ABSTRACT

The author explains that in its origin the term fundamentalism has no direct negative or violent connotation. However, this term has often been applied to those who resort to violence based on the ideological or religious adherence. Historically, most of fundamentalists have been moderate and apply passive and peaceful methods in their activities. Only active fundamentalists use extreme measures to achieve their religious ideals. The heightening existence of the active fundamentalism, and the disruption caused by it, leads to the projection that all fundamentalists are inherently violent in nature. This stereotype has been imposed on Islam particularly in the post-September 11, 2001 period. Investigating the relationship between Islam and fundamentalism the author asserts that, even though fundamentalism can exist in Islam, not all Muslim fundamentalists are active and violent.

I. INTRODUCTION

Fundamentalism often implies religious behaviour that is negative and violent in nature. If the history of the word itself were to be traced, the phrase ‘the Fundamentals’ refers to a series of twelve pamphlets published between 1909 and 1915 by Lyman Stewart and Reverend A. C. Stewart.
Dixon, as a part of the American Millenarian movement. These publications highlighted Biblical tenets to revive Christian faith that had been eroded in the pre-millenarian period. Curtis Lee Laws first used the word fundamentalists in 1920 to refer to those Christians who followed the tenets outlined in the “Fundamentals”. Thus, in its religious origin the term fundamentals or fundamentalists, has no direct negative or violent connotation. Despite this, through the history, the term fundamentalist has been applied to those who cause violence based on ideological adherence, and the existence of moderate fundamentals has been sidelined. This has particularly been the case after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 on New York and Washington, when the negative implications of fundamentalism have impressed upon the followers of Islam. This is mainly because the number of active fundamentalists outweighs the moderates, and the violence caused by active fundamentalism this is far more noteworthy than the acts of moderate fundamentalists. Thus, over the years, the word itself has carried stereotypes with negative religious connotations. In contemporary times, this stereotyping has undermined the existence of moderate Muslim fundamentalism.

Keeping these factors in mind, this paper will first define fundamentalism, moderate fundamentalism and active fundamentalism. Then it will determine the origins of fundamentalism and clarify that not all religious fundamentalists are violent in nature. To do this, it will explore the movements of British millenarianism and American millenarianism in historic and modern times. Finally, this paper will assess the relationship between Islam and fundamentalism and assert that even though fundamentalism can exist in Islam, not all Muslims fundamentalists are active in their nature.

II. DEFINITIONS

A. Fundamentalism

Jeffery K. Hadden and Anson Shupe explain: “Fundamentalism is the proclamation of reclaimed authority over a sacred tradition which is to be reinstated as an antidote for a society that has strayed from its traditional cultural values.” Fundamentalism persists in all religions. It involves a


plan to bring religion back to centre stage to influence public policy decisions. In fundamentalism the process of modernisation and secularisation contains the very seeds of a reaction that brings religion back into the heart of public policy. Thus, fundamentalists refute the ideology of secularisation and work towards retaining their traditional religious values in a world that faces modernisation and change. Hadden and Shupe explain that there are three main types of fundamentalisms namely, theological, political and cultural. Theological fundamentalism highlights the relevance of traditional religious doctrines in private and public affairs. Political fundamentalism emphasizes the theological duty of followers to oppose worldly vices such as secularisation and modernisation. Cultural fundamentalism involves a comparison between groups of varied religions to emphasize the righteousness of the dominant religion.

Bruce Lawrence, the author of the book *Defenders of God: The Fundamentalist Revolt against the Modern Age*, defines fundamentalism as an act that affirms religious authority. He says that fundamentalism is holistic and absolute in nature. It expresses public recognition and legal enforcement of creed-oriented ethical principles that are derived from scriptures. Similar to Hadden and Shupe, Lawrence argues that fundamentalism is a worldwide phenomenon that conservative and rejects modernisation. There are a few main features that are generic to fundamentalism. These are that: fundamentalists generate their own technical vocabulary; advocate a minority viewpoint; oppose secularist and wayward religious followers; and, are led by charismatic males. Keeping these factors in mind, Lawrence states that, fundamentalism is an effort by earnest folk to retain a place for old-fashioned values in a rapidly modernizing world. He uses Christian coalitions and the Islamic factions as examples of contemporary fundamentalist groups.

Peter Cameron, a former principal at the University of Sydney, explains that the Presbyterians at this college were extremely conservative and did not allow women into the ministry. Cameron opposed this policy and soon found himself in a theological battle with the Church. In his criticism Cameron said that fundamentalists were idolizing past human thinking and in the process, rejecting modern human thought. In 1993, he was charged with heresy and was religiously and socially ousted. It was then that Cameron decided to record his experiences in his book *Heretic*. In the

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book, Cameron asserts that fundamentalists strictly adhere to religious scriptures and are intolerant of those who differ from their own religious views. He says that fundamentalists perceive that God is authoritarian in nature and bullies his followers into submission. This is an inadequate conception of God and a projection of man’s own fantasies. Fundamentalists follow their own misguided inclinations of religion instead of being faithful to the simple truths that God laid down for his people.

Taking these views into account, fundamentalism can be defined as a movement in which followers of a religion strictly abide by scriptures to preserve a traditional way of life. In the process, they oppose modernisation and secularism mainly because they associate traditionalism with virtually recreating social conditions that have been described in the religious texts. Most often fundamentalists are not keen to focus on those tenets that encourage infrastructural change so that religious values can be maintained along with social evolution. For instance, the Quranic concept of *ijtihad* encourages religious interpretations, especially among the clergy, so that the laws of the Quran can be constantly modified to meet the needs of an evolving Muslim community. Most Islamic fundamentalists do not emphasize this aspect of *ijtihad*. In fact, they use the provisions of *ijtihad* to emphasize the relationship between traditional religious tenets and social evolution. The application of traditional doctrines to contemporary society results in the moderate or active disruptions caused by fundamentalism. Fundamentalists view time-honoured social distinctions and cultural patterns as being rooted in the very nature of things and in the order of creation itself. This implies the stratification of roles for men, women, parents, children and clergy. Further, fundamentalists demand a theocratic state in their urgency to literally follow the word of God. The method chosen by fundamentalists to implement their religious ideology is based on individual choice. This is influenced by certain psychological and sociological factors that fall outside the realm of this paper’s discussion. However, these factors do influence the distinction between moderate and active methods that are used to implement religious ideals in fundamentalism.

**B. Moderate Fundamentalism**

Moderate fundamentalists are those who strictly adhere to religious scriptures but do not use violence to obtain their religious ideals. The interpretations of moderate thinkers most often represent religious tenets as
literally as they have been presented in the main texts. Through their work, moderate fundamentalists hope to bring social change through increased religious adherences within a society. The ideas of moderate fundamentalists influence popular thought but are subject to further interpretations. Most often, moderate fundamentalism stems from the educated and/or elite classes in a society. This is mainly because the informed interpretations of religious texts spread by moderate fundamentalists, requires a degree of rationalism that is encouraged by education. However, those who are intrinsically rational thinkers can engage in moderate fundamentalism without a firm educational background as well. On occasion, moderate fundamentalists can use power within the confines of the state or political authority to obtain their religious ideals. Thus there can be variations in the level of moderateness adopted by these fundamentalists. Some examples of moderate fundamentalists are: George Stanley Faber, Edward Irving, Alexander Campbell, William Miller, Lyman Stewart, A.C. Dixon, Curtis Lee Laws, Mawlana Mawdudi, Syed Qutb, Ayatollah Khomeini and Zia ul-Haq.

C. Active Fundamentalism

Active fundamentalists adhere to religious tenets and use them to bring about infrastructural changes through violence. Most often active fundamentalism emanates from within the masses. The reason for this is that sections of the masses are impoverished. They tend to rely on religion as recourse for social and economic improvement. However leaders of active fundamentalist can belong to the elite class as well and moderate fundamentalists can transgress to active fundamentalism. Violence caused by active fundamentalism can range from aggressive civil protests to terrorism. It can be applied to cases of intra and inter communal conflicts. Hostility caused during the Khomeini Revolution in Iran or the civil unrest in Libya can be categorized as active fundamentalism without terrorist intent. This is because these acts fell within the constitutional parameters of the state in which they originated.

Acts of terrorism can be categorized as a sub-sect of active fundamentalism. Terrorism is a non-political act of aggression in which the extent of violence used is “outside the realm of normative behaviour”.5

Terrorists use or threaten to use violence against combatants and non-combatants to achieve political, social, economical or religious change within a given community. These reforms appeal to the terrorists and do not necessarily represent popular opinion of the society. According to Kofi Annan, the Secretary General of the United Nations (UN) the manifestations of terrorism are limitless. The “only common denominator among the different variants of terrorism is the calculated use of deadly violence against civilians.”6 Terrorists are those who violate the “right to life, liberty and security” vested in each civilian by the UN’s *Universal Declaration of Human Rights.*7 Thus the Foreign and Commonwealth Office (FCO) of the United Kingdom defines terrorism as a movement in which terrorists “directly challenge the authority of democratically elected governments to manage their country’s affairs peacefully, according to the rule of law and internationally accepted fundamentals of human rights,”8 to satisfy their own liking. Most often, groups categorized as terrorists do not have any legitimate affiliation to political authority. A few examples of terrorists groups who engage in active fundamentalism are the: Aum Shinrikyo (Japan), Basque Fatherland and Liberty (Spain), Kach and Kahane Chai (Israel), Sendero Luminoso (Peru), True IRA (Ireland), Ellalan Force (Sri Lanka), Armed Islamic Group (Algeria), Al-Jihad (Egypt) and Dal Khalsa (India).9

III. ORIGINS OF FUNDAMENTALISM

*A. The British Millenarian Movement (1800-1845)*

In the book *The Roots of Fundamentalism*, Ernest R. Sandeen states that although the term fundamentalists, was coined in the United States in 1920, it was British millenarianism that gave momentum to the American fundamentalist movement. Thus, it is important to trace the history of the

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British millenarian movement when one is attempting to understand the origins of fundamentalism.

The Christian theory of apocalypticism is closely associated with millenarianism. According to Christian apocalypticism, man is deeply disturbed by human discomforts that persist in the world. These sufferings would be bettered by the occurrence of the Second – Advent\(^\text{10}\) and the Lord Himself. Thus man eagerly awaits this event. Prophetic messages such as “Hold on, for what may seem like folly will be turned into victory by the coming of a saviour who will vindicate his followers and scatter the hordes of the enemy”\(^\text{11}\) are crucial to the apocalyptical vision. Christian apocalypticism focused on the last millennium defines millenarianism. The primary tenet of the British millenarianism was that acceptance of scriptures and religious authority would hasten the onset of the Second – Advent. The world was growing more corrupt\(^\text{12}\) every day and thereby rushing towards imminent judgment. Millenarians believed that the panorama of ‘coming glory and judgment’ was explicitly foretold in religious scriptures.

The success of the British millenarian movement was motivated by the involvement of higher religious authority in popular affairs. Priests encouraged the masses to believe in millenarianism to increase the importance of the Church itself. The British religious leadership emphasized that the continued success of the Church would lead to the culmination of Christian history with the Second – Advent of Christ. Although the priests reiterated to the masses that, until the Second – Advent occurred, man must rely solely upon the ministry of the Church and religious scriptures. The elite of this period produced a vast bibliography of prophetic studies based on interpretations of the Bible, to enhance the man’s understanding of Christianity. The Church of England supplied the greatest number of authors to this collection. Periodicals written by Reverend George Stanley Faber, such as *Dissertations on the Prophecies, That Have Been Fulfilled, and Are Now Fulfilling*, were among the first to be considered models of Biblical

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10 With reference to the Biblical notion that, Christ would descend upon this earth for the second time with an intention of improving the world.


12 Millenarianism opposed catholic emancipation, democracy and industrialization. As these three factors became inherent in British society, the masses (19th century) continued to believe that the world must grow more evil day after day and this would bring about the Second – Advent.
interpretation. As a result, the Church and the Bible became central to man’s existence during the initial phase of British millenarianism.

Biblical awareness was then applied to the revival of Christian interest in the condition and emancipation of the Jew. It was in this phase that the concept of dominant religion arose. Christianity was the dominant religion of the 19th century Britain. The Christians believed that the miseries of the Jews would be ameliorated if they followed Christianity. Groups were created to promote this view and encourage conversions to the Christian Faith. Lewis Way, a trained barrister, was among the first British citizens to assume leadership of a group that promoted Christianity among the Jews. In 1811 Way professed an obligation to philanthropy and Christian service. He discovered the existence of the London Society for Promoting Christianity among Jews (LSPCJ), which was established in 1809. Millenarian interest in the restoration of Jews arose primarily from the interpretation of religious scriptures. After careful study of the religious scriptures, Lewis Way reached the conclusion that “the return of Jews and the Second – Advent of Christ were quite literally prophesied… (in) the Bible.”

Thus, millenarians adhered to Biblical teachings, encouraged the Jews to consider Christianity and awaited the Second-Advent. The masses soon sought to fulfil Biblical message as literally as possible. They believed that failure to abide by these prophecies would imply denigration of the self and religious authority. Man’s faith in the Bible and the Church strengthened the hope that strict adherence would lead to an earlier occurrence of the Second – Advent.

This perception led to the onset of pre-millenarianism that defines the human hope that strict adherence to the Bible would hasten the Second-Advent. This concept is based on Man’s own interpretation of the Bible rather than the doctrines of the text itself. Thus, modern critics of British millenarianism state that pre-millenarianism was a consequence of man’s anxiousness to see God descend upon this Earth. The pre-millennial return of Christ was based on the assumption that an increase in worldly destruction was the only possible way to get a quicker response from God. Thus, the masses soon began to increase the destruction in society to hasten

14 The term does not refer to a period before millenarianism. It refers to a man’s believed that the Second – Advent would occur sooner than expected.
15 Which as anticipated by Holy Scriptures follows Year-day theory of 1260 days process as stated in the Bible.
the occurrence of the Second-Advent. It is here that we see signs of religious violence arising in the British millenarianism.

The elite began to conduct conferences that would inform the masses of prophetic truths. At these conferences, issues that were causing pre-millenarian violence were isolated and clarified. The Albury Conference conducted in 1827 set the stage for other such conferences. This conference gave structure to British millenarianism by consolidating both theology and groups of men that defended it. It provided a forum for millenarian scholars to reinforce their central convictions, especially those pertaining to the Second Advent and the restoration of the Jews. The Bible was the only authorized source of higher appeal at these sessions. The ideas of Edward Irving can be used to elucidate the visions displayed at this conference. Irving shunned popular interpretations pertaining to pre-millenarian thought and advised the masses to study the Bible carefully. He rejected interpretations of the 1260 days\(^\text{16}\) theory, the corrupt state of contemporary Christendom, the imminent return of Christ and clues by which the Second – Advent of Christ might be identified. He said that according to the Bible there was still time for the Second-Advent to occur. Honourable Henry Drummond had invited twenty people from the masses to dispel these ideas among the populace. The Albury conference created a relationship between the masses and the elite that was based on religious philosophical thought. However, this also represented a dichotomy in elitist and popular thought mainly because members of the conference refused to rely on common interpretations of the Bible in their analysis. Reversely, the masses protested the ideas of the elites displayed at this conference. They branded Irving as a pagan and tried him for heresy. Following this event, disagreements between the masses and the elites, arising from the interpretation of scriptures became the centre of all controversies in the British millenarianism. The elites reckoned that British Society was overtly governed by religious myth. Thus, they began to question the accuracy of the scriptures and the Church itself.

The British Millenarian movement lost its momentum after the Albury Conference. The clash between the elite and the masses grew wider; popular violence to pre-empt the Second-Advent overtook British Society; and efforts to restore the Jews speedily gained momentum. Most of the people in this period were questing mainly for ways to hasten the coming of

\(^{16}\) Referred to as the day-year theory mentioned in Revelation 13 and Daniel 17.
Christ. The emphasis on the Second-Advent, gave rise to both moderate and active fundamentalism within British millenarianism. The elite and the masses engaged in fundamentalism heavily relied on scriptures to hasten this event and preserve traditionalism by opposing modernisation and secularism in British society. The moderates approached British millenarianism through rational thought, writings and conferences. This influenced the masses. However an eagerness to bring about the Second-Advent and thus social change within a Biblical context, allowed moderate thought to give rise to active fundamentalism. This violence did not amount to terrorism and it was limited to aggressive civil protests against the state and elite religious thought. The numeric majority of the masses led to the stereotype that British millenarianism consisted mainly of active fundamentalism. However, this is untrue especially given that it was moderate fundamentalism that presented the ideological premise for active fundamentalism.

B. American Millenarianism (1845-1920)

British millenarian philosophy was imported to the United States (US) around 1845. Even though American millenarianism began before this time, it lacked ideological direction prior to the dawn of British philosophy. Jonathan Edwards was the first American who advocated this theological merger. Edwards, along with other leaders of the larger Protestant denominations, faced the challenge of evangelising the pagan west. These Protestant leaders plunged into their work with confidence in God. Samuel H. Cox, who was a leader in the American millenarian movement and a moderator of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church for 1846, said that “God has got America within anchorage, and that upon that arena, He intends to display his prodigies for the millennium”. Edwards and Cox emphasised a reliance on religious scriptures to understand the theories of apocalypticism and the Second Advent that were foundational to American millenarianism.

Biblical ideas were dispersed though journals and periodicals. For almost three decades, Alexander Campbell elaborated on the “Disciplines of Christ” through his monthly journal, *The Millennium Harbinger*. Campbell made frequent reference to the apocalyptic symbol of Daniel and the Revelation. He speculated on the manner in which these prophecies were to

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be publicly interpreted. Campbell, like the British masses, expressed his belief in progress through destruction. He wrote, “Christendom is to be the theater of the most tremendous calamities and sudden disasters, terminating in that unexampled earthquake, which is to destroy the monarchies and hierarchies.”18 Thus Campbell made pre-millenarianism central to American millenarianism.

However, pre-millenarianism was more pronounced in the US than it was in Britain. The Americans had a more definite idea about when the Second – Advent would occur. Basing their assessment on William Miller’s prediction that the Second – Advent would occur in 1844, Americans began to specify certain humans and messiahs as the reincarnation of Christ. Miller became a “theological leper whose ceremonial denunciation was a part of the litany of millenarianism for the next century.”19 The Miller School of Thought was ranked the largest and the most influential in American millenarian history. This school of thought emphasized the exact year of the Second – Advent. Miller said that the advent would occur on October 22, 1844. He refuted the practices of beckoning Christ or waiting for Him by dressing in robes and gathering on hilltops. He believed that such fanatical behaviour lead to insanity, murder and suicide. However, the Millenarian Church of the United States of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing believed that, the Second – Advent had already occurred. They first thought that Mother Ann Lee was the first female complementary form of Christ. This, and the first decades of Mormon history made the American people believe that the Second – Advent had occurred. As the propaganda behind Mother Ann Lee and the Mormon prophecy died out, the people became even more desperate to see Christ descend and salvage the earth. Thus, the masses once again turned their attention to Miller’s predictions.

They also believed strongly in the fact that calamities had been predicted as one of the indications that the Second – Advent was nearing. As a result, news of fire, war, railroad and steam engine disasters were regularly reported. The expectation of the American people lay at rock bottom. It was at this point that Miller became fascinated with interpretation of prophecies. He decided to read the Bible cautiously in order to see what exactly it said about the Second – Advent. Miller hoped to put the American people at ease

after his careful analysis of the religious text. Depending on his own exegesis of the Bible, Miller developed a system of prophetic interpretation that came very close to that which was developed by the British pre-millenarian thinkers. The main thrust of Miller’s argument was that Christ would return, the pagans would be judged and the world would be cleansed. Miller emphasized that Christ would return only if the prophecies of the Bible were literally fulfilled. Unlike the British millenarian thinkers, Miller did not accept the restoration of Jews as a part of the prophetic timetable. American millenarian thinkers believed that non-believers in the Christian religion would not survive the coming of Christ. This belief emphasized the importance of the notion of dominant religion in the millenarian movements. Under Miller, the American millenarian movement was organized in a fashion similar to the British movement. Conferences, newspapers, pamphlets and winning over converts were important features of American millenarianism.

A period of lull was introduced in the American millenarian movement when the Second – Advent did not occur on October 22, 1844. Critics say that by concentrating upon 1844, Miller virtually destroyed millenarianism for America. Christian faith was at a low from 1844 onwards, and it was not until 1909 that it was rejuvenated. The years after 1844 were marked with Biblical criticism and disbelief in religious prophecies. The Christians came to resent modernisation and believed that it was an evil that the society was facing.

In 1904, Lyman Stewart, an owner of a newspaper company, devoted himself to reassert the truth of Christian faith through publication and free distribution of Christian evangelist literature. In August of 1909, Stewart along with the help of Reverend A.C. Dixon published a series of pamphlets called The Fundamentals. It was then that the word fundamental was first used in a religious context. The first volume of The Fundamentals was published in February 1910. Eleven other volumes were published between 1910 and 1915. In total three million copies were printed and freely circulated. This series offered a vigorous campaign to discredit modernism and preserve conservative evangelicalism. The main points accentuated by Stewart and Dixon in the twelve volumes included: the verbal inspiration of the original Bible; the importance of the deity of Christ; the hands of non-

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20 Modernization is defined as social, political, economic and technical development of a society. Modernism was considered evil by traditional Christian followers because they felt that new ideas would not let traditional Christianity remain alive.
believers that killed Christ, the personality of the Holy Spirit, the necessity of a personal infilling of the Spirit for victorious Christian living; the personal return of Christ and the urgency of speedy evangelisation of the world.21 Stewart believed that, fundamentalism was a response to the loss of traditional Christian revivalism experienced in America in the early twentieth century.

The term fundamentalists, was first coined in 1920, by a Baptist called Curtis Lee Laws who was the editor of a conservative publication called Watchman. He first used the term at the Northern Baptist Convention in Buffalo, New York (1920). This convention was held to revitalize and re-emphasise the fundamentals of Baptist faith. Believing that terms such as pre-millenarians or conservatives had negative connotations, Laws refused to accept them to define his movement. At this conference Laws chose fundamentalist as a neutral term for those who were ready “to do battle royal to defend the ideologies emphasized in The Fundamentals.”22 Laws had formulated the term fundamentalists to enhance an objective understanding of the Bible. However, this intent was diminished as the language employed in public discourse came to carry highly negative presumptions. For instance, in the early twentieth century, some American fundamentalists felt displaced by the waves of non-Protestant immigrants from southern and eastern Europe. Some Americans felt betrayed by statesmen who had allowed the immigrants to enter the country. Keeping the apocalyptic vision in mind, the masses began to fight the influx of immigrants by insisting upon the process of conversion so that everyone would have the faith in Jesus Christ alone. Christian followers stressed the accuracy of the Bible in science, history, theology and the imminent physical return of Christ. In the 1930s, religious cults or sects came to be formed in America when some non-believers failed to adhere to these impositions. The unrest within the American Christian society arose because multiple religions had to co-exist in close territorial proximity. Due to the infiltration of people from various nationalities and faiths, the U.S. had to adopt a policy of secularisation. The notion of dominant religion was evident and Protestants emphasised that their scriptures were of utmost relevance. Fundamentalists of all faiths proclaim guardianship of the truth based on their own religious texts. The American millenarian movement faded away by the early 1930s.

21 Stewart Lyman, Lyman Stewart to J.W. Baer, Stewart papers, 1907.
This is because the Second – Advent did not occur and the masses turned their attention towards politics for their social betterment. Thereafter the emphasis given to the separation of State and Church by the US government minimized popular reliance on religious scriptures.

American millenarianism is vital to the origins of fundamentalism especially because the term fundamentalists was coined in this period and it encouraged acts of cultural fundamentalism, theological fundamentalism and intra-communal conflicts that could amount to terrorism. Further, this movement was marked with far greater acts of non-terrorism oriented active fundamentalism than the British millenarianism. However, similar to its parent-movement, acts of active fundamentalism in American millenarianism were influenced by moderate thought and a reliance on religious scriptures. The links between moderate and active fundamentalism insinuates the stereotype that all fundamentalism is disruptive in nature. However, this is untrue because, as shown above, in American millenarianism moderate fundamentalists exposed traditional version of historical texts through passive and rational methods. This influenced active fundamentalism based on popular interpretations of religion that may have been irrational on some occasions.

IV. ISLAM AND FUNDAMENTALISM

The Quran is the main text of Islam. It is the duty of all Muslims to follow the teachings of the Quran in their private and public lives based on their own interpretations of the text. The Quran comprises of set of laws called the Shariat in which “God lays down for mankind the rules of conduct.” A few of the topics addressed in the Shariat are: Striving for Faith, Moral Diseases, Social Maladies, Repentance, Character of Non-Believers, Punishment, Retaliatory Action, striving for the Holy Cause, Defense, Evidence, Justice and Religious Preeminence. The Quran is the theological source that contains these laws and provides an explanation for the context in which they must be followed. The Quran states that implementing the Shariat in private and public affairs will allow Muslims to acquire the glory that God has envisioned for the Islamic community. By following the Shariat man must allow himself to be guided by God to this inevitable condition. Rationalization

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23 For details on this section please read: Amritha Venkatraman, Kashmir: Islam and Terror, (PhD Dissertation), Rutgers University, New Jersey 2005, Chapter 2.

24 The Koran, Pg 357, (47:3) (The Quran, Penguin Classic)
for submission to the Divine will is assisted by the three-fold framework suggested by Prophet Muhammad namely, ‘i-i, i-it and i-they’. Deviation from the path of submission to the Shariat warrants condemnation because it undermines the path laid out by God for Muslims, and hinders achieving the well being that man can acquire on this earth and beyond. The Quran condemns such acts as grossly un-Islamic and suggests that Jihad must be used as a method to punish and ward off these un-religious conditions and other factors that influenced their existence. In the Quran, Jihad is a provision for religious amelioration that redirects a Muslim to accepting the word of God as the absolute “guidance for all walks of life – individual and social, material and moral, economic and political, legal and cultural, national and international” This acceptance manifests itself through a reliance on Quranic tenets and is central to the very being of Islam. Thus, the dependence on religious teachings in public and private lives in Islam pre-eminently associates it with fundamentalism. The concepts of dominant religion and anti-secularism are central to Islamic theology. However, a Muslim can determine the extent to which he chooses to emphasize religious tenets in his daily life, based on the freedom of interpretations permitted by the Quranic principle of *ijtihad*.

According to Mir Zohar Husain there are four essential practices in Islam. These are: Modernism, Pragmatism, Traditionalism and Fundamentalism. Modernists are those Muslims who emphasis the concept of ‘Islamic brotherhood’ as vital to Islam in their religious practices. Yet, they are secular in their worldly approach and rely on a conjunction of Muslim and non-Muslim intellectualism and scientific progress to further Islam. Pragmatists emphasize the supremacy of Allah in their religious beliefs, however, they believe that Islam cannot function exclusively in the global order. Thus they utilize religious teachings to emphasize coexistence as ordained by the Quran to further the will of God. Traditionalists view
Islam as “a comprehensive and living belief system that interacts with historical and cultural traditions of devout Muslims.” Thus, traditionalists rely on examples from the classical period of Islam to implement Quranic discourses, in their entirety. On the other hand, fundamentalists, though they are influenced by the ideology of traditionalists, do tend to obtain these religious ideals through “aggressive political actions”. They oppose the westernisation of Islamic societies and advocate that the Shariat be followed as literally as possible.

Despite variances on Quranic dictates, all these practices devote their religious interpretations to the pursuit of the will of God. Most often, the methods chosen by Muslims in these four practices are largely moderate. The include discourses, dialogue, cross-religious interactions, spreading of pamphlets and teaching at madarssas. The aggressive methods chosen by fundamentalists can include martial law, opposition of the on-going regime through moderate protests and dictatorial regimes. These acts fall within the constitution of a theocratic state. However, all the methods chosen by Muslims in these practices must be directed towards implementing the will of God on this earth. Taking these factors into account, it can be said that fundamentalism is intrinsic to Islamic practices mainly because of the religious emphasis on following Quranic tenets. However, the freedom of interpretation permitted by the Quran allow for variances in religious practices that determine the extent of fundamental behaviour in Islam. Thus, this religion can be particularly used as an example to assert that not all fundamentalists are negative in their nature.

A. Islam and Moderate Fundamentalism

A few of the prominent moderate Muslim fundamentalists are: Mawlana Mawdudi, Syed Qutb, Zia ul-Haq and Ayatollah Khomeini. These

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30 A few prominent Traditionalists are: Ahmad Raza Khan Barelvi (1856-1921) and Haji Muhammad Abidi. The Deoband School, Jaamait, Barewli, and Al-Hadith are some Islamic schools that further the traditional Islamic practices.
31 Husain Mir Zohar, *Global Islamic Politics*, op. cit., p. 44.
32 A few prominent Fundamentalists are: Muhammad Ahmad Abdallah (a crusader for the creation of a puritanical Islamic in Sudan), Mawlana Mawdudi, Syed Qutb, Ayatollah Khomeini and Zia ul-Haq.
Muslims did emphasize religious adherences through their discourse however, they did not use or cause violence to implement their beliefs. On occasion, the religious ideologies of some of these moderate Muslims have been used for violent Jihad. However, similar to the patterns in British and American millenarianism, this usage was not intended by these thinkers.

Mawlana Mawdudi was from Pakistan and in the 1940s he established a religious school there called the Jaamait e-Islamia. He furthered his religious ideology through this school, lectures and writings. Mawdudi highlighted the Quranic discourse on Jihad and revivalism to encourage Muslims in the subcontinent to oppose British colonization. Through his teachings Mawdudi explained, “when a person or group arises to carry out a revolution… to establish a new system in conformity with the ideology of Islam, he or they should be… executing acts of devotion for the Cause…The objective of the struggle should be completely free from the taint of selfish motives...The only reward in view should be to gain the favour of God… Islam is… a comprehensive system which envisages annihilating… tyrannical and evil systems… and enforces its own programme of reform which it deems best for the well-being of mankind… Our animosity is directed against tyranny, strife, immorality and against the attempt of any individual to transgress his natural limits and expropriate what is not apportioned to him by the natural law of God… An Islamic government (should be) founded… Muslims are categorically barred from assuming despotic powers.” Mawdudi’s philosophy encouraged Muslims to oppose British colonization. There are reports that in current times, his philosophy has encouraged the Muslims to adopt violent Jihad particularly in Kashmir. In fact, Mazood Azhar, the leader of the military outfit in Kashmir called Jaish e- Muhammad has professed that his decision to wage violent Jihad against India in Kashmir was inspired by the teachings of Mawdudi and Jaamait e-Islamia. However, it is vital to note that Mawdudi himself did not resort to violence while propagating his religious ideologies. It should also be pointed out that even in current times the Jaamait e-Islamia does not encourage Muslims to adopt violent Jihad. It dispels Mawdudi’s philosophy and traditional interpretations of the Quran. Mawdudi’s efforts

34 For details see: Amritha Venkatraman, The Religious Basis for Islamic Terrorism, op. cit.
36 Mawdudi Abul A’La, Jihad in Islam-2, op. cit., p. 29.
were to enlighten Muslims about Quranic teachings so that they could rationally use these tenets to better their private and public lives. The decision to use violence to obtain these religious objectives results from individual choices made by Muslims themselves.

Syed Qutb was an Egyptian thinker who advocated traditional interpretations of the Quran in the 1960s. He emphasised strict reliance on the Quran as a method to avert the on-set of post-colonization in the Muslim world. Qutb believed European colonization had dawned upon Islam mainly because Muslims had failed to abide by Quranic teachings during the Golden Age. Thus he sought to reactivate the Quran in the post-colonial order “as the sole cultural, social and political standard of behavior among Muslims”\(^\text{37}\) across the globe. Qutb suggested five steps to achieve this Revivalist objective. The first was to ensure “the spread of Islam from homes,\(\text{masjids}\) (mosques) and madarssas into mainstream of not only the socio cultural life of Muslim societies, but the legal, economic and political spheres of the modern day Muslim nation-states as well”.\(^\text{38}\) The second was to use ijtihad and Islamic theology for “the reformulation and revision of Islamic theory and practice in light of contemporary times.”\(^\text{39}\) The third step was for Muslims to rely on the Quran’s socio-economic discourse to bridge the economic gaps created in Islam because of colonization. The fourth was to use a “religious approach to solving contemporary problems”\(^\text{40}\) and engage in economic and scientific exchanges with the west, however, using the guidelines on inter-communal relationships outlined in the Quran. And the fifth was to maintain “strong anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist undercurrents (and) end to international dependence”\(^\text{41}\) so that the Quran could “champion the development of a united Islamic bloc.”\(^\text{42}\) Qutb furthered his ideas through his writings, discourses and his own religious institution called the “Muslim Brotherhood”.

There is no evidence of the fact that Qutb’s writings did not actually cause religious violence during his time. However, certain Muslims


\(^{38}\) Husain Mir Zohar, Global Islamic Politics, op. cit., pp. 9-11.

\(^{39}\) Ibid.

\(^{40}\) Ibid.

\(^{41}\) Ibid.

\(^{42}\) Ibid.
believed that his writings inspired the success of the initial victory to the Arabs in their 1973 war with Israel, the success of the Khomeini Revolution in Iran and the Afghan victory in their war with the Soviets in 1979. Extreme interpretations of the philosophy floated by Qutb have also influenced violent Jihad in Kashmir. Violent Jihadis emphasize Qutb’s ideology as the premise for their own religious interpretations that cause violence in contemporary geopolitical conditions. This ideology then lends legitimacy for the onset and progression of violent Jihad within a Quranic context, especially in inter-communal conflicts. Thus Ferdoz Syed who was once the leader of the Muslim Jahbaz Force in Kashmir states that the “religious philosophies of revivalists such as Mawlana Mawdudi, Syed Qutb and Al-Bana are essential to the global Islamic sentiment which influences the ‘crusader mentality’.”43 However, this does not imply that these thinkers used violence in their own religious practices.

Zia ul-Haq was the third military dictator of Pakistan who remained in power from 1977 till 1988. Zia was a moderate fundamentalist whose extreme religious ideologies resulted in the demise of democracy and the onset of new dictatorship in Pakistan. However, these changes fell within the constitutional parameters of Pakistan and did not amount to active fundamentalism. Zia believed in the Quranic teaching that “Islam is a religion of society… and in order to bring the full effect of the principles of Islam to a human society, there must be a fully sovereign Islamic community having the sanctions of the state to implement Islamic Laws.”44

According to the Shariat on governance, the functions of the Head of the State are to: “live for God, imitate the Holy Prophet as a Muslim and as head of state as best as he can, be a servant of the people and not their master”. Goulam Choudhry explains that, “the Head of the State is not above the law… his function being... to administer the state… positively, on the basis of truth and justice as given in the divine law… as long as he governs in conformity with the guidance, given by God and His Messenger Muhammad (peace be to him), he should be implicitly obeyed by all as it has been commanded.”45 He used his constitutional authority to ensure his own position as Head of State and militarily implement religious dictates in Pakistan. The objective of his politico-military rule was to end “the craze of

43 Ferdoz Syed, Interview given to Amritha Venkatraman in February 2004.
un-Islamic values… (and ensure that the) Shariat… will permeate every nook and corner of the dear motherland.”46

Thus, Zia introduced the Hudood Laws (Islamic Penal Code), the Federal Sharia Court, Quazi Courts, training in Administrative Islamic Law and Sharia Faculty in Islamic Universities. Under Article 230 of the 1973 constitution, Zia established the Islamic Council with twenty members that would overlook these religious establishments and implement the process of Islamisation in Pakistan. Zia emphasized that members of his administration and the society receive formal education of the Quran, through the International Islamic University in Pakistan. The Islamic Council also recommended that the government should direct the “university of the country to revise the syllabi of law for meeting the ideological requirements of the nation and for this purpose stressed the importance of specialized studies and research in Muslim Law”47 in all postgraduate courses. In October 1981, Zia inaugurated the Sharia Faculty at the Quaid-e-Azam University in Islamabad, where special arrangements were made for instruction of Muslim Law at the post-graduate levels. Thereafter, a Sharia Faculty was made compulsory at each postgraduate college in Pakistan. Zia wanted to increase internal stability in Pakistan by reducing dacoit and robbery in society. He contented that most often people commit these wrongful acts, under the influence of alcohol. Thus, in 1979, he incorporated laws in the Islamic Penal Code48 that forbid the sale and consumption of the alcohol all across Pakistan. At that time, the punishment for breaking this law was a fine of Rs. 5,000 and six months of imprisonment.

These are some of the many changes that Zia brought into Pakistan as a result of his fundamental reliance on the Quran. He implemented these changes through martial methods that caused tremendous civil unrest in Pakistan. Zia was quick to limit the uprising through his dictatorial methods. Zia’s religious practices project him as a fundamentalist who strictly relied on traditional interpretations and opposed secularism and modernisation, through political means. However, the absence of actual violence to implement these methods, categorizes Zia as a moderate fundamentalist who was extreme in his religious and political orientations.

46 Ibid., p. 129.
48 Created by Zia as a part of his Islamisation process on February 10, 1979.
Ayatollah Khomeini’s revolution against the Shah of Iran can also be used as an example of moderate Islamic fundamentalism. The core ideology of the Iranian Revolution was based on the question: what should be foundation of a model Islamic state? The Shah believed that modernisation could strengthen the society and economy of Iran. However, Khomeini contended that modernisation went against the teaching of the Quran and that, “Shah was modernizing Iran too fast and thus there needed to be a fundamentalist revolution”\(^49\) to implement Quranic ideals in Iran. However, Khomeini did not imply that the nature of this revolution must be violent and neither did he engage in any acts of active fundamentalism through the Iranian revolution.

The masses in Iran were motivated by Khomeini’s ideology and engaged in civil protests against the Shah and his policies. For instance, on January 9, 1978 a group of students protested the visit of the U.S. President Jimmy Carter. The Shah saw the fundamentalist demonstrations as a threat to his political sovereignty. Thus in January 1978, he ordered the Iranian police to open fire at the students. The Iranian police killed seventy people at this protest. Forty days after this massacre, the Iranian fundamentalists took to the streets to commemorate the dead students and to protest against the Shah’s government. The Iranian police once again opened fire on the crowd and over one hundred reformist demonstrators were killed. On September 8 1978, the Shah ordered the Iranian troops to open fire on a group of demonstrators in Tehran. At this event the demonstrators resorted to violence to counter the police and advocate Khomeini’s rule in Iran. Participants of the revolution were inspired by Khomeini’s religious beliefs but it was not Khomeini’s intention to cause active fundamentalism through his ideology. Active fundamentalists in the Iranian revolution mainly came from the rural classes.\(^50\) They relied on Khomeini’s philosophy in the hope that religious adherences would improve their socio-economic conditions as outlined in the Quran. Thus, Ignaz Glodziher, the author of the book, *Introduction to Islamic Theology and Law*, explains that active fundamentalism in Iran would have been minimized if the masses had approached Khomeini’s philosophy with rationality.

Yet, despite a clear distinction between moderate and active fundamentalists in Islam, there exists a stereotype that most Muslim


fundamentalists are violent in their nature. This is largely because the number of active fundamentalists overshadows the moderates; the violence caused by the active fundamentalist is related to moderate philosophy; and the disruption of active fundamentalism is far more note-worthy that the acts of the moderates. This stereotype can also arise because of the emphasis given to the doctrine of Jihad in the Quran. In the Quran, Jihad is presented as an act of defence that must be used to ameliorate aspects of the Shariat that have been violated by Muslims or non-Muslims in a geopolitical setting. The Quran identifies three main kinds of Jihad that can be used for this purpose. These are: internal, external and inter-communal. The Quran permits the use of violence as an optional method for all three forms of Jihad but it limits the use of violence in internal and external Jihad. It expands on its doctrine of Jihad and violence, mainly in the context of inter-communal conflicts. The use of Jihad must be in keeping with the three-fold relationship suggested by the Prophet Muhammad. As explained by Alam Khundmiri, the three-fold relationship comprises of the following associations: i-i, i-it and i-they. The ‘i-i’ association refers to the Muslims relationship with himself as a subject of God. The ‘i-it’ relationship refers to the interactions that a Muslim chooses to have with the Quran so that he can enhance his association with God. The ‘i-they’ relationship refers to the manner in which a Muslim interacts with his community. This should reflect his understandings of God and the Quran. Following these relationships in their entirety will enable a Muslim to carry out the will of God, particularly pertaining to Jihad, in accordance with the Quran in both private and public lives. However the most essential prerequisite in the Quran’s discourse on Jihad is that, force should be used only when the Shariat has been violated and needs to be persevered as the “very work of God Himself”. Based on

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51 Internal Jihad is that which is declared by a Muslim on himself to improve his adherence to the Quranic revelations.
52 External Jihad declared by an individual against the Islamic community to attain Quranic justice.
53 Inter-communal Jihad that declared between communities to attain Quranic objectives.
54 Violence is more rarely advocated in the case of internal as compared to external Jihad.
the philosophy of \textit{ijtihad} a Muslim can determine the nature and method of Jihad he chooses to exercise in his private and public life. Thus, moderate fundamentalists such as Mawdudi, Qutb, Zia and Khomeini waged Jihad against establishments that they opposed through their religious practices. However, their Jihad was moderate in nature because it was waged through literary and verbal encouragement of traditional religious ideas.

\textbf{B. Islam and Active Fundamentalism}

Islamic participation in the Crusades, the Wahhabi revolution in Saudi Arabia, and the Afghan-Soviet war can be outlined as acts of active fundamentalism with non-terrorist intentions. For instance, during the Crusades, in 1168, Yusef, the ruler of Egypt was called to engage in battle against the Christians. Yusef joined the Crusades to protect his own country from Western invaders. Yusef engaged in the Crusade and waged one of the most remarkable Jihads in Islamic history. The violence produced by Yusef’s participation in war amounts to active fundamentalism that falls within the constitutional realm of a state. Similarly, in the 1800s, Wahhabis used violent Jihad to impose Islamic traditionalism in Saudi Arabia, in keeping with the sanctions of the monarch there who wanted to restore law and order in his state. The Afghan-Soviet war of the 1970s imposed cold-war intentions upon the territorial sovereignty of nation. The violence during this war amounts to active fundamentalism that tallied with constitutional rights of a nation’s people to defend themselves from intruders. These events were motivated by moderate fundamentalist philosophy and its keen reliance on traditional religious thought. Yusef was encouraged by his clergy; the Wahhabis were influenced by Muhammad Ibn Abd al-Wahhab; and the Afghans were motivated by Mawdudi and Qutb. Having said this, it must be stated that the violence in these events included mass-murders, assassinations, abductions and aggressive threats. In fact, the Wahhabis still claim that their duty to Jihad would continue “until all the world either adopts the Muslim faith or submits to Muslim rule.”\footnote{Lewis Bernard, \textit{The Crisis of Islam – Holy War and Unholy Terror}, Modern Library, New York 2003, p. 31.} Taking this into account, it can be said that a distinction between active fundamentalism with terrorist and non-terrorist intentions is thin. However, a difference between these concepts does exist on the basis of the political orientation for violence. Thus there is a categorical difference between the PLO and HAMAS in Palestine. Similarly, the fact that in 1820,
the Wahhabis violently seized Peshawar from the Sikhs to establish traditional Islam in South Asia without political representation can be categorized as terrorism.

A few examples of active fundamentalism that amount to terrorism are: the assassination of Anwar Saddat in 1981 by the Egyptian based Al-Jihad group; bombings of the US barracks in Lebanon in 1983 by the Hezbollah; bombing of the World Trade Center towers in 1993 by the Al-Qida; hijacking of the Indian Airlines Plane from Katmandu in 1999 by the Al-Quida; and the September 11, 2001 attacks. Jihadis who executed these acts did so based on their own religious interpretations of the Quran and its doctrine of Jihad to preserve geopolitical and religious provisions. Some of those who participated in these attacks were associated to Jihadi groups that have no political affiliations. This fact determines that these acts had terrorist orientations. However, they were fundamental in nature. Upon a detail study of these acts it is revealed that, they were conducted to protect aspects of the Shariat which have been violated by Muslims and non-Muslims. The reason for increased nuances of terrorism in Islam is that, the Quran does not associate the right to wage Jihad with political authority. Rather, it gives all Muslims equal rights to wage Jihad based on their own religious interpretations, if the Shariat has been violated. For instance, some violent Jihadis oppose power politics played by the US in countries such as Iraq, Iran and Libya. They contend that these politics mainly further US economic interests in the Middle East. The Quran states that Islamic resources should be used mainly for Islamic benefits and can be exchanged with non-Muslims through negotiations and agreements. However, it strongly condemns unsolicited involvement of non-Muslims in Muslim affairs. Thus, some Muslims also emphasize US oil-trade in the Middle East from this perspective. They also condemn power hungry leaders in the Islamic world who facilitate such economics and politics and prevent the downward filtration effects of these engagements, as recommended by the Quran. Thus, Bin-Laden and other violent Jihadis believe that, despite their intensity, the 11 September 2005 attacks were a legitimate Quranic reaction to preserve the sanctity of Islamic values in the Middle East. Extreme interpretations of the Quran’s discourse on violence would legitimize this analysis.

It is also a fact that some active fundamentalists who engage in violent Jihad do so because they rely on religious philosophy in anticipation

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58 For details see: Amritha Venkatraman, 59.
of social, political and economic changes. For instance, the demand for political self-determination has been central to the involvement of Kashmiris in the triangular dispute over the state. The bilateral evolution of the Kashmir crisis between India and Pakistan has undermined political freedoms in Kashmir since 1947. In the 1970s, political conditions in Kashmir were such that the people of the state were particularly unrepresented by the Indian government. At this time, they were quick to turn to the traditional religious thought that Pakistan sought to inject in Kashmir as an alternative to Sufism. Some Kashmiris believed in Qutb’s philosophy that revisiting the Quran might bring political and military respite to the long-drawn dispute over Kashmir. In the 1980s, some Kashmiris who relied on traditional Islamic thought adopted terrorism as a method to bring political and social change in the region. However it must also be said that, the notion that violent Jihadis engage in active fundamentalism solely for economic benefits, is incorrect. Thus, Ferdoz Syed explains, “economic deprivation was not the reason for me or others to join the violent movement. The Kashmir issue is a serious psychological complexity that is embedded in a two-fold process, namely, historic and Islamic identity. Holding arms is not the start of the first phase of the militancy. Becoming a crusader is in the mind, it is the first place for a person wanting to make a change, picking up the gun is the last stage.”

An extreme reliance on religious philosophy and its application to geopolitical conditions is central to the mind-set that causes active fundamentalism, especially that which amounts to terrorism.

V. CONCLUSION

A detailed study of the history of fundamentalism reveals that fundamentalists are those who adhere to religious scriptures and are anti-modern, conservative and anti-secular in their nature. All fundamentalists do not have to be active in their orientations. In fact, fundamental philosophies in the periods discussed above, were formulated by moderate thinkers who adopted passive methods to further their religious thought. Popular interpretations of these philosophies for religious, social political and/or economic improvements caused active fundamentalism and led to the misconception that all fundamentalists are active in their nature. Examples of Edward Irving, Alexander Campbell, William Miller, Lyman Stewart, A. C. Dixon and Curtis Lee Laws, assert that all fundamentalists are not violent in nature.
Taking these examples into account, it can be said that fundamentalism is dominant in Islam mainly because of the importance given to religious adherence in the Quran and its discourse on Jihad for the implementation of the Shariat. However, the provision of *ijtihad* allows Muslims to exercise these provisions in methods and extents based on individual analysis. This allows legitimate Quranic existence of moderate and active fundamentalists in Islam. This also validates the categorization between active fundamentalists who are non-terrorist and terrorist in their orientation. Despite these clear distinctions, contemporary society is often ignorant of the more moderate aspects of Islamic fundamentalism and believes that all Muslim fundamentalists are violent in nature. Men such as Mawdudi, Qutb, Zia and Khomeini repudiate this stereotype. Yet, over the years, international media has chosen to highlight the existence of violent Muslim fundamentals compared to their moderate counterparts. The reasons for this could be embedded in the political, economic and social advantages that non-Muslim countries could gain by stereotyping Islam as a religion that has an inherently aggressive nature. Based on a detailed study of the Quran, Islamic terrorism and the contemporary movement of Islamic Revivalism, it can be said that, such projections only encourage religious discord that non-Muslim nations tend to oppose. The on-going war on Iraq and the backlash generated by it can be used as an example to assert this fact.

**LITERATURE**


*Original in English*

Autor ukazuje da je tokom istorije i danas postojalo i postoje fundamentalisti koji su po svom opredeljenju umereni i oni koji su aktivistički nastrojeni. Uopšteno govoreći, umereni fundamentalisti pripadaju eliti ili obrazovanim slojevima koji se striktno pridržavaju svetih knjiga i koriste pasivne metode za ostvarenje svojih religioznih ciljeva. Aktivistički fundamentalisti oslanjaju se na svoje sopstvene tumačenje dogmatskih verovanja i koriste ekstremne mere za ostvarenje religioznih ideala. Sve raširenija pojava aktivističkog fundamentalizma i njegova destruktivna uloga, dovodi do projekcije da su svi fundamentalisti neminovno nasilnički nastrojeni. Ovakvom istorijom posbaini su doprineli teroristički napadi na SAD 11. septembra 2001, kada su se negativne implikacije terorističkog fundamentalizma počele da pripisuju sledbenicima Islama. Do ovoga je došlo prevashodno stoga što je broj aktivističkih fundamentalista znatno nadmašio one umerenog opredeljenja, a nasilje prouzrokovano delima aktivističkih fundamentalista postalo mnogo vidljivije od delovanja umerenih fundamentalista. Stoga je tokom godina sama reč fundamentalizam poprimila jedan stereotip sa negativnim religioznim konotacijama. U sadašnje vreme ovaj stereotip je u velikoj meri podrio značenje umerenog muslimanskog fundamentalizma. Istražujući neke od stereotipa vezane za fundamentalizam, autor je posebnu pažnju posvetio odnosima između Islama i fundamentalizma, i došao do zaključka da čak ako se i može reći da fundamentalizam postoji u Islamu, ne mogu se svi muslimanski fundamentalisti okarakterisati kao “aktivistički” i nasilnički po svojoj prirodi.