



20th Century Muslim Evangelist Scholasticism in Asia and its Impact on Peacebuilding Developments

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Abstract

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From the United States to North Africa, the Middle East, and Southeast Asia, the Muslim activist intellectuals serve in important ways as the makers of contemporary Islam. Their ideas provide the foundations for many of the programs of Islamic movements throughout the world. Even for those who disagree with them and dispute their claims, these activist thinkers have shaped the conceptual world and set the terms of most debates in the Muslim world. These people, their organizations, and their modes of thinking have been part of the heart of what has come to be called the Islamic resurgence of the end of the 20th century. These Muslim intellectuals have been focus point for the western discourse to study the Islamic movements striving for the resurgence locally and globally. Peacebuilding efforts have been the focal concern of Muslim states in Asia, yet thoughts of 20th century ideologues have been the impediment for the peacebuilding inventiveness. This paper gives a brief reflection of impacts of 20th Century scholasticism on the peacebuilding developments.

1. Introduction:

Intellectuals are considered as the experts, who are distinguished in their ideas, images, and symbols. As Edward Shils provides a careful statement that 'Intellectuals are the aggregate of persons in any society who employ in their communication and expression, with relatively higher frequency than most other members of their society, symbols of general scope and abstract reference, concerning man, society,

nature, and the cosmos. The high frequency of their use of such symbols may be a function of their own subjective propensity or of the obligations of an occupational role'.¹

In the case of modern intellectualism, John Esposito thinks that 'the "modern" intellectual is usually a social radical (of either the Left or the Right) and in significant way is identified as "secular" rather than "religious."'²

The history of intellectuals in Muslim societies provides an important foundation for activist reforming Intellectuals in the twentieth century. The roots of the tradition lie in the emergence of the people of knowledge, the '*ulama*', as a significant force within the Islamic community³. The '*ulama*' as a whole represent in important ways the activities of intellectuals in Muslim societies, and the full complexities of the many different roles of intellectuals can be seen in the many different ways that '*ulama*' gradually responded to changing conditions over the centuries.

1.2 Types of Muslim Intellectuals:

During the past two centuries, Muslim societies, like all other societies around the globe, have experienced significant transformations. The lives and roles of Intellectuals In every society have been radically changed as a part of these transformations. Bernard Lewis states the emergence of Islamic intellectuals:

From time to time in different parts of the Islamic world, religious teachers and leaders appeared who tried to purify Islam from what they saw as infidel accretion or dilution. Some of these leaders and movements have become extraordinarily active and powerful in our time and are indeed the driving force in what is increasingly becoming a global struggle.⁴

In Esposito's analysis, there are three sorts of intellectuals who led the foundations for a movement according to their respective mind-set, they are:

1. Classically defined '*ulama*';
2. Secular; and
3. Modern-cum-Traditional '*ulama*'

In the Muslim world, Esposito elaborates, three developments have been of special importance in the emergence of the Muslim activist intellectuals during the final decades of the twentieth century. As a part of the interaction with the West and the consequent Westernization and modernization of significant sectors in Muslim societies, a grouping (or "class") of "secular intellectuals" emerged. These people were similar to, and possibly both inspired and created by, their counterparts in the evolving modern societies of Western Europe and North America. Second, there was a significant decline in the importance of the classically defined '*ulama*' among the intellectuals in Muslim societies. Third, by the end of the nineteenth century, a new type of Muslim intellectual began to develop in which many of the characteristics of both the modern secular intellectual and the tradition '*ulama*' were visible, at first, often, in uncomfortable compromise and then in increasingly effective synthesis.⁵

'The classically defined '*ulama*' or the traditionalist intellectuals had been under-criticism since fourteenth century particularly with the emergence of the secular sect who had the will to reform not only within the *shariah* but also to made it compatible with the emerging western values.

Some of the most important criticism of and opposition to the '*ulama*' establishments throughout the Muslim world came from '*ulama*' in the *tajdid* tradition. One of the leading intellectuals in Yemen whose works were widely known, Muhammad al-Shawkani (d. 1834), argued⁶ that the rigid adherence of '*ulama*' to the texts of their law schools (*taqlid*) was a form of idolatry, which made those '*ulama*' unbelievers. Despite of all criticism, this is the fact that the secular orientated intellectuals have been unable to replace the traditional '*ulama*'. In Esposito's words, 'The secular intellectuals were unable to create effective ties with the masses or with the new, increasingly large, educated classes in Muslim societies. Secularist nationalism and radicalism also were unable to co-opt the old-style '*ulama*' and transform them.'⁷

1.3 Post-Modern Radical Ideologues

Without going into the detailed account on contemporary pioneers of Islamic revival, we have to see the only inspiring ideologue that has been the line of direction for modern leaders. In Esposito's view, he is Ibn-e-Taymiyyih, whom he considers that, 'Perhaps no medieval scholar-activist has had more influence on radical Islamic ideology than Ibn Taymiyyih (1268-1328).'⁸ He quoted some western thoughts about Ibn-e-Taymiyyih with writing:

He was a major conservative voice who in the modern period is quoted by liberals, conservatives, and extremists alike. Described by some as the spiritual father of (Sunni) revolutionary Islam, others regard him as "the model for revivalists and vigilantes, for fundamentalist reformers, and other apostles of moral rearmament."⁹

In modern times, the effects of Ibn-e-Taymiyyih's philosophy of revival prevail in Arab lands. Esposito presents the example of it that though he was addressing the problems of his society in the thirteenth century, his ideas influenced and have been appropriated by Saudi Arabia's eighteenth-century Wahhabi movement, Egypt's modern activist ideologue Sayyid Qutb, Islamic Jihad's Muhammad al-Farag, and contemporary extremists like Osama bin Laden.¹⁰ He concludes with:

Combining ideas and action, his [Ibn-e-Taymiyyih's] belief in the interconnectedness of religion, state, and society has exerted both conscious and unconscious influence on eighteenth-century and twentieth-century revivalism. Later generations, from the Wahhabi movement to modern Egypt's Sayyid Qutb, Islamic Jihad, the assassins of Anwar Sadat, and Osama bin Laden, would use the logic in Ibn Taymiyya's fatwa on the Mongols to call for a jihad against "un-Islamic" Muslim rulers and elites and against the West. Applying the emotive pre-Islamic term *jahliyyah* to societies infiltrated by tribal or Western culture, they would draw a rigid distinction between true belief and unbelief, level the charge of unbelief, proclaim excommunication, and call for a jihad.¹¹

To some extent, Esposito's conclusion is applicable in the sense that although Ibn-e-Taymiyyah had issued the fatwa against, however it should be distinguished that in his times that was the need to sharpen up the Islamic values in true sense, and this activity to refine the forgotten values have been time to time in the history. Among those values one were Jihad to resist the unlawful occupation.

2. Contemporary Muslim Activists:

Many modern-educated Muslims were and are dissatisfied with the alternatives represented by both the new secular intellectuals and the traditional '*ulama*'. The secularist Westernizing vision did not provide a satisfactory tie to the cultural foundations of the Muslim intellectual's identity. In addition, by

the late nineteenth century, the West meant not just modern ways of doing things but also imperial domination and controls of Muslim societies, so the intellectual who was "too secular" in a Westernizing, sense might be seen as an agent of imperialism¹². However, many in the ruling elites and virtually all of the new educated class recognized the absolute necessity of reform and modernization. As a result, the static conservatism of most of the old-style '*ulama*' was seen as dangerous, and the *tajdid* tradition was still represented, in much of the nineteenth century, by '*ulama*' who maintained a non-modern vision of the world.

This *tajdid* produced a number of movements and groups that had modest affiliation to efforts to bring together Western and Islamic elements. However, these movements at times became important in granting the basis for resistance to Western imperial expansion. An important example is the development of Sufi brotherhoods in the tradition of Ahmad ibn Idris¹³ (1750-1837). One of his students, Muhammad ibn Ali al-Sanusi, established the Sanusiyyah brotherhood, which played an important role in resistance first to French imperial expansion in Africa and then to the Italian conquest of Libya in the twentieth century and whose head finally became the first king of independent Libya in 1952.

The others who being inspired by these above-mentioned pioneers were important in resisting European expansion. 'Amir 'Abd al-Qadir, a *Qadiriyyah shaykh*, for instance, who led Muslim resistance to the French conquest of Algeria in the 1830s and 1840s and Ameer Shamil (1796-1871) of the *Naqshbandiyyah* who led the fighting against the Russian conquest of the Caucasus¹⁴. The *Mahdi* in the Sudan was a quiet scholar in the *tajdid* tradition who led a movement in the 1880s that established an "Islamic state" after driving Egyptian and British forces out of the country.

The pioneers or intellectual of the contemporary Muslim world have been under-consideration of the Western scholars as well as the some modern prejudiced Muslim-spokesmen, either in positive approach or in criticism. For example, Hussain Haqqani, the former Pakistani ambassador in US, spoke to an interviewer commenting on the founders of the Islamic movements:

As the Commission Report correctly concludes, the threat posed by radical political Islamist ideology is not new. It has evolved from the works of Ibn Taimiyyah (in the 13th century), to Ibn Wahhab (in the 18th century), through to the Muslim Brotherhood's Hassan al-Bannā (1906–49) and Sayyid Qutb (1906–65). Born and educated in Cairo, Egypt, Qutb is considered to be the most prominent modern-day Islamist. He was a key ideologue of the oldest Islamist organization, the Muslim Brotherhood, which was formed four years after the Turks dissolved the Caliphate in 1924. In fact, almost all contemporary political Islamist movements were formed after the end of the Caliphate.¹⁵

Similarly, Western thinkers believe that the Islamic insurgency across the world is influenced by these forefathers. Oliver Roy¹⁶ said that 'The movement's founding fathers are the Egyptian Hassan Al Bannā (1906–1949), founder of the Muslim Brothers, the Pakistani Abul 'Ala Maududi (d. 1979), Sayyid Qutb, and among the Shi'as, Baqer al Sadr, 'Ali Shari'ati and Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeyni'¹⁷. They have had great influence on educated youth with a secular background, including women. The leading Islamist party in South Asia is the Jama'at-i Islami, founded by Abul 'Ala Maududi in the then Empire of India in 1941. Esposito asserts these pioneers as neo-fundamentalists who have changed the thoughts of the Muslims:

They were neo-fundamentalist in the sense that they returned to the sources or fundamentals of Islam. But they reinterpreted Islamic sources in response to the challenges of the modern world. This is apparent in their teachings, organization, strategy, tactics, and use of modern science and technology. Indeed, many Islamic activists are the product of modern educations, leaders in professional associations of physicians, engineers, lawyers, journalists, university professors, and students.¹⁸

He believes in their worldwide inspiration, he wrote:

Their ideas have been disseminated in short pamphlets and audiocassettes. The leadership of most major Islamic movements, mainstream and extremist, nonviolent and violent alike, has been influenced by their ideas on Islam, Islamic revolution, jihad, and modern Western society. Their recasting of Islam as a comprehensive ideology to address the conditions of modern Muslims produced a reinterpretation of Islamic belief that has been so widely used; it has been integrated unconsciously into the religious discourse of Muslims throughout the world who would normally disassociate themselves from Islamic movements.¹⁹

It is noteworthy that although he considers ‘three key intellectual-activists’ and ‘warrant our attention’ —Hasan al-Banna, Mawlana Mawdudi, and Sayyid Qutb²⁰— from the list of contemporary Islamic activists, yet in general his approach is that:

Their teachings and actions are part of a revivalist legacy from which contemporary Islamic movements, both mainstream and extremist, have drawn heavily.²¹

However, it has been observed that there are numerous scholars who have conscientious opinion about these Islamic intellectuals like John L. Esposito and John O. Voll. Esposito praised them with

They are people whose lives are in many ways very different; however, at the core, they share a number of important characteristics. While they are all well informed in Islamic traditional studies, they are not only traditional ‘*ulama*’. Although they are real intellectuals in their general interest and work in defining and expressing concepts and symbols, they are activists in that they are directly involved in political and social affairs rather than standing aloof as intellectual critics.²²

4. Influential Muslim Ideologues:

In the proceeding discussion, the pioneers of contemporary Islamic movements have been focused chronologically. They are enlisted geographically, whose influence and inspiration is everlasting, while they are eyesore for the prejudiced western writers. These are:

- Muhammed bin ‘Abd ul Wahhab²³ (1703 – 1792)
- Sayyid Mu ʿammad ibn ‘Ali as-Sanusi²⁴ (1787–1859)
- Imam Shamil²⁵ (1797 –1871)
- Ayatullah Khomeini²⁶ (1902 –1989)
- Maulana Abul ‘Ala Mawdudi²⁷ (1903 - 1979)
- Hassan Al-Banna²⁸ (1906 –1949)
- Sayyid Qutb²⁹ (1906 –1966)

- Rashid Al-Ghannushi³⁰

(Born in 1941)

Muslim intellectualism, as mentioned before, is the key to renaissance of Islam. Some of them led the founding stone of Muslim reforms within their systems. Their ideas have had provided the fundamentals for many of the programs of Islamic movements throughout the world. These people, their movements, and their modes of thinking have been part of the heart of what has come to be called the Islamic resurgence today.

5. Impact on Peacebuilding Developments

Muslim scholasticism in Asia has played a significant role in shaping the intellectual and cultural landscapes of the region, with profound impacts on peacebuilding developments. Rooted in a tradition of rigorous scholarship and theological inquiry, Asian Muslim scholars have historically contributed to the promotion of harmonious coexistence and conflict resolution through their works and teachings.

The development of Muslim scholasticism in Asia can be traced back to the early centuries of Islam, with centers of learning emerging in regions such as Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, and Southeast Asia. Prominent scholars like Al-Ghazali, who was influential in both Persia and India, emphasized the reconciliation of reason and faith, advocating for a balanced approach to religious and philosophical matters. His works, particularly "Ihya' Ulum al-Din,"³¹ have had lasting impacts on Islamic thought and practice, fostering a culture of intellectual tolerance and ethical conduct.

In the Indian subcontinent, scholars like Shah Waliullah Dehlawi³² sought to harmonize various Islamic traditions and schools of thought, promoting unity among Muslims. His efforts in interpreting Islamic jurisprudence to suit local contexts contributed to reducing sectarian conflicts and enhancing social cohesion.

In contemporary times, Muslim scholars and institutions in Asia continue to play crucial roles in peacebuilding. For instance, Indonesia, the world's largest Muslim-majority country, has seen significant contributions from organizations like Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiyah³³. These groups emphasize moderate interpretations of Islam and engage in interfaith dialogues to foster mutual understanding and peace.

Moreover, educational institutions such as the International Islamic University Malaysia (IIUM) actively promote peacebuilding through academic programs and research that integrate Islamic principles with modern peace studies³⁴. These initiatives underscore the potential of Muslim scholasticism in Asia to contribute to global peace efforts by providing frameworks for ethical governance, social justice, and conflict resolution.

6. Conclusion:

In conclusion, Muslim scholasticism in Asia has significantly contributed to peacebuilding through its rich intellectual heritage and contemporary initiatives. Historical figures like Al-Ghazali and Shah Waliullah Dehlawi fostered intellectual tolerance and social cohesion, while modern institutions in Indonesia and Malaysia continue to promote moderate interpretations and interfaith dialogue. These efforts underscore the enduring relevance of Islamic scholarship in addressing contemporary challenges, demonstrating that the principles of ethical governance, social justice, and conflict resolution rooted in Muslim scholasticism remain vital for fostering global peace and understanding.

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- ³ J. L. Esposito & John O Voll, *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, New York Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 3
- ⁴ Bernard Lewis, *Islam: the religion and the People*, New Jersey US 2009, p. 156 (the fifth chapter of the book deals with Radical Islam)
- ⁵ Ibid., p. 12
- ⁶ Muhammad b. Ali al-Shawkani, *al-qawl al-mufid fi adalah al-ijtihad wa al-taqlid* (1929/1347), p. 3
- ⁷ J. L. Esposito, *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, p. 16
- ⁸ J. L. Esposito, *Unholy War*, p. 45
- ⁹ Ibid.,
- ¹⁰ Ibid., p. 46
- ¹¹ Ibid.,
- ¹² J. L. Esposito, *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, p. 17
- ¹³ A North African scholar who taught in Mecca for a long time and whose students organized a remarkable number of important Islamic movements during the nineteenth century. For detail see: R. S. O' Fahey, *Enigmatic Saint: Ahmad Ibn Idris and the Idrisi Tradition*,: Hurst London, 1990
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Also see: Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi', *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*, Albany State University of New York Press, 1996, pp. 37-38
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- ¹⁶ Oliver Roy, *Islamic Radicalism In Afghanistan And Pakistan*, CNRS Paris, January 2002, p. 4
- ¹⁷ Although some writers from the Muslim World do not consider these revolutionary founders of the movements as the pioneers or the guides, even it is stated that ‘they are ignorant to Islam’. As Hanif Oliver, the author of “*The Wahhabi Myth*” in which he defends the Wahhabi movement and Salfiyah beliefs, contends; “Revolutionary thinkers such as Abu ‘Ala Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Hasan Turabi of Sudan and the Iranian philosopher ‘Ali Shariati became ideologically influenced by the West after having resided there. Although they rejected Western lifestyle and refuted it, they also became very influenced by it, formulating radical ideologies of reform. They were ignorant of Islaam and its creed, and thus made their political thought and analysis the basis of their doctrine, and then sought to Islamicize it.” (Haneef James Oliver, “*The ‘Wahhabi’ Myth: Dispelling Prevalent Fallacies and the Fictitious Link With Bin Laden*”, p.n. 2002, p, 10)
- ¹⁸ John L. Esposito, *Unholy War*, pp. 50 - 51
- ¹⁹ Ibid.,
- ²⁰ Ibid, p. 50
- ²¹ Ibid, p. 45
- ²² *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, p. 21
- ²³ He is the pioneer of the Sa‘udi Arabian conservative theology and reformation that was resulted in the Wahhabiya movement. He was born in al-‘Uyaynah in Najd and he belonged to a prestigious family of jurists, both theologians and (judges). Under the tutorship of his father, he studied Hanbali jurisprudence and read classical works on tafsir (exegesis), Hadith (tradition) and tauḥīd (monotheism). In his early twenties, he began to denounce what he described as the polytheistic beliefs and practices of his society, rejecting its laxity and insisting on strict adherence to the Shari‘ah. For detailed study of his biography, ideas, contribution to the Wahhabiya movement, please see: Bernard Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, p. 103; Ayman Al-Yassini, ‘*Ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhab Muhammad*, in The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World, J. L. Esposito (ed.), p. 159; John L Esposito, *The Oxford Dictionary of Islam*, p. 123; Lebkicher, Roy, *The Arabia of Ibn Sa‘ud*, New York, 1952, p. 17; St. John H. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca, N.Y., 1952, p. 55; Maryam

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- ²⁴ For detailed note of his personality, see: Nicola A. Ziadeh, *Sanusiyyah: a study of a revivalist movement in Islam*, Leiden E. J. Brill, 1983, p. 35-36; Maryam Jameelah, *Three Great Islamic Movements in the Arab World of the Recent Past*, p. 15; Knut S. Vikor, "Sanusiyyah" in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Islamic World*, Vol. 3, p. 473; E. E. Evans-Pritchard, *The Sanusi of Cyrenaica*, Edinburgh, 1945 in 'Journal of the International African Institute', Vol. 15, No. 2 (Apr., 1945), pp. 61-79
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²⁹ Sayyid Qutb Ibrāhīm Husayn Shādhilī , literary critic, novelist, poet, Islamic thinker, and Egypt's most famous Islamic activist of the twentieth century, exceeding in reputation even the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Bannā ' (1906-1949). For detailed account of his life and thoughts, see: Shahrough Akhavan , "Qutb Sayyid", in Esposito's *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Muslim World*, Vol. 3, p. 400; John Gray, *How Marx turned Muslim*, The Independent, 27 July, 2002.; Hanī f James Oliver, "The 'Wahhābī' Myth: Dispelling Prevalent Fallacies and the Fictitious Link With Bin Laden", p.n. 2002, p. 11; Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck. "Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of Islamic Revival", in *Voices of Resurgent Islam*, edited by John L. Esposito, New York and Oxford, 1983, pp. 67-98; *The Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern Muslim World*, Vol. 3, p. 400; Muhammad Hafiz, *Sayyid Qutb: Al-khitab wa-al-aydiyulujiya* (Sayyid Qutb: His Discourse and Ideology), 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1988). pp. 155-189; Binder, Leonard, "The Religious Aesthetic of Sayyid Qutb", In *Islamic Liberalism*, Chicago, 1988, pp. 170-205.; Bernard Lewis, *The Crises of Islam*, pp. 65 – 66; Mitchell, Richard P. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, London, 1969, (a classic work on the Muslim Brotherhood, including references to Qutb's role.); For detailed biography last years of Sayyid Qutb's life see: Khalidi, Salā h 'Abd al-Fattah. "الشهيد الحى" (Sayyid Qutb, the Living Martyr), Amman, 1981. ; Muhammad Hafiz Diyab, *Sayyid Qutb: Al-khitab wa-al-aydiyulujiya* (Sayyid Qutb: His Discourse and Ideology), 2nd ed. (Beirut, 1988). pp. 155-189; Mahdi Fadlallah, ما سيد قطب في فكره السياسى والدينى (Beirut: Muassasat al-Risalah, 1978), pp. 57-61. Fadlallah divides them into several categories:

(a) Works a literary criticism—مشابيد القيامة في القرآن , التصوير الفنى في القرآن , مهمات الشعر في الحياة

نقد كتاب مستقبل الثقافة في مصر , اصوله ومنهجه

(b) Novels—المدينة المشهورة , الاتياف الاربعة , طفل من القرية ;

(c) Education—روضة الطفل , الجديد في المحفوظات , الجديد في اللغة العربية , القصص الديني ;

(d) Religious—في ظلال , نحو مجتمع اسلامى , السلام العالمى والاسلام , معركة الاسلام والرسالية , العدالة الاجتماعية في الاسلام , معالم في , والمستقبل لهذا الدين , هذا الدين , دراسات الاسلامية , الاسلام ومشكلات الحضارة , خصائص التصور الاسلامى , القرآن تفسير , تفسير سورة الشورى : Several collections of his essays have appeared posthumously including : افراد الروح , and في التاريخ فكرة ومنهج , اسلام على اسلام , معركتنا مع اليهود , قصة الدعوة , آيت الربوا , امريكا التي رأيت , لحظة مع الخالدين , كفييات الرقيق , حلم الفجر but not published include :

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck, *The Qur'anic Justification for an Islamic Revolution: The View of Sayyid Qutb*, Middle East Journal 37.1 (Winter 1983): 14-29.; Sayyid Qutb, *Ma'arakat al-Islam wa-al-Rasmaliyyah*, Beirut: Dar al-Shuruq, 1975 (4th ed.), p. 36.; Binder, Leonard, *The Religious*

Aesthetic of Sayyid Qutb, In *Islamic Liberalism*, Chicago, 1988, pp. 170-205.; John L. Esposito, *Unholy War; Terror in the Name of Islam*, p. 50.; Sayyid Qutb, *Malim fi al-Tariq*, Maktabat Wahbah Cairo, 1964, (English translation: *Milestones*, Cedar Rapids, Iowa: Unity Publishing Company, n. d.), p. 30.; Moussalli, Ahmad S. *Radical Islamic Fundamentalism: The Ideological and Political Discourse of Sayyid Qutb*. Beirut, 1992, (Sustained analysis of Qutb's ideas by a keen observer, stressing the progressiveness of Qutb's writings in the context of fundamentalist and modernist thought.); Barakat, Muhammad Tawfiq. "سيد قطب: خلاصة حياته، منهجه في الحركة النقد الموجه" (Sayyid Qutb: A Summary of His Life, the Dynamics of His Method, and a Critique), Beirut, 1979.; Akhavi, Shahrough, 'Sayyid Qutb: The 'Poverty of Philosophy' and the Vindication of Islamic Tradition.' In *Cultural Transitions in the Middle East*, edited by Serif Mar din, pp. 130-152, Leiden, 1994; Sayyid Qutb, *al-Salam al-alami wa-al-Islam*, Dar al-Shuruq Beirut, 1974, p. 24

³⁰ By the 1990s, Rashid Ghannushi's movement had proven its effectiveness, emerging as the major voice of political opposition, a voice the government progressively sought to silence. While much attention was given during the 1980s to Islamic movements worldwide, comparatively little was known about Tunisia's Islamic Tendency Movement (MTI) and its leaders. For detailed note of Ghanushi's life and achievements of his movement, see: John L. Esposito, *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, Oxford University Press New York 2001, p. 91; John L. Esposito's Interview with Rashid al-Ghannoushi, Wayland, Mass., Dec. 1989, p. 12

³⁰ Rashid Ghanushi's famous writings are also helpful to understand his modes of thinking and struggle of the movement in Tunisia, for example:

- *Public freedoms in the Islamic state.*
- *We and the West (jointly).*
- *From the experience of the Islamic Movement in Tunisia.*
- *So when Ibn Taymiyya.*
- *Rapprochement in the secular and civil society.*
- *The Islamic movement and the issue of change.*
- *The Palestinian issue crossroads between paths.*
- *Women between the Koran and the reality of Muslims.*
- *Citizenship rights in the Islamic state.*
- *The difference right and the duty to unity.*

Emad Shahin, *Political Ascent: Contemporary Islamic Movements in North Africa*, Westview Press, Boulder 1997, p. 229; Rashid Ghannoushi, "Deficiencies in the Islamic Movements", *Middle East Report*, July 1988, p. 23

³¹ Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid. *Ihya' Ulum al-Din* (Revival of the Religious Sciences). Kuala Lumpur: Islamic Book Trust, 2011.

³² Dehlawi, Shah Waliullah. *Hujjat Allah al-Baligha* (The Conclusive Argument from God). Translated by Marcia K. Hermansen. Lahore: Taj Company, 1969.

³³ Barton, Greg. *Indonesia's Struggle: Jemaah Islamiyah and the Soul of Islam*. Sydney: UNSW Press, 2005.

³⁴ Kamali, Mohammad Hashim. *The Middle Path of Moderation in Islam: The Qur'anic Principle of Wasatiyyah*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016.

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