



IOS NEWSLETTER

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Thought for the Month

Ramadhan is the (month)
 In which was sent down
 The Qur-an, as a guide
 To mankind, also clear (Signs)
 For guidance and judgment
 (Between right and wrong).
 So every one of you
 Who is present (at his home)
 During that month
 Should spend it in fasting,
 But if ayy one is ill,
 Or on a journey,
 The prescribed period
 (Should be made up)
 By days later.

Al-Quran- 2:185

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FOCUS

In recent years, the European right has toned down its earlier celebration of free-market economics and the capitalist system. Instead, right-wing parties have warmed up to the rhetoric of economic nationalism, which makes it easier for them to both exploit and fuel the public anxieties over the economic and cultural consequences of globalization. As Hans-Georg Betz points out, the European right's new targets of resentment are international bankers and currency traders, "footloose" capital and transnational corporations, as well as the European Union (EU) bureaucracy in Brussels. Considering globalization as a new threat to national sovereignty and self-determination, right-wing populist parties from Spain to Russia are advocating protectionist measures and the re-regulation of international financial markets. Economic nationalist rhetoric is a particularly effective weapon when combined with the so-called "foreigner problem."

For many years, the issues of immigration, imported laborers, and the general *Überfremdung* ("over-foreignization") of the *Heimat* (home country) have been important catalysts for radical right-wing mobilization in Germany and other European countries, because these themes point to an easily identifiable enemy who is seen as a threat to the cultural heritage and identity of the host countries. In addition, immigrants and resident aliens have been charged with taking jobs away from native workers, as well as driving down wages and exploiting the welfare system. The German People's Union (*Deutsche Volksunion* [DVU]) represents a prime example of a European right-wing party that disseminates old xenophobic ideas in the new garments of antiglobalist populism.

The DVU was founded in Bavaria in 1971 as a right-wing umbrella group by Dr. Gerhard Frey, a neofascist millionaire publisher who has been providing most of the party's funding. Frey owns the *Deutsche National Zeitung* and the *Deutsche Wochenzeitung*, Germany's two largest nationalist weeklies with a combined estimated circulation of about 150,000. Frey's papers regularly feature anti-American and anti-Semitic articles that, among other topics, question the official death toll of the Holocaust and place "Jewish financiers" at the center of a conspiratorial circle of international capitalists who have unleashed the forces of globalization. Every autumn, the DVU hosts a lavish party rally in Passau, Bavaria, which attracts thousands of sympathizers. The event usually ends with Chairman Frey's two-hour keynote speech lambasting foreigners and the evils of internationalism.

Although its active membership is estimated at less than 25,000, the DVU utilizes Frey's extensive publishing contacts and relies on massive direct mailings to disseminate its political message to a national audience. After some initial electoral success in the early 1990s, when it entered the state parliaments of Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein with over 5 percent of the vote, the DVU staggered through several years of electoral setbacks brought on by the rise of a competing right-wing party, the Republicans (*Republikaner* [REP]).

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Activities of the IOS Headquarters

Dars-e-Quran

The IOS Headquarters organised Dars-e-Quran (commentary of the Holy Quran) in its Committee Room on 15 July 2013 which was attended by all the staff. The Dars was delivered by Maulana Tariq Abdullah Sahib. Maulana Sahib recited verses 183-184 of Chapter, Al-Baqra and translated them in Urdu. Explaining the verses he said that the two verses have a special relationship with fasting. He said that we fast with a view to become God-fearing and to attain nearness with him. Explaining the meaning of Taqwa (fear of God) he referred to the explanation given by Umar, the second Rightly Guided Caliph. Once the Caliph was asked to explain Taqwa. In reply he said that it's like passing safely through a path surrounded by thorns. The Maulana further said that the month of fasting provides an opportunity to practice Taqwa.

Another Dars-e-Quran was organised on 22 July 2013. Dr. Nikhat Nadwi recited the verses 61-77 from Surah Furqan and translated them in Urdu. He particularly explained the meaning of the term, Ibadurrahman (the worshipers of the Merciful). He enumerated some 14 characteristics that the 'worshipers of the Merciful' possess. As these verses have reference to punishment for the guilty or sinner, he pointed out flaws in Indian penal code.

The third Dars-e-Quran was organised on 29 July 2013. Dr. Mohammad Manzoor Alam,

Chairman, IOS, recited verses 77-78 from Surah Hajj and translated them in Urdu. Explaining the verses he said that Qiyam (standing) Ruku'a (Bowing) and Sujud (Prostrating) imply the Islamic way of worship (Ibadab). As man is the best of creatures, God ordered him not to prostrate before any created object and bow his head only before the Creator, God. This why He also ordered the angels to prostrate before Adam. He further said that there always goes on a sort of fight between man's heart and mind and it just so happens that mind often or occasionally overpowers the heart and as a result man commits sins.



Dr. M. Manzoor Alam delivering Dars-e-Quran

God has provided this month of fasting to the believers, so that they offer additional prayers to wash out their sins and seek His pleasure.

Short-Takes

Dark Humour

by Dr M Manzoor Alam

Narendrabhai P. Modi has a strange sense of humour that involves cutting cruel jokes at the cost of victims of crimes against humanity.

In his penchant for bad practical jokes he resembles his ideal, Adolf Hitler. An example: When groups of Jews, Communists and assorted Liberals were being taken like cattle,

on foot, to their death in gas chambers, a music band used to accompany them that played Wagner's music all the way. This was the Nazi way of entertaining persons being marched to their deaths.

One was reminded of this when Narendrabhai wondered grandly: if 25 percent of Gujarati Muslims vote for BJP, why can't 25 percent of Muslims all over India also do that? There are quite a few answers to that simplistic question which resonates with the French queen's question at the time of the Revolution: if the French do not have bread to eat, why can't they eat cake?

The French could not eat anything because they had neither bread nor cake. Twenty five percent of Indian Muslims cannot follow the 25 percent of Gujarat Muslim voters of Narendrabhai because they do not trust the exaggerated claims of Phekubhai about anything, including the Rambo action and rescue of Gujarati pilgrims from Uttrakhand.

Even if some simpletons among Indian Muslims believe the 25 percent fiction, they will not vote for him because they do not want to be known as *kutte ka bachcha* or label the honourable *burqa* as a cover for falsehood.

Indian Muslims will not vote for Narendrabhai because they do not want to be called [President] "Mian Musharraf". Indian Muslims do not want to be called even Mr Mohammad Ali Jinnah. They know who they are and labeling by someone known as Pheku will not be acceptable to them.

Democracy in Distress

by Dr M Manzoor Alam

In one of her famous pieces of writing Arundhati Roy has this

interesting headline: “Democracy—Where is She When She is not At Home?” She then proceeds to answer the question in her own characteristic way.

One is tempted to ask in the same vein: “Where is the Egyptian democracy when she is not running the country’s affairs?” A short and simple answer: She is in jail, held captive, incommunicado.

Naturally, the next question will be: “What are the great warriors of democracy, the United States and European Union, doing about it?” The disappointing answer is, they are helping military dictators smother democracy.

This may sound strange, but is not. Look at their past record, instead of going by their tall claims. They have consistently helped quisling regimes in the developing world which, more often than not, have been dictatorial, and thwarted democratically-elected leaders if they were independent minded.

Now, look at the record. After years of struggle, political parties close to people’s aspirations won landslide victory in Algeria’s free and fair elections in 1991. The French-backed army annulled the election, arrested political leaders and established military rule.

Turkey’s army has had a long record of thwarting democratically-elected leaders on the charge of being soft on Islam. They have toppled legally elected regimes. One prime minister was executed on mere suspicion of being a sympathiser of Islam. When Hamas emerged victorious in 2006 elections, it was boycotted by the US, Israel and European Union. And now is the turn of democratically elected Egyptian leaders to rot in jails as a US-backed army runs the show.

In the past the Western democrats have backed such anti-democratic despots as General Pinochet, General Suharto, General Zia, General Ne Win,

to name a few. The last question is, what do they mean when they say “democracy”. Let us hazard a guess. Democracy is a government of the people for the people by the army. That is the US favourite: democracy at gun point.

Announcement

Shah Waliullah Award

To commemorate the outstanding services of Hazrat Shah Waliullah to promote the Islamic values, the Institute of Objective Studies instituted an Award known as “**Shah Waliullah Award**” to honour eminent scholars who have done outstanding work in Social Sciences, Humanities, Law and Islamics. The Award is in the form of a cash of one Lakh rupees and a scroll of honour containing citation which is given annually to the best scholar of the year. The scheme was started in 1999.

The scheme is administered by an independent Board which nominates a Panel of Experts consisting of eminent scholars to identify and recommend the scholar to be honoured. The subject or the field of the Award is decided by the Board for each year.

Further, **under essay writing competition** (for junior category) the Institute invites yearly the young scholars and researchers to submit the essay on the topic/subject (to be decided each year).

The essay on the topic “*Shah Waliullah’s Approach to the Qur’an*” for the year 2002 written by Janab Mahboob Farogh Ahmad Qasmi of Darul Uloom Deoband was considered as the best for the award, while the topic of the essay for the year 2003 was “*Human Rights in Islamic Perspective*” and the essays written by Ms. Najmus Sahar Tahsin S. of Chikmagalur (Karnataka) and Mufti Md. Serajuddin Qasmi of Islamic Fiqh Academy, New Delhi were considered as the best for the award jointly, while the topic of essay for the year 2004

was “*Intra-Community Dissension and the unity of the Muslim Ummah*” and the essay written by Mr. Anis Ahmed Falahi, Jamiat-ul-Falah was considered as the best for the award. The year 2005 was “*Constitutionalism in Islamic Perspective*” and the essay written by Prof. Faizan Mustafa and Dr. Afroz Alam was considered as the best for the award.

Rules relating to the conferment of the Shah Waliullah Award

1. The Award will be administered by an autonomous Board appointed by the Governing Council of the Institute of Objective Studies.
2. The Board shall nominate a Panel of Experts to identify and recommend the recipient of the Award. The Panel shall consist of at least three eminent scholars from disciplines or fields in which the Award is to be given. The composition of the Panel will change every year according to the discipline or field in which the Award will be given.
3. The subject or theme of the Award shall be determined by the Board in each year.
4. **Only Indian citizens** shall be eligible for the Award.
5. The Institute of Objective Studies shall solicit the opinion of scholars, heads of university departments and the *ulama* for nominating the recipient of the Award.
6. If the work of a nominated scholar happens to be in a language other than Urdu, Arabic and English the publications will be required to be submitted along with a brief summary in English for the consideration of the Panel of Experts.
7. **Self-nomination** shall not be entertained.
8. The bio-data of the scholars nominated for the Award should

be submitted as per the prescribed format.

9. While making the nominations, the totality of the work of the nominated scholar would be kept in view.
10. The recipient of the Award will not be eligible for the award for the second time **for the next 5 years**.
11. Nominations should be accompanied by a brief bio-data of the nominated scholar and at least two of his/her works, which are supposed to constitute his/her most important contribution.
12. The decision of the Board regarding the selection of the awardee shall be **final**.
13. The Board may defer or withhold the Award in a given year, if nobody is found suitable for the Award.
14. In a situation where there is no clear nomination for the award, or where the opinions of the proposers are divided, or where the person nominated by the Board for the Shah Waliullah Award declines the award, the Shah Waliullah Award Board will have the authority to nominate an eminent scholar for the award.
15. The Award may be given posthumously, provided the death of the nominated scholar has not occurred **more than five years before** the last date prescribed for submission of nominations.

Shah Waliullah: An Introduction

Shah Waliullah (1703-1763) was one of the most outstanding Muslim scholars of eighteenth century India. He was a rare polymath who made highly original and seminal contributions to a variety of Islamic disciplines, including the translation and exegesis of the Qur'an, *Hadith*, *Fiqh*, historiography, *Kalam*, *Tasawwuf* and Islamic philosophy. He played a pioneering role in the revival

and regeneration of the intellectual, moral and cultural legacy of Islam and thereby influenced and inspired several generations of Muslims in the Indian subcontinent.

One of the most important and enduring contributions of Shah Waliullah relates to the Holy Qur'an. Four distinctive but interrelated dimensions of his approach to the Holy Qur'an and his contributions to Qur'anic studies are noteworthy.

He emphasized the pivotal role of the Qur'an in the Islamic ethos and considered it incumbent on every Muslim to understand its meaning and message. Realising that a majority of Muslims in India were not sufficiently conversant with the Arabic language, he undertook a translation of the Qur'an into Persian. Subsequently, two of his sons rendered the Qur'an, on the basis of his Persian translation, into Urdu, the lingua franca of Muslims in large parts of the country. These translations paved the way for the translation of the Holy Qur'an into other vernacular languages.

Shah Waliullah firmly believed that religious instruction in Islamic *madaris* should begin with the learning of the Qur'anic text, followed by its translation and explanation of difficult words and passages as well as a brief commentary in the local language. He believed that this should form an inseparable part of the curriculum of Islamic *madaris*.

He realized, to his dismay, that the scholars and *ulama* of his times were deeply enamoured of Greek philosophy and attached undue importance to philology and grammar. He cautioned them against the insidious consequences of this preoccupation and urged them to turn instead to the fundamental sources of Islam – the Qur'an and *Hadith* – which alone could provide a true understanding of Islamic teachings and principles.

Shah Waliullah was acutely aware of the need to interpret and project the

teachings and principles of Islam in the contemporary academic and literary idiom. He worked out, for this purpose, a comprehensive and cogent system of Islamic philosophy and scholasticism based essentially on the edifice of the Qur'an and *Hadith* but presented in the idiom and style of his time.

Shah Waliullah Award-2012

on

“Islamic Mysticism (*Tasawwuf*)”

The 2012 Shah Waliullah Award will be presented to an Indian scholar who has sought to project and highlight, through his/her scholarly works, the quintessential features of Islamic mysticism, or has presented the multi-faceted contributions of Sufis in a learned manner and in the contemporary idiom, or has endeavoured to identify and sift un-Islamic influences in the discourses and practices of Sufism, or has written a learned treatise on the biography and contributions of an eminent Sufi shaykh, or has ably edited and published a manuscript on Sufism.

The last date for receipt of nominations is 31 October, 2013.

A Note on the Theme of the Award

The edifice of Islamic mysticism or Sufism rests on the purity of intention and action and on the cleansing of the inner life, which has been described as “*tazkiya*” (‘cleansing’) in the Quran and as “*ihsan*” (‘embellishment’ of worship) in Hadith. The Sufis of the early period in Islamic history considered Sufism as being embedded in Islamic principles and precepts and viewed the *Shariah* and ‘*Tariqa*’ (the mystic path or orientation) as indissociable. They emphasized that one should get rid of the base, carnal desires of the lower self, exercise forbearance and patience in the face of adversity, and strive to lit the flame of divine love in one’s heart.

In the third century of the Islamic era, the Muslim ummah came to face extremely trying and challenging circumstances. Heterodox sects raised

their ugly heads, and false and un-Islamic beliefs, doctrines and cults began to creep into the discourses and practices of Sufis. These sects disguised their heretical views in the symbolism and idioms of Sufism. However, eminent ulama and Sufi masters who were men of deep erudition in Islamic and spiritual learning, exposed the deception of such pretentious and false Sufis.

Shah Waliullah Dehlavi was an outstanding scholar of incredibly wide and encyclopaedic learning. He made seminal and wide-ranging contributions to diverse areas of Islamic learning, including Quranic exegesis, Hadith, Islamic law and the principles of Islamic jurisprudence, Islamic scholasticism (*kalam*), Sufism, biography and historiography. A notable and salient feature of Shah Waliullah's monumental contributions is that he sought to examine contemporary issues relating to the Islamic intellectual and cultural tradition from a purely Islamic perspective. He wrote quite a few books and treatises on Sufism, including *Fuyuz al-Haramayn*, *Altaf al-Quds*, *Al-Qawl al-Jamil* and *Al-Tafhimat al-Ilahiyyah*. A major and enduring contribution of Shah Waliullah is that he made a sincere and determined effort to purify Sufi beliefs, doctrines and ritual practices of un-Islamic influences and accretions. He emphasized the original objectives and goals of Sufism and sought to foster an atmosphere of mutual understanding and harmony between the ulama and the Sufis.

The Shah Waliullah Award for the year 2012 is devoted to the theme of "Islamic Mysticism (Sufism)". The Award will be presented to an Indian scholar who has sought to project and highlight, through his/her scholarly works, the quintessential features of Islamic mysticism, or has presented the multi-faceted contributions of Sufis in a learned manner and in the contemporary idiom, or has endeavoured to identify and sift un-

Islamic influences in the discourses and practices of Sufism, or has written a learned treatise on the biography and contributions of an eminent Sufi shaykh, or has ably edited and published a manuscript on Sufism. The final decision in conferring the Award will rest with the Shah Waliullah Award Board instituted by the Institute of Objective Studies.

**Essay Writing Competition
(Junior Category)**

on

"Tasawwuf and Self Purification"

The Institute of Objective Studies invites essays on the topic "Tasawwuf and Self Purification" by young scholars and researchers. The best essay will receive a cash award of Rs. 25,000/-.

The last date for submission of the essay is 15 November, 2013.

Candidates who wish to participate in the competition are required to submit their essay in accordance with the following guidelines:

- i) The candidate should be below **45** years of age.
- ii) The essay should have a high academic standard and should not exceed **10,000** words. Detailed references should be appended at the end of the essay.
- iii) The essay should be submitted in **quadruplet**, along with the curriculum vitae of the candidate.
- iv) An essay which is submitted for the competition should not have received any award by any other organisation or institution. If the essay wins the award, the IOS will have the **exclusive right** over its publication.
- v) The decision of the IOS on the selection of the best essay shall be **final**.

A Note on the theme of Essay

Although the term, *Tasawwuf*, was not in use during the time of the Prophet (Pbuh) and his companions, its soul or spirit was very much in existence. Shaykh Ali Hujveri (d. 470 AH) has opined that the term *Tasawwuf* did not exist in the period of

the pious companions but its reality was known to all of them.

The early *Sufis* always held that *Tasawwuf* exists within the boundary of Islamic order and principles, and that *Shariah* and *Tariqah* are essential for one another. Through their prayers they sought to achieve the high status of nearness to God which a saying of the Prophet (Pbuh) has described as *Ihsan*. They used to put in extra effort in purifying themselves or their souls. The focus of all their efforts or the purpose of their life was to obtain the pleasure of God. Being kind to God's creature or working for their well being was their trait.

The very concept of human nature that we find in the Holy Quran and the Hadith is well reflected in the lives and teachings of the true *Sufis*. According to Islam man has two contradictory characteristics which the *Sufis* have described as *Akhlaq-e-Taba'i* which may be translated as the characteristics ingrained in human beings. On one hand man has good qualities like *Ikhlas* (sincerity), kindness, tenderness, ability to forgive, humility and generosity, and on the other he has bad qualities like false pride, jealousy, enmity, anger and ability to cheat and commit fraud on others etc.

The *Sufis* make a distinction between *Nafs* and *Qalb* and say that good qualities reside in heart (*Qalb*) and the bad ones are housed in the *Nafs*. They have devised two basic principles for purifying the *Nafs* of evil qualities which are known as *Takhliya* and *Tahliya*. *Takhliya* means to purify your heart of evil qualities through special extra prayers (*Riyazat* and *Mujahidah*). *Tahliya*, on the other hand, means to continuously upgrade the good qualities.

Shaykh Shahabuddin Suhrawardi has remarked that all men possess two things: *Nafs* and *Qalb*. If some one treats you with his *Nafs*, you ought to behave with him with your *Qalb*. It means if someone behaves with you in a selfish manner, you extend your

large-heartedness to him. *Nafs* is the source of enmity, hatred, chaos and disorder whereas the *Qalb* is the fountainhead of peace, tenderness and pleasure (of God). If you confront people of *Nafs* with kindness and generosity, their bad qualities will be gradually eliminated. But if you confront *Nafs* with *Nafs*, the world will be filled with chaos, disorder, enmity and bloodshed.

The great *Sufis* adopted many ways of *Mujahidah* and *Riyazat* in order to purify one's self or eliminate bad qualities from his character and personality. These ways included, besides obligatory prayers, additional prayers, fasting, abandonment of worldly matters and being busy in *Zikr* in solitude. Shaykh Shahabuddin says that the great *Sufis* are united in that *Ruhaniyat* or the matter of *Qalb/Soul* is based on four things: to eat less, to sleep less, to speak less and to mix (with people) less. To mix less or to adopt *Khalwat* or *Uzlat* means to be away from bad company. *Khalwat* is not a purpose in itself; it's rather a means only.

Some *Sufis* have urged to leave this world for purifying one's self. It, however, does not mean *Rahbaniyat* (living and praying in caves, quite away from the people); rather it means to be fully dedicated to God while living among the people. The great Sufi, Abu Sayeed Abul Khayr (d. 440 AH) has rightly remarked that man (Sufi) is the one who lives among the people, does dealings with them and spends his life with his family members and yet he always remembers God.

ISRA International Colloquium 2013

“Socio-ethical dimensions of Islamic finance: Between the Ideals and Realities”

Call for Paper

ISRA provides an opportunity for learning and sharing among those responsible for programmes on ethics,

compliance or business conduct as well as business professionals and academics who have an interest in business ethics and socioeconomic and ethical studies. Interested parties are invited to submit papers on topics related to Socio-ethical Dimensions of Islamic Finance: Between the Ideals and the Realities. Final papers will be selected through a blind referee process.

Relevant topics include, but are not limited to:

- Ethics and the Shari'ah
 - Business Ethics in Islam
 - Ethical Issues in Islamic Finance
 - Shari'ah Governance and Ethics
 - Social Responsibility
 - Ethical Banking
 - Ethical Investment
 - Socio-Ethical Dimensions of Financing
 - Ethics Representatives
 - Ethics Representatives and Liability
 - Legal and Ethical Compliance
 - High Performance Compliance
 - High Risks and Ethical Considerations
 - IFI Corporate Ethics
- We invite papers that:
- Contain timely, cutting-edge insights on socio-economic ethics;
 - Represent collaboration between academic professionals, students and business professionals;
 - Cover the traditional business disciplines: Islamic accounting, Islamic finance, Islamic marketing, advertising and management;
 - Treat socio-ethics related to banking, the Islamic capital market and takaful;

- Discuss the Shari'ah, philosophy, theology, psychology, and sociology.

Since we will be facilitating the publication of select conference manuscripts, we expect the highest research quality and/or greatest business applicability from all papers. Following the conference, participants will be invited to submit finalized papers for consideration for publication in The International ISRA Journal of Islamic Finance.

Fees

- Student RM450 / USD150 (Early Bird RM300 / USD100)
- Non-Student RM500 / USD200 (Early Bird RM400 / USD160)
 - Payment for the early bird rate should be made before 2nd June 2013.
 - Both the travelling and accommodation expenses of the speakers and participants will be fully borne by each individual, and not by ISRA.

How to submit?

Send us the full paper (follow the Paper Guidelines) before the 1st of August, 2013.

The paper should be accompanied by a one-page proposal that includes:

- A problem statement
- A one-paragraph brief on the paper
- Suggestions/proposals related to the problem statement (if any)
- Contact information (email, mailing address, phone and fax numbers).

Send English Papers to:
colloquium_english@isra.my

Send Arabic Papers to:
colloquium_arabic@isra.my
Notification of paper acceptance: 31st
of August, 2013

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Benefitting from a protracted internal leadership struggle in the REP, the DVU has managed to gain establish itself as the leading right-wing party in the country. During the mid-1990s, it surpassed even the REP's most spectacular electoral success. By winning 13 percent of the vote in the former East German state of Sachsen-Anhalt, the DVU achieved in 1998 the strongest electoral showing of any right-wing extremist party in Germany since 1945. In the fall of 1999, the party gained five seats in the state parliament of Brandenburg by garnering over 5 percent of the vote.

The DVU's electoral success coincided with a steep rise of right-wing violence and the number of right-wing organization in Germany. In 2000, German far-right crime soared to its highest levels since World War II. The total number of offenses—which include such acts as the illegal display of neo-Nazi symbols and propaganda materials—rose to almost 20,000, an increase of 59 percent over 1999. German mainstream political parties have condemned criminal right-wing activity in public, and the country's highest court is considering a government request to ban the neo-fascist National Democratic party. Still, the most common political response in Germany is to call for a more "civilized solution" to the foreigner problem, thus indirectly legitimating the xenophobic outlook of the DVU.

Many commentators consider the successful demonization of globalization as one of the leading causes for the growth of right-wing extremism in Germany and other European countries. The DVU in particular has founded an effective way to insinuate that mainstream politicians have abandoned the concerns of "hard-working Germans," because they have been bribed to look out for "the interests of stock gamblers, banks, and big business." The party's official statement of its "aims and

principal policies" forcefully attacks the globalist claim that globalization is inevitable and irreversible. Echoing Buchanan's populist language, the DVU document suggests that strong political leaders, backed by popular referenda on key social issues, would be capable of halting the neoliberal juggernaut:

We adamantly oppose any cuts in social spending and strongly resist the neoliberal agenda to turn Germany into a low-wage class society like Britain and the USA. An increasing number of people in these countries have to cope with "Third World" style living conditions while a small minority of billionaires and multimillionaires are earning more money than they could possibly spend. [German Chancellor] Schroder wants to introduce this perverse culture to Germany too. There is no way we will ever tolerate this.

From *Globalization: The New Market Ideology* by M.B. Steger, 2004, pp. 95-97

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The army and other conspirators now decided to dislodge the Morsi government by other means. A shadowy group by the name Tamrod was created which started collecting signature against the Morsi government. Simultaneously, the military and the bureaucracy created an artificial energy crisis with a view to arousing public anger against the government. Without doubt there were huge demonstrations against the government but the fact can also be accepted that the numbers of demonstrators were exaggerated.

Being committed to democracy the Morsi government gave full freedom to the opposition to organize demonstrations and never used police and other agencies to create problems for its opponents. In fact, on several occasions the opposition became violent and unleashed violence against the Muslim Brotherhood. The violence could have been used to repress the opposition but the Morsi government refrained from any such acts.

The opposition claims to have collected some 16 million signatures against the government and demanded its resignation. There is no method to verify if the signatures were true. But it is very difficult to believe that 16 million signatures can be collected in a short period of few months. If we assume that one signature was obtained in one minute, it will take some three years to obtain 16 million signatures. People who have any experience of mass mobilization will testify that the claim of 16 million signatures is a big lie.

Some people are bewildered why Israel was opposed to Morsi government when it had no intention of annulling the peace agreement with Tel Aviv. In fact, Israel's problem is not any external military threat to its security and existence because it has the arsenal to defeat all Arab armies put together. Tel Aviv rather fears that it can not survive peace. Of the 13 or 14 million world jews only 6 million or less are living in Israel. The Israeli jews are a badly divided people and the only thing that keeps them united is the threat to their existence. Moreover, they use the so called threat to their existence as a device to gain world sympathy and billions of dollars in aid from the West, particularly Germany and USA. If peace prevails in the region, they stand to lose Western military and economic aid without which it can not fight against its 'enemies'. Morsi's peace initiative coupled with his open support to Hamas and his government's control over it were threatening Israel with prospects of losing huge Western aid.

The jubilation of Arab monarchies over the dismissal of Morsi government is also understandable. Monarchies fear democracies but they fear an ideology more that doesn't sanctify family rule. Morsi's independent and bold approach to some regional and international problems also seems to have irked the Gulf States.

Egypt in Crisis
by Ishtiyaque Danish

The views expressed in the article do not necessarily reflect the editorial policy of the Newsletter (editor)

Egypt is passing through a very difficult phase of its history. After a long period of military-supported dictatorship the country was enjoying democracy in true sense of the word. But the onward march of democracy was suddenly halted when the Egyptian military deposed the first democratically-elected president, Dr. Mohammad Morsi in early July, 2013. A lot has been said and written about the matter and yet there are aspects which need to be highlighted as these are very important to get at the heart of current Egyptian crisis.

The public protests against Hosni Mubarak met with success only when the Egyptian military intervened in the matter and asked the long-time dictator to step down. A transitional military council took reign of the government, drafted an electoral law and held free and fair elections for both houses of Parliament in early 2012. Justice and Development Party, the political arm of the Muslim Brotherhood, emerged as the single largest party in both houses. Al-Noor, another religious party, also reaped rich electoral dividends. Together the two parties won more than two-third of the total parliamentary seats.

After parliamentary election, the election for the president was held. No

one could secure 50% of the total votes polled and, as a result, a second round of election was held in which Dr. Morsi emerged victorious with about 52% votes.

Despite clear electoral victory Dr. Morsi was not allowed to take oath immediately. The transitional military council compelled him to commit that he would not bring about any change in country's foreign policy, especially the diplomatic relation with Israel will continue. Dr. Morsi accepted the condition and ultimately assumed the presidency. He also accommodated the military when he included General Abdul Fattah al-Sisi as Defence Minister. In fact, 40% of ministers in his cabinet had no relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood or Justice and Development Party and yet his government has been criticized as being unrepresentative of the Egyptian society.

It is now clear that the Egyptian military never wanted to hand over power to Dr. Morsi and his party. Similarly, the rulers of the Gulf countries and Israel were also not happy with Morsi government. They all wanted Morsi to fail but for different reasons. However, it was the Egyptian military which had to play the leading role in the nefarious game.

The first attack against Morsi government was launched by the judiciary. The Supreme Constitutional Court struck down the law on which basis the parliamentary elections were held. It must be made clear here that the law was framed by the military council and not by the Morsi government.

The parliament's first task was to frame a new constitution for the country. But having been declared illegal and dissolved, it was not in a position to fulfil its duty. Although the upper house of Parliament was allowed to function by the court till new house was elected, it was still difficult to draft a constitution.

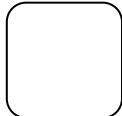
Dr. Morsi could have ruled by promulgating ordinances but he chose the constitutional way. He got the upper house draft a constitution and put it to referendum. More than 65% voters approved the constitution. In other words, it can be said that Dr. Morsi and his supporters won three elections in a year.

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