties. Such a picture seems to make Islam as a religion irrelevant as a guide for life and, perhaps, this signifies the general trend in the perception of religion as a whole: historically noteworthy, but not epistemologically credible.

The second source: the Sunna of the Prophet

> This [the Sunna of the Prophet] is the second source. It shows the way in which the Holy Prophet translated the ideology of Islam in the light of Qur'anic guidance into practical shape, developed it into a positive social order and finally elevated it to a full-fledged Islamic State.[40]

While Mawdudi argues that the Qur'an is sufficiently comprehensive to cover every aspect of life, other paradigms can be looked to in order to see how *din* is put into practice. For Mawdudi, prophethood and the prophetic traditions (Sunna and hadith) are all part of his 'structure', his 'order', his *din*. It serves as an ideal for Muslims to follow, a model of Islamic leadership of the perfect state. Mawdudi makes reference to the Sunna of the Prophet:

> if a person or society is honest and steadfast in its contract with Allah, it must scrupulously fashion its entire life in accordance with the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet.[41]

Mawdudi looks to the Prophet as the ideal statesman, and Medina as the ideal Islamic state; an age of unity between the religious and the secular with Muhammad as its head. Muhammad no doubt provided leadership and guidance to his followers on both a temporal and spiritual plane, but this confluence of politics and religion that existed in the state of Medina has led Mawdudi to stress that there was no separation in Islam between the spiritual and the secular during the time of the Prophet. Mawdudi makes constant references to Muhammad as an archetype of political and religious authority, and it is a reference that is common among many contemporary discourses in Islamic scholarship. If, indeed, it is the case that Muhammad was the perfect ruler of an Islamic state, then any discourse on an Islamic state will be framed within that context. If, however, Muhammad is perceived as being 'merely a messenger', then the Prophet's stamp upon political discourse fades into insignificance: one must look to other sources for guidance.

Again, more recent scholars have called for a historical–critical method to be adopted when considering the extent of Muhammad's authority for, although the Qur'an does make references to the Prophet, it reveals little about his life. One thing we can surmise from the Qur'an is that the message transmitted by God via Muhammad changes in nature and content between

the early Meccan suras and the later Medinan suras. The message at Mecca was more concerned with the nature of God (as just, merciful, One, and so on) and was primarily directed towards the conversion of individuals, although concerned with what was perceived as a 'social malaise' which consisted of a breakdown of old tribal values, of *asabyah*, as certain Meccans – notably the Quraysh – grew in wealth and power. This account is available in a huge amount of modern literature and will not be recounted here. The Medinan suras, however, are much more concerned with social, economic and political issues. Personal salvation is much more closely linked with the survival of the community, the umma.[42] As a result, there is more legal material in the Medinan suras, such as rules concerning *halal* and *haram.*

The state of *jahilliyah* was not as chaotic as Mawdudi might suppose, however, and strong social structures already existed at the time of Muhammad, otherwise society could not survive. Thus a corpus of ideas on economics, morality, politics, and so on, would have worked reasonably effectively, though no doubt – like all systems – with its flaws. It seems unlikely that Muhammad introduced a whole new political system from scratch. Rather, any contribution Muhammad made to the construction of a political system would really have been a different approach or attitude to institutional and organizational bodies that were already in existence. There is a problem we encounter when Mawdudi talks of Islam being an independent system, a completely different and unique ideology of its own, because it is actually very difficult to separate Islam from other contemporary ideologies in the first place. The fact is, all ideologies borrow from each other and do not spring up in isolation. Even if provided by the Divine, that guidance must be translated into recognizable human constructs that existed at the time in sixth-century Arabia.[43]

In trying to understand the status of the Prophet, the Qur'an has severe limitations, and so we must look to the hadith literature. In fact, in terms of being governed by narrative paradigms, the importance of the hadith cannot be overstated. Among Islamic scholarship, hadith literature has achieved an almost semi-sacred status for its paradigmatic acts and pronouncements from the mass of legal precedents upon which Islamic law, sharia, is erected. Mawdudi acknowledges this:

> if a person or society is honest and steadfast in its contract with Allah, it must scrupulously fashion its entire life in accordance with the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet.[44]

Therefore, seeking hadith for guidance is a political act and provides an invaluable view of Muhammad's authority. For example, such hadith as the following, 'That which the prophet of God hath made lawful is like that which God himself has made.'[45] Or, 'I have left you two things, and from them you will not stray as long as you hold them fast. The one is the book of God, the other is the law of his prophet.'[46] These two quotes certainly stress

the importance of Muhammad's sayings and deeds, yet the following two hadith seem to temper this:

> My sayings do not abrogate the word of God, but the word of God can abrogate my sayings.[47]
>
> I am a mere human being. When I command you to do anything about religion in the name of God, accept it, but when I give you my personal opinion about worldly things, bear in mind that I am a human being, and no more.[48]

We can see from the quotes above that it is difficult to determine the degree of authority Muhammad had and whether it is accurate to suggest that Muhammad translated Islamic ideology into a 'full-fledged state' as Mawdudi argues. In terms of sources the earliest biography (*sira*), by Ibn Ishaq (AD 704–67), is not extant: we have the edited version by Ibn Hisham (d. 833), and a section of Al-Tabari's account of the Mecca period, which also uses Ibn Ishaq.[49] Other sources that are generally regarded as reliable are the later works by al-Waqidi (d. 822)[50] and his secretary Ibn Sa'd.[51] In addition, there are also the six *sahih* (sound) *hadith* of al-Bukhari (AD 810–70), Muslim (AD 817–74), Abu Daud (AD 817–88), al-Nasai (d. 915), al-Darimi (AD 797–868) and Ibn Maja (AD 824–86). However, all have been criticized in recent years,[52] although Bukhari's[53] is still the most critically acclaimed by Muslims and non-Muslims alike.[54] However, the fact remains that within the sira–hadith there is much divergent and contradictory material. For example, on the number of campaigns Muhammad led after the *hijrah*; dispute over the first male convert,[55] the order of the *ghazwa*, the number of visits Muhammad made to Mt. Hira, the order of revelations and the period of time between the first and second revelation, and so on.

For our purposes here, we need to determine the extent to which Muhammad created a theo-democracy. In other words, to what extent is Mawdudi's concept of Muhammad a historical reality, or is it more accurate to consider his vision as 'transhistorical'? If it is the latter, then the whole thrust of Mawdudi's argument is severely weakened. If it is the case that Muhammad was not a supreme leader in all matters, both social and political, then the paradigm of an Islamic leader, or the leader of an Islamic state, takes on a much different persona than that portrayed by Mawdudi and, in consequence, that of many other Islamic scholars to this day. Although perhaps specific details concerning the order of the *ghazwa*, and so on, are not so important ultimately, what is of importance is how much authority Muhammad possessed. Mawdudi obviously portrays Muhammad as possessing a degree of religious and political authority that seems almost unequalled in history, certainly in Islamic history. Yet this is a portrayal of a transhistorical figure, once more, divorced from the historical–critical lens.

To this end, there are other sources other than the Qur'an and the hadith we can look to for an idea of Muhammad's authority. In particular, the

constitution of Medina,[56] possibly constructed some five years after the *hijra*, is important here because it gives a good insight into the authority of Muhammad and how the new order of the *umma* was perceived. With a few exceptions,[57] this document is considered authentic, although there is some debate as to whether it was a single document or two or more that have been combined.[58]

The document begins:

> In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate! This a writing of Muhammad the prophet between the believers and Muslims of Quraysh and Medina and those who follow them and are attached to them and who crusade along with them. They are a single community (*umma*) distinct from (other) people.[59]

What follows are nine articles which state that the nine subdivisions of the community (that is, the 'Emigrants of Quaraysh' and the eight clan groups of the Aws and Khazraj) are to be responsible for such matter as, for example, blood money. Muhammad's position, as Prophet of God, was one of arbiter of disputes between these tribes. This does not seem like Muhammad was an ultimate authority, and this seems highly unlikely given the fierce independence of Arabic tribes of the time. Montgomery Watt[60] has suggested that Muhammad would have made some form of 'contract' with Medina before the *hijrah*, possibly along the lines of the constitution of Medina, by which the Emigrants of Quraysh acted like a clan of its own with an alliance with the eight Medinan clans among common enemies.

A scholar who cites the Medinan constitution as an example of ethnic and religious pluralism is Ali Bulaç (born in Turkey, 1951). Bulaç's research regarding the Medinan constitution is invaluable, as he notes the uniqueness of Medina, certainly within the context of the Arabian peninsula.[61] Importantly, Bulaç points out that, for the first time, a community was created that did not rely upon the traditional Arabic blood and kinship ties, but rather consisted of a group of people from diverse geographical, ethnic and cultural backgrounds that all identified themselves as part of a distinct social group. Why is this research significant in terms of Mawdudi? Mawdudi's whole premise relies upon a vision of an Islamic society, his 'transhistorical' vision, as being fundamentally *Muslim* in make-up. Consequently, as will be shown in the next chapter, Mawdudi's state, his 'theo-democracy', leaves non-Muslims in a position of disenfranchisement. Mawdudi relies upon the paradigm of the first Islamic state, Medina, to support his view of the umma as 'pure' in Islamic terms, yet if it can be can be shown that the umma was essentially diverse in terms of religious belief then Mawdudi's paradigm lacks any historical credence. For example, Bulaç states that at the political level, the Prophet Muhammad was the chief of only one of the nine kinship groups which, in total, was effectively a confederacy of the tribes. Bulaç cites a census that was taken in Medina during Muhammad's prophecy which records a population

of around 10,000 people, of which only 1,500 were 'Muslim', in the sense of submission to God and an acceptance of Muhammad as the Prophet of God. To suggest that Muhammad had any kind of 'kingly' role over the whole of Medina seems way off the mark and highly unlikely. Instead, Muhammad had to possess incredible leadership and charismatic skills in holding together a society that was pluralistic in nature:

> Of course, the religious message would be propagated; but no one would be coerced to convert through force and pressure; those who converted would meet no opposition, as they had in Mecca.[62]

Bulaç goes on to describe how, when the Mahajirun arrived in Medina, the chiefs of the families gathered and the first articles of the Medinan constitution were decided upon. Importantly, the constitution was the product of negotiation and consensus among the tribal leaders, rather than a list of commands forced upon the community by Muhammad and the Ansar. Bulaç states that it is 'unimaginable'[63] that the Prophet, having sneaked out of Mecca in the middle of the night to migrate to Medina, would be in any position to dictate to those who gave him refuge. Admittedly, Medina had suffered wars and internal conflicts for over one hundred years, and so they would have been open to Muhammad's skills as arbiter and peacemaker, hence the constitution. However, the constitution is remarkably 'modern' in many respects, consisting of constitutive principles that allow for a diversity of ethnic, religious and social groups. Participation, rather than domination, is necessarily the starting point, reflecting the common interest of the community as a whole, rather than one particular group:

> In such areas as religion, law-making, judiciary, education, trade, culture, art, and the organisation of daily life, each group will remain as it is and will express itself through the cultural and legal criteria it defines.[64] Article 42 of the Constitution states that cases of murder and fighting shall be taken to Muhammad, but in this sense the Prophet acts as 'arbiter' and is a position that was agreed amongst the various groups when situations arise when conflicts cannot be settled internally: 'In this arrangement, the Prophet did not act as a "judge" but as a "referee".'[65]

Only a brief account of Bulaç's arguments can be given here, but the important point is that a picture is presented of an umma that is far more inclusive and pluralistic than one might, and Mawdudi might, suppose. Islam comes across as effectively pragmatic, rather than dogmatic, recognizing the needs of different religious and ethnic groups within a broad framework of essential values that all the groups could readily adhere to. Determining what their values *are* (and the sources of these values) is, of course, the problem. For any Muslim, Mawdudi's 'four sources' outlined in this chapter will be very important, but it is in the interpretation of these sources where one Muslim may

differ greatly from another. Mawdudi's 'transhistorical' understanding of the four sources is, I hope, as demonstrated here, divorced from historical reality:

> The document concerned [the Medinan constitution] is not an artificial utopia or a theoretical political exercise. It has entered written history as a legal document employed systematically and concretely from 622 to 632 … Briefly defined, *the Medina Document is the legal manuscript for political unity.*[66]

The third source: the conventions of the Rashidun

> These conventions constitute the third source of Islamic Constitution. How the Right-guided Caliphs managed the Islamic State after the passing away of the Holy Prophet is preserved in the books of Hadith, History and Biography which are replete with glittering precedents of that golden era.[67]

As an important third source for Mawdudi's Islamic state, the question as to how 'glittering' these precedents were is of utmost importance. Many Islamists, Mawdudi among them, make reference to a 'Golden Era' of Islam; a period that is portrayed as a pure Islamic state. In appealing to traditional hadith and histories, the Islamist sees ultimate authority resting with the Rightly Guided Caliphs. They are seen as ideal Islamic rulers, by and large, who governed an ideal Islamic state. However, just how much authority really rested with the Caliphs? Did they possess as much legitimacy over all spheres of life, specifically the political, as has been suggested?

Historically, the Islamic community has lived in separate polities ranging from tribal societies to modern republics and has thus been ethnically, linguistically and religiously diverse. They have been subject to constant changes brought about by dynastic challenges and popular insurrections and, occasionally, by somewhat religiously motivated reformist movements; but, despite that, modern historians do not generally define a period of Islamic history as a 'golden age' in the sense of a unified Islamic umma – although the closest may well have been under Muhammad, his authority was laid to rest with his death.[68]

There were to be no prophets after Muhammad, and so an important symbol of religious authority was lost after his death. The state of the umma was extremely fragile at this stage and it could well have broken up again; Mecca reverting back to its *mala* (council of clan leaders) and Medina back to tribal war. Abu Bakr was elected partly because he came from a relatively insignificant clan with no pretensions to power; it was a *falta* – an affair concluded with haste and without much reflection to avoid the very real danger of tribal conflict and, according to Moojan Momen,[69] to put down any prestige for the Prophet's house of Hashim. However, Abu Bakr's status as *Khalifat Rasul Allah* was not one of particularly great power: not only was

his secular authority limited, but also his religious authority was much more circumscribed than that of Muhammad. In fact, at the beginning of his reign he was only a part-time Khalifah, as he continued to be a merchant.[70] However, in his short reign of only two years, he maintained the Medinan regime, bringing the breakaway tribes back into the fold of the umma through the policy of *ridda* (apostasy) wars. Importantly, however, Abu Bakr was by no means an absolute ruler, for he had to rely on the loyalty of powerful tribal leaders who saw it in their own interests to remain united.

Before Abu Bakr died in AD 634 he designated his successor, Umar b. al-khattab, in the form of a recommendation. His succession was then secured by obtaining pledges of support for Umar from several prominent persons. However, Umar, in reality, had no more authority than his predecessor. Umar's original title was 'Khalifah to the Khalifah of the Prophet'; a rather cumbersome title which was replaced with the shorter 'Amir al-Mu'minin'. Although 'amir' can be variously translated as 'prince', 'commander', 'leader of the blind', 'husband', 'adviser' or 'counsellor', the latter title of 'counsellor' is the most appropriate in this case. 'Mu'minin' is best translated as 'believers' rather than 'submitters' as some scholars have suggested.[71] Many of the fiercely independent tribes would have been unwilling to accept a title that implies submission. Like any other traditional Arab leader he was only to advise and persuade, never to command. This situation would have been a matter of pragmatism as much as anything else, for the Muslim empire was expanding at such a remarkable rate it would have been impossible for the Khalif to pull all the strings. Although he had the power to appoint commanders and governors and, at times, give them detailed directions regarding their responsibilities, he had no means of enforcing these directions.

By the time Umar was assassinated, the empire was far too large for any one person to control it. A council of six men was appointed to decide the leadership, with the position going to Uthman b. Affan.[72] The career of Uthman is well documented, and the term 'glittering' seems hardly appropriate in most of these historical accounts. Uthman was criticized heavily as a result of such actions as replacing governors with his own relatives and claiming a larger share of the booty. In addition, he is responsible for the 'authorized version' of the Qur'an which might seem a sensible action, considering the situation of the time with differing versions and much debate over the Qur'an's authority, but the fact that it raised the issue of the authority of the Khalif to propagate one version provides evidence that the religious power of Uthman had its limitations.

After the death of Uthman, political authority was effectively in the hands of the Umayyad family, led by its most able member, Mu'awiya, the governor of Syria. The fourth Khalif, Ali, maintained a brief but fragile coalition before he too was assassinated in AD 661. With the rise to power of Mu'awiya, any claims to supreme religious authority were scrupulously avoided. The powerhouse moved from Medina to Syria and, to state it very briefly, there followed a period of cautious government and a series of civil wars

within a rapidly expanding empire. Rulers, on the whole, were practical, but hardly concerned with reconciling the religious with the temporal. When we therefore trace the history of the Rashidun, it is extremely difficult to find much to support Mawdudi's vision of this period as containing a series of 'glittering precedents' and a 'golden era'. Instead, the Rashidun era is replete with power struggles, assassination and political intrigue left as a result of the vacuum created by the death of the charismatic Prophet Muhammad.

The fourth source: the rulings of the great jurists

> These rulings which comprise the fourth source, are the decisions of top-ranking jurists in regard to various constitutional problems of their times. They may not be conclusive on this subject, yet it cannot be gainsaid that they contain fundamentally the best guidance for a proper understanding of the spirit and principles of Islamic Constitution.[73]

Mawdudi does not detail exactly how much authority the rulings of past 'great jurists' would have in his Islamic state, nor does he specify which rulings. After the period of the first four Caliphs, a great variety of differences in legal and dogmatic opinion appeared in different centres in Iraq, the Hijaz, Syria and Egypt, each attaching themselves to a 'great jurist'. These differences of legal thought were largely due to the various ways in which the Qur'an was interpreted, and it is a characteristic of Islam that wherever it has settled it has adopted much of local customary law. Consequently, one could speak of many 'local Sunnas'.

From the middle of the eighth century, *fiqh* became more immutable. By the tenth century the 'gates of ijtihad' were finally closed, and the doctrine of the early jurists came to be invested with an authority that they themselves never claimed for it. Generally, the jurists had insisted upon the individual and fallible nature of their doctrines because of the personal allegiance that developed towards them to the degree that they attained the status of personality cult. The great jurist al-Shafi'i, the father of Muslim jurisprudence, consistently refused to be associated with any new school of law based upon the passive acceptance of his teachings, although this did not prevent the creation of the al-Shafi'i school.[74]

With the legal schools finally established, further judges could only imitate (*taqlid*) their doctrines. This may well have not been so problematic provided Islamic society was not, on the whole, subjected to any major paradigm shifts. However, with the coming of western infiltration, sharia law could not adapt, being largely the product of the idealism of medieval jurists. The notion of the sharia as the comprehensive and preordained system of God's command – a system of law having an existence independent of society, had led to an introspective science divorced from reality and largely ignored by rulers.

Mawdudi uses the terminology of Islamic jurisprudence by referring to the judiciary as the qada. Traditionally, and somewhat idealistically, sharia courts had a single qadi (judge), making no provision for courts with a plurality of judges, nor for any system of appeal. There is no jury system, the single qadi being the judge of both the facts as presented and of the law as written. Nor is there any formal provision for representation. One party, the plaintiff, only, shoulders the burden of proof and must normally produce two witnesses to give oral testimony of the truth of his claims. Note that these witnesses must be adult male Muslims, although in special cases two women can make up one man – woman perceived as only half the rank as man in legal terms. To qualify as a witness, a person must possess the quality of *adala* (high moral integrity). There is no test of the credibility of the witness on the facts to which he testifies by cross-examination or any other means, which obviously restricts the scope of the judge's process of fact finding. The judge is not required to weigh the evidence of one side against that of the other and come to a decision on the balance of probabilities. In effect, he has only two pre-liminary tasks to perform: to determine, first of all, which party carries out the burden of proof and, second, whether the witnesses that are to be called are qualified, on grounds of integrity of character, and so forth, to testify or not. In cases of conflicting testimony where the qadi feels unable to come to a correct decision on the basis of the evidence produced, he is allowed to abstain from judgment.

Because of such idealism, the qadahas rarely, if ever, worked in practice. In fact, there has never been an independent judiciary in the true sense of the term.[75] Ultimately, the rift that existed between the ideal scheme of law as expounded by the jurists and the actual legal practice in Islam was recognized and ratified by legal scholarship under the doctrine known as *siyasa shar'iyya* (government in accordance with the precepts of divine law). Writers on con-stitutional law, from the eleventh century onwards, assert that while the sharia doctrine embodies the ideal order of things for Islam, the overriding duty of the ruler is to protect the public interest, and, in particular circumstances of time and place, the public interest might necessitate deviations from the strict sharia doctrine.

In effect, the political ruler is recognized as the fount of all judicial authority, with the power to set such bounds as he sees fit to the jurisdiction of his various tribunals. This doctrine is, of course, based on the assumption that the ruler is ideally qualified for his position in terms of religious piety and knowledge of the 'divine law'. Mawdudi sees no problem here, by stating that the head of state – regardless of the judgements of others – can always exercise his veto.[76]

Since the latter part of the nineteenth century, sharia law has had to be largely abandoned in relation to commercial law, general civil law and criminal law largely because of modern western infiltration. As a result, Islamic nations would adopt – wholly or partly – the legal codes of which ever European country dominated their area at that time. Although family law has remained

within the jurisdiction of the sharia courts, sharia law has had to be modified or abandoned. Mawdudi's emphasis on the courts of law enforcing the divine code, and his despair that this is being violated 'at present in almost all the Muslim states'[77] can be understood if one is referring to such countries as Turkey in the 1920s abandoning the sharia altogether in favour of the Swiss Civil Code, but Mawdudi's romanticism of past ages would not help, leading to a 'return' to outdated systems of law which do not reflect contemporary society:

> The tension, then, between idealism and realism in Islamic law can be simply expressed in terms of the distinction between legal doctrine and legal practice. A realist approach to the question of the role of law in Muslim society has meant in the past, and means even more so today, that the idealism of the doctrine both in matters of substance and procedure, has perforce had to give way to the needs of State and society in practice.[78]

By allowing for change, modern Muslim societies have attempted to adapt to contemporary situations while keeping within the general spirit of Islamic principles; for example, the principle of equality has allowed for the improvement – though, in many respects, still far from satisfactory – in the status of women. Countries have borrowed European sources of law and absorbed them within the Muslim way of life, causing a process of evolution rather than revolution. As such, the divine command can be perceived as itself visualizing a changing social order, rather than being submerged in idealism.

9 Theo-democracy
(or divine government?)

> [W]hatever dispute and difference of opinion may arise in a Muslim society …
> it should be referred to that fundamental Law which God and His Prophet
> have given us. Thus the very nature of this principle demands that there should
> be an institution in the state which should undertake to adjudicate in strict
> accordance with the Book of God and the Sunna of the Prophet.[1]

As we have seen, Islam, in terms of 'din', is synonymous with the Islamic
state: you cannot have one without the other. This was Mawdudi's central
aim: to create the vision of a modern state that is informed within a frame-
work of his paradigms of the Qur'an, the Prophet, and the Rightly Guided
Caliphs. In many respects, he seems to be calling for a return to the Caliphate,
but it is much more complex than that. The Islamic state was central because
Mawdudi had little faith in individuals to live pious lives, and so they must be
led by the virtuous. This is best expressed in Mawdudi's 'trinity' of religion
(*iqamat-i din*), virtuous leadership (*imamat-i salihah*) and divine government
(*hukumat-i ilahiyah*). The continuity between Islam and politics was, for
Mawdudi, like the relation of 'roots with the trunk and the branches with the
leaves [of a tree]', for, 'In Islam the religious, the political, the economic, and
the social are not separate systems; they are different departments and parts
of the same system.'[2] This was also all part of Mawdudi's jihad:

> Of all the factors of social life which impinge on culture and morality,
> the most powerful and effective is government … Hence the best way
> of putting an end to the *fitna* [strife] and purifying of life of *munkar* [evil]
> is to eliminate all *mufsid* [corrupt] governments and replace them with
> those which in theory and practice are based on piety and righteous
> action, the objective of Islamic Jihad is to put an end to the dom-
> inance of the un-Islamic systems of governments and replace them with
> Islamic rule.[3]

It is fascinating to see how Mawdudi utilizes common Islamic terminology to
fit into his own agenda of an Islamic state. His very understanding of

the word 'Muslim' means that you cannot call yourself a true Muslim unless the end goal of your faith is to strive for an Islamic state. In fact, strictly speaking, until that Islamic state, this 'virtuous order', is in existence, your religious credentials are open to question, at the very least. One step taken to strive for being a good Muslim is to join the Jamaat-e-Islami, for 'Ours is not a party of the enlightened missionaries or the religious missionaries. It is a party of God's soldiers [Hezbollah]. This party therefore, has no option but to take control of political power.'[4] It is not a matter of choice, for there is 'no option'; it is God's will and thus a moral imperative placed upon all Muslims.

Hence Mawdudi's need to construct his vision for an Islamic state and, again, this cannot be seen as purely a utopian vision so far as Mawdudi was concerned, although it may well be the case so far as anyone else was concerned. For it to remain unobtainable would make a mockery of Mawdudi's whole philosophy. The Islamic state, as conceived by Mawdudi, was seriously meant as a real and genuine possibility. In fact, much more than that: it was a heart-felt imperative. We are, therefore, justified in considering the viability of his Islamic state and not dismissing it as a mere pattern in the heavens for which Mawdudi believed it could not become concrete on this earth.

When Mawdudi writes of the Islamic state, he is not making reference to any specific nation, not even Pakistan. In fact, he does not think in terms of national boundaries, for the Islamic state, the umma, is a moral and ideological entity. National boundaries and, indeed, nationalism, is a western colonial construct and therefore has no place in Islam. In terms of leadership, as we have seen, the ultimate authority rests with God, and here lies the real problem. How can a state governed by the dictates of God be anything other than authoritarian? Yet Mawdudi takes great pains to argue that the Islamic state would be democratic, using such terms as 'democratic caliphate' and famously 'theo-democracy'. He argued that it would be democratic because the leaders would be elected. However, we need to consider the question of who would be eligible to elect the leader and, once elected, how much independent authority this leader would have to enact new laws. The way to consider this is to break up the sections of the Islamic state into Muslims as a whole, women and non-Muslims.

Muslims

Mawdudi portrays his vision of the Islamic state as a workable proposition by dividing the organs of the state into three: the legislature, the executive and the judiciary,[5] and defining their powers and functions accordingly:

1 The legislature. For this, Mawdudi uses the Islamic terminology *Fiqh* – 'the body which resolves and prescribes' ('*Ahl al-hal wa'al-'aqd*'). As it is

limited by the divine code, it cannot legislate in contravention of the directives of God and His Prophet. Therefore, its functions are:

a   To enact the directives and provide rules and regulations to enforce them.
b   Where the directives of the Qur'an and Sunna are capable of more than one interpretation, it has the authority to give preference to one.
c   To enact laws in 'the general spirit of Islam' where there is no explicit provision in the Qur'an and Sunna.
d   Where there is no guidance in the Qur'an, Sunna or with the Rightly Guided Caliphs, the legislature can formulate its own laws.[6]

2   The executive. The institution of the executive in Mawdudi's Islamic state (which he compares with the Ulul-Amr in the Qur'an) would engage in the actual enforcement of the rules and regulations put forward by the legislature. The executive must be obeyed 'on the condition that it obeys God and His Prophet and avoids the path of sin and transgression.'[7]
3   The judiciary. This, Mawdudi compares with the Qada (as examined in Chapter 8). These courts of law are established to enforce, 'the Divine Code and not to violate it as they are doing at present in almost all the Muslim States'.[8]

Mawdudi admits that – in defining the relationship between the legislature, the executive and the judiciary – there are 'no clear-cut instructions on this point'.[9] However, Mawdudi states that the conventions of the Prophet's period and that of the Rightly Guided Caliphs provide the required guidance in such matters. According to this guidance, 'the Head of the Islamic state is, as such, the supreme head of all these three different organs. The Prophet enjoyed the same status and this position was maintained by all the Righteous Caliphs.'[10] However, as has been demonstrated, even if such an elaborate government had existed at that time, the authority of previous Caliphs would not have been such that they would have had the status of 'supreme head' and, at the same time, have been true to the 'Divine Code'.

Concerning the actual authority of the supreme head, Mawdudi remarks:

> The position of a man who is selected to conduct the affairs of the state is no more than this: that all Muslims delegate their Caliphate to him for administrative purposes. He is answerable to God on the one hand and on the other to his fellow 'Caliphs' who have delegated their authority to him.[11]

At this point one needs to be clear what Mawdudi understands by the term 'Caliph'; as he seems to be suggesting that all Muslims are Caliphs and that, therefore, we are talking of a 'democracy' (in the sense that all Muslims have equal representation in the affairs of state). Yet, at the same time, one is

bound by the laws of God, which implies a theocracy. It is worthwhile quoting Mawdudi at length on this point:

> Islamic theocracy is not controlled by a special religious group of people but by ordinary Muslims. They run it according to the Qur'an and Sunna. And if I am allowed to coin a new word, I would call it 'theo-democracy'. It would grant limited popular sovereignty to Muslims under the paramount sovereignty of God. In this [state], the executive and the legislature would be formed in consultation with the Muslims. Only Muslims would have the right to remove them. Administrative and other issues, regarding which there are no clear orders in the Shariah, would be settled only with the consensus of Muslims. If the law of God needs interpretation no special group or race but all those Muslims would be entitled to interpret (*ijtihad*) who have achieved the capability of interpretation.'[12]

From the above quote, one is led to believe that the democratic principles of consultation do indeed suggest democracy, and Mawdudi points out that the state would be controlled by 'ordinary Muslims'. But when one digs a little deeper there are serious limitations placed on the citizen. While there would be 'no special group or race', no mention here is made of non-Muslims, and this will be considered below, and, most importantly, Mawdudi's understanding of what counts as a Muslim is crucial here, recalling that 'din' is very narrow indeed. Mawdudi allocates powers of ijtihad to those Muslims 'who have achieved the capability of interpretation'. According to Mawdudi's own calculations, the percentage of Muslims with any true knowledge of Islam is not more than .001 per cent. Thus, although he makes allowance for ijtihad, this authority would be limited to a very small minority. This reflects Mawdudi's concern over the piety and virtue of the majority of human beings, so-called Muslims included, for when, 'laws are made with the will of the people, experience has shown that the common people themselves cannot understand their interests. It is a natural weakness of human beings that in most matters relating to their life they consider some aspects of the matter and overlook others; generally their judgement is one-sided.'[13] Regarding those few who are chosen to be God's representatives, Mawdudi quotes sura 24:55: 'Allah has promised to those among you who believe and do righteous deeds that He will assuredly make them to succeed (the present rulers) and grant them vicegerency in the land just as He made those before them to succeed (others).'

Mawdudi concludes from this that the term 'vicegerency' (Khalifat) refers to *state* rule; that is, sovereignty belonging to God alone; which is a some-what tenuous link as the sura has no overt political reference. Indeed, this promise of vicegerency is more commonly interpreted as a reference to the earth, not to the state, and this interpretation is in accordance with the general principles that the Qur'an upholds. Also, the prestige that one can

achieve through righteous deeds is generally perceived in a social sense; the authority one gains through one's honesty, justice and piety is, in itself, an earned position of respect and a social acknowledgement of that person's qualities. This is not synonymous with *political* power. What of those who do not fit within Mawdudi's category of the pious Muslim? Mawdudi's political power relies on coercive means towards those who will not comply to those in power:

> the concept of *ul amr* [the word used in the Qur'an for those who hold authority] is for all those who are responsible for the collective affairs of the Muslims … In short, who has authority in whatever capacity among Muslims deserves obedience. It is not correct to dispute with them and disturb the life of the community.[14]

While Mawdudi's conception of the early days of Islam displays a very organic and democratic system, this is in conflict with his own personal distrust for the modern Muslim to either choose a leader or to be a leader that is chosen by the majority of the population. It is worthwhile quoting Mawdudi at some length of his vision of what the Caliph once was:

> He was not just the president of the state but the prime minister as well. He attended the parliament himself, presided over its meeting and fully participated in its debates. He was responsible for the affairs of his government and accounted for his personal affairs as well. He had neither an official party nor an opposition party; the entire parliament acted as his party as long as he followed the right path, and the whole parliament acted as the opposition party if he followed the wrong path. Each member was free to oppose or support his decisions; even his own ministers used to oppose him in the parliament. Nevertheless, the president and his cabinet got along very well; no one ever resigned from his office. The khalifa was answerable not only to the parliament, but to the entire qaum [nation] for all his activities, even concerning his private life. He faced the public five times a day in the mosque and addressed them at Friday prayers. People could find him in the streets and muhallas, and anybody could stop him to ask for his rights. Not only could the members of parliament question him on prior notice but anyone could ask him questions at public places.[15]

There has never been, so far as can be assessed, a period in history where such a form of government has existed in the Islamic community, and one has to question the viability of Mawdudi's political philosophy in a modern nation-state. Mawdudi himself is forced to conclude that, 'It can only become practicable when society has been fully prepared in accordance with the revolutionary principles of Islam.'[16] Obviously he is envisioning a society that does not at present exist. Unfortunately, he bases his philosophy on a

past that also did not exist and on an erroneous interpretation of Islamic sources.

Women

Presuming that women would constitute approximately half the population of Mawdudi's Islamic state, the subject of women's authority within it is of considerable importance. Mawdudi starts *Purdah and the Status of Woman in Islam* by outlining the status of women in different ages and civilizations. It would be preferred if this unfortunate text on women could simply be put aside and ignored. However, as a 'traditionalist', Mawdudi's views on women can tell us much about contemporary traditionalist writings on gender that set out to respond to western images of women and it is important as, although written in 1939, it remains hugely influential and provides a paradigm for subsequent traditionalist writings on the subject. Indeed, his text has been repeatedly reprinted and is still often quoted as an authoritative source.

   The short opening chapter provides a series of generalizations concerning the cultural attitudes towards women in Ancient Greek, Rome, Christian Europe and modern Europe. One common theme runs through each of these accounts of these civilizations: the increase in what is perceived by Mawdudi as sexual perversion and corruption coincides with (and, presumably is the cause of) the decline in these respective civilizations. With the advent of the twentieth century in Europe, Mawdudi identifies three 'doctrines'[17] of western society:

1. Equality between the male and female. Mawdudi's concern is not so much that woman obtains moral equality, but that woman is allowed to work in the job market on equal terms. This, Mawdudi sees as a 'wrong concept of equality',[18] because the woman becomes so absorbed in economic, political and social pursuits she neglects her obligation to care for the family.
2. Economic independence of woman. As women have become economically independent, they no longer feel any obligation to have a husband or family: 'Hundreds and thousands of young women in every western country like to live unmarried lives, which they are bound to pass in immoral, promiscuous and sinful ways.'[19]
3. The free intermingling of the sexes. This has led to 'an ever-growing tendency towards showing off, nudeness and sex perversion'.[20] Men are growing more voracious in their sexual appetites while women put aside all moral restraint to attract the opposite sex.

Before stating that women in the pre-Islamic era (*jahilliyah*) and, in western society up to the modern period, had no freedom, rights or dignity, Mawdudi paints what he sees as a dark, satanic picture of a decadent and corrupt western society. For example, there are 'members of the same sex … involved in homosexuality to the extent that they have lost all interest and desire for

the opposite sex'[21] and people reading 'magazine articles providing contraceptive information'.[22] Considering such things as wrong, gives the reader a hint at least of Mawdudi's attitude. He put much of this moral decline down to, 'the depraved moral condition of women which is reflected by their attire, nudity, increasing smoking habits and their free and unrestricted intermingling with men'.[23] He then goes on to quote an American committee of moral reformers known as the Committee of Fourteen, which states that it has 'revealed that almost all ballrooms, night clubs, beauty salons, manicure shops, massage rooms and hairdressing shops in America have turned into houses of prostitution.'[24]

Also, according to an 'estimate'[25] (although Mawdudi does not quote his source), 90 per cent of the American population is afflicted with venereal diseases. It is unfortunate that Mawdudi's choice of sources generally lack academic credence and his own personal attitudes shine through blatantly in a dogmatic and, frankly, somewhat bizarre manner. This needs to be emphasized to show that there is much more than a mere suspicion that, in Mawdudi's Islamic state, female liberty would be a misnomer.

> Some nations have given woman the position of governor over man. But no instance is found of a nation that raised its womanhood to such a status and then attained any high position on the ladder of progress and civilisation. History does not present the record of any nation which made woman the ruler of its affairs, and won honour and glory, or performed a work of distinction.[26]

Where woman has attained at least some degree of equality with man, 'it has already corrupted community life'.[27] Although Mawdudi insists that, as human beings, man and woman are equal, he adopts his usual approach to such egalitarian principles by qualifying them:

> It has been established by biological research that woman is different from man not only in her appearance and external physical organs but also in the protein molecules of tissue cells.[28]

Thus, this 'equality' only exists in the sense that man and woman are both 'human beings', but that is where it both begins and ends; stating that women are, in a sense, 'disabled' to such an extent during menstruation that it would affect her powers of concentration and her mental abilities. At such a time:

> a lady tram conductor … would issue wrong tickets and get confused while counting the small change. A lady motor driver would drive slowly as if under strain, and become nervous at every turning. A lady typist would type wrongly, take a long time to type and omit words in spite of care and effort, and would press wrong keys inadvertently … '[29]

And so on. In short, a woman's mental and nervous system becomes, 'lethargic and disorderly':[30] she loses her mental balance and is even more likely to commit a crime or suicide!

During pregnancy, a woman is 'mentally deranged' and, after delivery, 'exposed to various troubles'. During the period of breast-feeding the 'best of her body is turned into milk for the baby'. There follows the lengthy period of bringing up the child, which requires her 'fullest attention'.[31] Consequently, Mawdudi allows for little time left in life for women to partake in society outside of rearing children, and no mention is made of man's role in this particular process, except:

> For the continuance of the race man's only function is to impregnate the female. He is then free to have any pursuit in life. In contrast to this, the woman has to bear the whole burden of responsibility. It is to bear this burden that she is fashioned right from the time when she is a mere clot of blood in her mother's womb.[32]

Consequently, Mawdudi has moved on from talking of 'equality', to the qualified 'equipotential', and then to determining woman's burdensome destiny from the moment of her conception. Mawdudi does not consider it to be 'fair play' to require women to undergo the hardships in the economic field; to shoulder social responsibilities that man must so reluctantly bear; to make her take part in promoting the cause of industry and commerce, agriculture, administration of justice and defending the country.

> Above all, will it be just and right to require her to allure men's hearts also by her presence in mixed gatherings and provide them with means of entertainment and pleasure?[33]

We know Mawdudi's answer to this: to allow such a thing would be unfair and 'sheer inequality'. A woman, burdened so heavily 'by nature' should not have such additional duties in society. Besides which, even if she had equal duties, 'she cannot in fact be expected to perform them with manly vigour.'[34] As an example of woman's abilities:

> Imagine for a while the plight of a land or naval force which wholly consists of women. It is quite possible that right in the midst of war, a fair number of them might be down with the menstrual discharge, a good number of delivery cases forced to stay in bed, and a fair percentage of pregnant ones fuming and sulking uselessly.[35]

Mawdudi describes woman as 'tender', 'plastic', 'soft', 'pliable', 'submissive', 'impressionable', 'yielding', 'timid', and, basically, incapable of functioning in spheres of life which demand: 'firmness and authority, resistance and

cold-temperedness, and which requires the exercise of unbiased, objective judgement and strong will-power'.[36]

Mawdudi then proceeds to qualify his earlier remarks that men and women have 'equipotential' by stating that, in fact, men and women do not have equipotential in all aspects of life. In the same way that Mawdudi looks at history in an attempt to justify his notion that no nation has prospered under a woman ruler, he now states that no woman's genius is as great as men such as Aristotle, Kant, Hegel, Shakespeare, Napoleon, Saladin, and so on. His ignorance of social conditions is quite remarkable, and his attempt to balance such apocryphal remarks by proclaiming that no man could ever be as great a mother is rather typical of anti-feminist rhetoric.

From what Mawdudi has said so far, it seems fairly self-evident that woman's authority in his Islamic state will be somewhat restricted. For Mawdudi, the men are naturally generals, statesmen and administrators, and women are the wives, mothers and housekeepers: 'This is the division of labour which nature herself has devised between the sexes.'[37]

His outlining of woman's authority can be categorized into four parts:[38]

1   Man is to carry out the 'laborious' social duties of earning a living and his education should be designed to prepare him for this.
2   Women are to look after domestic affairs and make home life 'sweet, pleasant and peaceful'. Likewise, her education should gear her towards these duties.
3   Woman is to 'maintain the family system and save it from confusion'. The man must be the leader of the family.
4   There must be 'safeguards in the social system' to prevent individuals from 'confusing and mixing up the different fields of activity of the two sexes'.[39]

It is evident that Mawdudi does not envisage equal education for both sexes; the woman is only to be taught how to cook, sew and rear children. Therefore, she would already be disabled and discriminated against should she wish to engage in activities outside of the home; not that she would be given the opportunity in the first place in Mawdudi's state:

> They are allowed to go out under necessity. But this permission is neither unconditional, nor unlimited. Women are not allowed to move about freely and mix with men in social gatherings.[40]

Regarding the political role of women, Mawdudi states in *Human Rights in Islam* that, 'In Islam there is a functional distribution between men and women and according to that the field of politics and administration belongs to the men's sphere of responsibility.'[41] He also quotes the well-known hadith: 'A nation that entrusts its affairs to a woman can never prosper.' This hadith is a perfect example of the use of an unreliable source to substantiate

Mawdudi's personal political philosophy; it is the kind of dogmatic quote that goes completely against the spirit of the Qur'an.[42]

Woman's political representation is equally circumscribed; although he appears willing to extend the right to vote to women, he considers the present system of universal adult franchise harmful and would therefore like to qualify it with a certain level of education,[43] and yet has previously stated that women will not, in fact, be given access to such an education. The election of women to the legislative assemblies 'is absolutely against the spirits and precepts of Islam … active politics and administration are not the field of activity for womenfolk'.[44] The best Mawdudi will do is to provide a separate assembly made up of women only who are elected by women only: its role to 'look after the affairs of women such as female education, female hospitals, etc.'[45]

His book *The Ethical Viewpoint of Islam*, published in 1947, gives us a clear indication of his stance on society as a whole and Islam's position within it. He sees the world, both the western world and the Islamic world at the time, as in a state of sickness and decay and, therefore, in need of a cure:

> Thus the moral vices, which the greatest part of humanity was nurturing within itself for ages, now stand fully exposed before us … Only the stark blind can now harbour the delusion that all is well with the diseased humanity … We see whole nations exhibiting, on a huge scale, the worst morals which the conscience of humanity has always condemned with one voice … Every nation, by its own free choice, selects its worst criminals and places them at the helm of its affairs … There is no form of villainy … which these nations have not been guilty of, on a huge scale and with the utmost shamelessness … It is obvious that collective vices make their appearance only when individual vices have reached their nadir … mankind is passing through a period of intense moral decadence which grips by far the greatest majority of human beings. If this state of affairs continues a little longer the time is not far when humanity will meet with a colossal disaster, and long ages of darkness will supervene.[46]

With a world so full of vice, and facing the prospect of a new dark age, Mawdudi looked for a radical transformation which involved the antithesis of contemporary values. Values such as pluralism, atheism, sexual equality and promiscuity, emphasis on the individual, humanism, and so on were the vices, the diseases from which society must be cleansed. For the cure:

> The conclusion to which I have been led is that there is only one correct basis for morality and that basis is supplied by Islam. Here we get an answer to all the basic ethical questions and the answer is free from the defects noticeable in philosophic replies and untainted by other religious creeds which create neither firmness and integrity of character nor prepare man to shoulder the immense responsibilities of civilised life.[47]

The only way to live an ethical life – synonymous with being a Muslim – is to live in a truly Islamic state. In Mawdudi's view, 'the sex instinct is the greatest weakness of the human race'[48] and 'It is only Islam which can provide a wholesome atmosphere for the development of high morals and noble traits of character and which can guarantee true progress of man's intellectual, spiritual and physical abilities.'[49] An Islamic state, therefore, would 'prevent the sexual urge from running wild, to moderate and regulate it in a system'.[50]

Given what Mawdudi has to say on the sexual urge and its implications for civilization, he argues that the fundamental principles underlying the social system of Islam helps to rein in and regulate this sexual urge. He cites the Qur'anic prohibition on marrying family relations[51] and adultery. Through these restrictions, 'Islam has closed all the ways to sexual anarchy'.[52] However, the sexual urge needs to be channelled somehow, and this is to be achieved through marriage and the creation of the family. Man's position within the family is that of provider: 'It is obligatory on his wife and children to obey him, provided it does not involve them in the disobedience of Allah and His Prophet.'[53] The woman's role is to be 'queen of the house',[54] which means that it is her duty to run the house but it is not obligatory, according to Mawdudi's references to the hadiths of Al-Bukhari, for her to offer the *Jum'ah* prayers, or to go on a jihad, attend the mosque, nor to join a funeral prayer (in fact the latter is forbidden). According to a hadith by Al-Tirmizi, a woman cannot go on a journey except in company with a *mahram* (a close male relative with whom she cannot marry). Mawdudi quotes the Qur'anic verse that says, 'Stay in your homes and do not display your finery as women used to do in the days of ignorance.'[55] However, Mawdudi is dismissive of the beginning of this verse, 'Wives of the Prophet! You are not like other women' which seems to suggest very strongly that the Prophet's concern was with his wives rather than women generally. This concern need not have been because of a question of modesty, but rather their 'celebrity' status and the fact they had such access to the Prophet meant that they could not live as other women could do.

When a woman does go out of the house or is keeping company with certain males, she must cover certain parts of the body (the term used for this obligation is *satr*). For males, incidentally, *satr* requires covering the body between the pit of the stomach and the knee, but for women it is much more comprehensive. Referring to a number of hadiths from different collectors, women are required to cover their whole body except the face and the hands from *all people*, except her husband. No man, again with the exception of the husband, is to touch any part of her body, so shaking hands would also not be permitted.[56]

Mawdudi quotes the well-known verse sura 24:30–1, which says that Muslim men and women must 'restrain their eyes' from the opposite sex and that women should 'draw their over-garments close on to their breasts, and should not display their decoration' except before close relatives, other

women and slaves. It is one thing to call for a degree of modesty from both sexes but Mawdudi also quotes sura 33:59 which says something similar to the previous verse quoted above: 'Oh Prophet, enjoin your wives and daughters and the women of the Muslims to draw their outer-garments close round them.' Again, the call for modesty is evident, yet Mawdudi then says, 'This verse especially enjoins the covering of the face.'[57] However, nowhere in this verse does it refer to the face. Rather, Mawdudi relies upon his own selection of (male) commentators of the verse:

> A person who considers carefully the words of the Qur'anic verse, their well-known and generally accepted meaning and the practice during the time of the Holy Prophet, cannot dare deny the fact that the Islamic Shari'ah enjoins on the woman to hide her face from other people, and this has been the practice of the Muslim women ever since the time of the Holy Prophet himself. Though the veil has not been specified in the Qur'an, it is Qur'anic in spirit.[58]

That final sentence in the quote above is key here: 'Qur'anic in spirit'. Given that the Qur'an does not actually call for the veil, then there is no reason to suppose it is in the 'spirit' of the Qur'an for women to cover the whole of the body, including face and hands.

Non-Muslims

The problem encountered with any state that possesses a set ideology is that that are serious repercussions for those who do not agree or reflect that ideology. A Muslim can lead a believer's life only in an Islamic state and society, for 'Who so judgeth not by that which Allah hath revealed: such are disbelievers.'[59] Man-made judgements are, therefore, to be regarded with suspicion. As Mawdudi has stated, where man-made judgements have to be made then they should at least be made by the most pious of Muslims. It follows from this that the non-Muslim could not possibly hope to obtain any significant position of power in Mawdudi's state. Mawdudi fails to accommodate religious pluralism politically. His isolationist policy for non-Muslims is reminiscent of Byzantine 'protection' of the Jews, and the 'millet' in the old Ottoman state.[60] Non-Muslims, or zimmis, who have, nonetheless, affirmed their loyalty to the state are classed as citizens, and would, therefore, have citizens' rights. However, Mawdudi distinguishes the zimmi from the Muslim and he is not an adherent of equal rights, believing such ideals are the resting place of hypocritical nations that fail to practise what they preach. Rather than attempt to achieve the ideal of equality, Mawdudi would prefer to avoid being accused of hypocrisy and so states quite categorically that non-Muslims would not be treated with equal status in his state: only the Muslims would be given the 'burden' of running the state. It is interesting that he refers to the running of the state as a 'burden' as this is the same word he uses when

referring to the responsibility of men apropos that of women: men have a 'duty' and 'responsibility' to work, earn a salary, and so on, and these are, therefore, burdens. Likewise, the pious Muslim is burdened with the responsibility of running the state, which the fortunate non-Muslims – or not-so-pious Muslims – are relieved of.

Mawdudi guarantees protection of 'life and limb, property and culture, faith and honour'[61] for zimmis, for Islam enforces only its laws of the land on them and gives them equal rights with Muslims in all *civil* matters. Not dissimilar to models of previous Islamic states in history, notably the Ottoman, zimmis can follow their own laws, including the making and selling of alcohol (to fellow non-Muslims) and the raising and selling of pigs (again, only to fellow zimmis). Politically, however, the position of the non-Muslim is limited. He or she cannot be the head of state, of course, but nor can the zimmi be a member of the shura. Having said that, the non-Muslim may be allowed to participate in the legislative assembly, on the condition that this does not affect adversely the ideological basis of the state. How 'adverse' this can be is certainly open to question. The non-Muslim cannot preach beliefs that are contrary to Islam: that is, they cannot hold, entertain or publish opposing or differing views and beliefs. Again, terms such as 'opposing' or 'differing' are ambiguous. Mawdudi quotes the Qur'an, 'There shall be no compulsion in religion' (2:256) and projects a tolerant image in Islam for other beliefs and convictions. In his *Human Rights in Islam*, there is no mention of apostasy by Mawdudi, although in *The Islamic Law and Constitution* he adopts a more dogmatic approach stating that zimmis will not be forced to adopt Islam and can propagate their religion and win converts, but only so long as this activity is among non-Muslims: Muslims are not to be converted to another religion. Interestingly, those Muslims who do show an inclination towards a change of faith are condemned, rather than the non-Muslim who tempted them in the first place. Of note are Mawdudi's remarks during the Court of Inquiry into the anti-Ahmadiyya riots of 1953.[62] Mawdudi, together with the ulama, declared that apostasy is punishable with death in Islam; for Islam is not only a matter of personal faith, but part of the social order. Therefore, a change of faith is the same as an attack on society and may be classed as treason. Parenthetically, the crime of apostasy applies not only to a person who, as an adult, converts to Islam and later recants, but equally to those who are born a Muslim and later wish to abandon or change their faith.

Mawdudi's concern for the solidarity of a superior Islamic nation against all other political systems – those promoters of *jahiliyya* – results in less accommodation of ethnic and religious diversity within its boundaries. One suspects that zimmis would be tolerated more as a member of a separate community. An ideological state cannot, by its very nature, integrate with those that do not share its ideology. Only the law of God can prevail; all other sources of authority in society must be rejected. Uniformity of conduct under God's law would inevitably take precedence over any kind of national

integration based on the secular ideals of political accommodation of ethnicity and pluralism. As P. J. Vatikiotis has pointed out:

> Surely, the essence of secularism, apart from the separation between religion and state, is the acceptance of the proposition that there is no finality to forms, no exclusive possession of absolute and indivisible truth. A corollary of this is the recognition of alternative notions about man and the world and, more significantly, the toleration of these alternative views. This implies scepticism, not certitude towards absolutist assertions, and experimentation with alternative forms.[63]

The perfect Islamic state by definition is 'perfect'; there is a 'finality of form', and so there is no flexibility. Any expression of other forms of belief would need to be contained and restricted. It is evident from Mawdudi's writings that this would indeed be the case: non-Muslims would be 'tolerated' but provided they toe the line and do not upset the ideological basis of the community.

One final point: Mawdudi strives to account for most of the fundamental rights offered by modern democratic states in his Islamic system as well as remain faithful to traditional dogmatic restrictions on political liberty and freedom of conscience and belief. Thus, he asserts that the right of life, liberty and property belong to all citizens (Muslims and non-Muslims); freedom of conscience, of association, etc., are guaranteed, and there can be no imprisonment without trial in an Islamic state.[64] Mawdudi attempts to show that Islam has adopted a more enlightened attitude to slavery than the west were able to achieve in the eighteenth century. Although Mawdudi's language regarding slavery in Islam seems occasionally vague and evasive, the principle he adopts is that Islam encourages the setting free of slaves, and even that the freed men could partake in politics – or at least, their descendants could – provided, of course, they 'embraced Islam first' and that they were male.[65] However, Mawdudi is not altogether clear as to what would be the status of those who did not embrace Islam.

He is doctrinal on the question of female slaves, explaining that Islam allows for the conversion of slaves into concubinage (following the precedents of the Prophet, the Pious Caliphs and the rulings of the Muslim jurists) with whom sexual relations are legitimate without the necessity of marriage: once they have been given to their master, they become his personal property. Mawdudi adopts a very defensive tone on this issue, declaring that before the arrival of Islam, slaves were treated much more cruelly; it was the arrival of Islam that provided them with a degree of legal protection and they were treated more humanely. Mawdudi, though perhaps deliberately vague on this issue, is also confronted with his own demons: the inner conflict between adhering to the original Islamic sources – his salafi inclinations – and the need to recognize that times and attitudes have changed in some cases for the better. While admitting that slavery is wrong by wishing to improve the status

of slaves, his reliance on tradition cannot allow him to apply his own human rights ideals to real-life circumstances; for to do this would be to break with tradition and with the primary sources of his constitution.

Striking a balance

Although Mawdudi was often critical of the ulama, this captiousness was directed not so much at the nature of the religious body, but at the lack of authority the body had over the political sphere.[66] However, Mawdudi's vision of an Islamic state ruled by 'those who have achieved the capability of interpretation' would certainly seem to imply the structure of the ulama, only with more power. The degree to which one is able to participate in the state would be according to the degree of one's piety and expert knowledge of the traditional sources of the divine law. It is a theocracy, because pure doctrine would dominate, yet, historically, no such pure theocratic state has existed, even at the time of the so-called 'golden age narrative'. Generally, ultimate political authority has rested with rulers who have acted largely independent of religious control. Giving the Ottoman Empire as just one example:

> It is true that Islamic states have theoretically possessed mechanisms for declaring acts of rulers ultra vires. Decrees of the Ottoman sultan required a ruling (*fatwa*) by the highest religious authority, the shaykh al-Islam, that they did not infringe on the sharia, and the shaykh al-Islam could even depose the sultan. That was the way the Ottoman state worked in principle, but the reality was that the shaykh al-Islam was chosen by the sultan and was utterly dependent on him. When such an official declared a sultan unfit to rule, that was merely a matter of legalising what others in the power structure had decided.[67]

Now, of course, Mawdudi would not necessarily disagree with the view that throughout much of Islamic history, so-called Islamic states were not Islamic at all, for he would dismiss much of history as in any way Islamic by his rigorous standards. What Mawdudi would not accept, however, is the view that the golden age narrative was not as 'golden age' as he might suppose. In Mawdudi's Islamic state, authority – the body to which the power to make and enforce laws is given – would rest with a small number of individuals, acting as representatives of God. This conception of authority is reminiscent of medieval European societies rather than any modern democratic system. Mawdudi's claim that his Islamic society would be a 'theo-democracy', therefore, seems to beg the question: where is the democracy?

Mawdudi's outline of the state is authoritarian in the sense that political coercion is required to implement Islamic theology throughout all elements of life. Mawdudi has shown throughout his writings a lack of trust in general human will and has, therefore, chosen to exclude it as a weakness and a distraction from his political aims. His objective is not to organize a society

on the basis of equity and justice – which would seem entirely 'Islamic' in spirit – but to interpret the sovereignty of God as the submission of the individual will to the coercive power of the state apparatus. As such, Mawdudi is oblivious to the twentieth-century political arena where all political philosophies are necessarily influenced by the international context and the socio-economic conditions that are prevalent at the time. The fact that it may be *conceivable* to organize a society on a level that would allow individual free will is a concept that Mawdudi distrusts entirely:

> It is obvious that to organise collective life, in all circumstances there is a need for coercive power, which is called the state. No one has ever denied this need except for the anarchists, or communist theory, which contemplates a stage when humanity would not need a collective state. All these are idealistic contemplations which cannot be supported by observation and experience … Human history and the knowledge of human nature show that the establishment of civic life is essentially dependent on a coercive power.[68]

The charge can be made against Mawdudi that he also comes across as idealistic, presenting a vision of Islam that bears little resemblance to historical reality or experience of human and civil nature. The talk of state coercion leaves an unpleasant taste in the mouth, implying, as it does, suppression of free will and difference of opinion. However, the Islamic state could not be otherwise, for human beings – unless they are pious Muslims – cannot be left to their own devices. Mawdudi does not leave the reader in any state of optimism:

> If you wish to organize your political and economic life in accordance with the teachings of Islam, then you need not divide yourself into different parties. Only one party, the Hizb-i-Allah (the party of God) is sufficient for all these tasks. Why? Because in an Islamic society there is no conflict between capitalists and workers, landlords and peasants, rulers and the ruled.[69]

This is about as idealist as a person can be, and historical experience would incline the reader to feel fear and suspicion rather than positive optimism. For Mawdudi, the state is *din*; it enters all spheres of activity: 'Acceptance and submission by the people to a paramount authority are required in the state. This is the meaning of *din* as well.'[70]

Mawdudi's reading of history is to account for its success in becoming a world empire because the umma was united as one ideology. Such a view of Islam as a monolithic ideology ignores its ability to accept a diversity of cultures and belief systems, and cannot be backed up by a historical account of the development of Islam as it spread throughout the Middle East, Africa, Indonesia and Asia. Although the Prophet was against discrimination on the basis of national, ethnic and racial differences, this is not the same as saying

that it is the aim of Islam to eliminate such difference: the umma represents
unity through diversity. In the past, almost all Muslims lived in intensely
community-oriented societies, and so the interests and demands of local
authority (the extended family, tribal kinship and ethnic–linguistic groupings)
have had to be accommodated within the vast 'Islamicate' of the umma: the
fact that it has succeeded in accommodating such differences at least partly
helps to explain why it spread so widely and rapidly and was embraced by so
many differing cultures. Reconciliation between the umma as monolithic and
the local community as pluralistic was achieved through the decentralization
of power and a toleration of such difference. Thus, while the umma was one
and ideally 'united', its diversity was presumed. Mawdudi reduces such
acceptance of differences and pluralism to the one ideology and the one party.
In fact, he goes even further by proclaiming the word 'party' to be synon-
ymous with 'nation':

> The word that the Qur'an has used for the community of Muslims is *hizb*,
> which means party … and the basis of the nation is race and descent, and
> the basis of a party is its programme and its principles … therefore,
> Muslims in reality are not a nation but a party.[71]

Mawdudi's criticism of nationalism rests on the rather simplistic assumption
that it rests on race and descent which, of course, is not necessarily the case;
other factors apart from common race or common descent may go together
to make a nation. Mawdudi's Islamic state, therefore, would not have national
boundaries, but would be the seed of a universal revolution: the universal
umma that would submerge all differences, all boundaries, all beliefs into the
monolith. It would not be a federation of nations – even if the boundaries of
those nations have evolved due to ethnographic reasons – but one great mass;
an ideological empire.

   There are many contradictions in Mawdudi's writings, one especially is his
criticism of the ulama, and yet the Philosopher-Kings of his Islamic state
would surely be the ulama in everything but name. Throughout Islamic his-
tory it is unquestioned that rulers, proclaiming themselves as shadows of
God on earth, have been able to exercise political rule with little or no regard
for Islamic piety, and Mawdudi would be the first to acknowledge this.
Mawdudi's concept of Islamic rule would have the ruler as subject to divine
law and the will of those Muslims who are sufficiently pious, which, as has
been shown, would be a very small percentage of the population. The make-
up of the ruling elite would, therefore, appear little different from what is
understood as the ulama, with the key difference that Mawdudi's ulama
would possess considerable political power. Mawdudi's criticism of the his-
torical ulama has rested on their conservatism and, coupled with that, on
their inability to be politically active. Such a criticism is well founded, for,
although sharia law would often dominate over matters of marriage, divorce
and other social affairs, they rarely entered the political field, and nor did the

political rulers feel obliged to be restricted by such laws. Glenn Perry[72] cites examples of early Sunni theological debates on the issue of whether a sinner (i.e. the tyrannical and impious rulers of the Umayyad dynasty) could be considered Muslim; the predominant view being expressed that only God can decide. Therefore, the ruler is given the benefit of the doubt and the ulama remain quiet.[73] This resulted in the well-known remark by Abu-Hamid al-Ghazali (1058–1111) who said that even 'an evil-doing and barbarous sultan' must be obeyed if 'the attempt to depose him would create unendurable civil strife'.[74] The ulama's role was perceived as the defender of the umma and as a symbol of unity, while the political leaders of the Abassid and Umayyad dynasties ruled by military force that was acknowledged by the ulama as necessary to maintain an orderly society.[75]

   Political power moved from the Umayyad, then to the Persian–Sassanian tradition of the Abbasid, and further away still from the Arab model of authority to Iranian and Turkish elements with political power in the hands of local amirs. The ulama sought to legitimize the amir's authority so long as the amirs accepted (at least ostensibly) the 'superiority' of the sharia and the ulama. However, as Faksh has pointed out, these 'limits were merely a facade of legal constructs that hardly squared with the situation'.[76] In the early days of Islam, the ulama as a class prospered and played a conservative role as mediators between political power and civil society; a number of theological scholars adjured any identification with power, declining to serve even as judges. Professor Anwar Syed has stated that the theologians 'endorsed secularisation of politics in return for a pact of mutual assistance between the government and ulama'.[77] The institution of waqf (private and public endowment of property to mosques and schools which were invariably administered by the ulama) and the ulama's role as educators and interpreters of religious law insured for them a lucrative and prominent place in society next to the military and bureaucracy. It is therefore natural for them to show a bias towards stability and obedience to secular authority. With the eventual collapse of the Abbasid Caliphate, the Damascene Ibn Jama'a (d. 1333) echoed the sentiments of al-Ghazali:

> The sovereign has the right to govern until another and stronger shall oust him from power and rule in his stead. The latter will rule by the same title and will have to be acknowledged on the same grounds; for a government, however objectionable, is better than no government at all, and between two evils we must choose the lesser.[78]

Therefore, both usurpation (*istila*) and tyranny (*istibdad*) are justified so long as the ruler 'acknowledged' the sharia law; which is basically the same as saying that the law may be violated so long as the ruler does not explicitly reject the sharia.[79] This has resulted in rulers acting in a secular manner, while ostensibly claiming to adhere to Islamic principles; any rulers who blatantly attacked Islam would not usually survive in power for too long.

10 Jihad and the permanent revolution

It has been said that Mawdudi's views on revolution are essentially Marxist[1] and are tied in with his views on jihad (see below). However, like so much of Mawdudi's writings, there is considerable ambiguity here. He hardly appears very 'Marxist' when, in the 1950s, he opposed the Pakistan Prime Minister Liaqat 'Ali Khan's land reform in the Punjab, arguing that it is wrong to punish property and that Islam justifies *jagirdari*. A 'jagir', incidentally, was a small territory granted by a ruler or chieftain granted on a short-term basis (about three years) for services rendered. The receiver of this land could then work the land, but the income was taxed and went to the owner. In effect, Mawdudi seemed to be arguing for a form of medieval feudalism![2] Mawdudi was clear that an Islamic state could not occur until the existing political order was removed, and this inevitably would result in some direct action. However, Mawdudi is ambiguous in his writings, but the overall impression is that he was not in support of violent revolution and, instead, saw revolution as a piecemeal thing that is *evolutionary* in character. Therefore, the word 'revolution' might seem a misnomer when referring to Mawdudi's political agenda, as it would be an orderly transfer of power rather than a spontaneous overthrowing of the existing order. As we have seen, Mawdudi looks back to the prophetic era as his paradigm, with the Prophet extolling such virtues as patience and pacifism. In this respect, Mawdudi's notion of revolution is more ethical in nature, rather than social or political. That is, people's moral nature needs to change before society can change. As Nasr notes:

> what Mawdudi meant by the term revolution was a process of changing the ethical basis of society, which should begin at the top and permeate into the lower strata. It was a process of cultural engineering based on definite criteria and postulates, which not only would shape society in the image of the din, but would also prepare the ground for an Islamic state. Other social dialectics or aspirations, such as changes in the social structure, were not central to this process and, at any rate, could be accommodated within the framework of the Islamic state.[3]

Yet it is curious that Mawdudi devotes so much of his writings to constructing a utopian vision with a specific political, economic and legal structure. His vision is, of course, hierarchical, and his concern was always very 'non-Marxist' in that his revolution did not require the conversion of the hearts and minds of all. Indeed, as has been evident in the foregoing chapters, Mawdudi had little faith in the majority of the population ever changing all that much. What mattered was what occurred at the top; with the leadership of the Islamic state. As he states, 'It is not the people's thoughts which changes society, but the minds of society's movers and leaders.'[4] The emphasis on education, then, is to train an elite, a 'vanguard', that would lead the rest. This begs the question as to whether it was either possible or, for that matter, desirable, that such an education would, in time, be open to all. Again, there is ambiguity here, for at times he talks of revolution being a gradual and peaceful process in which the Muslim people would, presumably over a number of generations, become more in line with Mawdudi's notion of din, but, as has been shown, at other times Mawdudi talks of the need to obey the rulers, and the use of force to impose an Islamic order was not ruled out. This is borne out when one looks at the structure of the Jamaat, which was effectively Mawdudi's 'mini-state' in action.

As Lapidus rightly notes, 'Pakistan was born as an Islamic state to differentiate it from the rest of the [Indian] subcontinent, but Muslim identity [did] not prove adequate to unite the country internally.'[5] Not only has it not proved adequate, it has often been the case as considered unnecessary and as something of a hindrance, at least so far as the ruling parties were concerned. Pakistan was to be, politically, a non-religious body with 'Islam' perceived as a rather superficial concept that could be used as a term of communal spirit, although in effect devoid of any real power; the constitution and important institutions being British in nature. The 1956 constitution, although declaring Pakistan to be an 'Islamic State' in an attempt to placate religious leaders (Mawdudi included), was paid little heed by the rulers; partly due to the pre-occupation with the conflict between West and East Pakistan. The issue of an Islamic state did not really achieve any dominance until January 1972 when Ali Bhutto's Pakistan Peoples Party (PPP) was sworn in with the question of an Islamic state high on the agenda. However, Bhutto's preference for a secular constitution, not to mention his own personal preference for alcohol and various other forms of non-Islamic activities, resulted in his use of the term 'Islam' – more specifically, 'Islamic Socialism' – merely as a way of placating the religious parties. The next chapter will go into more detail on this, but it is worth bearing in mind that, in actuality, Pakistan polity has on the whole acted according to its own secularized agenda. In June 1980, General Zia ul-Haq – who deposed Bhutto in a military coup in July 1977 – introduced a legal code that was stated to be consistent with sharia, repealing all existing non-Islamic civil laws and creating religious courts. The intention was for sharia to cover personal law (including women's rights), the economy and the education system. However, not only was the military regime

maintained – and, thus, political authority maintained through force – but, most significantly, the imposition of sharia resulted in women's groups and human rights organizations condemning this proposed Islamization as a curtailment of freedom, while minority groups, such as the Shia, resisted the application of Hanafi laws by setting up a political party in opposition.[6] This is significant because it shows that, even among Muslims themselves, their very diversity results in objection to the setting up of one sharia school.[7]

Benazir Bhutto, elected to office in November 1988, had to tread a thin line between avoiding the same mistakes as Zia, while avoiding being labelled 'godless' like Ali Bhutto. Sharia laws are rarely put into practice, and trials have been frozen for many years. The controversy in early 1995 over the introduction of the mandatory death sentence for blasphemy – introduced by Nawar Sharif during his brief period in power – is an example of how difficult it is to introduce Islamic law: the case of the two Christians accused of insulting the Prophet Muhammad, which was overturned in the High Court at the beginning of 1995, led to riots and the increased persecution of minority – specifically Christian – groups. It also raises the question of whether or not it is, in fact, 'Islamic' to sentence to death for blasphemy. For example, Ziauddin Sardar commented at the time that, 'Islamic law does not recognise blasphemy. Indeed, the classical jurists could not even define it … The Koran unequivocally states that the punishment or reward for insulting God lies with Him alone – Muslims, mullahs and the courts have nothing to do with it. The ' "penalty" for blaspheming or abusing the Prophet, even though it affects every fibre of a believing Muslim, is forgiveness.'[8]

Pakistan is by no means within the category of Mawdudi's pure Islamic state; there still remains a clear separation between the polity and religious organizations. Added to this, the situation in Pakistan has highlighted the difficulties of attempting to Islamize a relatively modern state. Among Muslim themselves, particularly women and the Shia minority, there is conflict over the imposition of sharia law. In fact, violence and confusion has resulted from the difficulties of defining and imposing Islamic law, the blasphemy law being a typical example. Also, minority groups – Christians, Hindus and the Ahmadi, for example – have suffered persecution and been accused of heresy. These are all problems that Mawdudi failed to address adequately.

Other historical precedents?

It is worth considering whether an Islamic state is really possible and if there are any precedents in Islamic history that Mawdudi could have appealed to, apart, of course, from the golden age narrative which, it has been shown, was not really that much of a 'golden age' at all. To what extent, as one example, did Muammar Qaddafi's Islamic revolution result in the formation of a pure Islamic state, or is it just another case of using Islam as a means to legitimize authoritarian rule? Qaddafi deposed the conservative monarchy of King Idris – who had himself legitimated his rule on the basis of his descent

from the nineteenth-century revivalist leader Muhammad ibn al-Sanusi – in September 1969 and installed his new government along the lines of what he described as Islamic socialism. Qaddafi immediately banned alcohol, gambling and nightclubs. Criminal penalties, the hudud, were reinstated, including amputation of the hand for theft and stoning for fornication and adultery. In his *Green Book*, Qaddafi proposed a new political and social order that would be a third alternative to capitalism or communism. Such exclamations are not unlike Mawdudi's claims that his theo-democracy was a distinctive alternative to current world ideologies, but it is hardly likely that Mawdudi would approve of the populist state (jamahiriyah) that was based, 'not on the divine guidance of the Qur'an or the example of the Prophet, but the iconoclastic thought of Qaddafi'.[9] Libya's *Al-Jamahiryah* was to be a people's state, with a decentralized, participating government of people's committees which would control government offices, schools, the media and many corporations. Private land ownership was, in principle, abolished, as was private retail trade. Qaddafi also denied the authority and binding force of many hadith, changed the date of the Muslim calendar, declared that the pilgrimage to Mecca, the *hajj*, was not obligatory, and equated *zakat* with social security. He also denounced the ulama as 'reactionaries' and rejected their perceived role as guardians of Islam, stating: 'As the Muslims have strayed from Islam, a review is demanded. The [Libyan revolution] is a revolution rectifying Islam, presenting Islam correctly and purifying Islam of the reactionary practices which dressed it in retrograde clothing not its own.'[10]Not surprisingly, Qaddafi earned the condemnation of many Muslims both inside and outside Libya for such an unorthodox interpretation of Islam. He was condemned by the ulama and by Islamic movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood and the Islamic Liberation Organization who – though sharing Qaddafi's criticisms of the religious establishment as decadent – perceived Qaddafi as an opportunist who has manipulated and diluted Islam for his own purposes. However, Qaddafi had many admirers, at least during the early period of the revolution, and his *Green Book* is, in many respects, a stimulating and intelligent proposition, but this is far removed from considering it to be Islamic or offering a possible model for an Islamic state.

Significantly, the first volume of his *Green Book*, entitled 'The Solution to the Problem of Democracy', makes no mention of Islam (or, for that matter, religion). The second volume, 'Solution of the Economic Problem: Socialism', also makes no mention of Islam. The third volume, 'Social Basis of the Third International Theory', states that, 'every nation should have a religion', but emphasizes that the 'national factor' should be the 'driving force of human history', and that a state established on religion is a 'temporary structure which will be destroyed'.[11]

In explaining his lack of attention to religion, Qaddafi states that:

the Third International Theory is based on religion and nationalism – any religion and any nationalism … We do not present Islam as a religion

in the Third Theory. For if we do so, we will be excluding from the Third Theory all the non-Muslims, something which we evidently do not want. In the Third Theory, we present the applications of Islam from which all mankind may benefit.[12]

Learning from the examples of Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser and Saudi Arabia's King Faisal, Qaddafi uses Islamic rhetoric to portray himself as the leader and hero of the Arab world, and, indeed, the Third World, but this rhetoric, though often using Islamic terminology, seems more secularizing and closer to communism than in any way religious. Qaddafi's type of political reform is really a secular ideology, using 'Islam' interchangeably with 'nationalism' or 'socialism'. This has had its appeal, especially among many modern Muslims who have had little contact with doctrinal Islam and were disillusioned with the material promises of the twentieth century. However, as Lisa Anderson so rightly points out:

> Qaddafi's claims were merely those of an individual, idiosyncratic and – in the context of the debates on Islam and Islamic reform – insignificant. His visibility was due to his having captured political power in a wealthy oil-producing country, not to the sophistication, utility, or representativeness of his philosophy as an example of modern-day Islamic thought. His was not a religious reformation; it was, in terms of religious history, a heresy, and as such it is not likely to represent much more than a footnote to the worldwide debate on Islam and Islamic reform.[13]

If it is indeed as mere 'footnote', we had best look elsewhere, and another possible candidate for the kind of Islamic revolution Mawdudi was looking for would surely be likely in Egypt. As John Esposito has pointed out, Egypt 'had offered a barometer for modernization which was predominantly Western and secular in orientation … Today Egypt provides a remarkable example of the diverse and complex impact of Islam on socio-political development.'[14]

Upon Gamal Abdel Nasser's death in 1970, Anwar Sadat relied upon Islam heavily to obtain legitimacy, declaring himself 'The Believer President': building mosques, increasing Islamic education in schools and adopting typical Islamic rhetoric. However, he was criticized – by the likes of the Muslim Brotherhood – for his pro-western stance and his fondness for western products and way of life, as well as the failure of his government to implement the Islamic laws. In February 1979, by calling for a separation between religion and politics, he angered Muslim organizations even more, and was conflicting with his media in statements such as, 'Islam is the religion of the state' and the sharia is 'the main source of legislation' when it obviously was not.[15] As opposition to Sadat grew, so did his authoritarianism and suppression of dissent. On 6 October 1981, he was assassinated by the Jamaat al-Jihad ('Organization for Holy War') who proclaimed that jihad was the

sixth pillar of Islam, and that 'We have to establish the rule of God's Religion in our own country first, and to make the Word of God supreme … There is no doubt that the first battlefield for jihad is the extermination of these infidel leaders and to replace them by a complete Islamic Order. From here we should start.'[16] However, Egypt has paid little heed to the more militant elements of Islamist groups and has pursued a process of secularization since the 1952 revolution. In the past, the Egyptian ulama had some influence in respect of which rulers seriously consulted them, and even forced the Mamluk ruler to give into them on at least one occasion.[17] At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the ulama played a leading role in the rise to power of Muhammad Ali Pasha,[18] although Pasha then proceeded to break their power by removing their independent sources of income and turning them into 'propagandists for his regime' in return for 'high positions'.[19] Such has been the situation since; acting as 'yes-men' for Nasser, with the topic for Friday prayers being prepared by the government:[20] 'When Nasser established a highly statist economy under the rubric of Arab socialism, he had no trouble obtaining a plethora of statements from the religious establishment that Islam, correctly understood, has always called for socialism.'[21]

Sadat, in his turn, also used government control of nationalized mosques and religious institutions – as well as the dependence of the ulama on the government for its salaries – to dictate and control sermons and mosque activities.[22] Sadat's successor, Husni Mubarak, has avoided the flamboyance of Sadat and has generally pursued a path of greater political liberalization and tolerance for moderate Islamic organizations. As a result, the Muslim Brotherhood has become a major force; although Mubarak has not allowed the Brotherhood to become a political party.

Socially, there has been something of a 'quiet revolution' by the Brotherhood, with an increase in Qur'an study groups (led by men and women), mosques and private associations: 'Islamic identity is expressed not only in formal religious practices but also in the social services offered by psychiatric and drug rehabilitation centres, dental clinics, day-care centres, legal-aid societies, and organizations which provide subsidized housing and food distribution or run banks and investment houses.'[23] The polity comes across among many in Egypt as little concerned for the Egyptian people, and more preoccupied with tourism. In the Cairo earthquake of 1992, it was the Muslim Brotherhood who responded more quickly than the government, providing food, shelter and medical aid.[24]

While society is developing a form of moderate Islamic morality, any attempt by religious organizations to become involved in state politics is perceived as a threat to state security. Islamic revolutionaries have become more marginalized in their appeal, but this is largely because Mubarak has clamped down hard on any form of 'fundamentalist' group through the power of the emergency laws that allow the imprisonment of anyone without charge for up to 60 days if they are suspected of threatening state security. The Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR) has frequently accused

the government of using torture.[25] Mass arrests, closed military trials and executions of suspected terrorists are now the norm. A state that relies on force to maintain its legitimacy is not a legitimate Islamic state and, although a superficial appearance may be of a state that maintains a balance between the polity and society, this so-called balance is delicate indeed.

In the case of Pakistan, the Objectives Resolution of 1949 has rarely seen the light of day, although it has at least attempted 'to blend Islamization with the existing long-established infrastructure and momentum of a modern state',[26] which has certainly been a fact noticed by such 'modernized' states as Turkey and Algeria. Its Islamization has, at least by Iran's standards, been quite moderate; but this may also be seen as merely tentative, making generally quite harmless concessions to Islamists – such as the setting up of various Islamic committees and a zakat administration – but failing to break down the old order to any real extent. Nor does it offer much in the way of an attractive model of an Islamic state for other nations. In the case of Libya, though perhaps the most radical of alternatives, Qaddafi's exclusion of the hadith and most of the sharia law allows for little prospect of attracting the Islamists. The highly personal nature of the Libyan revolution and the charismatic authority of Qaddafi, for that matter, probably allows for little in the way of a solid base for his successor. Egypt is a nation that has exerted an influence over Muslim nations for centuries and which continues to possess a prolific and rich degree of intellectual activity. However, for the last three decades at least, the balance between the religious organizations and modernist society has been upset, which has resulted in violence and political oppression. In the past, this balance has relied on the ulama remaining quiet and being 'paid off' for its acquiescence. But, in the future, should a new dialogue be established between the religious and the secular, it is difficult to see how this could promote a model of an Islamic state where one body is dominant (the polity) while the other (the religious groups) 'toes the line'. The goals of the Muslim Brotherhood most likely do not rest in the social sphere, as it continues to support the principles of its founder, Hassan al-Banna, and one of its most notable members, Sayyid Qutb (see Chapter 6 in this volume). Qutb, influenced by Mawdudi, believed that Islamic ideology: 'provides the individual with a goal greater than himself, the goal becomes the society in which he lives and humanity of which he is a member'.[27] His liberationist ideology stresses that: 'Muslims must combat oppression and injustice wherever they are found, even though it is the oppression of the individual against himself, the oppression of society against itself, or the oppression of the government against its constituents.'[28] Like Mawdudi, Qutb uses the terms jihad and jahiliyya to describe the struggle against the 'irreligious', whether these be communist countries, polytheist countries, or any government, laws, values or traditions within Egypt itself that do not come under the Islamic banner. Consequently, the present Egyptian government does not fulfil Qutb's, the Muslims Brotherhood's or Mawdudi's concept of an Islamic state.

Ideology versus human will

An issue that always emerges is the extent to which it is possible to implant a religious ideology upon a state and still maintain any degree of human free will. By its nature divine law must be obeyed and if it can indeed be demonstrated that God has something to say on all matters – political, social and otherwise – then little seems to be left for human beings to decide for themselves. For Mawdudi, this was just as well, as he had little faith in human beings to make the right decisions anyway, but such a cynical view of human nature surely must rob the individual of any sense of self-determination. The extent to which it is possible to have an Islamic state and still allow for free will is a topic that has been hotly debated by many scholars. For example, Muhammad Asad (formerly Leopold Weiss), in his book *The Principles of State and Government in Islam*[29] states that Islam does imply the establishment of God's will on earth. Asad seems to fit within the 'Mawdudi mould' to the extent the Muslim must submit completely to the sovereignty of God and that the Qur'an and Sunna provide a complete code of life. Asad rejects all forms of secularization, although he seems somewhat more flexible than Mawdudi in his emphasis on the use of *itjihad* in areas that are not covered in the other sources. Asad is also not so willing to rely upon the judgements of earlier scholars. According to Asad, every generation has the right to exercise *ijtihad* in areas that are not covered by the Qur'an: 'A rediscovery of the "open road" of Islam is urgently required at a time like this, when the Muslim world finds itself in the throes of a cultural crisis which we may affirm or deny … Set as we are in the midst of a rapidly changing world, our society, too, is subject to the same inexorable law of change.'[30]

Asad's use of the term 'open road' is a reference to the Qur'an, sura 5:48, 'For every one of you We have ordained a Divine Law and an open road.'[31] While Asad asserts the supremacy of the Qur'an and Sunna, he places them as the foundations for change and development. An 'open road' seems considerably more flexible than Mawdudi's state would be, at least in principle. Asad differs from Mawdudi in that the former is not as attached to the past as the latter and he believes that the Qur'an and Sunna do not prescribe any particular form of government. Asad refers to the basic principle of consultation (*shura*) being adhered to, referring to the Qur'an, sura 42:38, 'Their [the Muslims'] communal business [*amr*] is to be [transacted in] consultation among themselves.' Another significant difference is that Asad calls for suffrage for men and women with a widely elected assembly, as well as allowing for different political parties. However, Asad's allowance for differences of opinion only goes so far: 'One must … frankly admit from the outset that without a certain amount of differentiation between Muslims and non-Muslims there can be no question of our ever having an Islamic state or states in the sense envisaged in Qur'an and Sunna.'[32] Although Asad goes somewhat further than Mawdudi in allowing non-Muslims to seek employment in

the state service and even the army, it is supposed that 'differentiation' would limit the extent of integration.

In Khalifa Abdul Hakim's book *Islamic Ideology*,[33] he states that, 'The highest organization of society is the state. Islam had to found a state to give to the world in practical form the ideals of statehood.'[34]However, Hakim rightly points out the limitations of the Qur'an, consisting as it does of only around 10 pages that are legal in nature. Aside from adherence to these legal precepts, Hakim argues that Muslims should be free to legislate according to changing situations, so long as it is within the spirit of Islam, i.e. principles of equity and justice.[35] Hakim goes a step further in stating that even the laws as specified in the Qur'an, although they must be adhered to, are nonetheless open to a degree of interpretation, offering broad guidelines that should not be taken too literally. Hakim certainly comes across as more progressive in his views than Mawdudi. However, although he talks of equal rights for women and men, Muslims and Muslims, and even says that the zimmis can hold 'key posts',[36] he is nonetheless quick to condemn polytheism and atheism, for which there would be no place in Hakim's Islamic state. Also, this following quote from Hakim would not look out of place in one of Mawdudi's works: 'The learned men in the state should continue to reinterpret and revise the laws; they shall not be changed merely by the vote of the ignorant masses creating brute majorities.'[37]

What Mawdudi, Asad and Hakim all share is the utilization of no doubt praiseworthy principles such as 'justice', 'consultation' and 'equality', but in all cases a little digging reveals a concern that these principles would conflict with the ideological tenets of Islam and divine law. It seems that provided that Islam does proclaim the state as its vehicle for salvation then it is inevitable that those citizens of the state who do not conform to its ideology are 'damned' both in the hereafter and on this earth.

There is the other option of going down the opposite extreme and arguing that Islam does not, in fact, prescribe for any kind of Islamic state at all. S. M. Zafar in *Awam, Parliament, Islam*[38] argues that there is little reference in the Qur'an to political affairs and, therefore, it is up to the community to decide the extent to which a state should be 'Islamic' or not, although it is hoped that the Islamic spirit of equality and justice would nonetheless permeate throughout the state. Zafar, therefore, places a much greater stake on humankind's own reasoning capacity to determine the nature of laws than Mawdudi would ever countenance. Zafar, then, sees no conflict between ideology and free will, but he achieves this only by denying, or limiting, the ideology. Humankind is essentially free to adopt any state system it so wishes, and Zafar has sufficient faith in human nature to be led by certain principles such as justice and equality that are not only 'Islamic', but universal. Whereas Mawdudi looks to Medina as the perfect political system, Zafar sees this paradigm as irrelevant to the needs of his contemporary world. He does, however, stress *shura* as part of the essence of Islam, and he interprets this in modern terms as accountability, free legislation

and democracy.[39] Modern political forms such as territorial nationalism, political parties, democratic elections, and so on, are not contrary to the spirit of Islam, but are different expressions of its essence of consultation.

Zafar believes that the reason why Muhammad did not himself appoint a Caliph to succeed him was that he did not wish any divine status to be assumed by the next leader,[40] and that it would also lead to some form of consultation in the choice of the next leader. Exactly how democratic this process was we can never know for sure, but Zafar believes that Muhammad had hoped that it would at least lay the seeds of some form of democracy as far as was possible in that period and under the circumstances at the time. Further, Zafar is a proponent of political parties, which he states have been around since Muhammad's time of the separate 'parties' of the Quaraysh, the Ansar and the Hashim. Of course, these parties are not the same as in the modern sense, although it does suggest that competing political interests and groupings was encouraged and was not seen as 'un-Islamic'.

One cannot ascertain whether Zafar adopts a modernist stance in relation to women and non-Muslim, as he does not make reference to them, although it is rather encouraging that Zafar recognizes the diversity of Islam by stating that territorial nationalism is not contrary to it: he perceives the umma more as a federal structure, rather than one monolithic entity. This more 'progressive' strand of political Islam is also emphasized by Professor Muhammad Usman in *Islam Pakistan Mein*:[41]

> For example, at one stage in history the system of slavery was commonly practised. Islam also accepted it in a mild form. But now the morality of no civilised society can tolerate it. The result is that not only in Europe and America but also in the Muslim world the system of slavery has been abolished. The idea of giving equal status to women is also a product of the 'Spirit of the Time'.[42]

The 'Spirit of the Time' is probably about as basic as you can get in terms of providing a framework for a government apparatus, and to say that morals should be determined according to what can or cannot be 'tolerated' by society denies the necessity of divine law. Usman goes much further than Zafar in arguing that even the principle of shura, of consultation, does not necessitate a democratic government, for even dictators 'consult' to some extent. This is not to say that Usman condones dictatorship, for his 'Spirit of the Time' includes such fundamental principles of equity and justice. It is open to debate whether any form of dictatorship could also inculcate these principles successfully.

Mawdudi had little time for any twentieth-century political theories of mass empowerment, and nor did he perceive democracy as it existed in his time as anything but evil and corrupt, or having the potential to be better than it was. However, a political theory when put into practice must surely take account of prevailing social-economic conditions. Mawdudi seems both

aware of that fact while at the same time ignorant of it. A community cannot function isolated from the rest of the, non-Islamic, world, and so to discriminate against women and non-Muslims, to ban political parties, as well as to discourage, if not ban entirely, secular thought, would only result in the need to set up protective barriers which would lead to isolation and stagnation. Mawdudi had a very different vision of his gradual Islamic revolution in that those societies that are non-Islamic would in time become part of the umma and so there would be no need for barriers at all.

The fact is, it is notoriously difficult and complicated in determining what an 'Islamic' act even is, as Richard Antoun has so succinctly noted:

> How are we to determine, for instance, whether the building of new mosques, the establishment of government-sponsored religious publishing houses, the setting aside of special places in parliament for prayer, the establishment of religious political parties, or the establishment of bureaus to safeguard the Holy Qur'an are indications of religious-mindedness, indications of a shift in the attitudes of elites only, or simply an increase in political action in the name of Islam? Is an increasing use of Arabic, an increase in veiling, an increase in attendance at the Friday congregational prayer, or an increase in pilgrimage to be taken as an increase in piety, religious-mindedness, or hypocrisy?[43]

The very nature of Islam, and the result of its success in history, has surely been its flexibility and its allowance of a diversity of expression, as demonstrated in this observation of a Persian Muslim village by the anthropologist Reinhold Loeffler:

> In this village, Islam can take the form of a bland legalism or a consuming devotion to the good of others; an ideology legitimizing established status and power or a critical theology challenging this very status and power; a devotive quietism or fervent zealotism; a dynamic political activism or self-absorbed mysticism; a virtuoso religiosity or humble trust in God's compassion; a rigid fundamentalism or reformist modernism; a ritualism steeped in folklore and magic or a scriptural purism.[44]

Mawdudi on jihad

To understand what Mawdudi means by an Islamic revolution, it is also important to see it within the context of his views on jihad. In *Al-Jihad fi al-Islam,* ('Jihad in Islam'; first edition, 1930), Mawdudi begins by attacking those Muslims who respond to criticisms of jihad by being apologetic. In reply to western critics who, when they think of jihad, it conjures up 'the vision of a marching band of religious fanatics with savage beards and fiery eyes brandishing drawn swords and attacking infidels wherever they meet them and pressing them under the edge of the sword for the recital of the *Kalima*'[45] the apologists respond by saying that Islam has never known war.[46]

So 'taken aback' were they when they saw 'this picture of ours painted by foreigners' that they 'started offering apologies in this manner – "Sir, what do we know of war and slaughter. We are pacifist preachers like the mendicants and religious divines".'[47] These apologists, Mawdudi states, admit of only one crime: 'we plead guilty to one crime, though, that whenever someone else attacks us, we attacked him in self-defence'.[48] For Mawdudi, the apologetic approach to seeing jihad in what has become known in so many introductory textbooks as the 'greater jihad' of internal struggle or pacifist preaching is really surrendering to the enemy: 'Islam requires the earth – not just a portion of it – not because the sovereignty over the earth should be wrestled from one or several nations and vested in one particular nation – but because the entire mankind should benefit from the ideology and welfare programme or what should be truer to say from "Islam" which is the programme of well-being for all humanity.'[49]

This is echoed nine years later in an address he delivered entitled 'War in the cause of Allah' (*Jihad fi sabil Allah*) on Iqbal Day:[50]

> the objective of the Islamic Jihad is to eliminate the rule of an un-Islamic system, and establish in its place an Islamic system of state rule. Islam does not intend to confine this rule to a single state or to a handful of countries. The aim of Islam is to bring about a universal revolution. Although in the initial stages, it is incumbent upon members of the Party of Islam to carry out a revolution in the state system of the countries to which they belong, their ultimate objective is none other than a world revolution.[51]

This address was given in 1939 and, as Bonney points out: 'How can such an astonishing claim be made? In 1939, Islam could hardly have seemed on the march. It was the secular ideologies, Nazism, fascism and Marxist-Leninism, which seemed to be making progress at the expense of the world's religions.'[52] The question is, of course, how immediate this 'world revolution' Mawdudi expected it to be, and here Mawdudi is thinking in the long term. Mawdudi's understanding of jihad is not as 'war' but rather as 'liberation'. In the historical context, Muslims were 'liberated' from jahiliyyah; the state of 'ignorance' that existed among the Arab peoples before the coming of the Prophet Muhammad. The state of jahiliyyah is symptomatic of atheism, immoralism, injustice and violence. In that sense, *jihad* is perceived as the opposite of these states. Jihad is a 'struggle' for peace and justice against a Hobbesian conception of humankind as living a life that is 'brutish and short'. The original goal of holy war, Mawdudi argues, was not to force people to convert to Islam, but rather to liberate people from injustice (*fasād*) and civil war (*fitnah*). In order to achieve this, of course, there needs to be a political structure, and so Mawdudi's views on jihad connect very closely with his views on the Islamic state which will be explored in much more detail later. Suffice to say for the moment, that Mawdudi's revolution called for the eradication of all

governments and the eventual establishment of one united people, an umma, under the rule of Gods and His laws. This would, of course, mean that people could choose to not be non-Muslims, but would nonetheless be living under Islamic rules. This is a logical consequence of a belief in one God with the existence of absolute, universal, perfect moral values.

Mawdudi does, however, fall into apologetics himself in his attempts to exonerate the acts of Muslim armies in the past, and prefers to condemn the actions of the west, arguing that Muslims were as humane, if not more so, than western equivalents. He believes that jihad is an essential duty for all Muslims and defines it most clearly in his 1939 address:

> Islam is not the name of a mere 'Religion', nor is Muslim the title of a 'Nation'. The truth is that Islam is a revolutionary ideology which seeks to alter the social order of the entire world and rebuild it in conformity with its own tenets and ideals. 'Muslims' is the title of that 'International Revolutionary Party' organised by Islam to carry out its revolutionary programme. Jihad refers to that revolutionary struggle and utmost exertion which the Islamic Nation/Party brings into play in order to achieve this objective.[53]

Importantly here, Mawdudi is getting rid of the concept of an offensive or defensive jihad by arguing that such a distinction is irrelevant. Jihad is, rather, a 'revolutionary programme' rather than a conflict between states:

> those who affirm their faith in this ideology become members of the party of Islam and enjoy equal status and equal rights, without distinction of class, race, ethnicity or nationality. In this manner, an International Revolutionary Party is born, to which the Qur'an gives the title *hizb-Allah*.[54]

This 'party of God', the Hezbollah, was therefore engaged in a jihad against those who resist what Mawdudi saw as a logical and inevitable revolution. Azad, mentioned earlier, in his journal *Al-Hilal*, had also promoted the idea of Hezbollah which, although it did not actually amount to much in real terms at the time, the notion of a 'party of God' that is charged with Islamic revivalism is one that stuck in Mawdudi's mind all his life and would eventually lead to the creation of the Jamaat-e-Islami. In fact, Azad's ideas are very important in understanding Mawdudi and his Jamaat, for his party relied heavily on a 'top-down' organization. Interestingly, in 1920, Azad proposed that Muslims should select an *amir-i shariat* ('leader of holy war') for each Indian province, which was to be aided by a council of ulama to oversee the religious affairs of Muslims. These amir-i shariat would select an *amir-i hind* (leader of India), which Azad rather hoped would be him. While Azad's attempts at having himself chosen to be this amir were unsuccessful, Mawdudi had this notion of a single leader of all

Muslims in India in mind when formulating the hierarchical structure of the Jamaat.[55]

Mawdudi argued that there exists a tension in every society between the abode of Islam (Dar al-Islam) and the abode of war (Dar al-Harb) which would continue unless there is submission and acceptance of the will of God. Mawdudi, therefore, could not conceive of the possibility of a pluralistic state because the tension between Muslims and non-Muslim is synonymous with the tension between right and wrong: a state must strive towards being either morally good (living under the laws of God) or morally bad (living under secular laws). There cannot be two or more systems of beliefs or political parties:

> Apart from reforming the world, it becomes impossible for the Party itself to act upon its own ideals under an alien state system. No party which believes in the validity of its own ideology can live according to its precepts under the rule of a system different from its own. A man who believes in Communism could not order his life according to the principles of capitalism whilst living in Britain or America, for the capitalistic state system would bear down on him and it would be impossible for him to escape the power of the ruling authority. Likewise, it is impossible for a Muslim to succeed in his aim of observing the Islamic pattern of life under the authority of a non-Islamic system of government. All rules which he considers wrong, all taxes which he deems unlawful, all matters which he believes to be evil, the civilisation and way of life which he regards as wicked, the education system which he views as fatal … all these will be relentlessly imposed on him, his home and his family, that it will be impossible to avoid them.[56]

Mawdudi's major contribution to the topic of jihad is in his contemporizing of the concept and contrasting it with a modern notion of jahiliyyah. While utilizing the paradigm of the Prophet Muhammad's jihad against the jahiliyyah of pagan Arabia, Mawdudi places this paradigm upon contemporary events by calling Jinnah's Muslim League a 'party of pagans' (Jamaat-i jahiliyya):

> No trace of Islam can be found in the ideas and politics of the Muslim League … [Jinnah] reveals no knowledge of the views of the Qur'an, nor does he care to research them … yet whatever he does is seen as the way of the Qur'an … All his knowledge comes from Western laws and sources … [57]

This novel approach takes jihad and jahiliyyah out of its pure historical context and places it within a recurring struggle of good versus evil. The 'good' always remains the same, submission (*islam*) to God, but the 'evil' can change from one place to another, from one age to another. In the section on jihad in

his *Let Us Be Muslims*, Mawdudi states that: 'the real objective of Islam is to remove the lordship of man over man and to establish the kingdom of God on Earth.' 'To stake one's life and everything else to achieve this purpose is called *jihad*.'[58] For Mawdudi, Islam and the Islamic state are synonymous, and his concept of jihad is not equivalent to 'war':

> jihad denotes doing one's utmost to achieve something. It is not the equivalent of war, for which the Arabic word if qital. Jihad has a wider connotation and embraces every kind of striving in God's cause … 'Jihad in the way of God' is that strife in which man engages exclusively to win God's pleasure, to establish the supremacy of His religion and to make his word prevail.[59]

The implications for those Muslims who do not live in an Islamic state, or, in other words, in the 'abode of war', is that they are not really Muslims at all, but sinners. It is the collective duty of all Muslims to engage in jihad against un-Islamic systems and have it replaced by an Islamic way of life. It is therefore not possible to be Muslim and a minority in a non-Islamic country. While Mawdudi may well have been thinking specifically of India at this time, this would nonetheless include all Muslims across the world who find themselves in a similar situation. Those who do not set out to fulfil their duty of overthrowing a non-Muslim regime cease to be Muslims[60] Mawdudi's views on jihad never wavered, in fact they probably became more excessive. As late as 1960 he referred to jihad as 'the supreme sacrifice of life' which 'devolves to all Muslims'.[61] If an Islamic state is attacked by a non-Islamic state then all Muslims, no matter where they are from, should come forward and engage in jihad:

> the Muslims of the whole world must fight the common enemy. In all such cases jihad is as much a primary duty of the Muslims concerned as are the daily prayers of fasting. One who shirks it is a sinner. His very claim to be … a Muslim is doubtful. He is a hypocrite whose '*ibadah* and prayers are a sham, a hollow show of devotion'.[62]

11 Mawdudi's legacy

The Bhutto years (1971–7)

There is an often-recounted story that, when Zulfikar Ali Bhutto met President J. F. Kennedy in Washington in 1963, the American President said to Bhutto, 'If you were American you would be in my cabinet.' In retort, Bhutto said, 'Be careful Mr President, if I were American you would be in my cabinet.'[1] Bhutto's ambition, coupled with his huge ego, is renowned, and it is no surprise that his role model was Napoleon Bonaparte. His party, the PPP (Pakistan People's Party) promised much, but delivered little. It put forward a populist agenda, which has been described as a mix of socialist and Islamic idealism.[2] Bhutto's style was autocratic and he demanded complete loyalty from his party officials, with those who disagreed with him being thrown into prison.[3] Turning to the civil service, Bhutto got rid of legal provisions that gave civil servants job security and he effectively politicized the civil service under the auspices that he wished to make the bureaucracy more responsive to government.[4] The result was greater power for the bureaucracy and state bourgeoisie, but not that of the labour force. As a result, the PPP lost its populist appeal, benefiting instead politicians and civil servants rather than the people. Following in the footsteps of his predecessors, Bhutto rejected demands for greater provincial autonomy. Within just months of assuming power, Bhutto clashed with the provinces by installing a PPP administration in Balochistan and deploying an army of 80,000 troops there with orders to open fire on any 'miscreants' who resisted this authority. Although reliant upon the army, Bhutto only caused resentment among the military elite by creating his own personal army called the Federal Security Force (FSF). Bhutto was little more than a bully with control of the reins of power and little in the way of political checks. The FSF would act as his henchmen, harassing and probably killing opponents.[5] In 1972, when he announced the nationalization of major industries, he reacted to the protests of industrialists by imprisoning them.[6]

The Jamaat, for its part, opposed the government and, as a result, had the support of a great number of the disaffected electorate, of industrialists and, importantly, the military. The secularist and left-of-centre PPP responded by

claiming Islamic credentials and promising to 're-Islamize' the country, but this only resulted in making it more susceptible to attack from the religious sector as it was only too evident how un-Islamic the government was. In fact, the PPP from the beginning had claimed to be a proponent of what it called 'Islamic socialism' which, if nothing else, had a popularist ring to it. Bhutto himself declared early on that 'Islam is our faith, democracy is our polity, socialism is our economy', but the fact is that Bhutto was really a secularist and in terms of his policies, only the 'socialist' part got under way. Such acts as reinstating 'Islamic' as part of the official name of the state, and appointing the one-time member of the Jamaat Kawther Niyazi as minister for religious affairs, did little to appease the electorate.[7] This recognition of the importance of religion in Pakistan was to the advantage of the Jamaat as its support grew. When the Jamaat called for the enforcement of sharia in the country it suddenly acquired some 15,000 new members.

Even the army started to blame the split of the country into East and West Pakistan to be a result of a lack of adherence to Islam and Yahya Khan's womanizing and drinking.[8] In fact, the army was becoming less secularist in its outlook, especially since 1965 when the officer corps opened its ranks to the more traditionally Islamic lower-middle classes. Importantly, Bhutto appointed General Muhammad Zia ul-Haq, who was very sympathetic towards the Jamaat, as the army's chief of staff. This was a great mistake on the part of Bhutto, for Zia used his new position to distribute Jamaat literature among the soldiers. In July 1976, Zia gave copies of Mawdudi's *Understanding the Qur'an* to soldiers as a prize for winning a debate organized by the Army Education School, and he even proposed that the book should be part of the exam that army officers take for promotion.[9] As Bhutto went on to say at his trial before the supreme court, 'I appointed a Chief of Staff belonging to the Jamaat-e-Islami and the result is before all of us.'[10]

The PPP's nationalization and land-reform measures only helped to cement opposition, not surprisingly from the propertied elite, but also in unison with the Islamic parties who considered the ownership of property an Islamic creed. Bhutto's policies swung from one extreme to another when, in 1973, wary of the power and independence of the civil service, he decided to abolish it altogether and replace it with politicians under his patronage. He imprisoned the senior civil servant Altaf Gauhar, who then spent his time in prison translating Mawdudi's *Tafhimu'l-Qur'a* into English.[11]

The Jamaat could have taken much better advantage of the increase in support for Islam coupled with the growth in the unpopularity of Bhutto. It could have worked towards uniting the opposition parties and presenting a united front with a clear and coherent political programme. However, it failed to do so, preferring to agitate against single issues such as the non-recognition of Bangladesh, or the declaration of the Ahmadis as non-Muslim. In fact, it was the Jamaat's student organization, the IJT, that fared much better and was prepared to be far more radical than its parent organization, making it much more recognizably an opposition party, at least on the campuses.

Actually, as a result of its electoral successes at the PPP's stronghold, the University of Punjab in Lahore, in 1972 at a national educational conference in Islamabad, IJT students got a resolution passed which demanded the Islamization of the education system. The IJT was much more revolutionary than the parent group, and this in turn led the IJT to be a greater influence within the Jamaat, for they could no longer be ignored. The IJT leader, Javid Hashmi, had become something of a national figure with considerable political pull, to the extent that in September 1972 he was invited to meet with Bhutto at his mansion in Lahore. This was a failed attempt by Bhutto to mollify the student body.

Relations, such as they were, between the Jamaat and the government worsened when, on 8 June 1972, an important National Assembly representative of the Jamaat, Nazir Ahmad, was assassinated. Bhutto invited Mawdudi also to his mansion in September 1972 to try to convince him to support the government's intention to recognize Bangladesh. As it turns out, this proved to be a wise move. Given the fact that Nazir Ahmad had only recently been assassinated, Mawdudi nonetheless said the Jamaat would be more supportive if the PPP distanced itself from socialism. This compromise was in retrospect a generous one, for Bhutto needed the support of the Islamic parties, especially the Jamaat and Mawdudi, for others would likely follow anyway. Bhutto purged the PPP of the left and stopped promoting socialist policies. In return, the Jamaat supported Bhutto in his creation of the 1973 constitution in which the First Amendment led to Pakistan's recognition and diplomatic ties with Bangladesh while the Second Amendment declared the Ahmadis as non-Muslims. Bhutto, however, agreed to readopt the name the Islamic Republic of Pakistan and it was also stated within the constitution that both the president and prime minister must be Muslim and that laws passed under the constitution must be compatible with sharia. Getting the support of the Islamic parties was an important issue for Bhutto, although at the same time it is significant that Mawdudi was to some extent able to dictate the contents of the Pakistani constitution to a prime minister who rarely paid heed to the requests, let alone demands, of others. The following quote sums up Mawdudi's (and hence the Jamaat's) position:

> We have no policy of confrontation with anyone. In the remaining Pakistan [i.e., after the secession of East Pakistan] as long as your party enjoys a majority, we recognise your party's right to rule the country constitutionally, democratically and with justice and fair play. We shall not exert to remove you by undemocratic and violent means. But you should also concede that we have a right to perform the role of the opposition in a peaceful and democratic manner. And this is our constitutional and democratic right, that we should point out and criticize the wrong policies of the government. If the ruling party and the opposition were to act within their limits, there would be no danger of confrontation between them.[12]

However, this pact did not last for long, for Bhutto was not one to keep his promises. Soon afterwards, he banned the Jamaat from contesting the by-elections in Swat and Darah Ghazi Khan, and so the Jamaat resorted back to its previous position of opposing the policies of the government. In fact, Mawdudi's final act as amir in October 1973 was to construct a detailed case against the government's recognition of Bangladesh. This policy was carried on with the new amir, Mian Tufayl, and the government resorted to attempting to suppress the activities of the Jamaat and the increasingly radical IJT. In February 1973, Tufayl was put in prison for a month which only caused Tufayl to be even more critical of Bhutto upon his release.

The influence of the IJT cannot be overestimated, especially after Mawdudi stepped down as amir and the parent group lost that charismatic and conciliatory influence. While the student body had a huge respect, if not fear, of Mawdudi, this was less so for subsequent amirs. The IJT was far more revolutionary in its intentions, and the student body as a whole in Pakistan has always been important, particularly as they were to inherit the reins of power. In 1974, the focus for the student Jamaat was a renewed anti-Ahmadi campaign. In May of that year a train carrying 170 IJT students was boarded by Ahmadi missionaries who distributed Ahmadi leaflets to the passengers. This certainly incited the IJT students, but matters were made considerably worse when, a week later, the same students were returning when the train was boarded again by the Ahmadi. Fights perhaps inevitably followed and the IJT pushed for the Ahamdis to be declared a non-Muslim minority. This move was followed by the parent body. The anti-Ahmadi campaign resulted in a huge increase in membership of the IJT, as well as sympathy from a number of other Islamic groups, and resulted in the government declaration on 7 September 1974 that the Ahamdis were a non-Muslim minority.

In 1973, the parties in opposition to Bhutto clubbed together to form the United Democratic Front. Although not exclusively Islamic, it is significant for the status of Islam at that time that the leader chosen was Mufti Muhammad of the Jami'at-i Ulama-i Islam. As Bhutto's popularity decreased, he saw no other course but to call for fresh elections to be held on 7 March 1977. In response, the United Democratic Front was disbanded and became the nine-party Pakistan National Alliance (PNA). The parties concerned were certainly diverse in their views, from the secularism of the remarkable Asghar Khan, the socialism of Khan Abdul Wali Khan, to, of course, the Islamism of the Jamaat. What united all these parties was a mutual hatred of Bhutto. Despite its diversity, political pragmatism required a united platform, and this was popularly known as Nizam-i Mustafa ('Order of the Prophet'). Implementation of Islamic law was its slogan, and they contested the elections under one election symbol 'plough' and a green flag with nine stars as its ensign. The party was so serious in presenting its Islamic credentials it went out of its way to encourage Shi'a Muslims to vote for them. The PNA gave the Jamaat 32 national tickets and 78 provincial ones.

Bhutto was nonetheless favourite to win the election but, despite that, it was rigged in his favour. Various tactics were adopted, such as the removal of opposition candidates' names from the ballot paper by citing technical breaches of the election law, or the FSF disrupting campaign rallies. Suspicions were certainly raised when it was noted that 63 per cent of the electorate had voted in Pakistan's first national elections in 1970, and for which there was obviously huge enthusiasm, yet an amazing 80 per cent turned out for the 1977 elections among a somewhat disheartened electorate.[13] As a result, public pressure on Bhutto grew, and his responses, such as shooting on anti-government protestors, did him no favours. The PNA also did not accept the result, claiming that 40 seats had been rigged and they declared the new Bhutto-elected government as illegitimate, with Mawdudi calling for the overthrow of the regime. Of the 31 seats the Jamaat contested, they won 9 (25 per cent of the PNA's total of 36 seats won). The government, for its part, won 155 of the total of 191 seats that were contested. Considering the accusations of rigged elections, the Jamaat did surprisingly well. Bhutto was forced to hold talks with PNA leaders which resulted in him agreeing to dissolve the assemblies and hold fresh elections. However, before that could occur, Bhutto and members of his cabinet were arrested by troops under the order of General Zia. Martial law was imposed, the constitution was suspended, and all assemblies dissolved. On 18 March 1978, Bhutto was declared guilty of murder and sentenced to death. The Jamaat and Mawdudi, were particularly vehement in the call for Bhutto's execution. After a lengthy appeal, Bhutto was hanged at Central jail, Rawalpindi, on 4 April 1979. The Bhutto years had been disastrous in terms of Pakistan's democracy, but had also proved to be fruitful ones for the Islamic parties. This was all to change when Zia came to power.

The Zia regime

General Muhammad Zia-ul-Haq (1924–88) would be the President and military ruler of Pakistan from July 1977 to his death in August 1988 when his Hercules C-130 plummeted to the ground shortly after take-off from Bahawalpur airport. It was hoped by many that the Zia regime would bring in a new era of peace and democracy. From the point of view of the PNA, who had rather hoped to fill the power vacuum created by the death of Bhutto, it was one of confusion and disappointment. Initially, however, the prospects looked good for the hopes of Islamic movements. Zia included the Islamic parties in his regime, offering the parties a power-sharing arrangement and political patronage. At first, the Jamaat and the PNA were none too pleased that the elections were cancelled, but Zia argued that now was not the time for elections and it would not have helped the aims of the PNA to have them. Zia probably had a point for, subsequent to the Zia regime, there was certainly no shortage of elections in 1988, 1990, 1993 and 1997 with the turnout dropping from 50 per cent in 1988 to something like

26 percent in 1997.[14] Nonetheless, the PNA was encouraged by the election success of 1977, and so Zia promised there would be elections on 1 October 1977, but then postponed it, instead calling for an accountability process for politicians.

Zia, a practising Muslim, argued that elections could not be held while the nation was in a state of martial law, and so set about establishing a civilian government in which the PNA would oversee the national elections. The PNA would appoint two-thirds of the cabinet ministers, while Zia would appoint the rest. The Jamaat, as part of the PNA quota, received responsibility for such things as production and industry, and information and broadcasting. Khurshid Ahmad was appointed minister of planning. This is a significant moment in the history of the Jamaat for, 'After thirty years of political activity in Pakistan, for the first time in its history the Jamaat had become part of the ruling establishment.'[15] Elections were now promised for 17 November 1979, which caused Mawdudi to state that an Islamic state was on its way.[16] Mawdudi, though no longer in any position of official power, was still considered an important figure for the Islamization of Pakistan and, for his part, he went out of his way to endorse Zia publicly, believing he was a prime mover in the Islamization process. The Jamaat was more sceptical, and rightly so as it turned out, but nonetheless followed in Mawdudi's footsteps by supporting Zia's political platform. Zia, in February 1979, introduced Islamic edicts on taxation and *hudud* punishments, and Zia encouraged the Islamic intelligentsia to act as his advisers. However, the problem remained with the Jamaat that they simply had no coherent plan as to what the Islamization of the state would actually entail, and Mawdudi's writings on the subject were no help here. This is where ideology comes into conflict with political pragmatism. Although it did no harm for Zia to have the support of the Jamaat, he began to question how useful it could be in the everyday workings of the political machinery, and, though a long-time admirer of Mawdudi and the Jamaat, he would also patronize other Islamic groups, including Sufis. The Jamaat, which had pinned its hopes, and resources, on the elections, was to be disappointed when Zia, concerned he may actually lose the elections, cancelled them yet again. This resulted in the Jamaat ceasing to support Zia and calling for elections, denouncing martial law. Mian Tufayl remained close to Zia, however, and discouraged the Jamaat from engaging in political agitation, arguing that opposition would only aid the PPP. Consequently, the Jamaat remained politically quiet in the sense of public displays of opposition. As there was no elected parliament, Zia displayed his Islamic credentials with the creation in 1980 of a Majlis-i-shura, consisting of mostly Islamic scholars, journalists, intellectuals and economists.

Although the Jamaat may not have been the force in politics it had hoped to be, it nonetheless continued to have an influence, especially during the Afghan war as the Jamaat talked of the need for a religious crusade against the Soviet Union and, therefore, Zia was able to legitimize his Afghan policy as a jihad. The importance of this remains to this day as it opened up the

Afghan Mujahidin to Jamaat, and Mawdudian, ideology. However, when elections were finally held in 1985, the Jamaat won only 10 of the 68 seats it contested for the National Assembly and 13 of the 102 it contested for various provincial assemblies. It was a failure for the Jamaat, especially given that a number of the opposing parties had boycotted the elections, and it also signified to Zia that it were no longer the force it once was. Zia started to make more overtures towards the Muslim League and other parties. Zia went so far to turn over the government to the Muslim League, which effectively left the Jamaat as an opposition party.

When Tufayl stepped down in October 1987, to be replaced by Qazi Hussain, this new amir of the Jamaat pushed further for a complete and open split from Zia and to argue for a return to democracy and a populist agenda. Husain was a different kind of character, who had no time for Zia and was a great supporter of democracy in Pakistan. Unlike some of his colleagues, he did not believe that democracy should be sacrificed, or at best delayed, for the sake of Islamization. Husain saw Zia's Islamization programme as merely a method to placate Islamic opposition and garner support from the Muslim electorate, rather than a genuine and determined desire to Islamize the power structures of the state machine. It is true that virtually the whole of what was previously Anglo-Saxon law was replaced by a *Nizam-e-Mustafa* ('Islamic system'), but this, Husain argued, was used as an excuse to maintain martial law and increase the powers of Zia, and that Islamization did not stretch out to the important organs of government such as its bureaucracy or economic system. Husain started to make overtures to the PPP. Such an alliance would be a major boon to the PPP and a blow for Zia in what was expected to be imminent elections. These overtures were not supported by all in the Jamaat, however, and Zia was encouraged by this to sow discontent within its ranks. Most notably was the Jamaat journalist Muhammad Salahu'ddin whose magazine, *Takbir*, was a major forum for the Jamaat. Salahu'ddin used the magazine as a mouthpiece, attacking the PPP as secularist and encouraging the Jamaat to return to its Mawdudian roots as an ideological party, not just a political instrument. This line of argument certainly appealed to many within the Jamaat for, although Mawdudi was now dead, his legacy remained a powerful tool for support and would appeal more to those who were ideologically oriented. But these disputes within the Jamaat did not help the party, as it now felt itself to be in a middle place, neither supporting Zia, nor the PPP, but not certain of its own identity.

The Jamaat's shift from ideological movement to political pragmatism: a reflection of Mawdudi's own dilemma

With the death of Zia, Pakistan now underwent a series of national elections in a short burst of time with increasing laxity from the electorate. The Jamaat, for its part, was in a mess and unprepared to fight the elections on its own, having alienated other groups. It seemed that the elections of 1988

would be a battle between the PPP and the pro-Zia parties, with the Jamaat left out in the cold. Reluctantly but, again, out of political necessity, Husain agreed to join up with the IJI, the Islami Jumhuri Ittihad ('Islamic Democratic Alliance') which consisted of right-of-centre and Islamic parties (including the Muslim League) that were largely sympathetic to Zia. The party was really the mouthpiece for the military and intelligence services who had gained a great deal of power under Zia and were not about to lose it under the PPP. The Jamaat was now in the curious position of being part of a pro-Zia alliance having spent so many months previously denouncing Zia. The head of the nine-party IJI was Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, but its most resourceful leader was the young millionaire industrialist Nawaz Sharif, whom Zia ul-Haq had appointed chief minister of Punjab. Sharif and his family owned the biggest industrial empire in the country, and the family had not forgotten the time when Bhutto had nationalized their family factory in 1972.

After the election, neither the PPP nor the IJI had stable majorities, though the PPP were to control the central government. The Jamaat had only won nine National Assembly seats. Consequently, the Jamaat was not well represented in parliament and was, in effect, marginalized, with the Muslim League dominating the political machinations with the PPP. Nawaz Sharif was, like so many, largely self-seeking and corrupt, paying lip-service to Islam. Benazir Bhutto's fragile government looked to secure the support of the Jamaat, despite her own largely secular and modernist credentials, but the Jamaat, perhaps wisely, chose to wait as the position of Bhutto and the PPP deteriorated to the extent that fresh elections were called in 1990. The 1990s are dominated by the two leaders Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, and the various governments and intrigues that were engaged in during this decade need not be gone into here. Owen Bennett-Jones sums up the period well when he says, 'By 1999 disillusionment with democracy had become so deep that General Musharraf's coup was welcomed as a blessed relief.'[17] This period for the Jamaat is not one that can be looked back on with pride either. Put simply and succinctly, the Jamaat behaved on the whole as if it were a ship governed by the waves with no engine or destination of its own. It swayed from supporting Bhutto to Sharif depending upon whom it felt might have, or gain, power, and it had little ideological integrity of its own. So far as Bhutto and Sharif were concerned, Islam seemed less important as a vote winner. In the 1990 elections, the Jamaat won only 3 per cent of the vote in the elections to the National Assembly. During the Persian Gulf War, the Jamaat supported Iraq, which put it in opposition to the stance of the IJI. Khurshid Ahmad called American policy in the Gulf War a 'trap' designed to 'entangle Iraq in war so that it could provide the United States with a chance to interfere and advance its sinister designs – to give an edge to Israel in the region and to control Muslim oil.'[18] In fact, this support for Iraq helped drum up support for Jamaat from many people in Pakistan who also sided with Iraq. It also put Jamaat into the international arena and became less 'local' in its perception of the Gulf War as an ideological conflict between the

Muslims and the non-Muslims. In line with this, the Jamaat joined up with the Tahrik-i Islami ('Islamic Movement') which is a multinational organization involved in coordinating a number of revivalist groups internationally. The Jamaat also made more liberal use of the term 'jihad' with reference to the battle of Islam against the west. This brand of fundamentalism, though giving the Jamaat an ideological steering, was not to the liking of all its members. The previous amir, for example, Mian Tufayl, argued that there was no justification for supporting the atrocities committed by Saddam Hussein.[19] Salahu'ddin also stated that 'populism and demagogy did not befit an Islamic movement'.[20] The Jamaat was coming across more and more like-minded political opportunists and was sacrificing its principles for the sake of popularity. Taking sides with a secularist like Saddam Hussein hardly seemed in line with its Islamic vision and it was also in danger of losing financial support from the Saudis, as it attacked them for being un-Islamic lackeys of the US. Obviously, the intention of the Jamaat was to give it a distinct identity from the government, the Muslim League and the like, but as a result it lost what little ideological credibility it still had. As a result, the other Islamic parties within the IJI, notably the Muslim League and the MQM (Muhajir Qaumi Mahaz: Muhajir National Front), gained support at the expense of the Jamaat. In actual fact, the attempt of the Jamaat to be popular backfired. In 1992, the Jamaat broke away from the IJI completely.

Benazir Bhutto had little sympathy for the Islamic radicals, but she did little to confront them either. She was pragmatic in publicly declaring her Islamic credentials, but did little in fact to Islamize the country. Nawaz Sharif was more conservative and, in October 1998, he secured the passage of the 15th Constitutional Amendment through the National Assembly which stated that Islamic law would become the supreme law of Pakistan. However, by the time of the 1999 coup, Sharif was not convinced he would achieve the two-thirds majority necessary to get the Sharia Bill passed by the Senate and, once Musharraf took power, the bill was abandoned altogether.

General Pervez Musharraf was a modernist who liked to drink whiskey and gamble and whose hero was the Turkish secularist Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. His first major speech is significant and worth quoting a part of it here:

> And now for a few words on exploitation of religion. Islam teaches tolerance not hatred; universal brotherhood and not enmity; peace and not violence; progress and not bigotry. I have great respect for the Ulema and expect them to come forth and present Islam in its true light. I urge them to curb elements which are exploiting religion for vested interests and bring a bad name to our faith … [21]

Musharraf has chosen his words very carefully here and it is important that he makes no mention of the Islamic parties. Instead he appeals to the conservative and apolitical ulama. In other words, Musharraf has no intention of looking to Islamic groups for support or in Islamizing the nation.

In April 2000 he supported a proposal to reform Pakistan's blasphemy law. Under this law, anyone could be accused of blasphemy by a member of the public. This law carries the death sentence and was often used by people to rid themselves of enemies, regardless of whether or not an act of blasphemy had been committed. Minority groups had also complained that the law had been used against them on many occasions and this led a Catholic bishop by the name of John Joseph shooting himself dead as a protest. Musharraf intended to tighten the law to ensure greater veracity of the accusation, but even this modest reform was attacked by the Islamic parties, and Musharraf backed down. However, Musharraf's famous speech in June 2001 demonstrates his intentions well:

> How does the world look at us? The world sees us as backward and constantly going under. Is there any doubt that we have been left behind although we claim Islam will carry us forward in every age, every circumstance and every land … ? How does the world judge our claim? It looks upon us as terrorists. We have been killing each other. And now we want to spread violence and terror abroad. Naturally the world regards us as terrorists. Our claim of tolerance is phoney … We never tire of talking about the status that Islam accords to women. We only pay lip-service to its teachings. We do not act upon it. This is hypocrisy.[22]

This was not the kind of thing a Pakistani leader would utter publicly in the past and, from the moment he took power, he clamped down on the violence committed by Islamic groups by banning, in 2001, Lashkar-e-Jhangvi and Sipha-e-Mohammed Pakistan (SMP). The SMP was a Shi'a militant group and one of the most violent organizations in Pakistan at the time. Lashkar-e-Jhangvi was a splinter group of the Sunni Sipah-e-Sahaba Pakistan (SSP) which carried out a number of assassinations, including a failed attempt on Nawaz Sharif in 1999. Musharraf's onslaught on Islamic militant groups grew in intensity after 9/11 and he supported the US in its attacks on the Taliban in Afghanistan. This helped Musharraf financially, but it did cause street protests among clerics in Pakistan. These events are significant because it provides an indication of how religious Pakistan actually is, and goes right back to Jinnah's view, in opposition to Mawdudi, that Pakistan was essentially a country for Muslims rather than a Muslim country. Musharraf was taking a risk in challenging the religious parties in Pakistan, but no religious leader, including the most influential of them all, Mawdudi, had been able to translate their ideology into a political reality in the history of Pakistan. Also, religious parties have never done that particularly well in Pakistan elections, rarely managing more than 5 per cent of the vote.[23] The Jamaat, although one of the most powerful religious parties, has still nonetheless remained in the margins of the political sphere and this has not been helped by its schizophrenic Mawdudian outlook of, on the one hand, claiming that an Islamic revolution will come and, on the other, seeking short-term

political advantage at the expense of ideology. Musharraf proved to be right in his estimation of Islamic radicalism and its 'street power' which, in the end, came to little, and caused Musharraf to declare triumphantly, 'I thought ten times about putting my hand in the beehive of religious extremism. But I realized that this was the maximum they could do and the vast majority of the people were with me.'[24]

After showing his cards on Afghanistan, Musharraf turned his attention to Kashmir. The US did not adhere to the view that there was no connection between Afghanistan and Kashmir and in this they were right for the Taliban and the Pakistani-based Kashmiri militant groups had the same origins. The US would know this, for it was the CIA who had provided the funding for an effective Mujahideen. While some of these groups remained in Afghanistan after the Soviets had left, others went to Kashmir. Musharraf, therefore, reversed the policy of previously backing Kashmiri groups, and banned two of the most prominent: Jaish e-Mohammed and Lashkar-e-Toiba. The former was a relatively new group, whereas the Lashkar-e-Toiba had been fighting for some time to turn Kashmir into an Islamic state, rather like the Taliban's intentions in Afghanistan. Curiously, Musharraf did not ban the most prominent of all the religious groups in Kashmir, the Hizb ul-Mujahideen. The leader of this group is Syed Salahuddin and the group is linked to Jamaat-e-Islami. Musharraf may well have spared its banning because it considers itself more a group in support of Kashmiri nationalism than Islamization. However, it is now listed as a terrorist group by the US and the European Union.

In 2004, Musharraf proposed his alternative to Islamic fundamentalism, which he called 'Enlightened Moderation':

> My idea for untangling this knot is Enlightened Moderation, which I think is a win for all – for both the Muslim and non-Muslim worlds. It is a two-pronged strategy. The first part is for the Muslim world to shun militancy and extremism and adopt the path of socioeconomic uplift. The second is for the West, and the United States in particular, to seek to resolve all political disputes with justice and to aid in the socioeconomic betterment of the deprived Muslim world … I say to my brother Muslims: The time for renaissance has come. The way forward is through enlightenment. We must concentrate on human resource development through the alleviation of poverty and through education, health care and social justice. If this is our direction, it cannot be achieved through confrontation. We must adopt a path of moderation and a conciliatory approach to fight the common belief that Islam is a religion of militancy in conflict with modernization, democracy and secularism. All this must be done with a realization that, in the world we live in, fairness does not always rule.[25]

On 18 September 2005, he made a speech before a Jewish leadership, sponsored by the American Jewish Congress's Council for World Jewry, in

New York City. In the speech, he denounced terrorism and spoke of developing relationships between Pakistan and Israel, as well as between the Muslim world and Jews worldwide. This caused the Jamaat to condemn enlightened moderation as nothing more that kowtowing to US imperialism.

On 18 August 2008, Pervez Musharraf resigned his post as president under impeachment pressure from the coalition government. He was succeeded on 6 September 2008 by Asif Ali Zardari. He is the widower of Benazir Bhutto and leader of the PPP. One of the richest men in Pakistan, and renowned for his corruption, it will be interesting to see how things unfold between Zardari and the Jamaat. If nothing else, Pakistan seems as far away as ever from being the kind of Islamic state Mawdudi envisioned.

Mirrors of Jamaat

Mawdudi and the Jamaat have had, and continue to have, so many mirrored communities in the Islamic world, that there are simply too many to mention. Some of these 'mirrors' are sharper in their reflection of Mawdudi than others. As an example, the events taking place in Afghanistan during this time give an idea of how Mawdudi and the Jamaat's ideology and organizational structure filtered through to other Islamic groups. For example, one figure, a military leader in Afghanistan called the 'Lion of Panjshir', Ahmad Shah Massoud (1953–2001). As a military leader, Massoud played a key role in driving the army out of Afghanistan and, once they withdrew, he became the defence minister in 1992 under the former Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani. When the Rabbani government collapsed and the Taliban took power, Massoud again became a military leader as commander of the United Islamic Front for the Salvation of Pakistan. Two days before the 9/11 attacks, Massoud was assassinated by suspected al-Qaeda agents. The date of his death is now known as 'Massoud Day' in Afghanistan and is a national holiday.[26] Mawdudi had an impact on many people, but Massoud stands out as someone who was a genuine disciple of Mawdudi and who blended his thoughts with that of salafism. Massoud received a religious education at the Masjid-i Jame mosque in Herat, Afghanistan, but also a western education when he attended at intermediate and senior grades the French Lycée Français of Al Istiqlal in Kabul. He was a gifted and talented student who was conversant in French, Farsi, Pashto, Hindustani and Arabic. While studying in Kabul in 1972, Massoud became involved with the sazman-i jawanan-i musulman ('Organization of Muslim Youth'), the student branch of the Jamiat Islami. The Jamiat is the oldest Islamic political party in Afghanistan and is run along the lines of the Jamaat. Its ideology also reflects that of Mawdudi and the Jamaat. One thing in particular the Jamaat had always prided itself on was its discipline, and when Massoud organized a mujahideen group in the Panjshir Valley to fight against the communist government and its Soviet allies it was this emphasis on organization, discipline and a strict hierarchy that resulted in military success for him and his group.

Another member of the Jamiat, and a follower of Mawdudi's ideology, was Gulbuddin Hekmatyar (b. 1947) who went on to found the Islamic party Hezb-i Islami of Afghanistan. He was also prime minster on two occasions during the 1990s, although he is now on the US terrorist list. The Jamiat is closer to Mawdudi's ideology in that it argues for a gradual revolution through infiltration of society, although the Hezb-i Islami, more radical under Hekmatyer than the Jamiat, also made use of Mawdudi terminology in calling for a vanguard of Islamic intellectuals to rise against the communist government in Pakistan. It is interesting that these two parties represent two sides of Jamaat and perhaps symbolize one of the key problems the Jamaat had in determining where it, and Mawdudi, actually stood in its ideology. It is either to his credit or to his detriment that Mawdudi can be interpreted in different ways to the extent that Massoud and Hekmatyer were often at loggerheads to the extent of internecine warfare.

Mawdudi and the Jamaat were original in many ways and, as such, influenced Islamic movements across the Muslim world, and continue to do so to this day. Certainly, one such 'mirror' was happening in Afghanistan during the Soviet occupation, and it could certainly be argued that if the fighters in Afghanistan did not have the model of the Jamaat and the ideology of Mawdudi as their own paradigm, they would have had less success militarily against the Soviets. However, another very important mirror can be found when we travel to Egypt. We have seen how Mawdudi's views are closely related to that of the salafis, and there are two figures in Egypt in particular who are also 'salafis' in this sense: Hasan al-Bana (1906–49) and Sayyid Qutb (1906–66). Qutb especially is not only a 'salafi' but a 'Mawdudian'. Hasan al-Bana[27] was the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun), and a respected writer on Islamic jurisprudence. Ideologically, al-Banna is associated with the salafis and shares many ideas with his predecessors al-Afghani, Rashid Rida and Muhammad Abduh. Al-Bana's education was similar to many Islamic intellectuals of the time, in that he experienced the dualistic educational approach of, on the one hand, attending a traditional Qur'an school from the age of 8 where he was taught to memorize the entirety of the Qur'an, and then moving to a government-organized modern primary school where he was taught under a more contemporary, 'western', curriculum. Like Mawdudi, al-Bana's concern was with the decline of Islam as a cultural entity. At the age of only 16, al-Bana recounts how shocked he was by what he saw when he moved to Cairo to study: by the dominant British presence, the neglect of Islamic morality, the streets rife with gambling and the consumption of alcohol, and the general indifference shown towards religious matters. Another similarity with Mawdudi is that in forming the Muslim Brotherhood, he used the hierarchical, disciplined structure of Sufi orders as a model. In fact, from an early age al-Bana became seriously involved in the Sufi order known as the Hasafiya and remained a Sufi all his life, never repudiating its teachings or practices. Indeed, al-Bana himself preferred the title of *murshid* (literally 'guide' or 'instructor') for himself which is

frequently given to spiritual teachers of Sufi orders. When al-Banna founded the Muslim Brotherhood (al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, also translated as the 'Society of Muslim Brothers') in March 1928 it soon became the primary source of Islamic radicalism. Importantly it came before Jamaat-e-Islami in Pakistan, and so it is more accurate to say that at first Mawdudi learned from al-Bana. This is particularly evident in the view held by al-Bana that the Brotherhood was not a political party and did not, therefore, contest elections. In fact, al-Bana disapproved of political parties as he believed it perpetuated disunity among the Muslim community. Al-Bana, like Mawdudi, argued that, theoretically at least, the Muslim community, the umma, should have no need of separate parties with differing ideals.

When looking at the aims of the Muslim Brotherhood, it is remarkably similar to the Jamaat-e-Islami. Its outlook was stated at a conference in 1933, that the organization should devote itself to the reinforcement of Islamic knowledge and culture, and so education was a primary part of its programme. The first step was to rebuild the Muslim community, the umma, and to redress the balance of power between Islam and the west, and so a 'call' (*da'wa*) was made to all Muslims to return to their faith. A publication house was set up to propagate the aims of the Brotherhood, as well as publish al-Bana's own writings. Although the Brotherhood was not a political party as such, al-Bana stressed that there is no separation between religion and politics. Rather, Islam is an integrated and comprehensive system that, in the tradition of the salafis, should be understood exclusively from the Qur'an and the Sunna and be applicable to all times and places. Al-Bana organized the Brotherhood on military lines, with sub-groups known as 'battalions'. Members would meet once a week for prayer and spiritual instruction and there was much emphasis on the avoidance of such temptations as alcohol and gambling. The organization built schools for boys and girls, and established the 'Rovers', which was not unlike the Boy Scouts. Night schools were run for workers, trade unions, clinics and hospitals were founded and members worked to improve sanitation and welfare for the poor. In many respects, the Brotherhood behaved like a state within a state and obviously this raised the suspicions and concern of the Egyptian government as it only highlighted its own failings in terms of welfare and education. Al-Bana, however, set out to demonstrate that Islam could be progressive and that welfare was based on Islamic principles. The Brotherhood, therefore, was far more active on the streets and concerned with welfare issues than was ever the case with the Jamaat and, also, it had no definite notions about the kind of polity the future Islamic state should have for al-Bana felt that discussions about an Islamic state were premature as there was still much work to do at grass-roots level in terms of the struggle against illiteracy and poverty. The Brotherhood was also, to a large extent, anti-intellectual, preferring action rather than words. Al-Bana is important because he essentially put the flesh on the bones of the work of his salafi predecessors and, in the Muslim Brotherhood, set about establishing a new type of Muslim community. Its originality lay in it

being the first mass-supported and well-organized grouping that was in touch
with the demands of a modern urbanized world and its ideological base,
which was further developed by Sayyid Qutb, provided a model for countless
Muslim organizations.

Although Qutb[28] was not the head of this organization, he exemplified its
radical trend, and so he is regarded as the intellectual heir of al-Bana. His
writings are highly regarded to this day as literary works. Qutb's life shares a
number of parallels with al-Bana, for Qutb left the village to live in Cairo and
this proved to be of pivotal importance due to the impression city life gave
him; in particular the obvious social imbalance, political corruption and the
presence of the British. At that time Qutb was less concerned with religious
indifference, as he was somewhat indifferent to religion himself. At first, he
joined the Wafd ('Delegation') party, the oldest existing political party in
Egypt and the only major oppositional force during that period. It was also
secular in nature. It was only after spending three years studying in Colorado
that Qutb began to question western ideals. Here Qutb encountered first-hand
what he regarded as excessive materialism, sexual permissiveness and racism.
From then on, Qutb's writings started to have an Islamic orientation, and,
being of a literary nature, he wrote numerous articles on artistic imagery
found in the Qur'an. Qutb found the Qur'an to be an important spiritual
resource, and his attention focused on the importance of Islamic research and
Qur'anic studies. In the same year that al-Bana was executed, Qutb's work
Social Justice in Islam (*Al-'adala al-ijtima'iyya fi al-islam*) was published. This
attracted the attention of many scholars and Islamic activists and its original-
ity lies in his perception of Islam as not only a spiritual resource, but as an
integrated system of social and economic justice. This puts Qutb within the
salafi mould. Qutb became disillusioned with the ideology and activities of
the Wafd party as a result of widespread corruption among its leadership and
accusations of being too closely associated with British interests and so he
joined the Muslim Brotherhood in 1952. He wrote regularly for their maga-
zine, *Al-Da'wa* ('The Mission') where he developed the ideas that were to
become central to the ideology of the Brotherhood. In November 1954 an
assassination attempt was made on Nasser, and the Brotherhood was blamed.
A number of its members were imprisoned, including Qutb who, in actual
fact, was to spend virtually the whole of the rest of his life in jail. He spent
the time writing. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'an, *In the Shade of the
Qur'an* (*Fi dhilal al-Qur'an*), in which he considered the Qur'an as an inte-
grated whole, rather than engaging in an atomistic approach to each indivi-
dual verse or even word. Another important work during this time is
Milestones (*Ma'alim fi al-tariq,* also translated as *Signposts on the Road*).
Here Qutb shows the influence upon him of Mawdudi, for the central theme
of this work is that the problem with the Islamic community, as Qutb saw it,
was not so much the encroachment of the west, or autocratic government, but
rather what he also refers to as the jahiliya of society as a whole. He remarks
that he saw his present society in a state of jahiliya similar, or even worse,

than that which existed before the time of the Prophet. The community, in terms of its beliefs, traditions, culture, laws, politics, and so on, are all essentially un-Islamic in character in that, in true salafi tradition, they do not reflect the community that existed at the time of Muhammad and the Rightly Guided Caliphs. Like Mawdudi, Qutb makes uses of the term 'vanguard' of a new elite that would fight against jahiliya. Equally, Qutb is not specific in what this elite would actually do, and seemed to have a somewhat romantic and naive notion of a group of ascetic individuals that, once they know the truth of Islam, could simply come into being and take over the reins of state rule which would then require no earthly laws or regulations. In fact, Qutb is little concerned with what form a Muslim state would take, leaving the actual organization to the umma once they are capable of it. He makes use of another term borrowed from Mawdudi, that of *hakimiyya* (or 'divine governance'). Qutb believed that provided society is governed according to God's will – which can be determined via the traditional sources of the Qur'an and the Sunna of the Prophet – then all will be well. He does not see religion as prescriptive, but more as an aesthetic–psychological experience. In a Platonic sense of the Philosopher Kings, the leaders would intuitively 'know' what to do, given the circumstance.

Endnote

When the Egyptian President Anwar Sadat was assassinated in 1981, a copy of a text by Muhammad Abed Al-Salam Faraj (1952–82) called *The Neglected Obligation* was found on the body of the assassin. Faraj had previously been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood before he founded the Islamic Jihad in 1979 as a result of his view that the Muslim Brotherhood has 'neglected its obligation' to enact jihad. Someone else who had previously been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood but left to join Islamic Jihad in 1980 was Ayman al-Zawahiri (b. 1951) who went to fight in Afghanistan before merging Islamic jihad with al-Qaeda in 1998. Al-Zawahiri is today considered the intellectual force of al-Qaeda, and bin Laden's right-hand man.

What these people have in common is a belief that what Sayyid Qutb especially had to say about Islam and jihad is the right way for Islam to go. In this respect, Qutb is far more the father of modern-day Islamic radicalism than Mawdudi is, but it must also be admitted that Mawdudi is not entirely blameless. Although, as stated above, the Muslim Brotherhood was founded before the Jamaat, the history of twentieth-century radicalism is one of constant interaction between these two great figures Mawdudi and Qutb, rather than one always imitating the other.

Mawdudi's brand of Islamic political ideology represents a dangerous strand of fundamentalism. While one can understand *why* Mawdudi was so determined to push for a certain portrayal of Islam which emphasizes its exclusivity and a call for a 'vanguard' and a 'jihad', this does not excuse the fact that his influential ideas must be at least partly responsible for the atrocious acts that have been committed in the name of Islam in recent years. At times, it must be admitted, Mawdudi can come across as more moderate, but this is overshadowed by a worrying extremism which suggests his moderation was more a case of political pragmatism than a genuine belief on his part. After studying Mawdudi for over twenty years now, it is

sad that this author must come to this conclusion, but it would be false to present Mawdudi as otherwise. It is only hoped that Muslims around the world can perceive Mawdudi as, perhaps, a necessary creation of a time of great uncertainty and insecurity that, it is to be hoped, can be replaced by more optimism and progressive moderation. *Other* faces of Islam are out there.

Notes

1 A noble lineage (1903–19)

1 Mawdudi (1984), p. 24.
2 Athar Ali (1966), pp. 7–33.
3 In many respects, the Berelwi share the same intellectual tradition with the Deobandi, although there are some theological disputes.
4 This was an 1881 census. Over 50 per cent of these lived in Bengal.
5 See, for example, W. W. Hunter (1871). This needs to be taken seriously, as it was written at the request of the British Viceroy in an attempt to form a Muslim policy.
6 This raises important questions concerning what is meant by 'essential' Islam and an understanding of ideology, which will be considered to some extent later in this work.
7 I'm indebted to the works of S. N. Eisenstadt here, especially *The Political System of Empires* (1967).
8 Lelyveld (1978), p. 74.
9 From Khan (1968).
10 Ahmad Khan was also related to Ahmad Hasan's mother.
11 Mawdudi (1984), pp. 29, 30.
12 Ibid. p. 30.
13 I say this, given Mawdudi's own views of women which will be looked at in Chapter 9.
14 The modern feminist Islamic scholar Leila Ahmad has questioned this status, arguing that Amin had little knowledge of Egyptian women and so his portrayal of them as backward and ignorant is lacking in evidence. However, Amin's convictions have to this day not lost their credibility and are still highly relevant in the Arab world. Also, Amin set out to criticize the orientalist 'harem' perception of Islam as beyond repair. Quite the contrary. In this sense, Amin's work is groundbreaking.
15 Mawdudi (1984), p. 31.
16 All these things are relative, of course. Compared to the Aligarh Experiment, the Madrasa Fauqaniyah would seem very traditional indeed.
17 The importance and influence of Iqbal will be looked at in Chapter 6.
18 And, in fact, accused him of being the Antichrist!
19 During the Umayyad period, Spain was also part of the Caliphate, ruled from Damascus, but when the Abbasid dynasty took over, ruling from Baghdad, the emir of Cordoba declared himself the successor Umayyad Caliph. From 929 until 1031, the caliphate of Cordoba existed alongside the Abbasid Caliphate. There is some debate whether it is possible to have more than one caliph at the same time.

2 A 'hidden power within me' (1920–30)

1 The Jami'at al-'Ulama'-i Hind (Organization of Indian Scholars) exists to this day with a platform for Muslims and non-Muslims living together in a secular Indian state. They are, therefore, strongly nationalist and opposed to the creation of Pakistan, resulting in a splinter group, the Jami'at al-'Ulama'-i Islam.

2 Mawdudi (1984), p. 34.

3 The legacy of the salafis will be explored in more detail in Chapter 7.

4 Cited in Abu'l-Afaq (1971), p. 73.

5 See Metcalf (1982), pp. 252–8.

6 The last of the remaining schools (Farrukhabad) was finally closed down in 1876 due to Muslim takeover.

7 Sarasvati (1975).

8 Mawdudi, in JIKUS pp. 19–20, wrongly credits the quote 'We will win freedom with or without you, or in spite of you' to Gandhi, although this was actually said by the Hindu militant and Gandhi critic Vinayak Damodar Savarkar. Also in JIKUS, Mawdudi claimed that Gandhi had referred to Islam as 'the religion of the sword'. However, as Binder points out in *Religion and Politics*, Gandhi did not say this either. Quotes such as 'I do regard Islam to be a religion of peace in the same sense as Christianity, Buddhism and Hinduism are', from Gandhi should suffice to show him to be against Hindu nationalism at the expense of Islam.

9 Gandhi (1986), p. 219.

10 Ahmad (1996), p. 18.

11 Ibid. p. 19.

12 Ali (1984), p. 21. The fourteenth century in Islam began in AD 1883.

13 Zirvi (2002), pp. 49–50.

14 According to both Shia and Sunni eschatology the *Mahdi*, the 'Guided One', is the prophesied redeemer of Islam who will stay on earth for a number of years (the exact number differs according to various traditions) before the coming of *Yawm al-Qiyamah* ('Day of the Resurrection').

15 It exists to this day, with approximately 30,000 members worldwide.

16 I emphasize 'seemingly' here because many of the quotes of its founder are highly critical of other religions, particularly Judaism, Christianity and Hinduism. The fact that the Qadian Ahmadis also consider other 'Muslims' as not Muslims at all seems rather narrow.

17 From Bonney (2004), pp. 201–2 which, in turn, was taken from Thursby (1975), p. 164.

18 Ali (1984), p. 12.

19 2:257.

20 Ali (1984), p. 13.

21 In Ahmad *Sitaarah Qaisariyyah, Ruhani Khaza'in*, vol. 15, pp. 120–1, cited by Chaudhry (1989), p. 7.

22 Referring to himself here.

23 www.alislam.org/library/articles

24 Citing such suras as 41.35, 4.129 or 23.97, as just three examples.

25 Ahmad (1989), p. 12.

26 Ahmad, *Rooyedad-e-jalsa Doa, Ahmadiyya* Publications, Qadian, cited in Valentine (2008), p. 206.

27 Mawdudi (1948), p. 7.

28 Ibid. p. 11.

29 Ibid. p. 18.

30 Mawdudi (1962), Foreword.

31 Ibid. p. 5.

32 Ibid. p. 10.

33 Ibid. p. 11.
34 Ibid. p. 16.
35 Ibid. p. 17.
36 Ibid. p. 25. The Muslim view is that Jesus was born to Mary of virginal concep-
   tion, in line with the Christian belief. Where belief differs, is that for Muslims, Jesus
   was not killed or crucified but was raised up to heaven while still alive. He will
   return to earth near the day of judgement and defeat the Antichrist. For Muslims,
   Jesus – though born of immaculate conception – was nonetheless human and not
   God incarnate or the son of God. The use of the term al-Masih (the Messiah) in
   Islam refers to Jesus as a precursor to Muhammad.
37 Slomp (2003), p. 244. Mawdudi's views on jihad will be considered in detail in
   Chapter 10.

3 Crisis of the spirit (1930–9)

 1 Mawdudi, in Buhtah (1984), pp. 54–5.
 2 The Seljuk was a Sunni Muslim dynasty that ruled parts of Central Asia and the
   Middle East from the eleventh to fourteenth centuries.
 3 The Fatimid dynasty was a Muslim Ismaili Shia Caliphate that ruled over Egypt
   and beyond from 909 to 1171.
 4 See Moris (2003), which provides an excellent insight into Sadra's complex
   philosophy.
 5 Jackson (2006), pp. 150–4.
 6 Mawdudi, *TQ* March 1936, pp. 4–5.
 7 Ibid. Preface.
 8 Ibid. p. 33.
 9 Ibid. p. 38.
10 Ibid. p. 44.
11 Ibid. p. 83.
12 Ibid. p. 84.
13 The ulama wear beards because the Prophet Muhammad had a beard. Some devout
   Muslims will also dye their hair red, as it is believed that the Prophet was a redhead.
14 Hasan (1984), 1: 90.
15 For example, 'a candle has been lit inside me, for which the sun is a moth', by
   Bahauddin Valad.
16 These quotes are from two poems translated by Nasr (1996). They were first
   printed in *Sayyarah Digest* (Lahore).
17 Mawdudi RJI, 1: 5–6.
18 Yusuf (1980), pp. 5–6.
19 The title was inspired by Mawlana Abu Kalam Azad's *Tarjuman al-Qur'an*, which
   is considered now to be a classic in Urdu and a major contribution to Islamic
   interpretation.
20 See Chapter 11 for more on Bana.
21 Quoted in *Nida*, 17 April 1990, p. 31.
22 Nasr (1996), p. 14.
23 Jackson (2006), pp. 181–6.
24 Ibid.
25 Thompson (1940), p. 58. This letter to Thompson was written only a few months
   before Iqbal's death in 1938.
26 Ibid.
27 Jalal (1985).
28 This is an Arabic term (*dar al-'ulum*) which literally means 'house of knowledge',
   though more generally an Islamic seminary or other educational institution: similar
   to or the same as a madrasa.

29 He was a prolific writer, and many of his works are still available today. His lineage can be traced back to the second caliph, Umar. He was initially a respected teacher, but retired to devote himself to the establishment of a spiritual centre (khanqah) in Thana Bhawan. Although his lectures talked of the importance of renewing Islam, he was not particularly interested in politics.

30 Nasr (1996). This quote is a recollection from Iqbal's secretary, Mian Muhammad Shafi. A mullah is a low-ranking cleric. A curious thing for Iqbal to say given he was prepared to offer Mawdudi the position of Imam at the Badshahi mosque! Although perhaps he meant he was better suited to lead prayers than to lead a major educational project.

31 Muhammad Asad was born Leopold Weiss as a Jew, but later converted to Islam and became one of the first Pakistani ambassadors to the United Nations.

32 Numani (1980a), pp. 28–30.

4 The birth of a new party (1940–7)

1 Sirhindi is regarded as a mujaddid; a 'reviver' of Islam. He reacted to the interfaith policies of the Mughal Emperor Akbar, rejecting such 'innovation' (bid'ah).

2 More of a militant than a scholar, Shahid was a religious martyr who founded a revolutionary movement, Tariqah-i Muhhamidiyah ('The Way of the Prophet Muhammad') and proclaimed a jihad against the Sikhs in Punjab. His aim was to establish an Islamic state in Peshawar, but he was killed, along with hundreds of his followers, by Sikhs.

3 JIKUS, 32.

4 As Jinnah said in a speech delivered to Muslim League members in Lucknow in October 1937, 'Organize yourselves, establish your solidarity and complete unity. Equip yourselves as trained and disciplined soldiers … work loyally, honestly for the cause of your people … There are forces which may bully you, tyrannize over you and intimidate you … But it is by going through the crucible of fire of persecution which may be levelled against you, … it is by resisting … and maintaining your true convictions and loyalty, that a nation will emerge, worthy of its past glory and history … as a well-knit, solid, organized, united force [the Muslims] can face any danger, and withstand any opposition' (cited in Wolpert (1984), pp. 153–4).

5 Yousaf and Hameed (2003).

6 Mawdudi (1986a), p. 82.

7 An excellent collection of essays on Sufi charisma can be found in Basu and Werbner (1998).

8 Marples (2000) on Leninism.

9 See Chapter 10.

10 Kooiman (2003).

11 In the 1990s the BJP (Bharatiya Janata Party) promised a separate Telangana state if they got into power, although this was not achieved. In 2004 the Congress Party and the relatively new party Telangana Rashtra Samithi (TRS) formed a coalition government in Telangana state. The Congress had also promised a separate state but this has yet to be achieved.

12 Interview with Mian Tufayl Muhammad. Quoted from Nasr (1994), p. 15.

13 TQ, November 1934, p. 162.

14 Nasr (1994), p. 15.

15 Cited in Qasmi (1990).

16 Mawdudi (n.d.) pp. 7, 8.

17 It is worth stressing that in 1951 fewer than 14 per cent of the Pakistani population were literate and, in fact, as late as 1990 that number had increased to only 28 per cent!

18 He was, ultimately, to be disappointed and despite his high standing within the Party, he left it after 16 years.
19 These accusations are from Numani's book *Mawlana Mawdudi* (n.d.) pp. 46–52.
20 Quoted in an interview with 'Abdu'l-Ghaffar Hasan, from Nasr (1994), p. 22.

5 The Pakistan years (1947–79)

1 Metcalf (2006), ch. 7.
2 Ibid.
3 See Nasr (1994) for more detail on the intricacies of this.
4 Ibid. p. 22.
5 Ibid. p. 35.
6 This was replaced by the more public (under the pro-Islamic Zia in the 1980s) Institute of Policy Studies of Islamabad. Other such institutes have emerged in other parts of Pakistan as well as abroad, including the influential Islamic Foundation in Leicester, UK.
7 Ayub won 65 per cent of the vote, although most likely this was rigged.
8 For more on the Jamaat post-Mawdudi, see the Chapter 11.
9 Note that I have relied substantially on Nasr (1994) for this section.
10 The smallest unit was called a maqam, which need consists of only two or more members! In such a case where membership was too small, there may only be the office of Amir and secretary-general.
11 Mawdudi until 1972, Mian Tufayl until 1987, and Qazi Hussain Ahmad up until 2009, and currently Syed Munawar Hassan (elected April 2009).
12 This position only became more clearly defined after Mawdudi stepped down.
13 First published in 1962 and particularly popular among the military.
14 It should be pointed out that these groups are at least semi-independent and do on occasions have differing outlooks and reactions to world events.

6 The need for 'intellectual independence'

1 Geertz (1973) p. 205.
2 Diyab (1987) p. 105.
3 Haynes (1993) p. 8.
4 There is much debate over the extent to which Plato himself believed that his perfect state was actually possible.
5 Rousseau (2004) p. 4.
6 Ibid., p. 5.
7 Ibid., p. 8.
8 Gellner (1979) p. 12.
9 Nasr (1991) p. 21, 22.
10 Bannerman (1988) p. 1.
11 De Vries (1980).
12 See Munir (1986) pp. 129–132.
13 Ruthven (2000) p. 324.
14 Iqbal (1989) p. 78.
15 Ibid p. 142.
16 50:16.
17 Iqbal (1989) p. 85.
18 Ibid. p. 94.
19 Kashyap (1955) p. 183.
20 Shamloo (1948) p. 226.
21 Vahid (1964) p. 80.
22 Iqbal (1959) p. 33.

23 Iqbal (1989) p. 149.
24 Yusuf (1979) p. 35.

7 The salafis

 1 From Jackson (2006), pp. 159–64.
 2 Smith (1957), p. 41.
 3 Al-Wahhab wrote *The Book of Unity* ('Kitab at-tawhid'), which became the central text for the Wahhabi movement. Consequently, his followers referred to themselves as the 'Unitarians' (*al-Muwahhidun*), while the term 'Wahhabi' was initially used by non-Muslims and opponents.
 4 It should be stressed that a number of reform movements existed that shared the same concerns and were working towards the same logical conclusion that Islam needed to rid itself of what was seen as innovation. What made al-Wahhab distinct was not so much his teachings, which were by no means original, but in the support he was able to gain from the militant ibn Saud.
 5 Mawdudi's (1995), p. 12.
 6 Ruthven (2000), p. 327.
 7 Some have accused Mawdudi of claiming to be a Mujtahid. See Zakariya (1983). I have not come across any reliable evidence that Mawdudi ever did make this claim, although he does not appear to have denied it either.
 8 From Jackson (2006), pp. 164–8.
 9 Ibid. pp. 168–72.
10 Although nick-named (by himself) the 'Afghan', he was actually an Iranian Shi'a born in Asterabad near the city of Hamadan in western Iran.
11 Lewis (1993), p. 183.
12 Lindholm (1996), p. 4.
13 See Aslan (2009).
14 From Jackson (2006), pp. 172–6.
15 Ibid. pp. 176–81.
16 The Zaydis, also known as 'Five-Imam Shi'ites', represent some 40 per cent of the Yemen population, but are much smaller in numbers than the 'Twelver' Shi'a of mostly Iran and Iraq.
17 While Rid'a writings often reflect Shi'a ideas, not to mention his enthusiasm for a Zaydi Shi'a Imam, he is also very critical of the role of Shi'a Muslims in history and succeeded in offending many Shi'a thinkers.
18 Ahmad, in Esposito (1983), p. 224.
19 Mawdudi (1985a), p. 7.
20 Mawdudi (1963), p. iii.
21 Mawdudi (1985b), p. 94.
22 Mawdudi (1985c), p. 101.

8 Mawdudi's paradigms: the four sources of his Islamic constitution

 1 Mawdudi (1967), p. 5.
 2 The idea of the 'Overlordship' of God pervades the whole of the Qur'an. See especially sura 67, Al-Mulk.
 3 3: 159.
 4 For example, 4: 58, 65, 105, 135 and 16: 90.
 5 Mawdudi (1967), p. 40.
 6 Ibid. p. 42.
 7 Ibid. p. 43.
 8 Mawdudi (1969), p. 127.
 9 Rahman (1982), p. 20.

10 I am quoting these rights from Mawdudi's own text, *Human Rights in Islam*.
11 Ahmad and von Grunebaum, (1970), pp. 49–52.
12 Braaten (1966), p. 131.
13 Ferguson (1986), p. 5.
14 Bultmann (1955), p. 251.
15 Mawdudi (1998), pp. 26–7.
16 Qutb (1990), p. 91.
17 17: 106.
18 25: 32.
19 Ibid.
20 Numani (1980a), p. 37.
21 I have written about this in more detail in another work Jackson (2007), pp. 71–9.
22 Rahman (1982), p. 131.
23 Sonn (1995), p. 408.
24 Rahman (1982), p. 187.
25 Rahman (1966), p. 10.
26 Ibid. p. 11.
27 Esack (1997), p. 60.
28 Malti-Douglas (1995), p. 139.
29 Arkoun (1987b), p. 2.
30 Ibid.
31 Ibid. p. 8.
32 Ibid.
33 Arkoun (1988), p. 70.
34 Arkoun (1987b), p. 10.
35 Arkoun (1988), pp. 64–5.
36 Arkoun (1987a), p. 5.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Arkoun (1987b).
40 Mawdudi (1967), p. 6.
41 Mawdudi (1980a), p. 263.
42 E.g. 2:142.
43 It is obviously difficult to know what kind of society existed among the Bedouin at the time of Muhammad. However, a number of more recent studies of the Bedouin as they exist in the modern age can tell us a lot about their ethos and structure. See for example writings by William Irons, Donald Cole and Charles Lindholm.
44 Mawdudi (1980), p. 263.
45 Robson (1990), 1, p. 43.
46 Ibid. p. 48.
47 Ibid. p. 49.
48 Siddiqui (1975), vol. 4, p. 1259.
49 The al-Tabari account ends with the siege of Medina five years before the death of Muhammad. I have used the English translation by Poonawala (1990).
50 Al-Waqidi may well have had Shi'a sympathies and his work uses some independent sources which help to corroborate Ibn Ishaq. Although neither have met with universal praise, I have made much use of Guillaume's translation (1955).
51 Ibn Sa'd may also have had Shi'a sympathies as he claims that Ali, not Abu Bakr, was the first Muslim convert. I have used the English translation by S. Moinul Haq (1967).
52 For example, Goldziher (1967), Schacht (1950, 1964), Coulson (1994), all have argued that the *majority* of hadith were fabricated for ulterior motives.
53 Translated into English by Asad (1981), and also Khan (1987).

54 For example, Mernissi (1991) – who provides an admirable critique of certain hadith – recounts how Bukhari refused to go to the local Amir of Bakhara's house to read portions of his collection, refusing to 'drag it into the antechambers of sultans' (p. 45). Thus, Bukhari, at least avoids the accusation of political patronage and subsequent bias.

55 Importantly, in terms of political authority, some Sunni collections *also* put Ali as the first male convert.

56 An English translation can be found in Watt (1956), pp. 221–5.

57 For example, Crone (1995).

58 Rodinson (1980), p. 152; al-'Umari (1991), 1, pp. 99–102.

59 Watt (1956), pp. 221–5.

60 Watt (1956).

61 Bulaç (1998), p. 169.

62 Ibid. p. 170.

63 Ibid. p.173.

64 Ibid. p. 174.

65 Ibid. p.175.

66 Ibid. p.176.

67 Mawdudi (1967), p. 6.

68 Arguably, religious authority may well have been maintained in Shi'ite Islam, but even after the Abassid revolution this had little effect on the largely Sunni majority. See Momen (1985), pp. 18–19.

69 Ibid.

70 See Shaban (1971), vol. 1, p. 19.

71 For example, Gibb (1962), pp. 5–6 and Watt (1956), p. 226.

72 The most commonly quoted traditions stated that the result of the deliberations of this council was that Ali b. Abi Talib was offered the Khalifat on the condition that he should rule in accordance with the Qur'an, the Example of the Prophet and the precedents established by the first two Khalifs. The fact that Ali refused suggests that he had a different conception of authority from that of the first two Khalifs. In more contemporary historical accounts, as well as in Shi'ite tradition, Ali was a strong proponent of enhancing the power of the Khalif and, for that reason, was unacceptable.

73 Mawdudi (1967), p. 7.

74 Coulson (1969), p. 42.

75 Ibid. pp. 58–76.

76 Mawdudi (1967), p. 40.

77 Ibid. p. 35.

78 Coulson (1969), pp. 75–6.

9 Theo-democracy (or divine government?)

1 Mawdudi (1980), p. 263.

2 Mawdudi (1980c), pp. 20, 21.

3 Mawdudi (1996), pp, 97–8.

4 TQ, May 1939, p. 9.

5 Mawdudi (1967), pp. 21–44.

6 Ibid. pp. 31–2.

7 Ibid. p. 33.

8 Ibid. p. 35.

9 Ibid. p. 36.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

12 Mawdudi (1969), p. 130.

13 Ibid. p.132.
14 Mawdudi (1969), pp. 341–2.
15 Ibid. p. 345.
16 Ibid. p. 346.
17 Mawdudi (1986b), p. 12.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid. p. 14.
20 Ibid.
21 Ibid. p. 59.
22 Ibid. p. 60.
23 Ibid. p. 61.
24 Ibid. p. 62.
25 Ibid. p. 63.
26 Ibid. p. 111.
27 Ibid. p. 112.
28 Ibid. p. 113.
29 Ibid. p. 115.
30 Ibid.
31 All quotes in this paragraph ibid. p. 116.
32 Ibid. p. 118.
33 Ibid. p. 119.
34 Quotes this paragraph ibid. p. 119.
35 Ibid. p. 119.
36 Ibid. p. 120.
37 Ibid. p. 121.
38 Ibid. pp. 121.
39 Ibid., pp. 121–2.
40 Ibid. p. 122.
41 Ibid. p. 202.
42 Mawdudi (1980a), p. 262.
43 Fatima Mernissi's excellent study traces the unreliability of this particular hadith as, basically, a product of convenience on the part of Abu-Bakr. Mernissi (1991), pp. 49–61.
44 Mawdudi (1980a), p. 322.
45 Ibid.
46 Ibid. p. 323.
47 Mawdudi (1947), pp. 1–8.
48 Ibid. pp. 29–30.
49 Mawdudi (1971), p. 16.
50 Mawdudi (1986b), p. 83.
51 Ibid. p. 91.
52 Ibid. p. 145.
53 Ibid. p. 146.
54 Ibid. p. 148.
55 Ibid. p. 149.
56 Ibid. p. 150. The quote is from 33: 32–3.
57 Ibid. pp. 175–82. Incidentally, *satr* is less restrictive once a woman is old and is no longer considered attractive to the opposite sex.
58 Ibid. p. 195.
59 Ibid. p. 198. Mawdudi actually argues that the practice at the time of Muhammad was to cover the face *and* the hands.
60 Sura 5: 44.
61 Vatikiotis (1987), p. 96.
62 Mawdudi (1967), p. 66.

63 See Ahmed (1987), p. 103.
64 Vatikiotis (1987), p. 98.
65 Mawdudi (1980a).
66 Ibid. p. 20.
67 Although Mawdudi would blame this lack of power on the conservative nature of the members of the ulama.
68 Perry (1991), p. 110.
69 Mawdudi (1969), p. 67.
70 Ibid. p. 47.
71 Mawdudi (1983), p. 123.
72 Mawdudi (1969), p. 246.
73 Perry (1991), p. 108.
74 A notable exception to this rule being the Kharijites (who survive today in the more moderate form, the Ibadites) who argued that anyone can be the leader of the community (not just the descendants of Ali, or a member of the Quaraysh household) so long as they were morally irreproachable: if they were not, then the Kharijites felt obliged to revolt against the ruler. This, together with their rather rigid conception of what a moral Muslim was (virtually declaring all non-Kharijites as infidels), resulted in their disappearance.
75 Gibb (1962), p. 19.
76 Faksh (1990), p. 31.
77 Ibid. p. 33.
78 Syed (1983), ch. 2.
79 Quoted from Faksh (1990), p. 33.
80 Apart from the Kharijites, certain members of the Muslim intelligentsia (most notably, the Sufis) have, in the past, also objected to the tyranny of the rulers. There has been a perennial tension between the 'moral imperatives' of Muslim culture, and the holders of power; for example the Persian Mevlana Jalaluddin Rumi (1207–73), the Indian Muinuddin Chisti (1142–1236) and Sidi Lahsen Lyusi (1631–91) have all in their time spoken out strongly against abuse of power.

10 Jihad and the permanent revolution

1 See especially Kaukab Siddique (1977) on this. Siddique was a Jama'at member and translated much of Mawdudi into English. However, he understood Mawdudi's use of the term 'Caliphate' as referring to everyone, whereas it has been shown that this was not at all the case, and Mawdudi objected to Siddique's understanding of his writings.
2 See Binder (1961), p. 211.
3 Nasr (1996).
4 Mawdudi (n. d.), p. 16.
5 Lapidus (1988), p. 742.
6 The TNFJ (Tehrik-i-Nifaz-i-Fiqah-i-Jafria), who were blamed for the plane death of Zia in August 1988.
7 Haynes (1993), p. 86.
8 *The Independent*, 12 February 1995, by Ziauddin Sardar.
9 Esposito (1992), p. 82.
10 Quoted from Anderson (1990), p. 171.
11 Qaddafi (1976), vol. 3, pp. 24–6.
12 From 'Thus Spoke Colonel Muammar Kazzafi' (Beirut 1974), p. 12. This quote taken from Anderson (1983), p. 142.
13 Ibid. p. 147.
14 Esposito (1992), p. 94.
15 Ibid. p. 96.

16 Jansen (1986), p. 193.
17 Marsot (1972), pp. 158–9.
18 Perry (1991), p. 111.
19 Crecelius (1972), p. 180.
20 Borthwick (1967), p. 305.
21 Perry (1991), p. 112.
22 Esposito (1992), p. 96.
23 Ibid. p. 100.
24 'The Gun and the Veil', BBC 2, September 1993.
25 (August 1994) *Impact*, 24(8): 22.
26 Faruki (1983), p. 283.
27 Qutb: 'Maarakat al-Islam wa-al-Rasmailiyyah'(1975), quoted from Haddad (1983), p. 70.
28 Qutb: 'al-Salaam al-Alami wa-al-Islam' (1974), quoted ibid. p. 80.
29 Asad (1961).
30 Ibid. pp. 16, 17.
31 This is Asad's own translation. For example, Dawood translates this as 'path', whereas Yusuf Ali translates it as 'open way'.
32 Asad (1961), p. 40.
33 Hakim (1974).
34 Ibid. p. 195.
35 Ibid. p. 221.
36 Ibid. p. 238.
37 Ibid. p. 208.
38 Zafar (1980).
39 Ibid. p. 317.
40 Obviously, this refers to Sunni tradition rather than Shi'a.
41 Usman (1969).
42 Ibid. p. 14.
43 Antoun (1989), p. 248.
44 Loeffler (1988), p. 246.
45 Mawdudi (1996), p. 1.
46 Ibid. p. 2.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid. p. 3.
49 Ibid. pp. 6–7.
50 13 April 1939.
51 Mawdudi (1995), p. 12.
52 Bonney (2004), p. 200.
53 Mawdudi (1995), p. 5.
54 Ibid. p. 10.
55 Minault (1982), p. 153.
56 Ibid. p. 11.
57 Nasr (1994), ch. 1.
58 Mawdudi (1985).
59 Mawdudi (1988), i, p. 169.
60 'Such a claim [to be a Muslim] will not be entertained' (ibid. iii, p. 233).
61 Bonney (2004), p. 209.
62 Mawdudi (1988), 94.

11 Mawdudi s legacy

1 Wolpert (1993), p. 76.
2 Bennett Jones (2002), p. 227.

3 Ziring (1998), p. 380.
4 Khan (1999), p. 51.
5 Ziring (1998), p. 381.
6 Rehman (1998), p. 15.
7 In fact, appointing Niyazi only made things worse. He had left the Jamaat in 1964 and was not popular with either the Jamaat or the ulama.
8 Cited in 'Abdul'l-Ghani Faruqi, 'Hayat-i Javidan', HRZ, 31.
9 Wolpert (1993), p. 281.
10 Quoted in Sayeed (1980), p. 162.
11 This was then serialized in the popular English-language Karachi daily paper *Dawn*.
12 Cited in Saulat (1979), pp. 83, 84.
13 Wilder (1990), p. 26.
14 Bennett-Jones (2002), p. 230.
15 Nasr (1994), p. 143.
16 Cited in *Nawa'-l Waqt* (25 October 1978), 1.
17 Bennett-Jones (2002), p. 230.
18 Cited in Nasr (1994).
19 *Takbir* (7 March 1991), 7, 8 and (6 June 1991), 29, 30.
20 Ibid. (7 March 1991), 7, 8.
21 Address to the nation by General Pervez Musharraf, 17 October 1999 (available at: www.pakistani.org/pakistan/constitution/post_12oct99/musharraf_address_17oct1999.html).
22 Zaffar Abbas, 'Man on a Mission?', *Herald*, July 2001, p. 34.
23 Bennett-Jones (2002), p. 5.
24 'Musharraf Wants at Least Five Years', *News*, 21 January, 2002.
25 'A Plea for Enlightened Moderation', *Washington Post*, Tuesday, 1 June 2004, p. A23.
26 It is also often stated that Massoud was nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize after his assassination in 2002. While this is correct, it is hardly worth mentioning, as it only requires one qualified individual, such as a university professor, to nominate someone, and previous nominations have included such notables as Adolf Hitler and Mussolini. There is, therefore, a huge gap between being nominated and actually receiving the Prize.
27 This account is mostly taken from Jackson (2006), pp. 196–201.
28 Ibid. pp. 201–6.

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Abbreviations

JIKUS   *Jama'at-i Islami ke untis sal* (Lahore: Shu'bah-i Nashr'u Isha'at-i
        Jama'at-i Islami, 1970).
RJI   *Rudad-i Jama'at-i Islami*, 7 vols. (Lahore, 1938–91). These volumes
        contain the proceedings of the Jama'at congress between 1941–55.
TQ   *Tarjumanu'l-Qur'an* (Hyderabad, Pathankot and Lahore),
        (1932–present). This is the Jama'at's official journal.

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  awr dusrun ki nazar main* ('Mawlana Mawdudi: In His Own and Others' Views').
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