Contemporary Islamic Political Thought
A Study of Eleven Islamic Thinkers

Edited by Zeenath Kausar

INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC UNIVERSITY MALAYSIA
Contemporary Islamic Political Thought
A Study of Eleven Islamic Thinkers

Edited by Zeenath Kausar
Published by:
Research Centre
International Islamic University Malaysia
53100 Kuala Lumpur
Malaysia
Tel: 601-2056-5010  Fax: 603-2056-4862
e-mail: rescentre@iium.edu.my

First edition, 2005
©Research Centre, IIUM

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a
retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic,
mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without any prior written
permission of the publisher.

Printed by:
5 Jalan 6/91, Taman Shamelin Perkasa
Batu 9/2, Jalan Cheras
56100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
E-mail: ampress@streamyx.com

Pepustakaan Negara Malaysia
Cataloguing-in-Publication Data
Zeenath Kausar
Contemporary Islamic political thought: A study of eleven Islamic
thinkers / Zeenath Kausar
Includes index
Bibliography
ISBN 983-2957-24-9
1. Political Science--History. 2. Islamic Empire--Politics and government.
DS38.4

ISBN 983-2957-24-9

For My father,
Late Maulana Macbool Ahmad Jamait (Rahmatullah 'Alaih)
whose thought and political activism inspired
my life and thought!
# Contents

**Acknowledgement** vii

**Introduction** ix

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter One</th>
<th>Political Thought of Iqbal and Contemporary Islamic Resurgence</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Muhammad Muntaz Ali</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Two</td>
<td>Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: An Overview of His Life and Position Towards Globalization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Three</td>
<td>Towards an Integrated Islamic Political Theory: A Systematic Analysis of Ibn `Ashur's Political Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mohamed El-Tahir El-Mesawi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Four</td>
<td>Mawdūdi's Philosophy of an Islamic State, Government and Citizenship: An Exploration and a Critical Appreciation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Zeenath Kausar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Five</td>
<td>Malik Bennabi's Political Thought: Towards a Civilizational Analysis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Abdelaziz Berghout</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Six</td>
<td>Hasan al-Banna's Life, Mission, Political Thought and Reforms</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thameem Ushama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Seven</td>
<td>Sayyid Qutb: Life, Mission and Political Thought</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Thameem Ushama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter Eight</td>
<td>Muhammad Natsir: Political Thought and Islamic Revivalism</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Tunku Mohar Tunku Mohamad Mokhtar</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Acknowledgements

All praise be to Allah s.w.t. who has enabled me to accomplish this work.

I take this opportunity to extend my heartfelt thanks and gratitude to the Research Centre, IIUM, particularly, the Dean, Dato’ Prof. Dr. Syed Arabi Idid, who accepted the proposal of this project and encouraged us with a Research grant to accomplish this project.

I earnestly thank all my esteemed colleagues of the Department of Political Science and other departments of the Kulliyah of Islamic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences (KIRKHS) of IIUM who patiently and willingly cooperated with me in the submission of their scholarly chapters for this book. I would like to thank particularly Associate Prof. Dr. El-Fath Abdel Salam, former Head of Department of Political Science who was seriously concerned for the departmental project and took the initiative for this work.

My thanks and prayers also go to all the Research Assistants who helped the researchers of this book.

Last but not least I remain thankful to my husband Assoc. Prof. Dr. M. Muntaz Ali and my children Roase, Muznah and Humnah who provided me a peaceful environment for the completion of this project. May Allah s.w.t. bless all our efforts, Ameen.

Zeenath Kausar
Kuala Lumpur
2005
Chapter Two

Bediuzzaman Said Nursi: An Overview of His Life and Position Towards Globalization

Hassan Ahmed Ibrahim

Introduction

While certainly not an expert or authority on the expanding studies of Rasā'il al-Nūr, the magnum opus of the twentieth century Mujaddid Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, the writer of this bird's eye view claims to be an enthusiastic learner and student in this field. Hence, this piece is a preliminary attempt to trace Nursi's scholarly life, and some main aspects of his thought, particularly what may be considered as an "ethical model" that the Rasā'il suggests in the aggressively on-going process, perhaps an ideology too, of globalization.

Part I: Nursi's Life and Career: An Overview

The life and contribution of this monumental Mujaddid is usually studied under three main periods each of which represents a watershed in his career: the Old Said 1876/77-1918, the New Said 1920-1950 and the Third Said 1950-1960.1

The Old Said 1976/77-1918

Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, a descendant of a family of Sharifs and the fourth of his parents' seven children, was born around the year 1876/77 in the province of Bitlis in Eastern Anatolia. His early extreme self-discipline, high self-esteem, independent-mindedness and dissatisfaction with the traditional Islamic education impelled him to move from one
Said Nursi seemed to have been influenced by two great Sufi leaders, Ishaq al-Zamān (The Man of the Hour) 'Abd al-Qādir al-Jilānī and Mujaddid al-Alif al-Thānī (The Regenerator of the Second Millennium) Ahmad Sirhindī, and he read some major Sufi works, particularly al-Gaylānī's Futūh al-Ghayb (Keys to the Unseen) and Sirhindī's Maktubāt (Epistles or Letters). Nonetheless, he never followed any of them exclusively, nor did he join a particular Ḥarāthī. The reason, or rather the pretext, that he gave for this non-committal was his preoccupation with his studies, but the real motive was seemingly his conviction of the unsuitability, and irrelevancy, of Ṣu'ūdīsm to the modern world.

The "Old Said" had been, in one way or another, increasingly involved in politics, particularly since the 1908 constitutional revolution that was maimed by the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), which he initially supported. In his writings and lectures to his expanding number of students, Bediuzzaman expressed strong opposition to despoticism and full support to freedom and constitutionalism. Like many thinkers of the day, Nursi maintained that the latter, with its basic concepts of the rule of law and equality before it, sovereignty of the nation and constitution, was entirely in conformity with the Sheik al-Islām. Constitutionalism, he added, was not just a privilege that the Muslim may enjoy, but a religious obligation that they had to work for in order to uphold "the might of Islam" and exalt "the word of God." Constitutionalism was, in his view, the vehicle to achieve material progress which, in turn, would be the surest means to uphold the supremacy of Islam.

As in a number of previous incidents, Bediuzzaman played a pacifying role in the revolt of April 1909. In a famous defence before a military court, he described his effort to persuade eight battalion of soldiers to give up mutiny and return to their barracks.

Like Fān Tayyibah before him, Bediuzzaman was then a fierce warrior who took active part in the Ḥijrah in support of the Caliphate and Islamic unity. During the Great War, he commanded a four to five thousand militia force, that included many of his own students, against the Russian and Armenian threats to the Ottoman Caliphate.

Nonetheless, the jealousy and intrigues of his religious and political adversaries inflicted upon Bediuzzaman, and his students, considerable difficulties and hardship that they faced with admirable courage and patience. He was frequently deported and detained, and several of his students martyred during the War, including his trusted and beloved student and scribe, Molla Habib, who wrote the celebrated
Qur'ānic commentary *Ishārāt al-jāz* (Signs of the Miraculous), which Bediuzzaman dictated while on horseback “raising the morale of his men under the heavy Russian shelling.” Nursi was himself imprisoned by the enemy in a town on the Volga for two and half years till he managed to escape in the spring of 1918, via Petersburg, Warsaw and Vienna, to Istanbul.

Bediuzzaman received a heroic welcome in Istanbul, and the Ottoman authorities rewarded his courageous services by appointing him a member of Dār al-fiqh (House of Wisdom), a newly-established learning institution that was attached to Shaykh al-Islam’s office to remind the peoples of Turkey of their religious obligations, and to respond to the new challenges facing the Muslim World. His membership continued for four years during which he diligently pursued his duties by publishing nineteen works. By 1922, Nursi had, however, left Ankara in dismay, severely shaken by his long solitary confinement, and by the horrors and devastation of the war. But he did not allow this disillusion to develop into despair; his inner turmoil was soon resolved with the emergence of a second constructive phase of his life, the “New Said.”

**New Said 1920-1950**

Under the leadership of Muṣṭafā Kamāl Ataturk, the People Republican Party (PRP) pursued during the period 1920-1950 ultra secular policies that aimed at discarding all institutions of the past, and to curtail Turkey’s connection with the Islamic world. Alternatively, the leaders of the new republic strove to strengthen contact with the West, and to reconstruct life on western patterns. In their drive to root out the Islamic past, they masterminded a cultural revolution by which they closed down the *Safi tekkes*, and founded a “modern” educational system based on “universal – humanist – secular – positivist principles.” The call of the *Aziz in Arabic* was prohibited, the Caliphate abolished in 1924, the Latin alphabet introduced, and, by 1928, the Ottoman / Arabic script banned. In 1938, these secular principles of Kemalism were incorporated in the constitution, and any kind of opposition to them was suppressed, often mercilessly, as was the case with the 1925 uprising in Eastern Anatolia against the Ankara government.

To neutralize Bediuzzaman and his rising influence, the Kemalists offered him several posts. Though he declined the offers in protest against this sweeping de-Islamization, Nursi realized that it would be unwise and disastrous to overtly oppose Kemalism. Alternatively, he opted for a constructive and positive struggle that he called the “jihād of the word.” He wrote, “the sword is to be drawn against external enemies, it may not be used internally. Our only salvation at this time is to offer illumination and guidance through the truth of the Qur'ān and belief; it is to get rid of our greatest enemy, ignorance.”

Since his adolescence, particularly after he came across an utterance by the British premier Gladstone to the effect that Europe could not subdue the Muslims as long as they have the Qur'ān in their hands, Bediuzzaman had fixed his mission in the defence of the Qur'ān through expounding its miraculous nature. Earlier events had distracted him from this task, but the persistent general laxity towards religion and its rituals, as well as Nursi’s failure to persuade the new rulers to ground their government on the Qur'ān and to make Turkey the centre of the Islamic world, had finally impelled him to energetically resume his “Qur'ānic way.” The outcome of this intellectual drive was a series of well-thought treaties and sermons that dealt with a variety of subjects, notably the fundamental truths of belief, divine unity and resurrection of the dead. These came in many collections, such as the “Words,” “Letters” and “Flashes,” that were subsequently included in his famous Rasā'îl al-Nûr (The Epistles of Light). While still in Ankara, Bediuzzaman wrote in January 1923 a short treatise in Arabic on which he, subsequently, based his Twenty Third Flash “Treaties of Nature.”

His first major treatise about the resurrection of the dead and the hereafter was written in 1926. Others quickly followed, though dictated under difficult conditions in the countryside. While in Barta for eight and half years, Nursi completed the first two collections of the Rasā'îl, “The Words” and “The Letters,” and wrote a greater part of “The Flashes,” a total of 119 pieces. Amongst them were pieces that described the main truths of belief, and articulated the principles of Divine existence and unity. Others talked about the miracles of Prophet Muhammad (p.b.u.h.), the angels, the immortality of man’s spirit, and the resurrection of the dead. Three other Flashes, the Nineteenth, Twenty-Fifth and Twenty-Sixth, consecutively called “On Frugality,” “Message for the Sick” and “Treatise for the Elderly,” were written in 1926. While in prison, incidentally, he called “The School of Yusuf” (Joseph), Nursi wrote six other major treatises, the Twenty-Seventh to the Thirtieth Flashes, that included his defence speeches which spoke clearly and
to take measures to strengthen Islam as a faith and way of life, which they actually did, though partly, for example, they declared a general amnesty and lifted the ban on the Arabic call to prayer. Being anxious to mend and strengthen relations with the Muslim world, Bediuzzaman sent letters to President Celal Bayar and Premier Mendaris commending their decision in 1955 to join the Baghdad Pact, which Nursi considered an important means towards peace and reconciliation between the peoples of Islam.11

This considerable relaxation and greater freedom had, more importantly, led to a sizable growth and consolidation of the Nur movement during this decade (1950-1960). The number of Nursi’s students and sympathizers greatly increased, and Nur study centers were opened all over the country. The Rasâ’il were finally and formally cleared by order of the court in 1956. Their limited circulation and primitive reproduction, through duplicating machines and by hand, had by then been replaced by printing on modern presses in the Latin Alphabet. The ailing and aging reformer, who spent most of his life in the wilderness, was overwhelmed with joy by this great victory, which he called Rasâ’il al-Nur’s festival.12 He happily concluded his life by a series of visits to his students in different parts of Turkey, and finally died peacefully in his sleep on 23 March 1960.

Part 11: An “Ethical Model” for Globalization in the Light of Rasâ’il al-Nur

As argued above, Rasâ’il al-Nur, had been essentially “designed to lead Muslims from belief by imitation to belief through investigation,”13 and to emphasise that there is no contradiction between scientific knowledge and revealed knowledge. In essence, the Epistles are a Qur’anic commentary against irreligion. The thoughtfully written Letters, Rays and Flashes of this volume address — directly and indirectly — some important issues that have been facing the Ummah, and humanity at large, in the modern age.

Globalization is indeed the buzzword of our time, yet its meaning remains elusive. One tends to agree with Prof. Ibrahim Abu Rabi’ that it is almost impossible to give a simple definition to this complex process,14 or a specific time framework for its operation. Nonetheless, there may be no harm in trying to give a broad, perhaps vague, definition of the phenomenon as “all those processes—technological, economic and financial, as well as political social and cultural — in consequence of which spaceship earth and all its institutions have recently been transformed, with hilferto
unprecedented speed, into what is in effect a single, relatively distanceless and borderless planetary village.\(^a\) The word “globalization” itself may be new, but, as Professor Ali Mazrui persuasively argues, “the actual processes towards interdependence” started centuries ago,\(^b\) perhaps since the age of European discoveries in the fifteenth century. Thus, while accepting this historical root, the concept of globalization, as defined above, seems to have become distinctively visible and crucial for the entire human race since the 1960s at most.

The advocates of globalization, an apparently unstoppable and inevitable process, argue that it has considerable positive impact on the “tele village,” particularly with regard to economic prosperity, transparency, and democracy. In principle it calls for the establishment of good governance that caters for effective participation, accountability, transparency and respect for human rights. Just a while ago only a dozen countries had democratic systems, but now more than half the world lives in countries in which elections are held in one way or another. In 1972, when Freedom House started its practice of ranking countries on a scale of free and unfree, it placed fifty-four of the world’s then 140 countries as unfree. Today (2005) only twenty-five of the world’s 192 countries fall in this category.\(^c\) It has recently been persistently argued that wars, which were conventionally exclusively fought to protect sheer interest, should, in the globalization era, be also waged to defend values, hence the term “humanitarian wars”\(^d\) has been coined.

Globalization has also developed a “global sense,” viz what happens in one part of the world affects other parts. It has shortened geographic distances, eased human travel through faster means of communication, and helped to traverse physical differences through the electron – telephone, fax and the internet. The vast and free dissemination of information and ideas has been instrumental in the moderation rather than imposition of ideologies, which in itself encouraged people to think for themselves rather than be subject to what one historian called “mind slaughter.”

Until recently it was assumed that the present version of globalization provides definite answers to all social, economic and political problems of the world. But it has soon been realised that globalization largely works for the enrichment of developed countries and the enhancement of their domination and hegemonization of the developing countries, including Muslim countries. The opening up of the economies of the weaker countries under the guise of trade liberalization has caused economic turmoil, massive unemployment, and stubborn social problems in those countries. While twenty per cent of the world population in the developed countries receive 82.7% of the total world income, two of the six billion world population, who largely reside in the so-called Third World, live under poverty line subsiding on less than a dollar a day. During the globalization era the indebtedness of the developing countries to the developed skyrocketed, and their per capita income sharply declined, particularly so in Sub-Saharan Africa.

These far-reaching economic inequities have triggered a worldwide public backlash against the prevalent concept and process of globalization. Since the famous violent Seattle protest, riots and demonstrations flared from time to time, particularly during the meetings of the major vehicles of globalization, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Trade Organization (WTO). The anti-globalization protest movements that flared in many parts of the world during the celebrations of the first of May, Labour Day and on many other occasions, such as those during the annual meetings of the World Economic Forum, are examples of the growing concern of large sectors about the negativity of globalization.

Globalization does not only strive towards maximum profit and the accumulation of wealth, but its onslaught extends to values. Morality has, in fact, been increasingly destroyed in the present day excessively materialist world. Marriage and families are largely no longer “sacred” and respected institutions. They are often neither formalized nor considered necessary. A family is sometimes defined as two people, not necessarily “male” and “female”, or more, living together, without any recognized marriage ceremony or registration. Since the partners are not legally or morally bound to continue in the “welllook,” either of them could simply walk away at any time; hence, the prevalence of the repugnant and hazardous institution of “single parent.” Homosexuality is accepted, even encouraged, and incestuous relations between siblings and parents – even grandfathers – are alarmingly increasing.\(^e\) This extensive economic inequity and alarming moral laxity have provoked some scholars and celebrities to call for modifications that would regulate and reshape present day globalization. In effect, this move asks for a new version of globalization that would benefit everybody, rich and poor, big and small, developed and developing, or, at least, works less in the service of the wealthy and much harder in the service of the very poor.

Though Bediuzzaman Nursi did not live long to witness and experience globalization, a close look at his Epistles helps us in the quest for a much needed ethical dimension that would guard against
But the teachings of Bediuzzaman strongly reject this trend of the marginalization and redundancy of religion. To Nuri, this atheist position and the prevalent tendency to “worship the market” are responsible for the widespread “animality” in the modern world. In many parts of his Epistles, he emphasized the ultra importance of religion, and the supremacy of Allah (S.W.T.), the undisputed Creator of this universe. The Rasta’ul urges the “crazy” people of this universe to “come to their senses,” and believe in “the utterly just, compassionate, beneficent, powerful, order loving and kind” God as the only means to give them comfort and uplift them from this “savagery.”

To illustrate Nuri’s insistence on the centrality of spirituality in the present troubled world, it may be worthwhile to record the following long quotation from the Epistles:

What makes this boundless universe rejoice is clearly Divine Mercy. And what illuminates these dark beings is self-evidently Divine Mercy. And what fosters and raises creatures struggling within these endless needs is self-evidently again Divine Mercy. And what causes the whole universe to be turned towards man, like a rose together with all its parts is turned towards its fruit, and causes him to look to his assistance is clearly Divine Mercy. And what fills and illuminates boundless space and the empty, vacant world and makes it rejoice is self-evident Divine Mercy. And what designates ephemeral man for eternity and makes him the addressee and beloved of a Pre-Eternal and Post-Eternal One is self-evidently Divine Mercy.

Oh man! Since Divine Mercy is such a powerful, inviting, sweet, assisting lovable truth, say: In the Name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate, adhere to this truth and be saved from absolute desolation and the pains of unending needs. And draw close to the throne of the Pre-Eternal and Post-Eternal Monarch, and through the compassion and rays of Divine Mercy, become the addressee, friend, and beloved of that Monarch...

Oh man! Come to your senses! Is it at all possible that the All-Glorious One, Who causes all the varieties of creatures to turn towards you and stretch out their hands to assist you, and causes them to say: “Here we are!” in the face of your needs, is it possible that He does not know you, is not acquainted with you, does not see you? Since He does know you, He informs you that He knows you through His Mercy. So, you know Him too, and with respect let Him know that you know Him, and understand with certainty that what subjugates the vast universe to an absolutely weak, absolutely impotent,
A tolerant and peaceful religion that has been sent as mercy to the entire mankind and at all times. It does not claim exclusivity, nor does it aspire to impose itself by force on others. After all the Qur'an says in translation, "To you be your religion, and to me mine." The Epistles show that Muslims, during their golden age interacted and benefited from other civilizations, and they urge them to continue doing this in the modern age. Nursi had, in fact, earnestly called all "the people of religion" to unite against the mighty collective force of the people of misguidance and falsehood" in order "to preserve justice and right in the face of that fearsome collective force of misguidance."

In the Twentieth Flash, Nursi alarmingly posed the following "painful," "disgraceful" and "Awesome Question" that reflected his call for understanding and harmony within Islam itself, i.e., between different madhābāt and Islamic sects, and with all other believers:

Why is it that the worldly and neglectful and even misguided hypocrites cooperate without rivalry, the people of religion, the religious scholars and those who follow the Sufi path oppose each other in rivalry although they are the people of truth and concord? Agreement belongs in reality to the people of concord and dispute to the hypocrites."

He continues to say:

On account of difference in outlook, they (the people of religion) feel no real need for the aid of the one whose outlook apparently opposes their own and see no need for agreement and unity. Indeed, if obstinacy and eschewment are present one will imagine himself to be right and the other to be wrong, discord and rivalry take the place of concord and love. Thus sincerity is chased away and its function disrupted...

One must realize how painful to Islam dispute is, and how it helps the people of misguidance to triumph over the people of truth, and then, wholeheartedly and sacrificially, join the caravan of the people of truth, with a sense of his own utter weakness and impotence. Finally one must forget his own person, abandon hypocrisy and pretensions, and lay hold of sincerity.

With such strong belief against the common enemy of "aggressive atheism," Nursi appealed to the Muslims to unite "not only with their own fellow believers, but also with the truly pious Christians." For such an effort to succeed, Muslims and Christians will have to refrain from dispute, and Nursi had, in fact, boldly declared that "the time for enmity and hostility" between these "two families of believers" is finished. According to the Christian scholar S. J. Thomas Michael, Said Nursi was "one of the first religious thinkers" in the course of the
Conclusion

By virtue of the ongoing globalization, most people have no time or interest to think beyond the thickness of their wallets. But it is now crystal clear that this growing money-making mentality has not—and would not—solely lead to happiness and tranquility in the world. Skills alone are not enough to achieve this goal, but they have to be augmented by a moral code that would check the prevalent greediness and individualism. By addressing the two major enemies of humanity, excessive materialism and aggressive atheism, Rasâ’il al Nâr of the enlightened Muslim mujaddid Bediuzzaman Nursî goes a long way to formulate a vitally and urgently needed “moral model” for the process of globalization that would check its present tendency to predominate matter over the soul. Hence, globalization will be in the service of mankind rather than mankind in the service of globalization. This Islamic model demonstrates that Islam is essentially a humane and tolerant religion that rejects confrontation and advocates dialogue between all religions and peoples on this planet. The intellectual legacy of Nursî has, furthermore, urged the Muslims not to repeat the tragic mistake that they committed during the Industrial Revolution and the Industrial Era, viz. reluctance, often refusal, to acquire scientific knowledge. Rather, they should enthusiastically learn information technology, the major source for power in this era of Globalization. Otherwise, they will once more be placed in a historical limbo that cut them off between the seven and twenty-first centuries, and facilitate their easy swallow by the mechanics of globalization.

Endnotes

1 This article is based on the Rasâ’il and some important studies on and around them, particularly an excellent collection of scholarly articles published in a special issue of the Muslim World on “Said Nursî and the Turkish Experience,” Vol. LXXIX, Nos. 3-4, July-October 1999.


3 He went to Romania as the representative of the Eastern provinces in an official delegation led by Sultan Mohamed Resad.

4 Sulaimân Vale [sic], op. cit., pp. 206-10.

5 Later, in 1841, the then government of the Democratic Party under the presidency of Abdur Medresseh [sic] a University in Eastern Turkey. In a letter to the President, Cevat Boyer, Bediuzzaman condemned this decision, which he equated to his sacrificial project, and stressed that the university should play a unifying role, both culturally and academically.

6 Soon, however, Nursî opposed the CUP because of its corruption and malfeasance, and became an active supporter of its rival the society of Ihvâni-i-Muhammed. He was penalized for this defiance by arrest and tried before a court martial.

7 Sulaimân Vale [sic], op. cit., p. 220.

8 Ibid., p. 226.

9 Quoted ibid., p. 224.

10 Ibid., pp. 279-72.

11 This was violently criticized by the Egyptian president Jamal Abd el-Nasser and all his satellites in the Arab world who condemned it as an imperialistic plot to recolonize the Arab Unnab.

12 Sulaimân Vale [sic], op. cit., p. 243.
An overview of his life and position towards globalization

Muslim World, LXXXIX, 3-4, July-October 1999, p. 307. By this Hadad seems to refer to Nuri’s own personal Gharbi, particularly his three weeks isolation in the mountains.


The term "tele-village" was coined to indicate the hegemony of the mass media in the realm of human consciousness.


18. The concept of "humanitarian war" raises some questions, particularly whose human rights are worth waging a war to defend? The American - led United Nations had, for example, interfered militarily to protect the rights of the Muslims in Bosnia, but it failed to do so in Palistina.

19. For a detailed critique of the pitfalls and perils of globalization in both the economic and moral fields, see Malaak Mustain (edited by Haisham Makrad: Globalization and the New Realities (Kuala Lumpur, 2002).

20. From the Risale-i Nur Collection 3, the Flashes Collection by Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, p. 263.


Ibid., pp. 207-22 and 25.

23. Foreign Affairs, 12, 3, 1993, pp. 22-46.


Ibid., p. 201.

Ibid., pp. 201-7.


28. Ibid., p. 322.

From Risale-i Nur Collection 1, the Flashes Collection, by Bediuzzaman Said Nursi, p. 211.

29. Some dogmatic Muslim thinkers believed that the mawalih (living in an "infidel" territory) is strictly forbidden. The African missionary, Ulusumun (1754-1817) supported this position in his booklet entitled Fi Wudhu Mawlilat al-Muslimeen wa al-Insaniyyi on Mawalih al-Kha'i.

30. To the best of my knowledge the term "Gharbi Model" was coined by Ysac M. Haddad in his article "Gharbi as Paradigm for Muslim Life: A Risale-i Nur Worldview," The.