
Documents

Considering the Evidence: Contending for Islam



Like all religious traditions, Islam has never been a single body of thought and practice. Various legal traditions, leadership issues, rituals, understandings of the Quran, attitudes toward human reason, and more have long divided the Islamic world. Other divisions arose as Muslims confronted the growing intrusion of Western imperialism and modern secular culture. Which ideas and influences flowing from the West could Muslims safely utilize and which should they decisively reject? In the twentieth century, and especially during its second half, the issue prompted acute and highly visible controversy among Muslims as they debated the meaning of Islam and its implications for social and political life (see pp. 1153–57). The documents that follow illustrate something of the sharp controversies and variations in the understanding of Islam during the past century.

Document 24.1

A Secular State for an Islamic Society in Turkey

Modern Turkey emerged from the ashes of the Ottoman Empire after World War I and adopted a distinctive path of modernization, Westernization, and secularism under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk (see pp. 1103–05). Such policies sought to remove Islam from any significant role in public life and included abolition of the caliphate, by which Ottoman rulers had claimed leadership of the entire Islamic world. In a speech delivered in 1927, Atatürk explained and justified these policies, which went against the grain of much Islamic thinking.

- On what grounds did Atatürk justify the abolition of the caliphate?
- What additional actions did he take to remove Islam from a public or political role in the new Turkish state?
- What can you infer about Atatürk's view of Islam?
- How did Atatürk's conception of a Turkish state differ from that of Ottoman authorities? In what ways did he build upon Ottoman reforms of the nineteenth century? (See pp. 891–94 in Chapter 19.)

MUSTAFA KEMAL ATATÜRK
*Speech to the General Congress
 of the Republican Party*

1927

[Our Ottoman rulers] hoped to unite the entire Islamic world in one body, to lead it and to govern it. For this purpose, [they] assumed the title of Caliph.° . . . It is an unrealizable aim to attempt to unite in one tribe the various races existing on the earth, thereby abolishing all boundaries. . . . There is nothing in history to show how [such] a policy of Pan-Islamism could have succeeded. . . .

If the Caliph and the Caliphate were to be invested with a dignity embracing the whole of Islam, . . . a crushing burden would be imposed on Turkey. . . . I gave the people to understand that neither Turkey nor the handful of men she possesses could be placed at the disposal of the Caliph so that he might fulfill the mission attributed to him, namely, to found a state comprising the whole of Islam. . . .

[Furthermore], will Persia or Afghanistan, which are [Muslim] states, recognize the authority of the Caliph in a single matter? No, and this is quite justifiable, because it would be in contradiction to the independence of the state, to the sovereignty of the people.

[The current constitution] laid down as the first duty of the Grand National Assembly that “the prescriptions of the Shari’a° should be put into force. . . .” [But] if a state, having among its subjects elements professing different religions and being compelled to act justly and impartially toward all of them. . . , it is obliged to respect freedom of opinion and conscience. . . . The Muslim religion includes freedom of religious opinion. . . . Will not every grownup person in the new Turkish state be free to select his own religion? . . . When the first favorable opportunity arises, the nation must act to eliminate these

superfluities [the enforcement of sharia] from our Constitution. . . .

Under the mask of respect for religious ideas and dogmas, the new Party [in opposition to Atatürk’s reformist plans] addressed itself to the people in the following words: “We want the re-establishment of the Caliphate; we are satisfied with the religious law; we shall protect the Medressas,° the Tekkes,° the pious institutions, the Softahs,° the Sheikhs,° and their disciples. . . . The party of Mustapha Kemal, having abolished the Caliphate, is breaking Islam into ruins; they will make you into unbelievers. . . . they will make you wear hats.” Can anyone pretend that the style of propaganda used by the Party was not full of these reactionary appeals? . . .

Gentlemen, it was necessary to abolish the fez,° which sat on our heads as a sign of ignorance, of fanaticism, of hatred to progress and civilization, and to adopt in its place the hat, the customary headdress of the whole civilized world, thus showing that no difference existed in the manner of thought between the Turkish nation and the whole family of civilized mankind. . . . [Thus] there took place the closing of the Tekkes, of the convents, and of the mausoleums, as well as the abolition of all sects and all kinds of [religious] titles. . . .

Could a civilized nation tolerate a mass of people who let themselves be led by the nose by a herd of Sheikhs, Dedes, Seids, Tschelebis, Babas, and Emirs°. . . . Would not one therewith have committed the greatest, most irreparable error to the cause of progress and awakening?

° **Caliph:** successor to the prophet Muhammad.

° **Shari’a:** Islamic law.

Source: *A Speech Delivered by Ghazi Mustapha Kemal, October 1927* (Leipzig: K. F. Koehler, 1929), 377–79, 591–93, 595–98, 717, 721–22.

° **Medressas:** Islamic schools.

° **Tekkes:** places for Sufi worship.

° **Softahs:** students in religious schools.

° **Sheikhs:** Sufi masters.

° **fez:** a distinctive Turkish hat with no brim.

° **Sheikhs . . . Emirs:** various religious titles.

Document 24.2

Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood

While Kemal Atatürk was building a secular state in a largely Muslim Turkey, an Egyptian organization known as the Muslim Brotherhood sought to move in precisely the opposite direction. Founded in 1928 by an impoverished school-teacher named Hassan al-Banna (1906–1949), the Muslim Brotherhood believed that Egypt's many problems—poverty, political factionalism, social unrest—derived from the neglect of Islamic principles that followed from British colonial rule and the penetration of Western values. The solution was a return to the original prescriptions of Islam. The Muslim Brotherhood quickly attracted a mass following, including many poor urban residents recently arrived from the countryside. In 1936, the organization spelled out the kind of reforms that it sought for Egypt.

- How did the Muslim Brotherhood understand the proper role of government as well as the appropriate relationship of individuals and the state?
- What problems in Egyptian society did the Muslim Brotherhood seek to correct?
- How does this document understand the proper relationship of the sexes?
- What aspects of Western and modern culture did the Muslim Brotherhood reject and which might it have embraced?
- How might Atatürk (Document 24.1) have responded to the Muslim Brotherhood's vision of a good society?

HASSAN AL-BANNA

Toward the Light

1936

The following are chapter headings for a reform based upon the true spirit of Islam:

- I. In the political, judicial, and administrative fields:
 - 1st. To prohibit political parties and to direct the forces of the nation toward the formation of a united front;

Source: Robert G. Landon, ed., *The Emergence of the Modern Middle East* (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1970), 261–64; translated, probably by the editor, from Hasan al-Banna, *Nahw al-Nur (Toward the Light)* (Cairo: 1936), 38–48.

- 2nd. To reform the law in such a way that it will be entirely in accordance with Islamic legal practice;
- 3rd. To build up the army, to increase the number of youth groups; to instill in youth the spirit of holy struggle, faith, and self-sacrifice;
- 4th. To strengthen the ties among Islamic countries and more particularly among Arab countries which is a necessary step toward serious examination of the question of the defunct “Caliphate”;

- 5th. To propagate an Islamic spirit within the civil administration so that all officials will understand the need for applying the teachings of Islam;
- 6th. To supervise the personal conduct of officials because the private life and the administrative life of these officials forms an indivisible whole;...
- 9th. Government will act in conformity to the law and to Islamic principles; the carrying out of ceremonies, receptions, and official meetings, as well as the administration of prisons and hospitals should not be contrary to Islamic teachings. The scheduling of government services ought to take account of the hours set aside for prayer....

II. In the fields of social and everyday practical life:...

- 2nd. To find a solution for the problems of woman, a solution that will allow her to progress and which will protect her while conforming to Islamic principles....
- 3rd. To root out clandestine or public prostitution and to consider fornication as a reprehensible crime, the authors of which should be punished;
- 4th. To prohibit all games of chance (gambling, lotteries, races, golf);
- 5th. To stop the use of alcohol and intoxicants—these obliterate the painful consequences of people's evil deeds;
- 6th. To stop attacks on modesty, to educate women, to provide quality education for female teachers, school pupils, students, and doctors;
- 7th. To prepare instructional programs for girls; to develop an educational program for girls different than the one for boys;
- 8th. Male students should not be mixed with female students—any relationship between unmarried men and women is considered to be wrong until it is approved;...
- 10th. To close dance halls; to forbid dancing;

- 11th. To censor theater productions and films; to be severe in approving films;
- 12th. To supervise and to approve music;
- 13th. To approve programs, songs, and subjects before they are released, to use radio to encourage national education;
- 14th. To confiscate malicious articles and books as well as magazines displaying a grotesque character or spreading frivolity;...
- 16th. To change the hours when public cafés are opened or closed, to watch the activities of those who habituate them—to direct these people toward wholesome pursuits, to prevent people from spending too much time in these cafés;
- 17th. To use the cafés as centers to teach reading and writing to illiterates, to seek help in this task from primary school teachers and students;...
- 19th. To bring to trial those who break the laws of Islam, who do not fast, who do not pray, and who insult religion;...
- 21st. Religious teaching should constitute the essential subject matter to be taught in all educational establishments and faculties;
- 22nd. To memorize the Koran in state schools—this condition will be essential in order to obtain diplomas with a religious or philosophical specialty—in every school students should learn part of the Koran;...
- 24th. Interested support for teaching the Arabic language in all grades—absolute priority to be given to Arabic over foreign languages (primary teaching);
- 25th. To study the history of Islam, the nation, and Muslim civilization;
- 26th. To study the best way to allow people to dress progressively and in an identical manner;
- 27th. To combat foreign customs (in the realm of vocabulary, customs, dress, nursing) and to Egyptianize all of these (one finds these customs among the well-to-do members of society);

- 28th. To orient journalism toward whole-some things, to encourage writers and authors who should study specifically Muslim and Oriental subjects;
- 29th. To safeguard public health through every kind of publicity—increasing the number of hospitals, doctors, and out-patient clinics;
- 30th. To call particular attention to the problems of village life (administration, hygiene, water supply, education, recreation, morality).
- III. The economic field:
- 1st. Organization of the “zakat tax” according to Islamic precepts, using zakat proceeds for welfare projects such as aiding the indigent, the poor, orphans; the zakat should also be used to strengthen the army;
- 2nd. To prevent the practice of usury, to direct banks to implement this policy; the government should provide an example by giving up the “interest” fixed by banks for servicing a personal loan or an industrial loan, etc.;
- 3rd. To facilitate and to increase the number of economic enterprises and to employ the jobless there, to employ for the nation’s benefit the skills possessed by the foreigners in these enterprises;
- 4th. To protect workers against monopoly companies, to require these companies to obey the law, the public should share in all profits;
- 5th. Aid for low-ranking employees and enlargement of their pay, lowering the income of high-ranking employees; . . .
- 7th. To encourage agricultural and industrial works, to improve the situation of the peasants and industrial workers;
- 8th. To give special attention to the technical and social needs of the workers, to raise their level of life and aid their class;
- 9th. Exploitation of certain natural resources (unworked land, neglected mines, etc.).

Document 24.3

The Ideas of the Ayatollah Khomeini

While the Muslim Brotherhood was never able to seize control of the state in Egypt, an Islamic Revolution in Iran brought to power in 1979 a government committed to the thorough Islamization of public life (see the map on p. 1154, and see pp. 1105–08). That revolution had been inspired and led by the Ayatollah Khomeini (1902–1989), an Iranian religious scholar, who became the rallying point for those opposed to the regime of the Shah of Iran, which was strongly backed by the United States. Document 24.3 provides the flavor of Khomeini’s thinking. As the Supreme Leader of Iran during the 1980s, he was in a position to put many of those ideas into practice.

- How does Khomeini define the enemies of Islam?
- How would you summarize his case against European imperialism and the Shah’s government?
- In what ways does Khomeini seek to apply Islamic principles in the public life of Iran? What is his view of Iranian popular culture? How do his prescriptions for an Islamic society compare with those of Hassan al-Banna in Document 24.2?

- What kind of government does Khomeini foresee for Iran? Why does he believe that a proper Islamic government “cannot be totalitarian or despotic but is constitutional and democratic”?
- To whom might Khomeini’s views be most appealing?

AYATOLLAH KHOMEINI

Sayings of the Ayatollah Khomeini

1980

Islam is a religion of those who struggle for truth and justice, of those who clamor for liberty and independence. It is the school of those who fight against colonialism.

Islamic faith and justice demand that within the Muslim world, anti-Islamic governments not be allowed to survive. . . . Any nonreligious power, whatever form or shape it may take, is necessarily an atheistic power, the tool of Satan; . . . [W]e have no recourse other than to overthrow all governments that do not rest on pure Islamic principles. . . . That is not only our duty in Iran, but it is also the duty of all Muslims in the world, in all Muslim countries, to carry the Islamic political revolution to its final victory. . . .

The homeland of Islam, one and indivisible, was broken up by the doings of the Imperialists and despotic and ambitious leaders. . . . And when the Ottoman Empire struggled to achieve Islamic unity, it was opposed by a united front of Russian, English, Austrian, and other imperialist powers, which split it up among themselves.

Western missionaries, carrying out secret plans drawn up centuries ago, have created religious schools of their own within Muslim countries. . . . These missionaries infiltrated our villages and our countryside, to turn our children into Christians or atheists!

The Islamic movement met its first saboteur in the Jewish people, who are at the source of all the anti-Islamic libels and intrigues current today. Then came the turn of those even more damnable repre-

sentatives of Satan, the imperialists. Within the last three centuries or more, they have invaded every Muslim country, with the intention of destroying Islam.

Their plan is to keep us in our backward state, to preserve our backward state, to preserve our pathetic way of life, so they can exploit the tremendous wealth of our underground resources, of our land, and our manpower. They want us to stay destitute, distracted by niggling day-to-day problems of survival, our poor living in misery, so that we will never become aware of the laws of Islam—which contain the solution to misery and poverty! All of this they have done so they can sit in their big palaces, living their stupid shallow lives!

Many of these corruptions have their origin in the gang that is in power, and in the family of a despotic and capricious ruler [the Shah of Iran]. These are the rulers who create hotbeds of lust, prostitution, and drugs, who devote the revenues of the mosque to building cinemas!

What do you understand of the harmony between social life and religious principles? And more important, just what is the social life we are talking about? Is it those hotbeds of immorality called theaters, cinemas, dancing, and music? Is it the promiscuous presence in the streets of lusting young men and women with arms, chests, and thighs bared? Is it the ludicrous wearing of a hat like the Europeans or the imitation of their habit of wine drinking? We are convinced that you have been made to lose your ability to distinguish between good and evil, in exchange for a few radio sets and ludicrous Western hats. Your attention has been attracted to the disrobed women to be seen on thoroughfares and in swim-

ming pools. Let these shameful practices come to an end, so that the dawn of a new life may break!

We [clergy] forcefully affirm that refusal to wear the veil is against the law of Allah and the Prophet, and a material and moral affront to the entire country. We affirm that the ludicrous use of the Western hat stands in the way of our independence and is contrary to the will of Allah. We affirm that coeducational schools are an obstacle to a wholesome life; they are a material and moral affront to the country and contrary to the divine will. We affirm that music engenders immorality, lust, and licentiousness, and stifles courage, valor, and the chivalrous spirit; it is forbidden by Qur'anic law and must not be taught in the schools. Radio Tehran, by broadcasting Western, Oriental, and Iranian music, plays a nefarious role by introducing immorality and licentiousness into respectable families.

An Islamic government cannot be totalitarian or despotic, but is constitutional and democratic. In this democracy, however, the laws are not made by the will of the people, but only by the Qur'an and the Sunnah^o of the Prophet. The constitution, the civil code, and the criminal code should be inspired only by Islamic laws contained in the Qur'an and transcribed by the Prophet. Islamic government is the government of divine right, and its laws cannot be changed, modified, or contested. . . .

It is often proclaimed that religion must be separated from politics, and that the ecclesiastical world

^oSunnah: traditions.

should keep out of affairs of state. It is proclaimed that high Muslim clerical authorities have no business mixing into the social and political decisions of the government. Such proclamations can come only from atheists; they are dictated and spread by imperialists. . . . Think of it—a political clergy! Well, why not? The Prophet was a politician! . . .

Islam has precepts for everything that concerns man and society. . . . There is no subject upon which Islam has not expressed judgment.

The Islamic republic is a government according to the Law and the wise men and theological experts of the clergy are therefore responsible for it. It is they who must watch over all aspects of administration and planning. In administering the laws of God in such matters as taxes and property for example, they must be trusted. . . . If the punitive laws of Islam were applied for only one year, all the devastating injustices and immoralities would be uprooted. Misdeeds must be punished by the law of retaliation: cut off the hands of the thief; kill the murderer instead of putting him in prison; flog the adulterous woman or man. . . .

We have a duty to create an Islamic republic and to that end our first obligation is the creation of a system of propaganda. . . . Radio and television are allowed if they are used for the broadcasting of news or sermons, for the spreading of good educational material for publicizing the products and curiosities of the planet; but they must prohibit singing, music, anti-Islamic laws, the lauding of tyrants, mendacious words, and broadcasts which spread doubt and undermine virtue.

Document 24.4

A Liberal Viewpoint from an Islamic Woman

Islamic renewal movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood and Islamic governments in Iran and even more radically in Taliban-governed Afghanistan have sought to impose sharp restrictions on the public activities and private behavior of women as well as maintaining their seclusion from and subordination to men. For them, this was a crucial element of an effort to bring society into alignment with Islamic law. Yet this element of Islamic thought and practice has been sharply contested. While Iran was implementing a largely

male-dominated Islamic society during the last two decades of the twentieth century, the Muslim country of Pakistan twice selected the same woman, Benazir Bhutto, as prime minister. Both times she was removed from power on charges of corruption and spent many years in exile. During her third attempt to achieve the political leadership of Pakistan in 2007, she was assassinated. In 1985, Bhutto gave an address at Radcliffe College in the United States in which she laid out an argument for women's equality within an Islamic context.

- On what basis does Bhutto argue that “Islam provides justice and equality for women”?
- How does she account for the manifest inequality of women in so many Muslim societies?
- How do you think Kemal Atatürk, Hasan al-Banna, and the Ayatollah Khomeini might respond to her ideas?

BENAZIR BHUTTO

Politics and the Muslim Woman

1985

I think one of the first things that we must appreciate about the religion of Islam is that there is no one interpretation to it. . . .

I would describe Islam in two main categories: reactionary Islam and progressive Islam. We can have a reactionary interpretation of Islam which tries to uphold the status quo, or we can have a progressive interpretation of Islam which tries to move with a changing world, which believes in human dignity, which believes in consensus, and which believes in giving women their due right. . . .

I believe that Islam within it provides justice and equality for women, and I think that those aspects of Islam which have been highlighted by the *mullas* [religious scholars] do not do a service to our religion. . . . Christianity has a clergy. Islam does not have a clergy. The relationship between a Muslim and God is direct. There is no need for somebody to intervene. The *mullas* try to intervene. The *mullas*

give their own interpretation. But I think there are growing movements, as more and more people in Muslim countries, both men and women, achieve education and begin to examine the Qur'an in the light of their education, they are beginning not to agree with the *mullas* on their orthodox or reactionary version of Islam.

Let us start with the story of the Fall. Unlike Christianity, it is not Eve who tempts Adam into tasting the apple and being responsible for original sin. According to Islam—and I mention this because I believe that Islam is an egalitarian religion—both Adam and Eve are tempted, both are warned, both do not heed the warning, and therefore the Fall occurs.

As far as opportunity is concerned, in Islam there is equal opportunity for both men and women. I refer to the Sura *Ya Sin* [Sura 36, Verses 34–35], which says: “We produce orchids and date gardens and vines, and we cause springs to gush forth, that they may enjoy the fruits of it.” God does not give fruits, orchids, or the fruit of the soil just for men to enjoy or men to plow; he gives it for both men and women. What, in terms of income and opportunity, is avail-

Source: Benazir Bhutto, “Politics and the Muslim Woman,” transcript of audio recording, April 11, 1985, in Charles Kurzman, ed., *Liberal Islam: A Sourcebook* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 107–11.

able, is available to both man and woman. Sura *an-Nisa* [Sura 4, Verse 32]: “To men is allotted what they earn, and to women what they earn.”...

The references [in the Quran] are to men and women. The references are not to men as being characteristic of certain qualities and separate qualities for women. It is not a reference to the male sex as being endowed with some superior attributes and to the woman as being endowed with inferior attributes. The attributes are the same. Both are the creatures of God. Both have certain rights. Both have certain duties. Both have certain obligations. If they want to go to Heaven, they have to behave in a special manner. If they want to do good in this earth, they have to give alms to the needy, they have to help orphans—the behavior is applicable to both men and women. It is not religion which makes the difference. The difference comes from man-made law. It comes from the fact that soon after the Prophet died, it was not the Islam of the Prophet that remained. What took place was the emergence or the reassertiveness of the patriarchal society, and religion was taken over to justify the norms of the tribal society, rather than the point that the Prophet had made in replacing the tribal society with a religion that aimed to cut across narrow loyalties and sought to create a new community, or *umma*, on the basis of Islam and the message of God.

[About] the right of divorce and polygamy. It is often said that Islam provides for four wives for a man. But in my interpretation of this, and in the interpretation of many other Muslims, that is simply not true.

What the Qur’an does say, and I quote: “Marry as many women as you wish, wives two or three or four. If you fear not to treat them equally, marry only one. [...] I doubt you will be able to be just between your wives, even if you try” [Sura 4, Verses 3 and 129]. So if God Himself and His message says that He doubts that you can be equal, I don’t know how any man can turn around and say that “God has given me this right to get married more than once.”

I would like to say that within Islamic history there are very strong roles for women. For instance, the Prophet’s wife, Bibi Khadija, was a woman of independent means. She had her own business, she traded, she dealt with society at large, she employed the Prophet Muhammad, peace be upon him, when he was a young boy, and subsequently, Bibi Khadija herself sent a proposal [of marriage] to the Prophet. So she is the very image of somebody who is independent, assertive, and does not conform to the passive description of women in Muslim societies that we have grown accustomed to hearing about...

[T]here is Bibi ‘A’isha [wife of the Prophet, circa 614–678], who is also put forward as a politically astute woman, who, after the death of the Prophet, was responsible for many of the Traditions that have been handed down to us, who was the one who proposed the caliphate of Hazrat ‘Uthman, and held out the shirt of the Prophet Muhammad, and said that, “Even before this shirt has decayed, you have to ordain someone like Hazrat ‘Uthman.” She made her views known. She was an extremely bold person. Not only did she make her views known; when she opposed something, she went to the battlefield and fought against it.

So when we have such powerful role models of women... then one must ask, why is it that today in Muslim countries, one does not see that much of women? One does not hear that much of women. Why is it that women are secluded? Why is it that women are subject to social control? Why is it that women are not given their due share of property?... It has got nothing to do with the religion, but it has got very much to do with material or man-made considerations...

Before I conclude on this aspect of the powerful role within Islam of women, I would like to quote from the Qur’an, the Sura “The Ant” [Sura 27, Verse 23]: “I found a woman ruling over them, and she has been given abundance of all things, and hers is a mighty throne.” It is not Islam which is averse to women rulers, I think—it is men.

Document 24.5

Islam and 9/11

In the early twenty-first century, the international face of an assertive Islamic fundamentalism was that of Osama bin Laden, whose al-Qaeda organization launched the attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001, and called for the overthrow of compromised governments in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere in the Islamic world (see pp. 1156–57). Substantial numbers of Muslims no doubt shared bin Laden’s outrage at the sorry state of many Muslim societies as well as his opposition to heavy U.S. backing for the state of Israel and to American military interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan. Addressing fellow Muslims, bin Laden lashed out against those who interacted with American economic interests: “The money you pay to buy American goods will be transformed into bullets and used against our brothers in Palestine.”

But bin Laden and his followers were certainly not the only voices laying claim to Islam in the aftermath of 9/11. All across the Islamic world, others argued that Muslims could retain their distinctive religious sensibility while embracing democracy, women’s rights, technological progress, freedom of thought, and religious pluralism. Just a month after the 9/11 attacks, the well-known Malaysian intellectual and political figure Anwar Ibrahim pondered the meaning of those attacks: “One wonders how, in the twenty-first century, the Muslim world could have produced an Osama bin Laden. In the centuries when Islam forged civilizations, men of wealth created pious foundations supporting universities and hospitals, and princes competed with one another to patronize scientists, philosophers, and men of letters.”²⁹ Muslims like Anwar Ibrahim were following in the tradition of nineteenth-century Islamic modernism (see pp. 891–94), even as they recalled earlier centuries of Islamic intellectual and scientific achievement and religious tolerance. That viewpoint was expressed in a pamphlet composed by a leading American Muslim scholar, translator, and Sufi teacher, Sheikh Kabir Helminski, in 2009.

- Against what charges does Sheikh Kabir seek to defend Islam? How does this document reflect the experience of 9/11?
- In what ways are Sheikh Kabir’s views critical of radical or “fundamentalist” ideas and practices?
- How does this document, together with Document 24.4, articulate the major features of a more progressive or liberal Islam? What kinds of arguments are employed to make their case?
- To whom might these arguments appeal? What obstacles do they face in being heard within the Islamic world?

- How might the Muslim Brotherhood (Document 24.2), Ayatollah Khomeini (Document 24.3), or Osama bin Laden respond to the arguments in this document? In what ways does this vision of a “liberal” or “moderate” Islam differ from those of Kemal Atatürk (Document 24.1)?

KABIR HELMINSKI

“Islam and Human Values”

2009

If the word “Islam” gives rise to fear or mistrust today, it is urgent that American Muslims clarify what we believe Islam stands for in order to dispel the idea that there is a fundamental conflict between the best values of Western civilization and the essential values of Islam....

Islamic civilization, which developed out of the revelation of the Qur’an in the seventh century, affirms the truth of previous revelations, affirms religious pluralism, cultural diversity, and human rights, and recognizes the value of reason and individual conscience....

[One issue] is the problem of violence.... Thousands of Muslim institutions and leaders, the great majority of the world’s billion or more Muslims, have unequivocally condemned the hateful and violent ideologies that kill innocents and violate the dignity of all humanity....

Islamic civilizations have a long history of encouraging religious tolerance and guaranteeing the rights of religious minorities. The reason for this is that the Qur’an explicitly acknowledges that the diversity of religions is part of the Divine Plan and no religion has a monopoly on truth or virtue....

Jerusalem, under almost continuous Islamic rule for nearly fourteen centuries, has been a place where Christians and Jews have lived side by side with Muslims, their holy sites and religious freedom preserved. Medieval Spain also created a high level of civilization as a multi-cultural society under Islamic

rule for several centuries. The Ottoman Empire, the longest lived in history, for the more than six centuries of its existence encouraged ethnic and religious minorities to participate in and contribute to society. It was the Ottoman sultan who gave sanctuary to the Jews expelled from Catholic Spain. India was governed for centuries by Muslims, even while the majority of its people practiced Hinduism....

[T]he acceptance of Islam must be an act of free will. Conversion by any kind of coercion was universally condemned by Islamic scholars....

There are many verses in the Qur’an that affirm the actuality and even the necessity of diversity in ways of life and religious belief: [For example] *O mankind, truly We [God] have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that ye may know one another.* [Surah 49:13]....

In general, war is forbidden in Islam, except in cases of self-defense in response to explicit aggression. If there is a situation where injustice is being perpetrated or if the community is being invaded, then on a temporary basis permission is given to defend oneself. This principle is explained in the following verses: *And fight in God’s cause against those who war against you, but do not commit aggression—for, verily, God does not love aggressors.* [Surah 2:190]

The general principle established throughout the Qur’an is that the relationship between Muslims and non-Muslims should be based on peace and fairness. So that there is no ambiguity, it clearly and unequivocally states: *Allah does not forbid you from dealing kindly and justly with those who do not fight you for (your) Faith nor drive you out of your homes: for Allah loves those who are just.* [Surah 60:8]

Source: Selections from Kabir Helminski, “Islam and Human Values,” unpublished pamphlet, 2009.

[I]n recent decades... an intolerant ideology has been unleashed. A small minority of the world's one and a half billion Muslims has misconstrued the teachings of Islam to justify their misguided and immoral actions. It is most critical at this time for Muslims to condemn such extreme ideologies and their manifestations. It is equally important that non-Muslims understand that this ideology violates the fundamental moral principles of Islam and is repugnant to the vast majority of Muslims in the world.... So-called "suicide-bombers" did not appear until the mid-1990s. Such strategies have no precedent in Islamic history. The Qur'an says quite explicitly: *Do not kill yourselves.* [4:29]...

Muslims living in pluralistic societies have no religious reasons to oppose the laws of their own societies as long as they are just, but rather are encouraged to uphold the duly constituted laws of their own societies.... Islam and democracy are compatible and can coexist because Islam organizes humanity on the basis of the rule of law and human dignity.

The first four successors to the Prophet Muhammad were chosen by the community through consultation, i.e., a representative democracy. The only principle of political governance expressed in

the Qur'an is the principle of Consultation (Shura), which holds that communities will "*rule themselves by means of mutual consultation.*" [Surah 42:38]

Following the principles of the Qur'an, Muslims are encouraged to cooperate for the well-being of all. The Qur'an emphasizes three qualities above all others: peace, compassion, and mercy. The standard greeting in Islam is "As-Salam alaykum (Peace be with you)."

An American Muslim scholar, Abdul Aziz Sachedina, expresses it this way: "Islam does not encourage turning God into a political statement since humans cannot possess God. They can simply relate themselves to God by emulating God's compassion and forgiveness..."

[T]here is nothing in the Qur'an that essentially contradicts reason or science.... Repeatedly the Qur'an urges human beings to "reflect" and "use their intelligence."

Islam is not an alien religion. It does not claim a monopoly on virtue or truth. It follows in the way of previous spiritual traditions that recognized One Spirit operating within nature and human life. It continues on the Way of the great Prophets and Messengers of all sacred traditions.

Using the Evidence: Voices of Islam

1. **Understanding the uses of history:** How does each of these authors use history to make his or her arguments? To what different historical contexts do they appeal?
2. **Identifying "fundamentalist" themes:** What common emphases do you see in the two more "fundamentalist" authors represented here in Documents 24.2 and 24.3? To what extent do they reflect or diverge from themes articulated in the mid-eighteenth century by Abd al Wahhab (Document 16.4, pp. 756–57)?
3. **Comparing Islamic modernists:** How do you think Kemal Atatürk would respond to later Islamic modernists such as Benazir Bhutto and Sheikh Kabir?

4. **Imagining an Islamic conversation:** Construct a dialog between the Islamic fundamentalists and the Islamic moderates. Can you identify any points of contact or similarity on which they might be able to agree? On which points would they probably never agree?
5. **Considering religion and politics:** How does each of these documents understand the relationship of religion and political life? How do they view the division between the public and private spheres of life?

Visual Sources

Considering the Evidence: Experiencing Globalization



Although a few people in the world of the early twenty-first century may remain untouched by globalization, surely they are not many. For most of humankind, the pervasive processes of interaction among distant peoples has shaped the clothing we wear, the foods we eat, the products we consume, the ways we work, the music we listen to, the religions we practice, and the identities we assume. Globalization has bound the various peoples of the planet more tightly together and in some respects has made us more alike. Almost all of us, for example, live in nation-states and seek the wealth and prosperity that modern science and technology promise. And yet in other ways we are very different, divided, and conflicted. The enormous gap in wealth between the rich countries of the Global North and the poor nations of the Global South represents a sharp and quite recent rift in the human community. The visual sources that follow illustrate just a few of the ways in which the world's peoples have experienced globalization in recent decades and have responded to it.

Among the common experiences of globalization for some people living in Asia, Africa, or Latin America has been that of working in foreign-owned production facilities. Companies in wealthier countries have often found it advantageous to build such facilities in places where labor is less expensive or environmental regulations are less strict. China, Vietnam, Indonesia, Bangladesh, the Philippines, Mexico, Brazil, and various African states are among the countries that have hosted foreign-owned manufacturing operations. The worst of them—in terms of child labor, low pay, few benefits, and dangerous working conditions—have been called “sweatshops.” Such abuses have generated an international movement challenging those conditions. Visual Source 24.1 illustrates an interesting twist on this common feature of a globalized world economy—a Chinese-owned company producing Western-style blue jeans in Lesotho, a small country in southern Africa.

- Why might China, itself the site of many foreign-owned factories, place such a factory in Africa? What does this suggest about the changing position of China in the world economy? What is the significance of the blue jeans for an understanding of contemporary globalization?
- Does this photograph conform to your image of a sweatshop? Why or why not?



Visual Source 24.1 Globalization and Work (brianafrica/Alamy)

- Why might many developing countries accept foreign-owned production facilities, despite the criticisms of the working conditions in them?
- Why do you think most of the workers in this photo are women? How might you imagine their motivations for seeking this kind of work? Keep in mind that the unemployment rate in Lesotho in the early twenty-first century was 45 percent.
- What differences can you observe between the workers in this assembly factory and those in the Indian call center shown on page 1135? What similarities might you identify?

If globalization offered employment opportunities—albeit in often wretched conditions—to some people in the developing countries, it also promoted a worldwide culture of consumerism. That culture placed the accumulation of material goods, many of them of western origin, above older values of spiritual attainment or social responsibility. Nowhere has this culture of consumerism been more prominent than in China, where the fading of Maoist communism, the country's massive economic growth, and its new openness to the wider world combined to generate an unabashed materialism in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. A popular slogan suggested that life in modern

China required the “eight bigs”: color TV, refrigerator, stereo, camera, motorcycle, a suite of furniture, washing machine, and an electric fan. Visual Source 24.2 illustrates this culture of consumerism as well as one of the “eight bigs” in a poster from the post-Mao era. The photograph on page 1053 in Chapter 22 provides further illustration of Chinese consumerism, as does Visual Source 22.5 on page 1078.

- In what ways might these images be used to illustrate Westernization, modernization, globalization, and consumerism?
- How might the young people on the motorcycle and those in the KFC restaurant understand their own behavior? Do you think they are conscious of behaving in Western ways or have these ways become Chinese? What is the significance of a Chinese couple riding a Suzuki motorcycle, a Japanese product probably manufactured in China under a license agreement?
- Beyond consumerism, how does this poster reflect changes in relationships between men and women in China after Mao? Is this yet another face of globalization or does it remain a distinctly Western phenomenon?
- How might these images be read as a celebration of Chinese success? How might they be used to criticize contemporary Chinese society?

Beyond changes in the working lives and consumption habits of individuals, globalization in the second half of the twentieth century reversed earlier patterns of global migration. In the nineteenth century, Europeans had moved in huge numbers to the Americas, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. That flow largely stopped by the 1920s, replaced by a massive movement of people from the so-called third world to the West. Pakistanis, Indians, and West Indians moved to Great Britain; Algerians and West Africans to France; Filipinos, Koreans, Mexicans, and Haitians to the United States. These new patterns of migration disrupted the lives of many, both in their countries of origin and in their new homelands. A poem by a young Moroccan wife whose husband left for work in Europe during the 1970s reflects the pain of separation:

With you he stays one year, with me just one month,
to you he gives his health and sweat,
to me he only comes to recuperate.
Then he leaves again to work for you, to beautify
you as a bride, each day anew.
And I, I wait; I am like a flower that
withers, more each day. . . .
I ask you: give him back to me.³⁰



人勤春早

蘇聯出品 蘇聯製造 蘇聯設計 蘇聯供應
SUZUKI MOTOR CO. LTD. TOKYO, JAPAN
SUZUKI MOTOR CO. LTD. TOKYO, JAPAN

Visual Source 24.2 Globalization and Consumerism (Courtesy Stefan Landsberger. Photo: International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam)



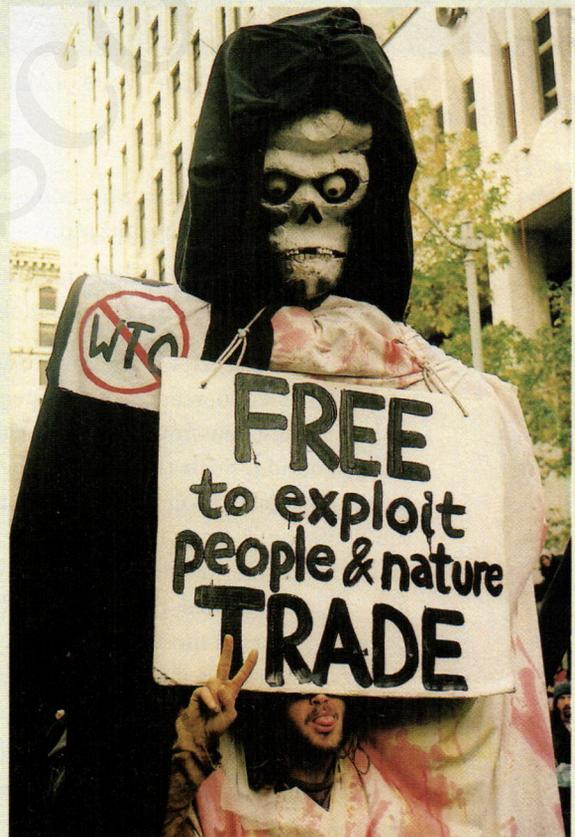
Visual Source 24.3 Globalization and Migration (Owen Franken/Corbis)

North African migrants to France, almost all of them Muslims, have injected new controversies in their adopted country. One of them has been the issue of girls wearing headscarves in school. A French law passed in 2004 forbade the practice on the grounds that it compromised the secularism of French education and represented the repression of women. But many Muslim women strongly objected to that law, arguing that it undermined their freedom of religion and violated their cultural traditions. Visual Source 24.3 captures one such protest. The first line of the large banner in the front reads: “The veil is a choice,” but the second line is more ambiguous, for “frace” is not a word in the French language. Does it contain a misspelling of “France” with the letter “n” omitted? If so, it could be translated as “France is my right.” Or is it a pun on “face” or “race,” both of which are French words that carry the same meaning as their English equivalents? If so, perhaps it implies that the protesters have a right to their facial appearance or to the culture of their racial or ethnic group. Or does it contain a deliberate double or triple meaning?

- How might different readings of “la frace” convey different meanings of the poster? On what principles do you think this protest is based? Do they derive from France or from the world of Islam?
- The smaller sign behind the banner says, “The ignorance of people is the door that undermines our freedom.” How might you understand this statement?
- In what respect do these young women seem to be “French” or “European” and in what ways are they Muslim and North African?
- What groups of people might find the demands of these protesters unacceptable? How might such critics have responded to the protesters?
- What outcomes and tensions of globalization does this image reflect?

During the last several decades of the twentieth century, the process of economic globalization spawned various movements of resistance and criticism (see pp. 1141–42). In dozens of developing countries, protesters demonstrated or rioted against government policies that removed subsidies, raised prices on essential products, froze salaries, or cut back on social services. Because such policies were often required by the World Bank or the International Monetary Fund as a condition for receiving much-needed loans, protesters often directed their anger at these international financial institutions. In the wealthier countries of the world as well, activists have mounted large-scale protests against what they see as the abuses of unregulated corporate power operating in the world economy. Visual Source 24.4 shows a display of this anger that occurred during the protests in Seattle that coincided with the 1999 gathering of the World Trade Organization in that city.

- How does this image reflect the concerns of globalization’s many critics? What political message does it convey? Do you think it expresses more clearly the political agenda of the Global North or the Global South?



Visual Source 24.4 Globalization and Protest (Michael McGuerty)



Visual Source 24.5 Globalization: One World or Many? (NASA/GSFC Digital Archive)

- Why have these criticisms come to focus so heavily on the activities of the World Trade Organization?
- To what groups of people might such images be most compelling? How might advocates of corporate globalization respond to these protesters?

Visual Source 24.5, a composite satellite photograph of the world at night taken in late 2000, reflects three aspects of the globalization process. The first is the growing consciousness of the earth as a single place, the common home of humankind. Such thinking has been fostered by and expressed in those many remarkable images of the earth taken from space or from the moon (see the photo on p. 1132). In such photographs no artificial boundaries of state or nation are visible; just a single solitary planet cast against the immeasurable vastness of space. Second, this photograph shows the globalization of electricity, a central feature of modern life, which has taken place since the late nineteenth century. Finally, this image discloses sharp variations in modern development across the planet as the twenty-first century dawned.

- To what extent has your thinking about the earth and its inhabitants been shaped by images such as this?

- Based on the electrification evident in this photo, what does this image show about the economic divisions of the world in the early twenty-first century?
 - Does this image support or contradict Map 24.2, page 1140? What features of this image do you find surprising?
-

Using the Evidence: Experiencing Globalization

1. **Defining differences:** Based on these visual sources and the text of Chapter 24, in what different ways have various groups of people experienced globalization since the end of World War II?
2. **Noticing change:** Based on these visual sources and those in the text of Chapter 24 as well, in what respects does contemporary globalization differ from that of earlier times? What continuities might you observe? Consider in particular the question of who is influencing who. Does recent globalization represent largely the impact of the West on the rest of the world or is it more of a two-way street?
3. **Making assessments:** Opinions about contemporary globalization depend heavily on the position of observers—their class, gender, or national locations. How might you illustrate this statement from the visual sources in this chapter?
4. **Seeking further evidence:** What additional visual sources might add to this effort to illustrate visually the various dimensions of globalization? What visual sources do you think might be added to it fifty or a hundred years from now?