

# SACH

SOUTH ASIAN COMPOSITE HERITAGE

AUGUST—OCTOBER 2013 ■ VOLUME—1 ■ ISSUE—32

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This issue of SACH focuses on the complex and delicate issue of terrorism and communalism and explores the inter-linkages and similarities between the Hindutva and Islamic fundamentalism. One of the biggest threats we face today (as we have, in the past) is from various kinds of extremism. Religious extremism, patriarchal onslaught, slavery of capitalism, to name a few. In order to understand various nuances of extremism we need to know the politics of nurturing extremism and who benefits from it.

Our society is a witness to the most violent attacks on the pluralism and culture of co-existence for decades. We are witness to interpretation of religion in the most dangerous ways by the Wahabi(s) and the Sanghi(s). We are witness to the political interests in promoting and nurturing the Wahabi and Sanghi model of development. One feeds to the other.

The Wahabi cult is not just confined to the South Asian region in general and to Pakistan in particular, as one generally perceives. Its wings have spread to the far and wide corners of the world, thanks to the Saudi Arabia and its Al-Qaeda nexus. One needs to analyse the role of Al-Qaeda in the context of Africa.

The politics of hatred and suppression is not new. It has been in past and continues to exist. The nexus of communalism and capitalism has seen many Modi(s) and Ambani(s) marry each other with communal violence and ethnic cleansing as its offspring. Our history is full of such marriages. Be it in Bangladesh, in India, in Pakistan, we have inherited this politics of hatred and suppression. However, we have a tendency to forget. As they say, memory has its limits. But history repeats itself and we continue to witness the worst of the times.

These are few of Dr. Khurshid Anwar's articles on Wahabism, Hindutva and Islamic terrorism. Putting the entire discourse on terrorism in perspective, his work enables the reader to understand the entire issue of terrorism in its historical, religious and political context. We begin with a poem, From The Deathbed of a Dictator, by Conor J.

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# From The Deathbed of a Dictator

By *Conor J.*

He'll Cry The Irrationalities That He Spewed  
Weren't His Idea, When He Sees The Light Flicker.

-Trying To Convince Himself  
That He Was No Sinner-

Only Time Would Judge Him, His Memory, More  
Like A Scar Than an Imprint, Would Never Fade.

-Infamy Has Its Privileges-

A Ceaseless Argument Between Corruption  
And Greed, Cruelty Seems To Mediate.

-The Things They'll Do To You-

The Flicker Fades, His Pupils Try To Adjust To  
The Darkness...He Melts Into His Sheets.

-Falling and Falling Towards The Heat-

Avoid The Sun Icarus, It'll Burn Your \*\*\*\*in'  
Wings Off. He Could Smell His Own Flesh.

-Scorched To The Soul With Sin-

Welcome To The Place That'll Make You  
Wish You Weren't So Dead...

-He Holds His Hands Up to a  
God Who Isn't Listening-

..."Help Me"

courtesy : <http://allpoetry.com/>

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# War Criminals of Bangladesh

***Dr. Khurshid Anwar***

ISD, INDIA

As soon as the War Crime Tribunal in Bangladesh awarded death penalty to Delwar Hossain Sayeedi, Moti-Ur-Rehman Nizami the chief of Jamat-e-Islamia started voicing his opinion against death penalty as a whole.

Nizami stated that Jamat-e-Islami stand against the law of death penalty and Bangladesh on the footsteps of many other nations should ban such law. This indeed seems to be a very queer stand of Jamat-e-Islami. This sudden uproar against death penalty was an attempt to rescue Delwar Hossain Sayeedi from walking the gallows. In a similar case, an associated group partners of Jamat-e-Islami, Hifazat-e-Islam and Chhatra Shibir initiated widespread demonstrations against death row in Dhaka and various other cities of Bangladesh on 18th and 19th of September, just a day after Kadir Mulla was sentenced to death. The question now is who are these people who are being sentenced to death?

In the first democratic elections held in 1970 in the undivided Pakistan, the Awami League got 160 seats, followed by Pakistan's People Party bagging a total of 81 seats. However, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the leader of Pakistan People Party was determined not to let the Awami league form the government. Yahiya Khan invited Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman for a meeting. Meanwhile, Jamat-e-Islami which contested elections under the leadership of Maulana Maudoodi and managed to get merely four seats, shook hands with Yahiya Khan. The meeting between Yahiya Khan and Maulana

Maudoodi also included a staunch opposer of Awami League and a Bangladeshi agent of Maudoodi, Delwar Hossain Sayeedi.

Finally, Sheikh Mujib-ur-Rehman was arrested instead of the meeting planned. Delwar Hossain immediately returned to Dhaka. By the beginning of March, the unrest in East Pakistan had reached such heights that every day the streets of Dhaka and various other cities were flooded with protesting masses. Finally came the doomed night of 25th March, a night an equivalent of which could rarely be found in human history. This was the night when the Pakistani army started the Operation Searchlight which resulted in the massacre of more than ten thousand people in the dark of the night. Since the Operation Searchlight was not something that could be solely handled by the Pakistani army, Jamat-e-Islami started playing its part. The person who played major part in rounding off non-Muslims, Muslim intelligentsia, students and youth was none other than Delwar Hossain Sayeedi.

At that point of time, this thirty year old young man was functioning as the eyes of Maudoodi in Bangladesh. This blood bath that started in the name of Operation Searchlight continued unabated till 14th December, 1971. Approximately 30 million people lost their lives and 3 million women were raped. The organisation that was behind the mass murders and the opposition of Bangladesh Liberation Front was none other than Jamat-e-Islami. It seems nothing less than a bad joke when an organisation solely responsible for the genocide of 30 million people and rape of 3 million women opposes death penalty.

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This was the same Jamat-e-Islami, whose top leader; Maulana Maudoodi orchestrated the massacre of Ahmadiya Muslims in 1953 resulting in the pronouncement of death penalty for him as well. Although the intervention of Saudi Arabia, which has always played a dominant role in Pakistan's internal policy, led to the commuting of his death penalty to life sentence even which was further cancelled. This was the same Jamat-e-Islami which led to the bloodshed on the streets of Pakistan. Today these very people have the audacity to swear in the name of human rights! It is very important to mention here that Jamt-e-Islami's top leader Maudoodi had dreamt of implementing the Sharia law in the whole world including Pakistan.

Maudoodi in his book "Jihad-e-Islam" writes "Islam requires every non-Islamic thoughts to be run over and any person who does not follow the Quran should be erased from the face of the earth" which clearly implies that the right to exist on this earth remains the sole right of Muslims and that too a particular kind of Muslims. Who exactly are these Muslims whom the Jamat-e-Islami and their ideology provide the exclusive rights to walk the earth? Maudoodi was the person who orchestrated the massacre of Ahmediyas. Shias, Bohras and Kadiyanis have been already outcasted by Jamat-e-Islami from Islam. The Jamati and Wahabi Muslims are the only people whom the Jamat-e-Islami deems worthy of existence. The existing Jamat-e-Islami (Bangladesh) should be viewed in the aforementioned context. The people who were in tandem with the ideology of Jamat-e-Islami have surfaced as Hifazat-e-Islam.

Their students' wing, Chhatra Shibir, functions as the right hand of these people and has gripped Bangladesh since February

till date. As any fundamentalist faction does, Jamat-e-Islami too has held firmly onto Bangladesh Nationalist Party for political leverage. Although the Bangladesh Nationalist Party did not participate in Jamat's call for a shutdown on 18th and 19th September but it has actively participated in all the calls for a shutdown since February.

Although the ruling Awami League cannot be categorised as a people's party yet some of their policies were a jolt to Jamat-e-Islami and Bangladesh Nationalist Party. Apart from the formation of War Crime tribunal on 25th March, 1910 certain other steps that the Awami League initiated were branded anti-Islamic by Jamat-e-Islami and Saudi Arabia. On 8th March, 2011 on the occasion of women's day, Sheikh Hasina assured freedom of women, their work rights, and their employment in public sector and their equality in social and cultural arenas.

The very next day Jamat-e-Islami slammed Sheikh Hasina for initiating such anti-Islamic steps and declared that they wouldn't let such programmes be initiated. Its sister organisation, Hifazat-e-Islam organised a mass rally in Dhaka to protest such initiatives. They not only vandalised government institutions but also molested any women that they got hold of on the streets. But for the first time North Bangladesh has been a centre of their havoc. For the past six months, Jamat-e-Islami, Hifazat-e-Islam and Chhatra Shibir has adopted a very aggressive stance.

After the Shahbag Movement started, Jamat-e-Islami has engulfed the whole of Bangladesh including Dhaka in a series of strikes. All the twelve accused against whom the War Crime Tribunal has pronounced sentences are associated with Jamat-e-Islami. In March, while the widows, mothers, sisters, fathers, or young sons of the Muktiwahini

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activists who were killed, were raising their voices for justice at Shahbag Chowk, the 'new Razakars' from Chhatra Shibir and Hifazat-e-Islam were wrecking havoc on their homes. A young man Ahmed Rajiv Haider who was running a blog for the cause of Shahbag Movement was killed by the Chhatra Shibir activists. They went to the extent of displaying the dead body of Haider in the centre of the Shahbag Chowk. On 15th March, more than 3 million people assembled at Shahbag Chowk to pay homage to Haider. Meanwhile, the Shahbag Movement had expanded from the Shahbag Chowk to overwhelm every nook and corner of Dhaka. Marches were organised at various locations by Chhatra Shibir to deter this brave lot.

The goons of Jamat-e-Islami showered these people with bombs and stones. On one hand they were raising their voice for human rights and on the other the same "guardians" of Islam were massacring people to save Delwar Hossain Sayeedi who himself was the mastermind behind the killing of millions of people. Ironically, still, they kept proclaiming their stand against death penalty.

An idea of Jamat-e-Islami's atrocities can be drawn from the fact that the Women's Movement of Bangladesh, which has forever stood against death penalty, stated that they were still against death penalty yet they won't raise its voice against Delwar's death sentence since the crimes of the Razakars of Jamat were so heinous. It was announced from the dice of Shahbag Chowk that although everyone had the right to live but the crimes of the twelve accused were so grave that they won't speak against their death penalty. The history of this organisation is submerged in the blood of innocent lives. Jamat-e-Islami has continued their bloody game in India, Pakistan and

Bangladesh since 1941. Their madarsas are factories of producing fundamentalist people out of young innocent minds of thousands of children.

Coincidentally, their functioning is a replica of Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. Hifazat-e-Islam seems to be a Muslim counterpart of Bajrang Dal active in our country. And Chhatra Shibir functions in a similar fashion as ABVP does. Similar to the Bajrang Dal activists, the activists of Hifazat-e-Islam are always armed from tip to toe and don't hesitate to go to any extent. The Chhatra Shibir activists, who are always armed, are the face of terror in colleges and universities. Jamat-e-Islami called for a chain of shutdowns after Kadir Mulla was sentenced to death. In the two days of strike two people were killed both of whom were poor rickshaw pullers. Their only fault was that they were out for daily bread even on the day when the bandh was called.

Jamat-e-Islami has been redefining Islam exactly on the footprints of the Wahabis, the excerpts of which can be found in the book Jihad-e-Islam written by Maudoodi. They have been shaming humanity in the name of "The reign of God" and they audaciously shout the slogan of human rights. These people are against death penalty, why not! The people who have initiated the killing of 30 million people with the support of the Pakistani army, the people who are the culprits of raping almost 3 million women have ridiculously dawned upon the mask of human rights. And even when they speak of human rights they speak through knives, bombs and bullets. If they, by any chance, succeed, all the lives lost for the cause of the liberation movement of Bangladesh will go in vain and the glorious past of the Bangladesh's history would turn into nothing more than a black patch on the pages of history.

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# The Real Face of Wahhabism

**Dr. Khurshid Anwar**

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The debate about terrorism has always forced the common man to think of Islam. However, the attack on the WTO and two slogans of “war against terrorism” and “clash of two civilisations” created such a mindset that a dangerous idea started taking shape among the common masses that “All Muslims are terrorists”. Several people would try to soften the issue by saying “All terrorists are Muslims”. It was a political ploy, but it is not possible that the common people would investigate every issue and then make an opinion about things. Values are forced into their heads. What exactly is it that is being named as “Islamic Terrorism”? Is it really Islamic or something else? If it is Islamic then what are its roots? For the answer to these queries it is extremely necessary that we mention and understand meaning of the word “Jihad” forthwith. What exactly is “Jihad”? Where did it exactly originate and what does it mean?

The very first mention of jihad in Quran is as “Jihad-al-Nafas” which means a war against your own evils. If it is so then from where does the jihad comes which made bloodshed of not just humans but even innocent children a part of Islam? The “Islamic” terrorism became a threat to the whole world. But how was this threat born?

With time Islam, as other religions, started subdividing into groups. One form of Islam which has always been there is ‘Political Islam’. It is obvious that lots of war have been fought for power. Muhammad

himself fought the battle of Badr. It can be easily concluded that this war was also fought for the expansion of the religion. The real motive was power and Islamic power. The battle of Badr was as any other form of war is but the definition of jihad in Quran remained unchanged. In 1299 the ‘Political Islam’ took the first major step and the Ottoman kingdom or ‘Sultanate-e-Osmania’(1299-1922) was established. It is a concocted story that it was fought in the name of jihad. Its main reason was the hunger for power.

Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab redefined Jihad in the eighteenth century. It gave a new outlook to Islam which brought out the jihad in a very crooked form. The order that was started by Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab who was born in Najd is known by the name of Wahhabi Islam which intends to submerge the whole world in a circle of havoc and bloodshed.

The Sufi order which propagated the message of love and brotherhood came into existence much before Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab. It spread very quickly in Turkey, Iran, Arabia and West Asia. The rituals that got associated to Sufism is a completely different matter but the fact remains that the Sufi order had presented a complete new outlook of Islam to the world which had broken the shackles of narrow mindedness and had gone beyond the realm of Islam.

Two most important steps that the Sufi order initiated from Faras to Arabia was the abolishment of slavery and opening the doors for women liberation.

In the thirteenth century the followers of Maulana Rumi in the Mevlevi order not

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only opened the gate of Sufism for women in Faras but also gave them equal status. The beginning of participation of males and females in Sama on an equal basis gives a clear idea of this. Fakhrnisha was the main disciple of Rumi. Her status was so high that 700 years after her death the then head of Mevlevi order, Sheikh Suleman, got her shrine built under his supervision.

The great Sufi saint Sheikh ibn-Al-Arabi (1165-1240) himself was a disciple of Fatima bint-e-ibn-Al-Mutthanna. Sheikh ibn-Al-Arabi built a cottage for Fatima bint-e-ibn-Al-Mutthanna on his own, where she lived and later passed away.

Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab started destroying all the beautiful and progressive traditions that had developed in Islam one by one and gave it such a narrow purview that there was no scope left for freedom, openness, tolerance and inter mingling. He took the responsibility of destroying everything that did not fall in the realm of Quran and Hadith. Islam had subdivided into many groups by that time. The Ahmediya community came into existence in the 19th century, long after Abdul- Wahab. By then many faiths like Shia, Hanfi, Mulayiki, Safayi, Jafariya, Bakariya, Bashriya, Khulfiya Hambli, Jahiri, Ashri, Muntjili, Murjiya, Matrudi, Ismali, Bohra etc had carved out their own identity within Islam and their identity was thoroughly recognised within the Islamic periphery.

Apart from these the Sufi doctrine had spread all over the world and most groups had associated themselves with these Sufi doctrines. But the advent of Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab stood against all these groups. In his book 'Mukhtar Sirat-ul-Rasool', Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab wrote "Whoever pays homage to shrine or is

associated to anyone other than Allah is "Mushrik"(one who opposes monotheism) and killing a Mushrik and taking over their property is valid and 'halal'(lawful).

Thus began the "real" Jihad of Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab who prepared an army of six hundred people and set them in all directions. He started killing people of various Islamic faiths. He went on propagating his own ideology and those who refused to follow him were killed and their property was ceased. He personally attacked and destroyed the shrine of the famous Islamic thinker Zaid ibn Al-Khattab. A new chapter of attacks on shrine and the Sufi order was being written. In the meanwhile he had an alliance with Muhammad ibn-Saud. Muhammad ibn-Saud was the ruler of Al-Diriyah and was affluent as well as had an army. In alliance they started not just the use of swords but also modern weaponry. Their pact made it very easy for them to force their ideology on people in farfetched lands and to destroy other faiths. Burning the religious texts of other faiths had sort of become the hobby of Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab. He also passed a very repugnant order of destroying all Sufi shrines and constructing toilets at these very places.

Saudi Arabia, which is a declared nation following the Wahabi faith, continued the tradition set by Muhammad-ibn-Abdul Wahab. It went to such an extent that in 1952 the whole graveyard where the family and friends of Muhammad were buried, was destroyed in the name of idol worship. This was done because people used to pay pilgrimage to these places in remembrance of Muhammad and his kin. In October 1996 one part of Kaaba, Al-Mukammah, was also brought down for the same reason. The beautiful stones of Al-Multazam, which is

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located to the east of the door of Kaaba and falls in the Yemen region, was also replaced with plywood. This was done because people used to kiss those stones and according to Wahabi Islam this was equivalent to idol worship. According to a recent report by "The Independent", the pillar at the back side of Mecca which had the important incidences of Muhammad's life inscribed on them were also brought down. Among the inscriptions on these pillars there was also the mention of Muhammad's Miraj (Ascend of Muhammad to God).

Wahabism has been playing around with the history, beliefs, mutual brotherhood and co-existence of identities of Islam. Wahabis laid the foundation of one identity, one kind of people, one book and racial purity in the 19th century, much before Hitler took to it.

Although the Wahabis raising havoc in the name of racial purity from the limits of Arabia to West Asia long back, but for the last few decade their despicable intentions have become much more clearer. On one hand the Mevlevi order had started giving women equal rights in the thirteenth century itself, while on the other the Wahabis transformed women to nothing more than 'walking deads'. Distorting women's faces in the name of "bepardagi" (not covering their faces adequately with hijab) and stoning them to death in the name of polygamy became Islamic customs. Outcasting those Muslims from Islam who did not believe in the Wahabi ideology and then killing them started being termed as valid and lawful. This is just the story of the followers of Islam. The killing of people from other religions in the name of 'Kufr', usurping their property and forcefully converting the females in their

families to adopt the Wahabi faith became a daily routine.

Wahabi ideology or Wahabi Islam has been posing a constant threat to the world. The deeds of these merchants of death is termed as Islamic terrorism, the ploy for which is plotted in Washington and London and the plan of action is prepared in regions ranging from Saudi Arabia to West Asia. Organisations like Al-Qaeda, Taliban, Sipah-e-Sahba, Jamat-ud-Dawa, Al-Khidmat Foundation, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba have been continuously taking innocent lives and giving shape to these conspiracies.

Maulana Maudoodi has been strengthening the roots of Wahabi Islam in West Asia. Hukoomat-e-Ilahiya is a part of this conspiracy which intends to uproot any belief, Islamic or non Islamic, which is not in favour of the Wahabi ideology and replace them with a system that can unfurl the Wahabi banner in the Hitler fashion. The fact that America is well aware of every initiative taken by Saudi Arabia is not a hidden fact. Isn't America aware of the fact that Saudi Arabia has been helping these organisations in all ways possible the dark clouds of which are hovering over India too?

The Wahabi faith of the recent times is not just armed with swords and rifles rather they have the most modern weapons at their disposal. They even have an eye on the nuclear weapons of Pakistan. When faith turns to lunatic, it sees no limits. The people who are savage enough to lead a widespread bloodshed in a mosque that too on the pious day of Id are capable to stoop to any level. The dangers of Wahabi ideology cannot be perceived without this perspective. Every person who stands in the way of such animalistic mindset stands at risk.



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## Two Sides of the Same Coin

***Dr. Khurshid Anwar***

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“All the Muslims residing in India should be categorised by the government either as untouchable or Malechcha and they should be treated as per Manu’s law. They should not be allowed in any government services and even their rights of citizenship should be terminated.” Anyone can confuse this to be the speech of the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh. However, the RSS ideology reflects in the words of Guru Golwalkar as thus; “...foreign races in Hindustan must either adopt the Hindu culture and language, must learn to respect and hold in reverence Hindu religion, must entertain no idea but those of the glorification of the Hindu race and culture, i.e., of the Hindu nation and must lose their separate existence to merge in the Hindu race, or may stay in the country, wholly subordinated to the Hindu Nation, claiming nothing, deserving no privileges, far less any preferential treatment –not even citizen’s rights.”. The example has been sited from the book “We or our nationhood defined”. But the earlier citation which reflects the same ideology as the lower one comes from the speech of Maulana Maudoodi. The person being talked about is a very respectable man among the Dar-ul-Uloom Deoband and the Wahabis of Pakistan, Afghanistan and Saudi Arabia who use his ideologies and writings as their life philosophy.

Maudoodi gave this statement in front of an inquiry committee which was formed to investigate the riots targeting the Ahmediya

community in 1953. It is noteworthy that Maulana Maudoodi was sentenced to death, in the massacre case of Ahmediya community, which was later cancelled due to the interference of Saudi Arabia.

The topic of discussion here is neither Maudoodi nor Golwalkar, rather it is the ideology that propagates hate and gives birth to extremist individuals and organisations. On one hand innumerable Saraswati Shishu Mandirs are mushrooming, brainwashing youngsters into fascist forces and on the other hand people are being misled in the name of Islam and its propagation. Such activities lead to nothing more than creation of thousands of barbarians who are ready to end not just their own life but the lives of millions and millions in the name of religion. The education provided by the Wahabi serves the same purpose that the education in Saraswati Vidya Mandir does. India has been replicating Pakistan in the way it has been preparing brain washed youths through education in madarsas, colleges and universities.

Let’s consider the example of Darul-Uloom which is considered the biggest centre of education in Islam. The Darul Uloom website says “There is no scope of teaching modern sciences in Darul Uloom and our answer to people who oppose it is that the disease should be treated first and foremost, but if there is no disease there is no sense of a cure. ...what is the purpose of these government schools! What is the whole purpose if religious sciences are not being taught?” The books being taught here in the name of science are: - Sahih-e-Bukhari, Sahih-e-Muslim, Jama-e-Timriji, Sunan-e-Abi-

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Daud, Sunan-e-Nasai etc. And the people whose works are being taught here as the works of scientists and social scientists include Hazrat Gangohi, Hazrat Sheikhul Hind and Syed Anwar Shah Kashmiri. It won't be hard to guess the kind of mindset a student will have after receiving such standard of education at Darul Uloom. Not just that, the syllabus recommending division of Darul Uloom states "The non Muslims gather knowledge to gain power, fame, progress and grandeur. Knowledge is only a source of earning money for the non Muslims, while for a Muslim knowledge is not even a way to earn livelihood rather it's the attainment of the final destination. These examples have been taken up from the "Educational features of Darul Uloom" available on the internet.

It's a weird coincidence that the Darul Uloom located in Karachi preaches the same. The same course structures the same teaching methodology. The madarsas of Darul Uloom, Karachi is spread all over Pakistan in the similar fashion as the Darul Uloom, Deoband madarsas are spread all over India. While Darul Uloom, Deoband has refuted the fact that they receive any funding from Saudi Arabia, Darul Uloom, Karachi has never shied away from this fact. Darul Uloom, Karachi not only has the permission from the government to receive direct funding from Saudi Arabia but they also receive the petrodollars given to the Sipah-e-Sahba and Al-Qaeda. There is only one difference that separates the Darul Uloom in India and Pakistan which is that the Darul Uloom, Deoband is not involved in any kind of arms training while the Darul Uloom, Karachi imparts arms and ammunitions training to its students under the patronage of Sipah-e-Sahba and Al-Qaeda. But as far as the ideological standards are concerned, all such madarsas and the followers of extremist Islam produced

in such madarsas set Darul Uloom, Deoband as the parameter.

The Darul Uloom, Deoband has adopted such a stand on the issue of neither being Wahabi that neither they deny it completely nor are ready to accept the fact. But the "outspoken" nature of the Deobandi intellectual Maulana Manzoor Nomani makes it quite clear that Darul Uloom is the promoter of nothing other than the Wahabi ideology. He states "We should keep an eye on these so called Muslims who worship the shrines and Tazias. The Satan has influenced them to believe in polytheism and they do not believe in the Quran or the Hadith. It is these so called Muslims who have made us clear about the meaning of 'Shirk' (not believing in monotheism). It would have been difficult for us to understand the meaning of 'Shirk' if such Muslims had not been there". (This is an excerpt from a statement of Maulana Nomani published in the editorial of the Deoband mouthpiece "Al-Fukran".)

It is quite obvious that Wahabi is the only community which categorises the visiting of shrines and believing in Tazias as idol worship. Tazia is an integral part of the belief of the Shia Muslims and is observed for two months and eight days starting from the first day of the month of Muharram. Without this the Shia Muslims would lose their identity. It is quite clear that the Darul Uloom, Deoband has rejected the Islamic identity of the Shia Muslims together with all those Muslims who have ideological differences with the Wahabi. This also includes the Barelvi School of the Sunni community which is a far bigger section than the Wahabi Muslims.

The Wahabi community comprises only 10 percent of the Sunnis while the people from the Barelvi School comprise approximately 80 percent of the section.

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Despite this the Bareilvi School has neither spoken against believers of shrine and tazia neither have defined jihad as bloodshed. The Deobandi ideologues, on the contrary, have been backing up terrorist organisations of which “The Dawn” has clearly written about in its report of 7th September.

Although Deobands have never spoken in favour of terrorism, rather they have refuted any links to terrorism and have issued statements against it. But not only all the terrorist organisations are deeply influenced by this school but also the people of Pakistan do not deny the fact that the Deobandi influence is the root cause of terrorism. It’s not a new practice for the Deobandis to issue certain statement and work on the contrary. This act is carried out very smartly. This fact will be clearer if we look at the Deoband site in two different languages.

If you look up their website in Urdu language, their motto is defined as promotion of Islam, its knowledge and preparing youths who will promote the Islamic values and the teachings of Islam and Mohammad while the scenario completely changes when you look at the Hindi page. You will find them talking about 1857, patriotism and the role of Darul Uloom in the freedom struggle. Infact you will also find the mention of the piece by the ex-governor of Odisha, Vishwambhar Pande (1983-88) in which he talks about the role of Darul Uloom, Deoband in the freedom struggle. The motive is quite clear. The Muslims should receive the message of extremist Islam and the Hindi page should present a rosy picture so that they receive support from all around and no fingers could be pointed at them.

Darul Uloom does not execute its entire motive on its own. Similar to the RSS which works through various networks, the

Deobandis have adopted this tactics long back. Muhammad Ilyas al-Kandhalvi laid the foundation of Tabligi Jamat after completing his education from Deoband in 1926 with the motive of spreading hatred in the name of Islam and promoting it from door to door.

The Tabligi Jamat initiated the movement against the Sufi saints and their shrines in India. In Pakistan, the Tabligi Jamat is seen as the promoters of Sipah-e-Sahba and Al-Qaeda. Their work is to go door to door and tell the illiterate Muslim population concocted stories so as to transform them into extremists. And when the foundation is laid, the terrorist faction takes advantage of the situation and turns them into terrorists.

The ideologies and the activities of the RSS and the Wahabi organisations are so similar. The Sangh establishes its own cultural fronts and also teaches people the art of lathi fights and wrestling. They open educational institutions and decide their syllabus such that they should keep polluting the young minds. On the other hand there are organisations like VHP, Bajrang Dal and Durgavahini which use trident, bombs and arms as their apparatus for bloodshed. In both ways these organisation complement each other. One wants Hukoomat-e-Illahiya while the other needs “Hindu Rashtra”.

The need of the hour is to understand the role of such educational institutions (Darul Uloom and the madaras associated with it and the innumerable Saraswati Shishu Mandir and other educational institutions associated with the Sangh) in spreading communal feelings in India, the most recent example of which are the riots of Western UP, and promote kids towards more scientific thinking rather than stuffing children with regressive.

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# Terrorism and Communalism : Fodder for Each Other

*Dr. Khurshid Anwar*

ISD, INDIA

Our times have been frequenting the incidences of how one form of communalism acts as a compatriot and companion of other forms of communalism. Some such examples are the terrorist attacks in Jammu-Kashmir, the blood baths of Wahabis in Pakistan, Modi being portrayed as a demi-God by many in India and to cement it all are the Al-Qaeda and the sister organisations. There is no doubt in the fact that terrorism will always act as an instigator for communal politics in India.

The repercussions of terrorism holding firmer grounds within Pakistan, has been always felt across the border in India. Even if the Christians are attacked, it reaffirms a general perception that all terrorists are Muslims (although such perception is wrong to the core since all the terrorist organisations are related to the Wahabis and no other sect in the Muslims). When such organisations are involved in bloodshed in India, all Muslims come under the scanner even if equal numbers of Muslims are killed in the attacks. At the same time the Hindu fascist forces get a chance to strengthen their agenda.

Let's consider the example of the 2002 Gujarat carnage. What was the backdrop of the whole incidence? On October 1, 2001, terrorist from Jaish-e-Mohammad faction attacked the Jammu & Kashmir assembly killing 38 Indians and resulting in the encounter of 4 terrorists. There is a wave of rage in the whole country. Terrorism is equated with Islam. It was as if a prologue for a forthcoming disaster. Soon after the attack on the WTO, there was a sudden upsurge of the "clash of two civilisations", and then there was the famous speech declaring "either you are with us or against us." What exactly was the message and who were being addressed?

On October 7, 2001, operation "Enduring Freedom" was initiated resulting in widespread

bloodshed in Afghanistan. Standing against each other were the American soldiers and America's created Frankenstein, Taliban. The then Deputy Prime Minister Mr. Advani grabbed the opportunity to declare that our country has been a victim of terrorism for a long time. The Indian government went to the extent of offering America to launch an attack from the Indian soil. In the midst of all these development, Jaish-e-Mohammad and Lashkar-e-Taiba attacked the Indian Parliament on 13 December, 2001. The Indian and Pakistani forces were positioned at the LOC leading to a war like situation. As has always been the case, charged atmosphere at the borders lead to communal tensions within the nation. On top of that this was the time when the idea of "clash of civilisations" was gaining strength.

These factions of terrorists who were Muslims have given opportune moment to people equating of terrorism and Islam to propagate their idea. They couldn't have got a better opportunity. The spark to burn down the whole haystack was provided in Godhra on 27 February, 2002. The preparation was foolproof and pre determined. Gujarat was engulfed in massive riots. The investigation still lingers on.

Had the riots not taken place, Narendra Modi would not have evolved as the epic "NaMo" let alone the dream of being a Prime Minister. It was not a mere co-incidence. The elections of Gujarat were scheduled for 2002. The Akshardham temple was attacked by the terrorist just prior to the elections on 24 September, 2002. It's a weird co-incidence that the terrorists chose a time just before the elections. Communal feelings were already riding high in Gujarat after the carnage and on the top of it the attack on the temple as if sealed the poll results. BJP emerged victorious with thumping majority.

These terrorist factions are well aware of the fact that every time they conduct an attack on India, it would strengthen the Hindu radical forces. Not just that, but the common Muslim population in India would suffer the brunt of

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such actions. They are well aware that such attacks would lead to many innocent Muslims being tagged as terrorists and they would be put behind bars. It's then a surprising fact why these terrorists are working to strengthen the terrorist Hinduvadi forces and to turn the Muslims into convicts! Infact these games are deliberately played. Why would an organisation which doesn't consider anyone other the Wahabis, Tabligis and Jamatis as Muslims, even care for their well-being?

This terrorist faction has openly declared that according to Wahabi-Salfi "Shias, Sunnis, Jews and the aforementioned are all non-Islamic and their enemies". Where was it published? The answer lies in the local office of 'The Al-Sunnah Foundation of America', Michigan. The people to start the Jihad are legally operating an office in America! They are funded openly by Saudi! Then why is it a matter of surprise that the people who were ought to be present in the WTO on the day of attack were present at the air force base of Nebraska and five stories of the skyscraper were vacated on 10th September itself? Not just that, the Al-Sunnah is openly operating today from America, England (Saint Ense Road, London), Germany (Oberhausen) and have been controlling their activities in America and Europe. And they have declared openly "Shias, Sunnis, Christians and Jews are all non-Islamic and their enemies". Aren't the America, England and Germany aware of their intentions? It is also important to mention here that in all these locations the employees of 'Al-Sunnah' are of Saudi origin. It is not even necessary to mention that this foundation has a direct link to organisations like Al-Qaeda, Jaish-e-Mohammad, Lashkar-e-Taiba or that Ayman al-Zawahiri controls all their operations from Saudi Arabia.

Now let's get a clear idea of the intentions of these terrorists and the Hindu fascist forces of India. How do they end up being collaborators! The example of Maudoodi clears a lot beforehand. The love of Guru Golvalkar for Hitler is not under sheets. Hitler was an ideal for him. 'We or our nation redefined' written by Golvalkar replicates the ideology of Hitler that speaks of 'one race, one language, one nation, similar literature and similar books'. The Wahabi ideology runs on a similar line. The work of one validates and enforces the work of other. And this is not a new

story. The mutual understanding in the political motives during the period of riots is a perfect example of such theory.

Neither the Hindus nor the Muslims of Noakhali were in favour of partion before the riots of October-November, 1946. But the movement initiated by the Muslim League was aimed at partition and Hindu Mahasabha seemed to have no other motive. "All the threads of riots were linked ultimately to the instutionalised politics of the Pakistan movement. The riots affirmed every Hindu and Muslims belief that partition was the only way ahead"; (Suranjan Das: Communal riots in Bengal, 1905-47, Delhi, Oxford university Press, 1991). Suranjan Das has mentioned in this very book that Muslim League had the unsaid support of Hindu Mahasabha. The report presented by Acharya Kriplani also talked about this coalition.

Generally, two forces which are considered to be staunch enemies thrive on the existence of each other. The Wahabi terrorists are very well aware of the fact that it's practically impossible to implement their so called Islamic laws in a country where Muslims are not in majority or are present in very small numbers. The Hindu fascist forces are also well aware of this fact. All the countries in the Americas and Europe are also not unaware of this fact. Therefore, the target of such terrorist factions demanding Sharia laws are mainly Arab nations, Muslim majority African countries, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

They gain more support in these nations when their terrorist activities continue in countries like India and the majority population forms the belief that they are under the attack of 'Islamic terrorism'. Such action on their part helps to validate the agendas of the Hindu fascist forces and gaining support. This is the reason why these Hindu fascist forces get down to such terrorist activities when these Wahabi forces seize to act in the country for some time. There are many examples similar to Malegaon and Mecca masjid where these radical Hindu groups have carried out attacks. Its although very interesting that the Wahabi forces have never denied their hand behind such incidences.

It's already time that we get a clear understanding of the coalition of communalism and terrorism and defeat them to their end.

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# Africa and Terrorism

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We the people of South Asia look at some issues within the context of the sub-continent. And when we talk of terrorism it becomes even easier. We don't even need to look beyond our neighbour, Pakistan.

Limiting everything within this periphery and assuming it to be the centre appears to be beneficial and often entertaining. We have become used to linking Wahabi terrorism to the limits of Pakistan and Afghanistan. Only the elaborative insight of such an issue can give us a better understanding of the threat it poses. The extent to which terrorism and its centre have spread its wing in the world through the nexus of Saudi Arabia's Al-Qaeda should also be analysed in the context of Africa. Let's have a look at the Wahabi movement, Al-Qaeda, Saudi Arabia and the sequence of events going on in Africa. After the major terrorist attack on the Gau city of Male in 2007, the terrorist organisation Al-Shabab of Somalia putting restrictions on music and dance declared a complete prohibition on such activities. It's a well known fact that Al-Shabab works in Somalia as a sister organisation of Al-Qaeda. The Al-Shabab faction killed 76 people in Uganda on 11th July, 2010 just because the Ugandan government had decided to send its troops to fight terrorism. Al-Shabab conducted a series of blasts in Kenya from October 2011 to March 2013 regarding the same issue and killed thousands of people. Recently a deadly terrorist attack in Kenya resulted in the

death of 21 people.

There is another terrorist organisation by the name of Boko Haram apart from Al-Shabab that has been active in Africa and it too is a sister organisation of the Al-Qaeda. Recently this faction killed 19 innocent students and a teacher in Nigeria. The killings of 29th September were a continuation of the series of blasts carried out by Boko Haram in Nigeria. About 30 people were killed in similar attacks carried out on 25th and 26th of September in the Fulatari and Kanoon gari area of Nigeria. Abu Bakr Sheku, the head of Boko Haram is a dreaded Wahabi terrorist made a declaration after the killings and distributed it in the form of video.

In this video Abu Bakr said, "The world should know that nobody other than Allah can kill me. Don't try to stop me, I can't be stopped. This war is far more dangerous than you think. This war will swallow you." What he further says in the video makes the intentions of Al-Qaeda quite clear. "I swear in the name of Allah that I won't let democracy thrive in Nigeria. We are starting a war against it and we will fight it to its end. The idea of 'of the people, for the people and by the people' will end soon the 'rule of Allah, for Allah' will be instated.

It's quite clear that Al-Qaeda and its sister organisations have been slaughtering people like cattle. According to Pana press, Nigeria, Boko Haram has killed around 3600 people since 2009 and has attacked public places like schools, churches, mosques and markets. Although the Nigerian army has

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raged a war against them but their activities still continue.

The activities of Boko Haram and Al-Shabab were not spontaneous. Abdul Gellah, a famous scholar of Somalia writes that in 1991 when Somalia disintegrated as a nation, people started wandering in search of livelihood and support. This was the time when the campaign of 'money for extremism' started and attracted a lot of hunger ridden unemployed youths.

The Wahabi Islamist took advantage of the young people's requirement of a well fed stomach and peace of mind. Throughout the civil war of Somalia, Saudi Arabia never offered a helping hand to the comparatively peaceful North Somalia while it provided truckloads of goods and Wahabi literature to South Somalia. As a result of which Al-Shabab gained stronghold in South Somalia and through it Boko Haram prospered in the whole of Africa.

Somalia which has forever been under the influence of Sufism was infected by Wahabi ideology due to the inference of Saudi Arabia. Citing one of the terrorist of Al-Shabab, Abdul Gellah wrote how Saudi Arabia was completely backed up by America in the whole act.

"The fifth battalion of the American infantry, stationed few kilometres away from the bridge that joins Saudi Arabia to Bahrain, turns a blind eye when goods are sent to Somalia and other African countries for the Wahabi extremists while on the other hand they arrest youth from the area around Jibhuti who are in no way associated to terrorism and torture them."

Let's have a glance at the funding source of all the money spent in Africa on

such activities. The Wahabi movement that strengthened in 1980 was supported not just through money but also with deadly weapons by Saudi Arabia under the supervision of America. Reuter wrote in its issue of March 23rd of last year that Yemen has become a centre of Wahabi activities. Al-Qaeda all over the world is being funded and supplied with arms and ammunitions from here. The Wahabi Imam are using the fund received from Saudi Arabia for the promotion of Wahabi ideology and Al-Qaeda activities.

In the year 2003 the American senate itself accepted that in the last 20 years, Saudi Arabia has spent 87 billion dollars for promoting the Wahabi activities and ideologies. This included the establishment of 210 Islamic centres, 1500 mosques, 202 colleges and 2000 religious madarsas. According to the same estimates, Saudi Arabia spends 3 billion dollars every year for Wahabi missions. In his book 'An African Vortex: Islamism in Sub Saharan Africa', David McCormak writes that Riyadh (Saudi Arabia) works through non-government organisations to promote the Wahabi ideologies. The most important among such organisations is the Muslim World League. This organisation has been created and mentored by Saudi Arabia. 99 percent fund of the League reaches the office through the General Secretary of the league Dr. Abdul Al Turki (who has also been the minister of Islam affairs, vakufs, appeals and morals in Saudi Arabia). In 1972, another 'independent organisation' by the name of The World Assembly of Muslim Youth was established. This organisation was given the responsibility of spreading the Wahabi ideologies among

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the African youths. The General Secretary of this organisation immediately constructed fifty mosques in the Sub-Saharan Africa and instated a Wahabi Imam in all of them. All this was funded by the Saudi Arabia.

A project named Saudi Fund for Development was initiated in Africa and Asia since 1974. The Sub Saharan region alone has received 1.9 billion dollars from 1975 to 2002. All this money is used to spread Wahabi ideologies in the name of promotion of Islam. Apart from this, 21.3 million dollars for Guinea, 16 million dollars for Chad, 6.7 million dollars for Male and 5.1 million dollars for Cameron was funded for building mosques by the name of King Faizal. Every mosque was appointed by an Imam authenticated by Saudi Arabia and who helped in the promotion of Wahabi ideology.

It is not a matter of surprise that a big portion of this funding goes to the terrorist who are associated to the Al-Qaeda supported factions. The Somalia situated Al-Haramen Charity of Saudi Arabia is directly linked to Al-Ittehad-e-Islamia which is a sub group of Al-Qaeda. Such huge sum of money is spent in Saudi Arabia, America and on the dangerous activities of Al-Qaeda and its sister organisations in the name of Islam but the fact is that it is by far not the real Islam. Wahabi Islam is an enemy of Islam and has become a threat not just to Islam but for the whole mankind. Pakistan in South Asia and Somalia in Africa has become the centre of their activities. Somalia has been in a state of chaos for the last two and a half decades and has not overcome the civil war. To lure the youth of such a nation, to hold up guns and then transforming them into terrorists by brain washing them with the Wahabi ideology is not a very uphill task.

Using such a situation to their advantage, Boko Haram, Al-Shabab and newly formed organisation Ansar-ul-Din transformed the peace loving Sufi Islam of Africa into the blood thirsty Wahabi Islam. The money from Saudi Arab is used to print materials in Pakistan and is distributed in the far flung countries of Arab. They seep down to the general population through mosques, madarsas and Islamic (Wahabi) organisations and those who refuse to accept these ideas generally meet their end.

While Al-Qaeda and its sister organisations are busy in their hideous activities under the supervision of Saudi Arabia, the role of America, the country which claims to have declared the war against two civilisations, as a collaborator in their activities has already been mentioned above. Even if they don't support it openly, the act of being a spectator and turning a blind eye to all such activities is also an act of supporting terrorism. What else can explain the no interference of America in Africa to stop the activities that the senate reported in 2003? The last question that remains is whether the Saudi Arabia is funding all these terrorist activities just on the revenue generated from petroleum? Seven percent of the yearly national income of Saudi Arabia is generated from Hajj pilgrims. According to an estimate, this income amounts to nearly 300 billion dollar per year. Is there any chance that the money generated from such a pious Islamic tradition is being used for bloodshed across the globe! Looking at the manner in which Saudi Arabia and its various terrorist organisations have been involved in massacres across the globe, it won't be a surprise if they stoop even to such limits.



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# The Manuscripts of Extremism

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Wahabi Islam is the political ideology of Saudi Arabia. The curriculums of the schools are filled with its promotions. Almost five million students study in the twenty five thousand public schools present in Saudi Arabia. 'Science of Tauheed', a science book of standard tenth of Farookh Masjid, Texas (America) clearly states that staying in the company of non-Muslims or non-Wahabi Muslims is anti-Islamic. Therefore, it's the word of Allah that we should be only in the company of Muslims (Wahabi Muslims). This is merely the trailer. If we look at the curriculum passed by the education ministry the scenario would be clearer.

"The Muslims who participate in inter religious debate should also be considered non- Islamic. The Sufi and the Shiyas should also be categorised as same. The Muslims who convert to any other religious should be slaughtered. It is completely lawful for a Muslim to kill such a person and usurp their property."

"The Sunnis who do not believe in the Wahabi ideology should be denounced, should be looked upon with contempt and should be treated as the off springs of polytheists. The Muslims should be forced to hate Christians, Jews, polytheists and non-Wahabi Muslims along with all non-believers. Neither should he befriend non-Muslims or non-believer of Wahabi ideology nor should they show any respect towards them"

"Promoting Islam through jihad is "religious" duty. It is the duty of a true Muslim to be prepared for jihad in the name

of Allah. It is the duty of all the citizens as well as the government. Military training is an important part of faith and therefore should be implemented. It's necessary to have ammunitions for war. It's better to establish factories for military vehicles, tanks, rocket, fighter jets and all other things required for modern warfare."

Just imagine a scenario where the kids in the primary level are taught that, "all religions other than Islam (Wahabi) teach the wrong path" and thereafter are given to fill in the blanks in statements like, 'every religion other than ..... are on the wrong path' or 'the Muslims will go to ..... after death'. It's clear that these kids are foremost taught about what comprises being anti-Islamic. These obviously include everything from non-Wahabi Shiya, Sunni and various other religions.

A magazine named Ain-al-Yakeen brought out an online report in March, 2002 giving a vivid description of how the royal family of Saudi Arabia has propagated Islam around the world through education programmes. It stated that King Fahad is spending billions of Saudi Riyal on Islamic organisations and the education of its ideologies. Apart from Saudi Arabia, 210 Islamic centres, 500 mosques, 202 colleges have been established in western countries and 2000 schools have been opened in Asia, Australia and North America with the same curriculum which is being taught in the Saudi Arabia's public schools. The jihadi lessons; the lessons of hatred and terrorism.

Ain-al-Yakeen has mentioned eighty countries including South Asia, Africa, Europe and America. Wahabism is a political ideology

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in Saudi Arabia and the nation is a Wahabi nation. But to propagate the ideology of hatred across the world, 85% seats of the Islamic University located in Medina have been reserved for foreign students where fifty thousand students from 140 countries are registered.

The education minister of Saudi Arabia Faizal bin Abdullah bin Mohammad al Saud talked about reforms in the curriculum after the hateful nature of the education was revealed in 2005 but no action has been taken so far. Infact in the same year, i.e., in 2005, a teacher was sentenced and was flogged 750 times publically for calling the Jews, Shiya Muslims and non-Wahabi Sunnis as human beings. Later the sentence was pardoned under the pressure of the international community.

What kind of education is being imparted? What is the motive of such education? What are the so called educated of this country being transformed into?

According to Iranian Professor Murtaza Muttari these Wahabis neither have a clear understanding of Islam nor understand Quran. Therefore, their whole education system propagates bloodshed. The Wahabis believe that Allah has two aspects. The first is his imagination the entry to which is restricted to all. The worship of Allah and "Tawassul" (the modes to unify with Him, as the Sunni Khalifa and Shiya Imamat) are completely two separate things. Wahabism completely detours from the remaining forms of Islam at the point of "Tawassul".

It is against Quarn that one upholds the greatness of Allah while denies that of the humankind. Allah asked even the angels to bow down to Adam, and the Wahabis reject their supremacy. Such act degrades the human kind from the best creation of Allah

to merely an animal. The people who reject the supremacy of mankind should not be expected to value their lives.

Rejecting the beliefs of other Islamic community is another form of spreading hatred. According to these very ideologies visiting of shrines and tombs is anti Islamic. The curriculum of Saudi Arabia's schools teaches this to the kids from the very beginning. Thus it declares anti non-Wahbi belief as anti-Islamic. By propagating such beliefs, the Wahabis themselves reject the teachings of the Quran.

Surah Al-Kahaf clearly states "Erect structures to remind that the sayings of Allah are true" (Quran 18:21). On doomsday dead would walk out of these very tombs. But, blotch in the name of humanity, these Wahabis have been killing people who visit shrines and destroying the tombs. Shiyas go to various countries including Iraq, Saudi Arab, Iran to pay visit to their Imams (Ziyarat). Saudi Arabia has now imposed a ban on it.

For the past few years the Wahabis have launched a series of attacks on the places of belief of the Sufi saints, Shiyas, Ahmediya Muslims and non-Wahabi Sunnis. Their attack was not limited to these symbols rather they also demolished the posterior of Kaba located in Mecca. They started the construction of giant hotels and shopping malls in its place. The shopping mall of Paris Hilton was one of the main attractions here. Apart from Kaba, they also started demolishing the graves of kith and kin of Mohammed located in Medina. The graves of Mohammed's daughter Fatima, Abu Bakr and Umar were the main target.

The attacks on the Sufi shrines have crossed all the limits. A place having 333 Sufi shrines was razed to the ground by the

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Wahabis. Even the Siddi Yahia mosque which was declared a world heritage by the UNESCO in 1998 was not spared by the Wahabis. Fifty Sufi shrines were blown away by these Wahabis in Libya. Probably there isn't a single shrine of the Sufi saints in Somalia which has not come under attack of Al-Shabab. The shrines of many saints including that of Baba Farid, Baba Bulle Shah and Hazrat Daataganj were repeatedly attacked by the Wahabi Taliban in Pakistan.

These attacks have been supported by Saudi Arabia and have been conducted by Al-Qaeda and its sister organisations. Wahabism has completely moulded in the fascist ideologies and is set to erode the feeling of mutual love and harmony. Let's have a glimpse of what the Sufis have been teaching in contrast to what the Wahabis have been upto.

There is a famous story about Nizamuddin Auliya. The story goes that Alauddin Khilji wanted him to go to Kashmir for the propagation of Islam. Nizamuddin said that he is a messenger of love and it won't be possible for him to go to Kashmir to propagate Islam. Thereafter, Alauddin summoned Nizamuddin to his court through Amir Khusro. Nizamuddin sent a message stating that any Sufi who increases his proximity to power loses his own ground. Alauddin then expressed his own willingness to visit him. To this Nizamuddin replied that nobody is barred from visiting his khanqah but his khanqah has two doors. The moment the emperor will set his foot inside the khanqah from one door, he will leave through the other door.

Who isn't aware of the name Baba Bulle Shah, one of the greatest messengers of love! Let's know the meaning of love in his words "*I would begin Holi with the name*

*of Allah/ covered with the light of the prophet/ every drop of colour is like the drop from heaven/ the one who annihilates is Allah is coloured from tip to toe/ I will begin Holi with the name of Allah/I am not your God/ Yea, indeed, we do bear witness thereto! And then he said that there is no God but Allah/ I will play Holi in the name of Allah"*

Heer of Waris Shah, till date, resounds the message of love. The inventor of Sitar, Amir Khusro states "I am a Kaafir of love; I don't need to be a Muslim. Every vein in my body has turned into strings of sitar; I don't need to wear janeu (sacred thread in Hinduism)."

Wahabi ideology has not just shed the blood of innocents in the last two decades but also have proved to be the slaughterer of love. Sufi saints like Nizamuddin Auliya, Moinuddin Chisti, Amir Khusro, Waris Shah, Bulle Shah and Baba Fareed have broken the chains of religious extremism to spread the message of love across this sub-continent. The Wahabis have been destroying their message of love along with their shrines. And Saudi Arabia has been pouring in unbridled wealth to help them achieve this.

The countries which will teach hatred in their schools, the ideology and the students who are carrier of that ideology can go to which extent in terms of barbarism, can be guessed with the bloodshed taking place in Africa, Arab countries, South Asia and even in western countries. Alliance of country like Saudi Arabia and educational institute like Darul Uloom has put entire world on the heap of explosive. Complete elimination of Al-Qaeda and its affiliate organizations which are fulfilling the Wahabis and their ideology is the need of hour before the heap of explosive catches fire.

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# The Swamps of Barbarism

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When religious extremism reaches its epitome, it preys upon women. They are sometimes suppressed and at other times used as a tool. The teachings that cannot be found in any Vedas, come up every day in concocted Smritis and ongoing religious teachings. Surprisingly there are also similarities between them. For example, the restrictions imposed on the women during their menstrual cycle can be found in Hinduism as well as in Islam. But instead of paying heed to such things we need to see how religious extremism turns into fanaticism. Wahabism has been doing the same. The sequence of events in our country is a clear evidence of such acts.

On 8th April, 1994, the UNO presented a report on human rights which contained a long list of the restrictions imposed by the Afghani Talibans on women. Several of those points are being presented here. Women are prohibited from visiting male doctors. They should be clad in hijab from head to toe. Working outside home for women was prohibited. Prohibition on buying goods from a male shopkeeper. Flogging, if ankles are visible. Public flogging, man handling and name calling if they do not adhere to the Taliban dress code. Stoning to death if she establishes relations with anyone other than her husband. Restriction on laughing aloud. Restriction on the presence of women on

radio, television or any public sphere.

Restriction on riding cycle, motorcycle and driving car. Restriction on gathering of women on occasions like Eid and other festivals. Painting the glass windows so that the females are not able to peep outside. It's not possible to mention the long list here. But it's quite clear that their motif is to turn females into nothing more than walking dead.

Two facts must be mentioned here. The first is that most of the Sharia laws were implemented in Afghanistan under the Rabbani-Masood government which is hailed as the pioneer of women emancipation. The second point is that all the Wahabi laws and school curriculum were the basis of all the Talibani laws enforced for women.

The extent of cruelty on women during Rabbani-Masood government can be guessed by this that in 1978 Masood started a war against the Soviet Union and after the disintegration of Soviet Union, when Saudi Arabia supported Sayyaf and Ittehad-e-Islami for the propagation of Wahabi ideology during war against Gulbuddin Hikamtayar, Masood welcomed the step. Henceforth, followed the propagation of anti women Wahabi ideologies. These events and the authorization of Masood on the papers presented in Soviet Union were a clear indication of the Wahabi-Taliban atrocities against women. The Masood government had a major involvement to this report presented on 8th of April 1994. There were also

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atrocities on women which never came to light. From 1979 to the next five years, higher education among women had reached ninety percent. After the regulatory laws were implemented in 1992-93 the percentage fell down to thirty percent. It is noteworthy that these also included the women who received education in the five years following 1979.

Herat alone accounted for ninety women committing suicides due to the atrocities of their husbands (UNO report). The comparison of Masood to Che-Guevara was not less than a cruel joke. These very Taliban forces use these women for their own motives. Taliban Qari Zia Rehman, who runs training camps to prepare women suicide squad in Kunar and Nooristan (Afghanistan) and Bajaur and Mohammad (Pakistan) have used many women for suicide attacks. Two women who had fled these camps informed the Pakistan government about this. But as usual the Pakistan government sat over the issue. This was immediately followed by women suicide attack in Kunar on 21st June, 2010. Qari Zia Rehman expressed his pleasure and took the responsibility of the blast. 24th June, 2010 saw another woman suicide attack in Bajaur which left forty civilians dead. In 2010 alone there were forty nine bomb attacks in Khyber region of Pakhtunkhwa which does not include the woman suicide attack on World Food Program in Bajaur (Pakistan).

The year 2011 saw the beginning of “burqa bomb attacks”. The Taliban named it “Mujahida sisters”. These kind of attack often saw even males clad in hijab bombing places, although the responsibility of suicide attacks

mainly rested with females. 4th June, 2011 saw another suicide attack in Kunar (Afghanistan). Taliban took the responsibility of the attack and named “Mujahida sisters” as the executors. Dera Ismail Khan saw another attack in the same year. The series of women suicide attack did not cease. The people using these women were the same who restricted women from laughing out loud as per Islam. The people who advocated that women should not be present on radio, television or public places, they should not be allowed to ride a cycle, motorcycle or drive a car and the window panes of their rooms should be painted so as to stop them from peeping out.

Where were these laws when these very women were being used for suicide attacks? Such dual standards for women of these Taliban and their patrons the Wahabis was a display of their treacherous and dualistic nature. On the one hand these women are restricted to a life of pity and empathy and on the other hand these very women are transformed to “Mujahida”. These women are nothing more than pawns in the hands of these Wahabis and terrorists who declare themselves to be the flag bearers of Islam. Did their Quran revealed in the 18th century after the formation of Al-Wahab? The Quran that came down in time of Mohammad does not seem to speak of any such thing. This is a form of political Islam which has no relation to the Quran or the Hadith.

Let’s have a look at the other side of barbarism. Will any “Aalim” come forth to explain where in Quran or any of the Hadith is it taught to strap an innocent child

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with bomb and kill people along with themselves? But their form of Islam surprisingly teaches this. Misguiding poor children and their family member in the name of “heaven” and preparing them for suicidal attacks for some money is such a sickening act of Al-Qaeda and Taliban that it puts down the head of humanity with shame. In its report of 4th November, 2008, the UN not just attested such acts but also denounced the Taliban and Al-Qaeda for training kids of 10-13 years for suicide attacks.

According to the report of the Combined Secret Agency of Guantanamo, these kids are chosen by Taliban as they believe that they do not have a matured mind to reason out things. And hence they are easily convinced to be ‘martyred’. These kids are brain washed and are made completely inhumane. The Afghanistan government has accepted that these kids are shown video of Muslims, kids and women being tormented so that they are filled with rage and a feeling of revenge.

The Afghanistan government openly accepted that these kids are bought for somewhere seven thousand to fourteen thousand dollars and their parents are convinced that they won’t just receive money rather their child would be martyred for Islam and hence will go straight to heaven.

The brazenness of the Taliban and Al-Qaeda can be imagined from the fact that when the kids in the region of Kunar and Nooristan are completely ready for a suicide attack, they are taken around in the village

on a horseback dressed up like a groom. And the villagers, some out of sheer fear of the Taliban and some out of their support, come to congratulate their parents. The Pakistan government has given an estimate of the number of these kids to be somewhere around five thousand to seven thousand.

According to the Interior Ministry of Pakistan, there have been around 2488 terrorist attacks in the past two years resulting in the death of around four thousand people. Maximum suicide attacks amongst these were carried out by adolescent kids. Taliban is running three training camps in Waziristan on Pakistan and Afghanistan border where thousands of young children are being trained. Such barbaric thought process has never ever occurred in the history of terrorism. The illiteracy and unimaginable poverty in these regions are being used to make their ulterior motives work.

This face of Wahabi terrorism surely does not represent that of Islam. Their Islam doesn’t teach them to feed the poor, eradicate poverty and educate people. Their Islam teaches them to take advantage of such miserable condition and cause widespread bloodshed. This is the new form of Islam. The Wahabi Islam. The roots of which do not sprout out of religion but from politics. And when such deadly combination comes to the forth, humanity is nothing good than dead. Wahabism and its terrorist cells are laying the foundation of a ‘political Islam’. The birth of a new form of fascism is not far away if this is not stopped here and now.

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# Thorns of The Path of Peace

*Dr. Khurshid Anwar*

ISD, INDIA

Sardar Jafri wrote “Asia is birthplace of civilisation, the land of culture”. A nation flourishes on this very land. A small piece of this land where Harappa and Mohenjodaro once existed was a living proof of the flourishing of the culture and heritage of South Asia and the pinnacle it reached. Taxila became the hub of knowledge. The likes of Nanak, Baba Farid, Baba Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah showered the land with the message of love. Today this very land is sitting on a heap of explosives. This piece of land is known by the name of Pakistan. It’s a great irony that thousands of guns stand guard to the 771st Urs (death anniversary) of Baba Farid, one of the biggest names who spread the message of love. Infact calling it an irony will not do justice to the situation. This celebration happens every year for 15 days. There would not be any other person on the entire sub-continent in whose name such long celebrations have been going on for so long without disruption. The shrine of this very person was destroyed by the Taliban in 2010. What legacy does this land carry forward? And what has this land transformed into? On the one hand was the celebration of the messenger of love and on the other the bloody games of the Taliban. And the political games are such that the politicians prefer toadying to the Taliban rather than visiting the celebration of this great man.

During the recent elections, the leader of Tahrik-e-Insaaf, who is more renowned for

his English mannerism, said that Taliban is a necessity for Pakistan. The person was Imran Khan, who completed his studies from Oxford and spent the major part of his life playing cricket. The person who married an English woman, but the moment he set his foot into politics he wanted the patronage of the Taliban. On 1st November, 2013, when Hakimullah Mehsud was killed, Imran Khan put a valid point forth by saying that America should stop interfering in the internal matters of Pakistan but at the same time he did not forget to mention about peace talks with the Taliban. He did not utter a word against the Taliban. The mention of Imran Khan was necessary here since he is seen as the face of secularism in contrast to the radical ideologies predominant there. It is necessary to know that the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa region, which has been a hub of Talibani activities, has the government of Imran Khan’s party Pakistan Tahrik-e-Insaaf and the chief minister of the state, Parvez Khattak, seems to have special affection for the Taliban. The statement of Imran Khan regarding Maulana Fazlur Rehman, the meeting of Nawaz Sharif with Maulana Fazlur Rehman and his repeated appeal to him to be a part of the government, points out to the Talibanization of the Pakistan politics. Maulana Fazlur Rehman in the head of “Jamat-e-Ulema Islam” Pakistan and is the biggest non terrorist supporter of implementing Sharia law in Pakistan. The Taliban will never harm him as his organisation is the mouthpiece of the Taliban’s political agendas. Everyone is aware of the fact that “Jamat-e-Ulema Islam”

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Pakistan is Deobandi Wahabi organisation and opposing Talibans is not on its agendas.

The Talibanization of Pakistan politics was being talked about in the same context. The president of Afghanistan invited Fazlur Rehman to Kabul. After his return from Kabul, Fazlur Rehman gave a statement to "The International News" Pakistan on 14th October, 2013 saying "Despite so many martyrs in the name of jihad, Pakistan still hasn't got control of Afghanistan. After the fall of the Taliban government, India got strong in Afghanistan. Our party is in the favour of America holding talks with the Taliban". Fazlur Rehman even convinced Karzai to free all the Pakistani prisoners of which he talked in the same interview. It won't be difficult to make a guess of the number of Pakistani Talibans among the released prisoners. Calling this bloodshed jihad and the person killed as martyrs tells a lot about the mentality of this person. The attempts of Nawaz Sharif to include this person in the cabinet and the readiness of Imran Khan to hold talks with him are a clear proof of the Talibanization of the Pakistani politics.

Let's cast our gaze on the lot of which this person seems a strong advocate. Maulana pays his homage to the "martyrs" of jihad and is saddened by the fall of Talibani government of Afghanistan. Let's have a look at the Aalims of Tahrik-e-Taliban, Pakistan. The Talibani chief Hakimullah Mehsud, who was killed on the 1st of November, belonged to a small village of Hangu city of the Pakhtunkhwa region. He was a madarsa dropout there and could not even complete his primary education. Wahabi Islam left its "protection" in the hands of this "Aalim". The war of which Islam is this murderer of

thousands claiming to fight, when he doesn't even know Islam properly? Who implanted such ideas of jihad in his mind that he went on a killing spree without even knowing the message of Allah in whose name he has been shedding blood? After his death, his close associate was chosen by the council of Takrik-Taliban. Another Mehsud was chosen. Khan Syed Mehsud alias Sajna. The fact that the Talibani Sura is a puppet in the hands of Al-Qaeda and none of its decision is taken without the consent of Al-Qaeda is not hidden. It's obvious then that such decisions also involve Saudi Arabia. Zarrar Khuhro in his article in "The Dawn" on 2nd November wrote that it is quite probable that now the Taliban and the Al-Qaeda will support each other with more fervour. They would work in collaboration with the terrorists spread from Uzbekistan to Chechnya.

What does this Khan Syed Mehsud know about Islam? How learned is he? According to Zarrar Khuhro, Khan Syed Mehsud alias Sajna is a far fiercer terrorist than Hakimullah Mehsud. All the knowledge he has collected in his life revolves in and around terrorism. Neither had he received any formal education nor any religious education. After Khan Syed Mehsud was elected the commander by the council, the decision was reversed and Fazlullah was chosen. Fazlullah was the person who gave the orders to fire on Malala Yusafzai. Since Fazlullah ran FM radio in Swat valley to announce Sharia fatwa, he was called "Radio mullah" by the common people. Although Fazlullah was trained only in guns despite that he was called Mullah Fazlullah. How educated was Ajmal Kasab? There must be some reason why all the illiterate after receiving arms training either take up or are



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given the responsibility of bloodshed. And these by the book "Ulema" with "divine effulgence" depute them as the custodian of Islam. These are the very "Aalims" with whom the Pakistan government and people like Imran Khan think of holding peace talks. We are posed with some very important questions here. Who will prepare their set of demands and what will be the demands of these murderers in these talks? Transform Pakistan into a Wahabi nation? Implement Sharia laws on the model of Saudi Arabia? Make blasphemy laws more rigorous? Make laws to outcast all the Muslims other than Wahabi Muslims from Islam? Demolish the shrines of Baba Farid, Baba Bulleh Shah and Waris Shah? The demands of the "Ulema" are no different. They would nod in the blink of an eye. There is already an invitation to be the part of government so the thus formed government would exert pressure.

All the tactics were tried to hold peace talks. The theories of "good Taliban" and "bad Taliban" are a result of these very tactics. The theory of "good Taliban" although never clicked a chord in sane person's mind. Taliban is after all Taliban the very purpose of which is bloodshed in the name of jihad. Which Taliban is it exactly that is against bloodshed and can be termed as "good Taliban"! But there are certain aspects of life that should also be veiled and so Pakistan as well as America veiled their crimes under the name of "good Taliban". There were talks and nothing more than talks about keeping peace. But how can peace expected out of people whose only motive is bloodshed in the name of jihad! Moreover the incompetent Pakistani politicians lack the willpower to fight away the Taliban. Nawaz

Sharif, infact, was a refugee in a country which has forever been the political and monetary backing of the terrorists. Hence he always has invited Fazlur Rahman "Jamat-e-Ulema" Pakistan to be a part of the government. It very clearly exhibits the intentions of Pakistan on fighting Taliban. Imran Khan's party Tahrir-e-Pakistan is the ruling party of the Pakhtunkhwa region and for it to remain in power it is very important that it backs up the Taliban. Therefore, Imran Khan has not once issued a statement against the Taliban rather he has declared them to be important for Pakistan. The Pakistani masses have let out a sigh of relief every time a big shot Talibani is killed in the hope of peace. But the heir of every Taliban turns out to be fiercer than his predecessor. Al-Zarkavi's death had brought a sense of relief but Baitullah Mehsud continued the bloodshed and all of the leaders to follow were fiercer than the prior. And all the forthcoming commander of Taliban are illiterate who can be easily turned into a monster. It's far easier to turn them into killing machines in the name of jihad and in the hope of "an awaiting heaven". Showing no political will to fight Taliban in the light of all these events and to announce peace talks is nothing more than an illusion. The need of the hour is to uproot the ideology that has been not just targeting humanity but even the shrines of those who have always talked of love and compassion. Today Baba Farid's shrines throbs with the presence of millions of his followers. The door to pay him homage will open during Urs and it will be protected by the government gunmen. There cannot be a day much worse than this for a Sufi.

## The Development of Modern Poetry

*Christopher Caudwell*

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...Continued from previous issue

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When we use the word “modern” in a general sense, we use it to describe a whole complex of culture which developed in Europe and spread beyond it from the fifteenth century to the present day. There is something ‘modern’ in Shakespeare, Galileo, Michael Angelo, Pope, Goethe and Voltaire which we can distinguish from Homer, Thales, Chaucer and Beowulf, and compare with Valery; Cézanne, James Joyce, Bergson and Einstein. This complex rests on an economic foundation. The complex itself is changeful – no epoch of human history has been so variegated and dynamic as that from the Elizabethan age to ours. But then, the economic foundations too have changed, from feudal to “industrial.” This culture complex is the superstructure of the bourgeois revolution in production – a revolution whose nature was first analysed completely by Marx in *Das Kapital*. Modern poetry is *capitalist* poetry.

It is impossible to understand modern poetry unless we understand it historically – in motion. We can only bring back dead formulae from a study of poetry as static “works of art,” something frozen and ossified. This is particularly true where poetry is the organic product of a whole society violently in motion.

Yet to study the poetry of bourgeois culture as a whole during that time is a formidable task. Many nations and many languages have been caught up into the bourgeois movement, and yet it is the



characteristic of poetry that it demands for its appreciation a more intimate knowledge of the language in which it was written than any other form of literature.

But as it happens, England pioneered the bourgeois revolution in economy. Italy preceded it – but its development was stifled early. America outstripped it – but only at a late date. In England alone the greater part of the bourgeois revolution unfolded itself, and from there spread to the rest of the globe.

In France during the period 1789-1871 the bourgeois revolution moved through many stages with greater speed, greater precision and more relentless logic than here, but its very speed made the ideological superstructure more confused. For a study of bourgeois literary art in general, France during that short period is more valuable; but for the study of poetry in

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particular; England – where the revolution unfolded itself so much more evenly and in so much more detail – is a better field.

Owing to its earlier and fuller development, the decay of English bourgeois economy arrived later than in other countries. Therefore during the period of Imperialism the poetic symptoms come to light at first in other countries than England – in France, Germany and Russia. With the exception, therefore, of this concluding period, our historical survey of modern poetry will be confined to one country – England.

It is no accident that this same country, England, has also been notable for the volume and variety of its contribution to modern poetry. The fact that England for three centuries led the world in the development of capitalism and that, during the same period, it led the world in the development of poetry, are not unrelated coincidences but part of the same movement of history.

The bourgeoisie, historically, has played a most revolutionary part.

The bourgeoisie, wherever it has got the upper hand, has put an end to all feudal, patriarchal, idyllic relations. It has pitilessly torn asunder the motley feudal ties that bound man to his “natural superiors,” and has left no other nexus between man and man than naked self-interest, than callous “cash payment.”

The bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionising the means of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society. Conservation of the old modes of production in unaltered form was, on the contrary, the first condition of existence for all earlier industrial classes. Constant revolutionising of production, uninterrupted disturbance of all social conditions, everlasting uncertainty and agitation distinguish the bourgeois epoch from all earlier ones. All fixed

fast-frozen relations, with their train of ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions, are swept away, all new-formed ones become antiquated before they can ossify. All that is solid melts into air, all that is holy is profaned, and man is at last compelled to face with sober senses his real conditions of life and his relations with his kind.

Capitalist poetry reflects these conditions. It is the outcome of these conditions. The birth of poetry took place from the undifferentiated matrix of the tribe, which gave it a mythological character. It separated itself from religion as the art of a ruling class in class society, but, except in moments of revolutionary transition like that of fourth century B.C. Greece, this art led a quiet existence, mirroring the slow rise and slow collapse of a class “whose first condition of existence is conservation of its mode of production in unaltered form.” Then a class developed beneath the quiet, stiff art of feudalism, whose vigour is first announced by the Gothic cathedrals. This class in turn became a ruling class, but one whose condition of existence is a constant revolution of the means of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society.

Its art is therefore in its essence an insurgent, non-formal, naturalistic art. Only the art of revolutionary Greece in any way forecasts the naturalism of bourgeois art. It is an art which constantly revolutionises its own conventions, just as bourgeois economy constantly revolutionises its own means of production. This constant revolution, this constant sweeping-away of “ancient and venerable prejudices and opinions,” this “everlasting uncertainty and agitation,” distinguishes bourgeois art from all previous art. Any bourgeois artist who even for a generation rests upon the conventions of his

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time becomes “academic” and his art lifeless. This same movement is characteristic of English poetry.

The characteristic of capitalist economy is that it apparently sweeps away all directly coercive relations between men – and seems to substitute for them the coercive relations of men to a thing – the State-upheld right to property. Men are no longer coercively tied together, as in a feudal society serf is tied to lord and lord to overlord, but they produce independently for the free market, and buy independently from this same free market. They take not merely their products but their abilities to the market and are entitled to sell their labour-power there without let or hindrance to the highest bidder. This unreserved access to an unrestricted market constitutes the “freedom” of capitalist society.

Thus there appear to be no coercive relations between men, but only force-upheld relations between men and a thing (property) which result in relations between an individual and the market. The market seems to be a part of Nature, a piece of the environment, subject to natural “laws” of supply and demand. Its coercion does not seem the coercion of men, but of blind natural forces, like a gale or volcanic eruption.

In fact the market is nothing but the blind expression of real relations between men. These relations are relations of coercion, the characteristic exploitation of capitalism by ownership of the means of production and the purchase of the labour-power of the free labourer – free of all property but his bare hands. But just because it is a blind expression, it is coercive and anarchic, and acts with the violence and uncontrolled recklessness of a natural force. Just because the coercive relations between capitalist and wage-labourer are veiled, they are so much the more brutal and shameless.

Capitalist economy, therefore, is the economy of a sham individualism and a hollow freedom for the majority. The condition of existence of the bourgeois class as a ruling class, and therefore the condition of its freedom in society, is the absence of directly coercive relations between man and man. Such coercive relations are restrictions – like the feudal restrictions which bind serf to lord. But freedom without social relations would be no freedom at all, but only a blind anarchy in which society must perish. In addition, therefore, to the absence of direct relations between men, bourgeois society must include the presence of rights to absolute ownership of means of production – the right of “private property.” This absolute right is maintained by the device of a coercive State power, with its laws and police and army, which, because it enforces a property right and not any direct ownership of men by men, seems to tower over society as something mediating and independent. But in fact, since this property right gives the bourgeois coercive power over the “free” labourer through ownership of the means of production, both the State and the bourgeois economy it enforces veil a coercive society for the majority, and the only freedom it contains is the freedom of the bourgeois from nature – due to his monopolisation of the social product – and his freedom from human coercion due to the elimination from society of all directly coercive relations of feudal character. Seen from the viewpoint of the bourgeois, bourgeois society is a free society whose freedom is due to its individualism, to its completely free market and its absence of direct social relations, of which absence the free market is the cause and expression. But to the rest of society bourgeois society is a coercive society whose individualism and free market is the method of coercion. This is the basic contradiction of bourgeois society, which must

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be grasped to understand the whole movement which secures the development of capitalist culture.

We saw in our analysis of the birth of poetry that early poetry is essentially collective emotion, and is born in the group festival. It is not collective emotion of an unconditioned, instinctive kind, such as might be roused in a herd by a foe; it is the collective emotion of a response conditioned by the needs of economic association.

Now bourgeois culture is the culture of a class to whom, freedom – man’s realisation of all his instinctive powers – is secured by “individualism.” It might therefore seem that bourgeois civilisation should be anti-poetic, because poetry is collective and the bourgeois is an individualist.

But this is to take the bourgeois *at his own valuation*. Certainly we must first of all do this, whether to understand him as capitalist or as poet. The bourgeois sees himself as an heroic figure fighting a lone fight for freedom – as the individualist battling against all the social relations which fetter the natural man, who is born free and is for some strange reason everywhere in chains. And in fact his individualism does lead to a continual technical advance and therefore to an increasing freedom. His fight against feudal social relations permits a great release of the productive forces of society. His individualism expresses the particular way in which the bourgeois economy continually revolutionises the base on which it stands, until the base becomes too much for the superstructure and bourgeois economy explodes into its opposite.

And, in the same way, the bourgeois poet sees himself as an individualist striving to realise what is most essentially himself by an expansive outward movement of the energy of his heart, by a release of internal forces which outward forms are crippling. This is the

bourgeois dream, the dream of the one man alone producing the phenomena of the world. He is Faust, Hamlet, Robinson Crusoe, Satan and Prufrock.

This “individualism” of the bourgeois, which is born of the need to dissolve the restrictions of feudal society, causes a tremendous and ceaseless technical advance in production. In the same way it causes in poetry a tremendous and ceaseless advance in technique.

But both capitalist and poet become darker figures – first tragic, then pitiful and finally vicious. The capitalist finds his very individualism, his very freedom, producing all the blind coercion of war, anarchy, slump and revolution. The machine in its productiveness finally threatens even him. The market in its blindness becomes a terrifying force of nature.

By means of the market, capitalist constantly hurls down fellow capitalist into wage-labour or relegates him to the ranks of the temporarily privileged “salaried.” The artisan of yesterday is the factory hand of today. The shop-owner of this year is the chain-store manager of the next year. Last week, owner of a small business – to-day, salaried executive in a large trust: this is the dramatic process whereby capitalism revolutionises itself. It does so by means of the very free market on which the bourgeois depends for freedom. This guarantee of individualism and independence produces the very opposite – trustification and dependence on finance capital. This golden garden of fair competition produces the very opposite of fairness: price-cutting, wars, cartels, monopolies, “corners” and vertical trusts. But all these evils seem to the bourgeois, who is hurled from his freedom by them, to be – as indeed they are – direct and coercive social relations and he revolts against them as the very opposite of his ideal recipe, the free market. He therefore revolts against them by

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demanding a fairer market and keener competition, without realising that since these ills are created by the free market, to demand the intensification of its freedom is to demand an intensification of the slavery he hates. He therefore drives on the movement he detests and can only escape by escaping from the bourgeois contradiction. The bourgeois is always talking about liberty because it is always slipping from his grasp.

The bourgeois poet treads a similar circle. He finds the loneliness which is the condition of his freedom unendurable and coercive. He finds more and more of his experience of the earth and the universe unfriendly and a restraint on his freedom. He ejects everything social from his soul, and finds that it deflates, leaving him petty, empty and insecure.

How has this come about? We can only discover why if we now cease to take the bourgeois at his own valuation, and lay bare the economic motion of which his own valuation of himself is the reflection. At each stage the bourgeois finds that his abolition of social “restrictions” leads to their intensification. His drive towards a free market exposes the producer to a gale of competition of which the only outcome is – an amalgamation. His destruction of feudal “complexities” in favour of the simple bourgeois right to property produces all the staggering elaboration of the bourgeois law of contract. His hate of feudal rule and social coercion produces the strongly-centralised, bourgeois State with its endless petty interferences with the liberty of the individual. Individualism has produced anti-individualism. The very economy whose mission it seemed to be to sweep away all social relations, produces a society more overwhelmingly complex than any hitherto known. His demand for freedom is a negation of freedom. He is a “mirror-revolutionary” and continually revolutionises society by asking for

that which will procure the opposite of what he desires.

This self-contradictory movement is given in the fundamental law of capitalist production. It is a result of the same law which brings about a price-cutting war, in which each capitalist is compelled to ruin the other, and cannot do otherwise, for to delay the final ruin of all would ensure his earlier extinction. This movement produces the continual increase of constant capital in every industry, which leads to a falling rate of interest and causes the familiar capitalist crisis, from which recovery is only possible by means of the destruction of a large portion of the country’s wealth. This same contradiction produces also the expansive growth of capitalism, its constant revolution of its own basis and its eager pressure into every corner of the world. It produces a continual amalgamation and trustification which, by increasing the proportion of constant capital, only accelerates the falling rate of profit.

This contradiction in capitalist production, which secures its revolutionary expansion, also brings about its revolutionary decline. When the expansive powers of capitalism have laid the whole world under tribute, the rival centres of advance clash against each other in concealed or open war, only to intensify in each other the causes which demand expansion. The productive forces strain at the productive relations. There is a final crisis of “over-production.” The falling rate of profit, unavoidable fruit of the self-contradiction in the heart of capitalism, becomes apparent in mass unemployment, a world crisis, a general slowing-down of capitalist expansion, war and revolution. And this final movement, in which the bourgeois finds his charter of freedom the very bond that seals him slave to necessity, is reflected also in his poetry, in the poetry of Imperialism and Fascism.

The very destruction of all direct social

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coercion – which was the condition of bourgeois pre-eminence and therefore freedom – is the condition of slavery for the exploited and expropriated, because it is the means of maintaining the indirect coercion of capital, and for this uses the openly coercive machinery of the State. Therefore in the latter part of capitalist development, the bourgeois finds himself confronted by a class, the means of whose freedom is an organisation into trade unions, which alleviate the rigour of the free market. These can only secure freedom for themselves by imposing coercive restrictions on him. This class is the class of wage-labourers or proletarians. Organising themselves first as Chartists, then in the trade unions, and finally led by a conscious political Party, they impose on the capitalist coercive restrictions, such as the Factory Acts, social insurance and the like, which are the conditions of such liberty as they can obtain within the categories of bourgeois economy. But each class's freedom secures the unfreedom of the other – that is the contradiction which now comes nakedly to light.

Bourgeois production imposes on this class the means of organisation. Bourgeois economy groups its members in towns and factories and makes them work in co-operation. The bourgeois class temporarily buried the competition of men and appealed to the brotherhood of men whenever it required their alliance to overthrow feudal restrictions; and this gave wage-labourers a political education and led to the formation of their political party.

This new class finally secures its own freedom by a complete executive organisation of itself as a ruling class – the Soviets of workers' power – and imposes on the bourgeoisie the final “freedom” of release from ownership of private property, thus exposing the lie on which the bourgeois notion of freedom was based. But with the

disappearance of the bourgeoisie the last coercive relation rooted in the necessities of economic production disappears, and man can set about becoming genuinely free.

This proletarian revolution is accomplished in circumstances which necessarily uproot and proletarianise numbers of the bourgeoisie themselves.

“Just as therefore, at an earlier period, a section of the nobility went over to the bourgeoisie, so now a portion of the bourgeoisie goes over to the proletariat, and in particular a portion of the bourgeois ideologists who have raised themselves to the level of comprehending theoretically the historical movement as a whole. They thus defend not their present, but their future interests; they desert their own standpoint to place themselves at that of the proletariat.”

This desertion of the bourgeois ideologists to defend their own interests, in the final movement of capitalism, is also reflected in English poetry.

We cannot therefore understand the fundamental movement of capitalist poetry unless we understand that the self-contradiction which drives on the development of bourgeois poetry so rapidly and restlessly is the ideological counterpart of the self-contradiction which produces the increasing movement of capitalist economy and is the cause of the growth of constant capital, the falling rate of profit, and the recurrent capitalist crisis. What the bourgeois encounters in real life necessarily moulds his ideal experience. The collective world of art is fed by the collective world of real society because it is built of materials which derive their structure and emotional associations from social use.

*To be Continued...*

*Courtesy—Illusion and Reality*

**Published by : INSTITUTE FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRACY, New Delhi**  
**for**  
**Peace in South Asia**

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