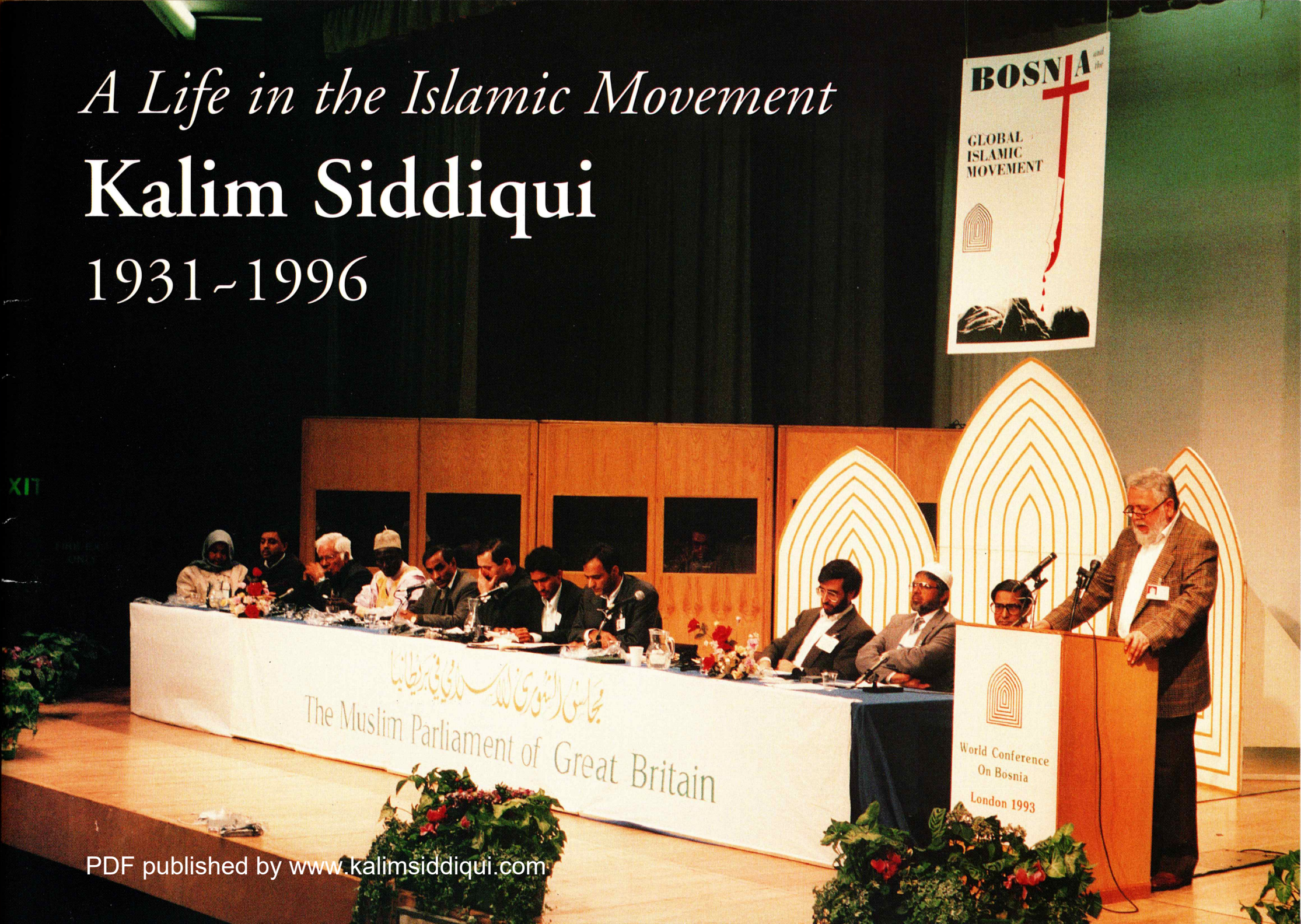
A Life in the Islamic Movement

Kalim Siddiqui

1931-1996



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Editor's note

This commemorative biography was published in November 1996, on the occasion of the Muslim Institute and Muslim Parliament 'Kalim Siddiqui Memorial Conference' in London.

Some minor biographical and other details are incorrect, such as the identity of the Egyptian officer pictured on page 6. An expanded and more accurate biography -- based on this text -- is available at ***www.kalimsiddiqui.com****.*

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A Life in the Islamic Movement

Kalim Siddiqui

1931-1996

Published by the Muslim Institute, London and the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain
on the occasion of the
KALIM SIDDIQUI MEMORIAL CONFERENCE
London, 3 November, 1996.

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A statement of condolence from

Ayatollah al Udhma Sayyid Ali Khamenei,

Leader of the Islamic Revolution of Iran,

on the death of Kalim Siddiqui.

In the Name of Allah, The Compassionate the Merciful

I was profoundly saddened to receive the news of the passing away of the brave and combatant Islamic thinker, Dr. Kalim Siddiqui. The sincere efforts of this highly valued and selfless man played a significant part in, and had a lasting impact on, the advancement of the massive current of Islam awakening, which is today moving forward with astounding depth and magnitude despite the oppressive powers. This will be considered a brilliant deed by the Divine Court of Justice and rewarded accordingly in the Hereafter, insha'Allah.

On the sad occasion of his loss, I would like to offer my heartfelt condolences to his respected family, particularly his wife and children, and also to his colleagues and friends.

Sayyid Ali Khamenei

01~02~1375

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Contents

7-8	*Introduction: Creating a new civilization of Islam*
9-12	*The Muslim Institute: setting out to change the world*
13-14	*The Impact of the Islamic Revolution*
15	*Crescent International and the global Islamic movement*
17	*Muslim Institute conferences and seminars*
18	*The Muslim Institute's overseas activities*
19-20	*The Rushdie affair and the Muslim Manifesto*
21-24	*The Muslim Parliament of Great Britain*
25-26	*Dr Kalim's writings and ideas*
27	*The way forward: Dr Kalim's legacy*
28-29	*Appendix: Dr Kalim's letter to John Major, March 1996.*

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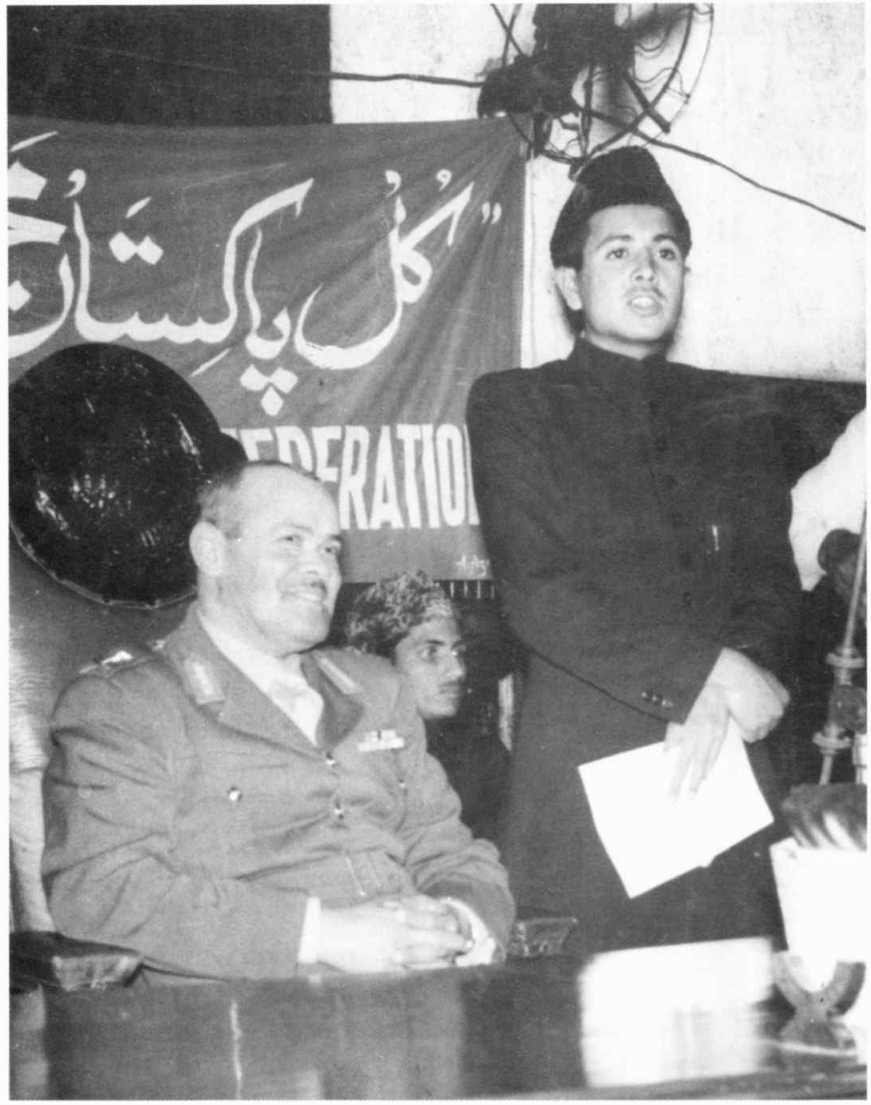

Kalim Siddiqui, as student leader & editor of the newspaper 'Leader' of Karachi, with General Naguib, the prime minister of Eqypt, 1953.

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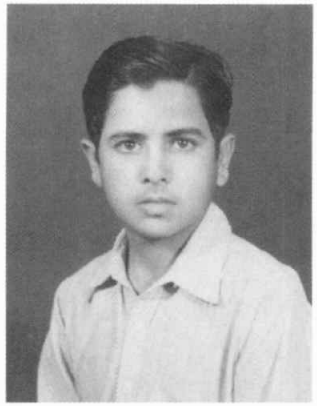
Creating a new Civilization of Islam



Kalim Siddiqui, Karachi 1948

DR KALIM SIDDIQUI, Director of the Muslim Institute, London, and Leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain, died in Pretoria, South Africa, on April 18, 1996. He had just given three speeches to the *Crescent International* conference on Creating a New Civilization of Islam (Pretoria, April 5-7, 1996), and addressed audiences in Gabarone, Botswana.

Dr Siddiqui had personally chosen the title of the conference, and it also seems an apt summary of his life and work. 'Creating a new civilization of Islam' was the goal to which his life was committed from an early age and for which he continued working until the very day of his death.

Kalim Siddiqui was born in British India on September 15, 1931. His family were small land owners in the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh), but his father worked as a sub-inspector of police. He first became politically aware and active as a teenager at boarding school in Fyzabad in 1944-45. At this time, he became a student activist of the Muslim League during the Pakistan movement.

The Islamic symbolism the Muslim League used to mobilise the Muslim masses of India was one of the major attractions to him. He had received a six-volume set of *Seerat-un Nabi* by Shibly Nomani and Sayyid Sulaiman Nadwi as a gift from a teacher when he was 12, and considered the life and example of the Prophet as his inspiration from that time onwards.

STUDENTS OF TODAY ARE THE LEADERS OF TOMORROW

THE INDEPENDENT

Leader

FORTNIGHTLY

KARACHI: SATURDAY, FEB. 7, 1953. JAMADI-UL-AWAL 24, 1372

Can Humanity Disown God?

He moved to Karachi in 1948, a few months after Partition. There his political maturity grew and he realized that the new State was little more Islamic than British India had been. As a student, he was active in a Khilafat Group dedicated to establishing *khilafah* in Pakistan, and founded and edited a popular political newspaper *The Independent Leader.*

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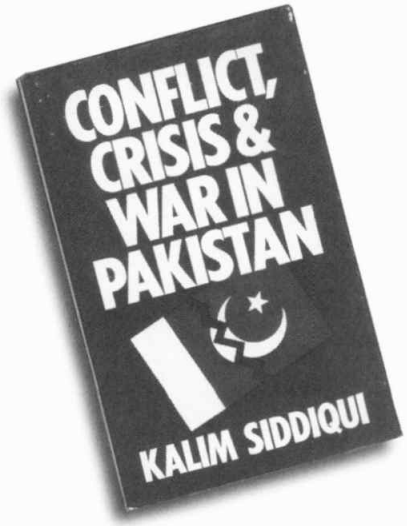
Addressing the University of London Debating Society, mid. 1950s.



He came to Britain in 1954 to study journalism. Other members of the Khilafat Group also came to London around the same time. The idea was to learn skills which they could put to use for the movement back in Pakistan. But in London the group broke up as differences emerged between them and some members became more interested in developing their careers.

The young Kalim meanwhile was proving a natural at journalism. Starting at the *Kensington News* in west London, he gradually worked his way up the journalistic ladder through a series of local and provincial newspapers. In 1964, shortly after moving to Slough, where he lived in for the rest of his life, he joined the *Guardian* as a sub-editor.

At the same time, he decided to build upon the limited education he had received in India and Karachi. He did O- Levels and A-Levels at evening school before going on to study International Relations at University College, London, and then completing a PhD in 1972. Throughout his student career, he also continued to work full-time to support himself and his family.

Throughout this period, however, he also remained involved in both Islamic affairs generally and Pakistani affairs in particular, and the thinking which was to form the basis of his future work was developed.

During the late sixties, he returned to Pakistan where he worked as a foreign correspondent for the Guardian and did fieldwork for his doctorate, which was later published as *Functions of International Conflict a socio-economic study of Pakistan.* Shortly afterwards, the East Pakistan war began and Bangladesh was created. It was during this period that he wrote his book *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan* (1972), and that the first steps towards the establishment of the Muslim Institute were taken.

In hindsight, the establishment of the Muslim Institute in 1973 can be seen as the beginning of his main work; everything that led to this phase in his life was prologue.

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The Muslim Institute - setting out to change the world

The Muslim Institute was established in 1973-74, by a group of young Muslims known as the Preparatory Committee. This group emerged from meetings of Muslim students and others in London University in 1972 onwards. The meetings began with an invitation to Dr Siddiqui to address a meeting of Pakistani students at University College, London, shortly after the publication of *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan.* The invitation was from Zafar Bangash, then an engineering undergraduate, later one of Dr Kalim's closest colleagues. Dr Ghayasuddin Siddiqui, who was to succeed Dr Kalim as Director of the Muslim Institute after his death, was also among the members of the Preparatory Committee.

Shortly after these meetings began, Dr Siddiqui was awarded his PhD and started teaching International Relations at the University of Southern California's European teaching programme in West Germany. At the same time, he also remained on the staff of the *Guardian.* Nonetheless, the meetings continued, moving from London University to Dr Siddiqui's home in Slough when Zafar Bangash graduated and left UCL.

The subject of these talks was initially the state of Pakistan, recently torn apart by war and the creation of Bangladesh. The idea group s initial idea was to establish a 'Pakistan Research Institute'. But Kalim Siddiqui had always thought in broader terms than just Pakistan.

In July 1973, he was invited to attend an International Islamic Youth Conference convened by Colonel Mu'ammar Qaddafi in Tripoli. There Dr Kalim met Muslims from all parts of the world and discussed his ideas with them. Among them were two South African Muslims who were to remain life-long friends of Dr Kalim and supporters of the Muslim Institute. These Abu Bakr Mohamad of Durban and Ismail Kalla of Pretoria, at whose home he was to pass away over 20 years later.

Kalim Siddiqui with South African delegates in Tripoli, 1975. Center: Ismail Kalla; Right: Abu Bakr Mohamad.

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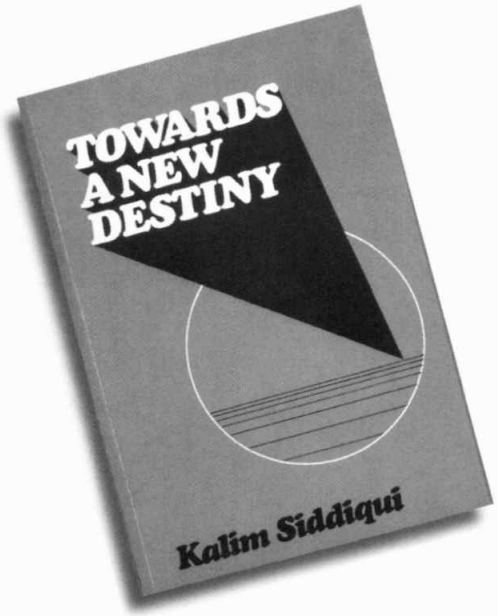

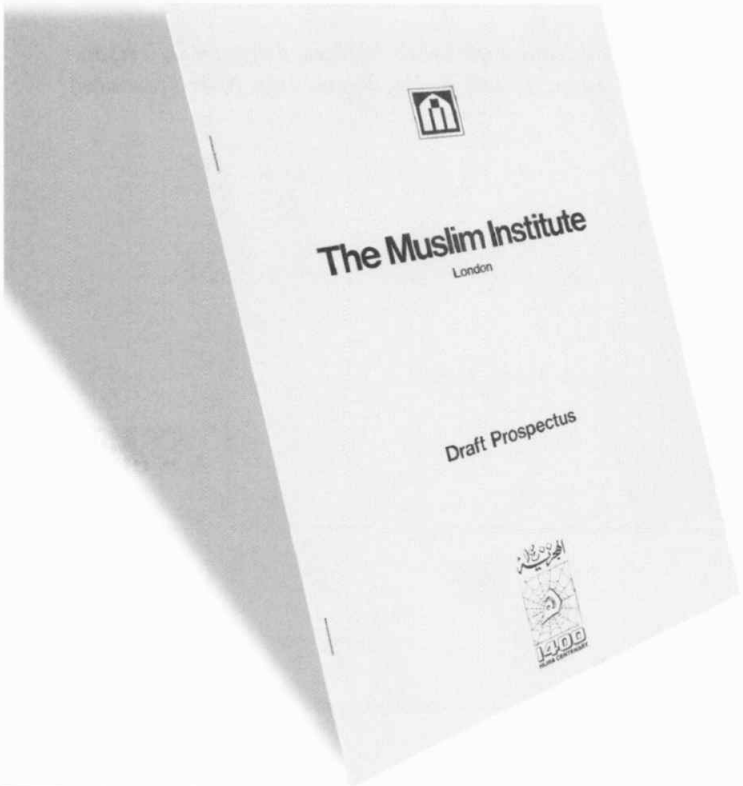

He was so inspired the experience that within weeks of returning, he had written a book about it. This book, *Towards a New Destiny,* was a critique of Qaddafi's thinking and a plea for a new intellectual movement among Muslims. It provides a remarkable insight to Dr Kalim s thinking at time of the establishment of the Muslim Institute.

He also took the same ideas to the Preparatory Committee. The Pakistan Research Institute became instead the **Muslim Institute for Research and Planning**; the precise name was suggested by Amir Ahmad, a long- standing friend of Dr Siddiqui. From then on, the focus of discussion became the writing of the *Draft Prospectus of the Muslim Institute.*

This was written by Dr Siddiqui but discussed in detail at meetings of the Preparatory Committee. Zafar Bangash has described it as "perhaps the most thoroughly debated and discussed document I have ever known". The writing of the Draft Prospectus took over six months; the text was finally approved and sent to press early in February 1974. Where *Towards a New Destiny* was an intensely personal work, the *Draft Prospectus* is a cold, crystal clear presentation of Dr Kalim's understanding and ideas.

This can be summarised as laying the intellectual and practical ground-work for a future generation to re-establish the civilizational power of Islam through a series of Islamic revolutions.

Among the insights in these works which were radical at the time was that the west was totally and irredeemably an enemy of Islam; that no solutions to the problems of Islamic civilization could be based on western ideas; that western-educated Muslims were not equipped to lead the Ummah and could only contribute by acting in partnership with traditional scholars of Islam, the *ulama*; and that no quick fixes could be found for problems which had been almost 1400 years in the making. One of the remarkable features of the ideas laid out in the *Draft Prospectus of the Muslim Institute* is that not one of them has been proven wrong by over 20 years of some of the most radical possible changes in the Muslim situation.

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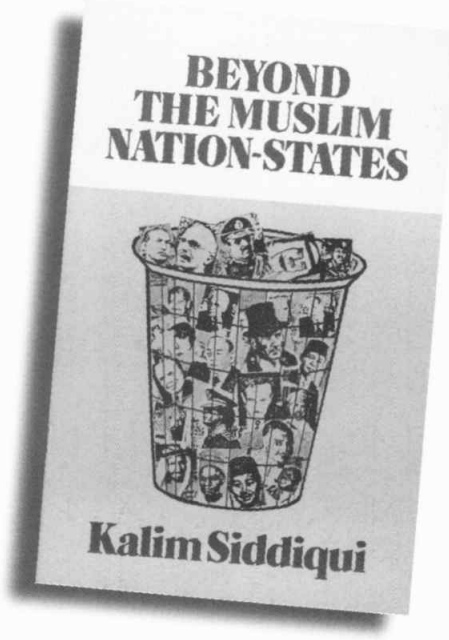
A few days after the Draft Prospectus of the Muslim Institute was finalized, Kalim Siddiqui suffered his first heart attack. He was seriously ill for many months and was to suffer from heart trouble for the rest of his life. Even then, in 1974, doctors advised him to retire from all forms of work and accept a full disability pension.

Instead, he resigned from the *Guardian* and the University of Southern California and committed himself fully to the Muslim Institute. He was determined not to waste whatever time he had left, but to fit as much work for the Islamic movement in as possible. This was the attitude to his health he was to maintain over the next 22 years – through two more heart attacks and two by-pass operations, in 1981 and 1995 – as can be seen in his foreword to his final book, *Stages of Islamic Revolution* (1995).

Over the next few years, he travelled the world, explaining and discussing his ideas with Muslims everywhere and promoting the ideas and work of the Muslim Institute. The Institute organised seminars and teaching courses, and published books and academic papers. By 1978, it was well-enough established to move out of Dr Siddiqui s home into offices at 6 Endsleigh Street, in Bloomsbury, the intellectual heart of London.



The same year, Dr Ghayasuddin Siddiqui gave up his teaching career to join the Institute full-time as Assistant Director, and Dr Kalim became Director of the Muslim Institute. Dr Ghayasuddin was Dr Kalim's right-hand man for the rest of his life and succeeded him as both Director of the Muslim Institute and Leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain.

But Kalim Siddiqui's main interest was still in political thought, and the Institute's work remained predominantly in this direction. Two major papers prepared by Dr Kalim for conferences during the seventies remain important today. These are *The Islamic movement: a systems approach* (1976) and *Beyond the Muslim nation-States* (1977).

In these papers he developed major aspects of his political thinking. In *The Islamic movement: a systems approach* he hypothesised the existence of a global Islamic movement dedicated to re-establishing the civilizational power of Islam and explored aspects of its work.

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In *Beyond the Muslim nation-States* (1977), he critiqued both the existing political order in the Muslim world and Muslim attempts to emulate western social science, particularly political science. Both studies led him to similar conclusions: that, in the words of *The Islamic movement: a systems approach*, "the first priority... must be the development of integrated academic disciplines of economics, politics, and sociology, and alternative operational models for a future civilization of Islam."

Both these papers were presented at Islamic conferences convened by Saudi institutions in Saudi Arabia. Nonetheless, Dr Kalim had no hesitation is describing the existing Muslim states as illegitimate and un-Islamic. This is indicative of both Dr Kalim s own personality (he once commented that it was a wonder that he ever got invited to conferences after what he did to Qaddafi in *Towards a New Destiny*!) and of the state of the Muslim world at the time, when Muslim governments felt totally unthreatened by ideas such as those of Kalim Siddiqui and the Muslim Institute.

Less than two years after Dr Kalim wrote that the challenge facing Muslims was to build a platform from which a future generation can make its escape, *(Beyond the Muslim nation-States)*, came the event which was to change both Dr Kalim's own life and the course of modern Muslim history: the Islamic Revolution in Iran.

Muslim Institute workers in Dr Kalim's office, early 1980's.
Left to right: Mufti Barkatullah, Zafar Bangash,
Dr Ghayasuddin Siddiqui, Dr Kalim and Latif Owaisi.

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The Impact of the Islamic Revolution

The Islamic Revolution in Iran surprised a lot of people. In September 1978, just four months before the Shah fled Iran, US president Jimmy Carter described his regime as an island of stability in a sea of turbulence . Dr Kalim had visited Iran in early 1978 and was knew a number of active Iranian students in London. But he too saw little sign of a revolutionary movement with the potential to establish Islamic rule.

He later said that he realised that something very special was happening in Iran when he first saw Imam Khomeini on television. He realised immediately that this was no sham revolutionary educated in London, Harvard or Sorbonne; this was a leader of Islam whose roots lay in the political traditions of Islam itself.

At the same time, he was shocked by the negative reaction to the revolution among many of the Muslims he knew on the Saudi 'conference circuit'. These were men who had talked a good fight during the 1970s but then tried to ignore the Islamic Revolution in Iran for fear of losing their Saudi patronage.

Dr Kalim, by contrast, threw himself into both studying and serving the new Islamic state. He recognised that this was possibly the breakthrough in Islamic history that he had expected to come decades in the future. But he also realised, as he said later, that the breakthrough could prove transitory, and he was determined to capture as much of its light as possible in case it did not last.

At the same time, he was aware that academic study of the new phenomenon was not sufficient; as a Muslim, it was his duty to help the embryonic Islamic state to survive the massive pressures being put on it by its enemies.

As a result, Dr Kalim visited Iran several times to see and understand the Revolution. The Muslim Institute also arranged a lecture course in London by Hamid Algar, translator of Imam Khomeini's writings into English. Dr Kalim and Dr Ghayasuddin toured Britain, the US and other countries addressing meetings to explain the true significance of happenings in Iran to excited but often un-informed Muslim audiences.

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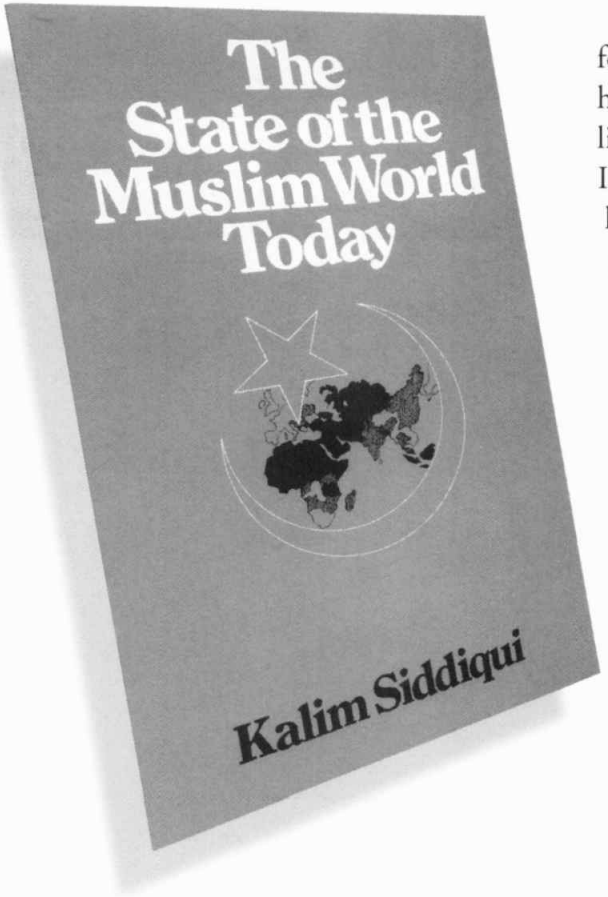
Dr Kalim's developing understanding of the Islamic Revolution can be traced through his writings of this period. These include *The State of the Muslim World Today* (1979) and *The Islamic Revolution: Achievements, Obstacles and Goals* (1980).

At the same time, Dr Kalim's insight into the broader historical situation was helping Iranians understand the true depth of their own revolution. His insight into the nature of the revolution and the problems it faced can be gauged by his reaction to Imam Khomeini's appointment of Abol Hasan Bani-Sadr as president. Dr Kalim's comment: "The Imam will have to dismiss this man!"



Dr Kalim was to remain a close friend and supporter of the Islamic State of Iran for the rest of his life. He regarded this as the only possible relationship any Muslim could have with a genuine Islamic state. The relationship was often rocky; many Iranians did not like his regular criticisms of government policy, or his understanding of the Revolution as Islamic and relevant to all Muslims. Many Iranians would have preferred the revolution to have been purely Irani and Shi'a. But there were also many Iranians who held Dr Kalim in great esteem and affection, as was witnessed by the reaction to news of his death.

Dr Kalim always maintained that the limitations of Iranian functionaries and bureaucrats could be overcome provided the leadership remained committed to the global Islamic movement. He never met Imam Khomeini, but developed a relationship of some considerable warmth with Imam Sayyid Ali Khamanei, based on the Imam's admiration for Dr Kalim's last major paper, *Processes of error, deviation, correction and convergence in Muslim political thought* (1989). Dr Kalim considered this relationship the greatest possible honour in the last years of his life.

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Crescent International and the global Islamic movement

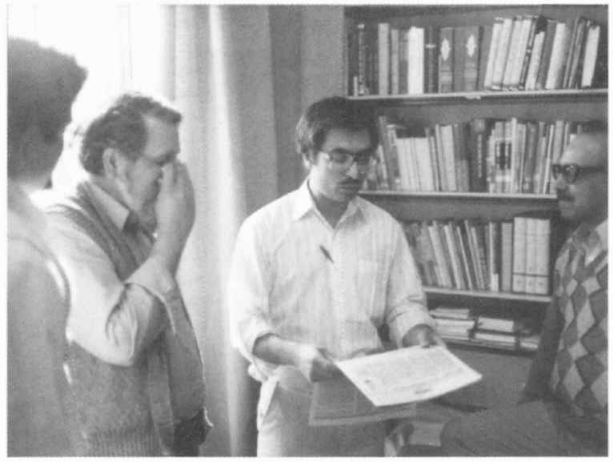
Immediately after the Islamic Revolution, Dr Kalim realised that one of its effects would be to give a tremendous boost to the Islamic movement whose existence he had hypothesised in the 1970s. Under the leadership of Islamic Iran, he hoped that this boost would prove sufficient to create a genuine, functional global Islamic movement rather than the theoretical one he had previously written about.

One of his immediate objectives, therefore, became to aid the emergence of this new, global Islamic movement. To do this, he teamed the Muslim Institute up with a Canadian Muslim newsmagazine, the *Crescent International.* This was a community magazine in Toronto, founded in 1972 by Lateef and Zahida Owaisi. Since 1975, it had been edited by Zafar Bangash, one of the members of the Muslim Institute Preparatory Committee in London. He was also writing in support and defence of the Islamic Revolution in Iran during this period. In August 1980, it was taken over by the Muslim Institute and Dr Kalim effectively became its editor.

The Crescent International has been the major newsmagazine of the revolutionary Islamic movement ever since. In the early years, the bulk of its copy was written by Dr Kalim. Later, editorial responsibilities passed first to Dr Ghayasuddin Siddiqui and then to Zafar Bangash, who gave up his engineering career to run the paper. For a four-year period from 1987-91, an Arabic edition was produced under the name *Al-Hilal al-Dawli.* The impact of these magazines has been far out of proportion to their circulation and readership.

Other Muslim Institute efforts to serve the Islamic movement included the *Muslimedia* news syndication service (1981-91) and a popular annual anthology series *Issues in the Islamic Movement,* seven volumes of which were published from 1982-1989. These brought together major writings on the Islamic movement and Muslim current affairs from *Crescent, Muslimedia* and other sources.

Because of financial and other restrictions, many of these publications have had to be closed down. But the Crescent International survives and is keenly read by Muslim academics and activists all over the world, despite being banned in numerous Muslim countries.



April 1981: From left, Zafarul Islam Khan, Dr Kalim Siddiqui, Zafar Bangash, & Dr. Ghayasuddin, reviewing the new format of Crescent International

Newsmagazine of the Islamic movement

Crescent
INTERNATIONAL

The world of Islam loses an intellectual giant in Dr Kalim Siddiqui

EDITORIAL

A sad week for the Ummah

Hizbullah win despite zionist brutalities

INSIDE

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Muslim Institute Conference and Seminars

The other main way in which the Muslim Institute worked to bring and gel together the new global Islamic movement was through a series of world conferences and seminars in London during the 1980s. These were on difference themes relating to the Islamic movement and the contemporary Muslim situation.

The first of these, on the **Political Dimensions of the Hajj**, was in 1982. It was followed by seminars on **State and Politics in Islam** (1983), **The Islamic Revolution in Iran** (1984), **What Future for Pakistan?** (1984), **The Impact of Nationalism on the Ummah** (1985), **Muslim Political Thought during the Colonial Period** (1986), **The Future of the Haramain** (1988), **The Implications of the Rushdie Affair** (1989) and **The Future of Muslims in Britain** (1990).

These combined serious intellectual discussions on matters central to the work of the global Islamic movement, with unique opportunities for intellectuals and activists from the Islamic movement to come together. Among the many senior people who attended these conferences were Shaikh Fadhlullah of Lebanon, Shaikh Omar Abdul Rahman of Egypt, Shaikh Assad al-Tamimi of Palestine, Muallim Ibrahim Zakzaki of Nigeria, Shaikh Muhammad al-Asi of the USA and numerous senior *ulama* from Islamic Iran.

Since 1990, the Muslim Institute's tradition of bringing together major figures of the Islamic movement to discuss and debate issues concerning the whole world of Islam has been continued be the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain, which has convened conferences on **Bosnia and the Global Islamic Movement** (1993) and **Hiroshima to Sarajevo – Fifty Years of the United Nations** (1995).

It is, therefore, wholly appropriate that the two institutions should come together to convene a Memorial Conference, *In Pursuit of the Power of Islam*, as a tribute to Dr Kalim in November 1996.

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The Muslim Institute's overseas activities

During the 1970s, Dr Kalim had established contacts, friends and supporters all over the world. After the Islamic Revolution, he found that many of these people shared his understanding of the vision of the significance of the Islamic Revolution in Iran and his commitment to serving the embryonic Islamic movement.

Since the Revolution, therefore, the Muslim Institute has directly or indirectly established operations in a number of other countries, including Canada, South Africa, Pakistan, Malaysia and India. These have included publishing and distribution of *Crescent International, Muslimedia, Al-Hilal al-Dawli* and local newspapers; publication of books and videos; and the holding of seminars and lectures.

The Muslim Institute has also been active in other countries where the political situation is such that details cannot be given. This has included more direct assistance to Islamic movements, some of which are suppressed and underground in their own countries.

Dr Kalim Siddiqui, addressing a community meeting in Toronto, Canada.

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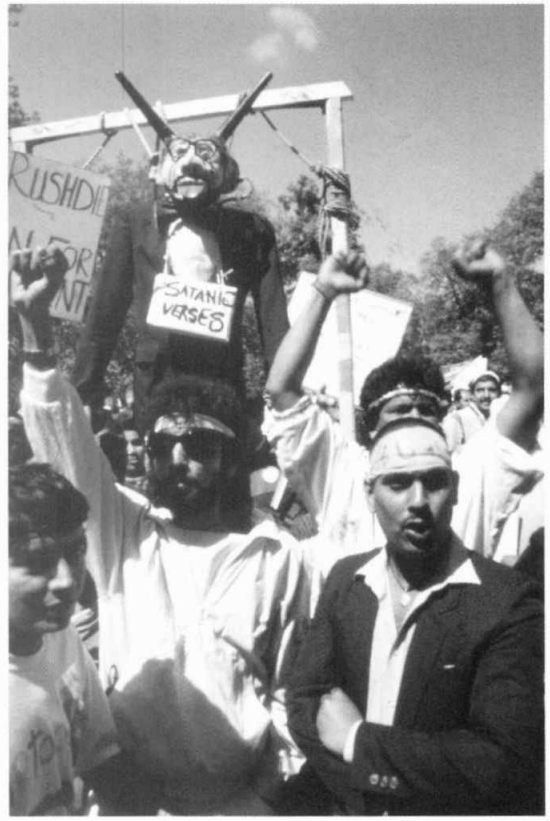
The Rushdie Affair and the Muslim Manifesto

Salman Rushdie, Dr Kalim often said, ruined my life. Until the Rushdie affair, his work, even in support of the Islamic movement, was primarily academic and intellectual. He was largely insulated from the gaze of the wider British community, except when he was invited by the media, as an academic expert, to give an Islamic perspective on current news stories. His support of Imam Khomeini's *fatwa* changed all that.

Before the Imam gave his *fatwa* in February 1989, Dr Kalim was not unaware of the Rushdie controversy, but had taken no major role in it. While it was undeniably serious, Dr Kalim took the view that campaigning for the banning of the *Satanic Verses* would be a major and pointless distraction from the main work of the Muslim Institute.

That changed with the Imam's *fatwa.* Dr Kalim was actually in Tehran when the *fatwa* was issued, leading to reports that he prompted it. This is an exaggeration of his role. In fact, he was at Tehran Airport when Dr Khatmi, then the Minister of Islamic Guidance, came to him and asked what he knew about Rushdie and the *Satanic Verses*. Dr Kalim explained the situation to him and Dr Khatmi left. Later the same day, back in his hotel as his flight had been cancelled, he heard that the Imam had issued his fatwa.

When he finally landed in London, the establishment, the literati and the media were up in arms. The British Muslim community, whose previous protests had been largely ignored, was under siege. This was a radically different situation to that which had earlier existed and demanded a radically different response. Dr Kalim became, as is well-known, the community's champion against hysterical media and establishment attacks. The controversy raged for months and continues, on a smaller scale, to this day.



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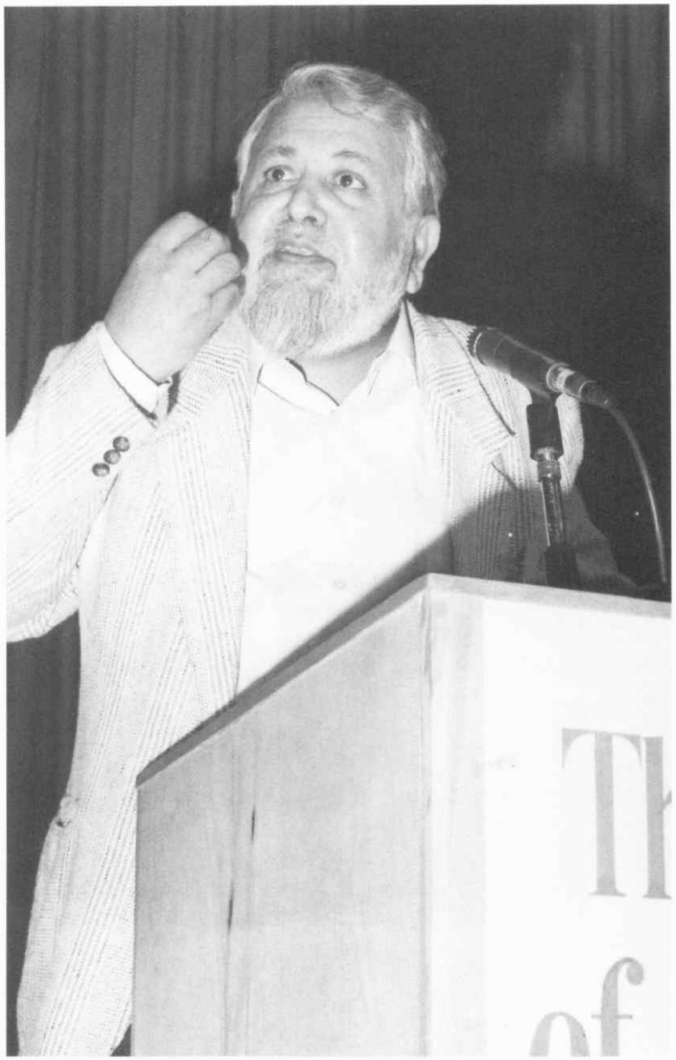

Dr Siddiqui's position remained precisely the same throughout. The *fatwa* had been pronounced by the Imam of the only Islamic state of the day and was therefore legally binding on all Muslims. However, Muslims in Britain had, under Islamic law, a prior and higher commitment to the law of the land in which they lived as a minority and therefore could not execute the *fatwa* in Britain. But such was Muslim anger at Rushdie s offence that there remained the possibility that some over-zealous Muslim might execute the *fatwa* nonetheless; therefore Rushdie would not be safe on Britain's streets.

Even as he was travelling from newsroom to studio, giving interview after interview representing the Muslim position on Rushdie, however, Dr Kalim was planning ahead also. He had always taken a keen interest on community affairs. Now he put the considerable intellectual assets of the Muslim Institute to considering the situation of Muslims in Britain.

The result: **The Muslim Manifesto**. This was published in 1990, at a Muslim Institute conference on 'The Future of Muslims in Britain' and laid out both the problems facing Muslims here and the duties and responsibilities the Muslim community had living in a non-Muslim country. The *Muslim Manifesto* was to become the foundation document of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain.

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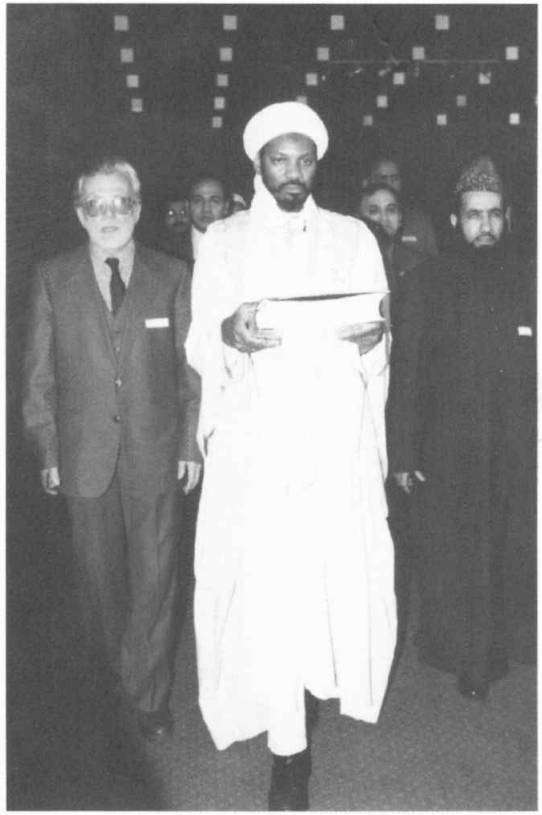
The Muslim Parliament - a minority political system for Muslims in Britain

The Muslim Parliament of Great Britain was inaugurated on January 4, 1992, after nearly 18 months of intensive groundwork following the publication of the *Muslim Manifesto*. Along with the Muslim Institute, the Muslim Parliament is one the two major institutions which Dr Kalim established to pursue his vision and which he has left as his legacy for the Muslim *ummah*.

It is often said that the community work which is the main focus of the Muslim Parliament was a new direction for Dr Kalim. That this is not true can be seen by any perusal of this writings. The problems facing Muslims living as minorities in western countries is a theme from his earliest book on Muslim political thought, *Towards a New Destiny* (1973). In this book, he said that the challenge facing Muslim minorities was two-fold: to survive uncontaminated as Muslims in a hostile environment, and to contribute fully to the global *ummah's* struggle to re-establish Islam as a civilizational force for good in the world.

Precisely the same points emerged again in his writings on the Muslim Parliament, particularly *Generating 'Power' without Politics* (1990) and *The Muslim Parliament of Great Britain – political innovation and adaptation*, his opening speech at the inauguration of the Muslim Parliament (1992). Dr Kalim argued that to survive as Muslims in this country, the community must develop its own institutions capable of meeting its needs in every area without dependence on the British state or government. He particularly opposed direct involvement in mainstream British politics. saying that Muslims could only exercise influence here by becoming strong outside the system and exerting pressure on it the system from outside.



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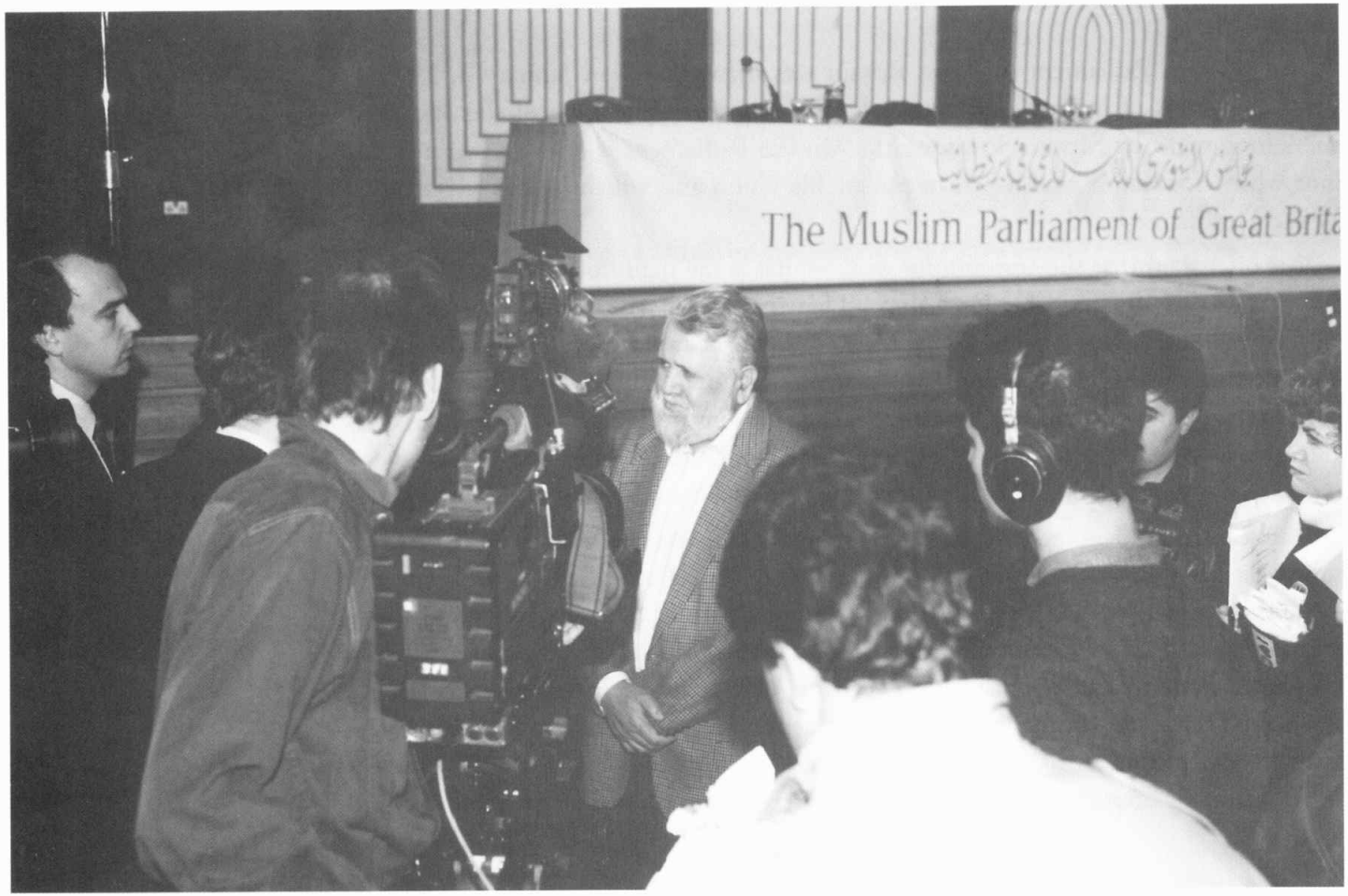

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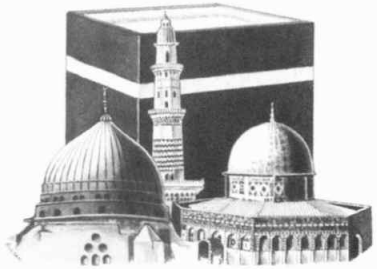
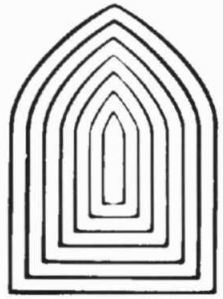
Immediately after its inauguration, the Muslim Parliament set to work undertaking further research into the conditions and needs of Muslims in Britain and established projects to improve their situation in important areas. These have included education, poverty, unemployment, anti-Muslim discrimination, the state of the community s mosques, and the halal meat trade. Much of this research has been done by Jahangir Mohammed, Dr Kalim's Deputy as Leader of the Muslim Parliament from 1993 onwards.

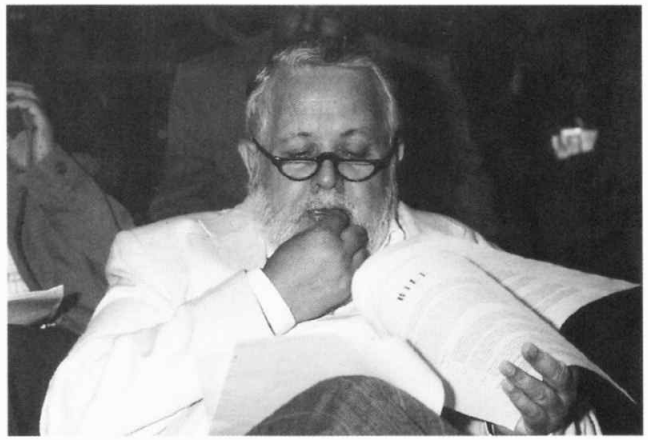


In 1993, the Muslim Parliament established a registered charity, the **Bait al-Mal al-Islami**, to finance and administer those parts of its work which are charitable under British law. The Bait al-Mal has established welfare provisions for deprived families and those suffering from hardship, and assistance schemes for students from poor backgrounds.



Another major area of work has been education. Dr Kalim always maintained that education was the only way of breaking the cycle of poverty and social deprivation which has kept British Muslims poor and exploited at the bottom of Britain s socio-economic ladder. While the education debate among Muslims in this country concentrated on obtaining government funding for the handful of Muslim schools, the Muslim Parliament has always taken the view that the immediate need is for supplementary education to help Muslim children in state schools.

The third major institution of the Muslim Parliament network has been the **Halal Food Authority**, which was established in 1994 to monitor and regulate the halal meat trade in Britain, which unfortunately is largely fraudulent. Muslim Parliament research indicates that less than 20 percent of meat sold as *'halal'* really is *halal.* This was an area particularly close to Dr Kalim's heart. The network of HFA guaranteed abbatoirs and shops now provides the community with the only independently certified halal meat in Britain.



At the same time, the Muslim Parliament worked to help Muslims and the global Islamic movement overseas in their struggles. Some Muslims argued that the Parliament should concentrate local issues and that taking a strong position on international issues would make it more difficult to work in Britain, but Dr Kalim never accepted this position, saying that Muslims in Britain had a responsibility to the global Islamic movement.

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Republika Bosna i Hercegovina
ARMIJA RBiH - 7. KORPUS

ZAHVALNICA

The Muslim Parliament of Great Britain

Komandant
brig. general
Mehmed Alagić

Central to this work has been the Muslim Parliament's work in support of Bosnia.. The Muslim Parliament's World Conference on **Bosnia and the global Islamic movement** (November 1993) contributed to the understanding of events there, and led to the establishment of the Arms for Bosnia Fund at a time when most Muslims were concentrating only on humanitarian work. Dr Kalim took a particular interest in this fund, and its successor, the Jihad Fund, used to help Muslim *mujahideen* in many parts of the world.

Acknowledgement and thanks from the Commander of the 7th Corps Bosnia & Herzegovina Armed Forces, Brigadier General Mehmed Alagic.

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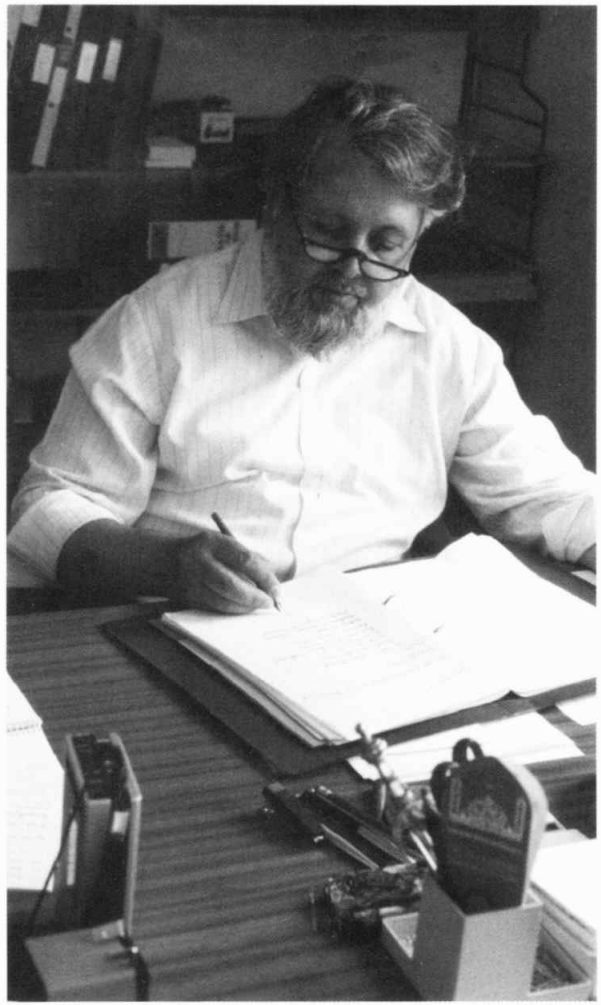
Dr Kalim's writings and ideas

Dr Kalim was always a writer by nature. His first job in Karachi was as founder-editor of the student newspaper *The Leader*. In London, he moved rapidly up the journalistic ladder, until he was a sub-editor on the national paper *The Guardian*. Although he then went into academia, he was not averse to returning the journalism when the Muslim Institute took over the *Crescent International*. For some time after the transformation of the Crescent from a community paper in Toronto to a newsmagazine of the global Islamic movement, he was effectively its editor and main writer. He continued to write for regularly for it for the rest of his life.

He also wrote a large number of books and papers. His first published book was *Conflict, Crisis and War in Pakistan* (1972). His PhD thesis was published as *Functions of International Conflict - a socio-economic study of Pakistan* in 1975. But by this time, his attention had shifted from Pakistan to the world of Islam as a whole; his first book on Muslim political thought was *Towards a New Destiny* (1973). From then on he produced books and papers on aspects of the global Islamic movement with remarkable regularity throughout his life. The most important of these have now been compiled by Zafar Bangash as *In Pursuit of the Power of Islam* (London: The Open Press, 1996).

The *Draft Prospectus of the Muslim Institute* (1974) presented the understanding of the Muslim historical situation with which he launched his work and, together with *Towards a New Destiny*, is essential reading to understanding his life s work. After the Islamic Revolution, his understanding of it developed in a series of writings through the 1980s, including his papers to the Muslim Institute seminars and his introductions to the *Issues in the Islamic Movement* series (1982-89).



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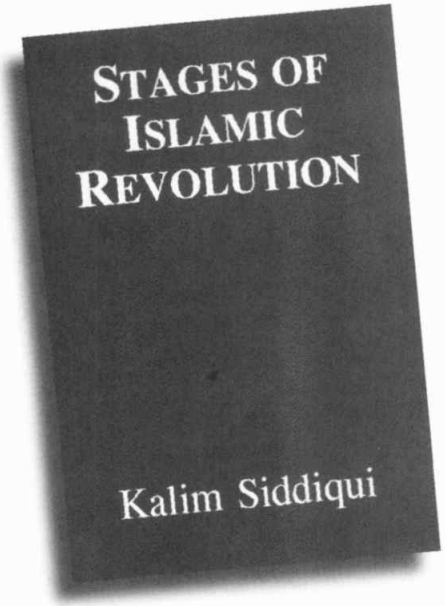

The culmination of his writings and political thought was the paper *Processes of Error, Deviation, Correction and Convergence in Muslim Political Thought*, written in 1989-90. In this, he presented his understanding of the process of Muslim history, how things had gone wrong after the rightly-guided *khulafa*, why the initial breakthrough in Muslim political thought had come in Shi'a Iran, and what Muslims in other countries must do to establish Islamic rule in their own countries. The argument was warmly welcomed and endorsed by Imam Khamanei himself.

The main idea which emerges from all his writings is that the civilizational power of Islam needs to be re-asserted at every level. However, he does not expect that this to be an overnight development; the problems of 1400 years cannot be solved quickly. The basic requirement is for Muslim scholars and intellectuals to re-write Muslim political thought on the basis of Islamic traditions and scholarship rather than western and use this new Muslim political thought as the basis for a new civilization of Islam.

He also hypothesised the global Islamic movement long before its emergence after the Islamic Revolution, and commented on its nature and development throughout the eighties and nineties. He was particularly interested in the practical aspects of a functioning, global Islamic movement in a world totally dominated by western mechanisms of control. This was the subject of his *The Islamic movement - a systems approach* (1976), written well before Iran's Islamic Revolution. He developed his ideas on the global Islamic movement in post-revolutionary writings, culminating in his final book *Stages of Islamic Revolution* (1996), which he described as a handbook for Islamic activists. The first edition of this was rushed into print in South Africa to coincide with the conference in April 1996; he was thus able to see it before his death.

Any understanding of Dr Kalim's writings must start with his writings. *Stages of Islamic Revolution* is crucial for this. Zafar Bangash s compilation of his major writings from 1973 to 1992, *In Pursuit of the Power of Islam*, is also of tremendous importance. A compilation of Dr Kalim's writings in *Crescent International* is also under preparation. Other writings have been published by the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain.

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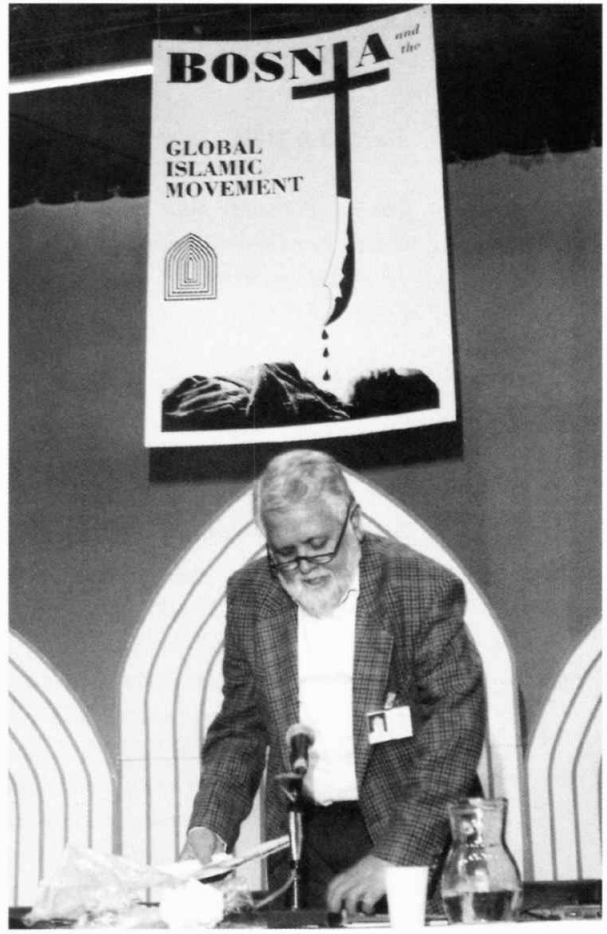
The way forward: Dr Kalim's legacy

Dr Kalim Siddiqui will be remembered as both an intellectual and an activist. In his own life, he was probably known best for his establishment of the Muslim Institute and the Muslim Parliament. Certainly these institutions, which will continue to work for the fulfilment of his vision, *insha'Allah*, are among the most important legacies.

But his ideas and writings are equally important and it may well prove that the cold, calm light of hindsight will make them better understood and appreciated after his death than they were during his lifetime. Dr Kalim was never a man to sit back and contemplate the world around him. His commitment was to the Islamic movement and he understood that all his intellectual work must be such as to contribute to the ongoing work of the movement at the ground level.

His most important legacy, however, may well prove to be his example. Few people have ever demonstrated the sort of commitment and dedication to the work of Islam that he did. Through years of ill-health, and numerous of kinds of problems and pressures, he always kept his eyes firmly on the goal on the horizon and worked towards it. Nothing ever got in the way of his next important task, his next goal. He was also a man who inspired those around him to make similar sacrifices in pursuit of the same vision, and leaves behind him a team of people all over the world whose commitment is to exactly the same work.

These people include men such as Dr Ghayasuddin Siddiqui, Director of the Muslim Institute and Leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain; Zafar Bangash, Assistant Director of the Muslim Institute and editor of Crescent International; Jahangir Mohammed and Haroon Kalla, Deputy Leaders of the Muslim Parliament; and numerous others all over the world. The onus on us now is to ensure that the work of Dr Kalim continues and provides precisely the sort of foundation for building a new civilization of Islam that he envisaged, *insha'Allah*.



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Appendix:

Dr Kalim Siddiqui's letter to British prime minister John Major, March 1996.

March 14, 1996.

The Rt. Hon. Mr John Major, PC MP,
Prime Minister and First Lord of the Admiralty,
10 Downing Street,
London SW1.

Dear Prime Minister,

I am deeply alarmed by the current hype in the media against Muslims in Britain and reports that intelligence agencies such as MI5 have been used to try to link Muslim charities and other groups in Britain with recent events in Palestine and elsewhere in the world.

It is true that most Muslim organisations and mosques in Britain, indeed in all parts of the world, collect funds for Muslims who are oppressed in such areas as Kashmir, Palestine, Bosnia, Chechenya, Algeria and so on. It is also true that some of these funds are collected in the name of jihad, a term grossly misunderstood and misrepresented in the West. In Islam, jihad simply means total struggle with all resources at our command. We know, the world knows, that many people in the modern world are suffering from various forms of oppression. Their struggles to liberate themselves take many forms, including political, democratic and armed resistance, depending on the conditions they face. Any form of peaceful or armed struggle to end oppression is jihad. For example, Muslims in Britain may not take up arms to rectify such oppression and injustice as the repeated refusal of your Government to fund Muslim schools on the same basis as Christian and Jewish schools. But our political struggle to secure our rights under the law is also jihad. In writing this letter I am also engaged in jihad. It is a centuries' old tradition in Islam that 'the ink of a scholar's pen is holier than the blood of a martyr'. Scholarship, and by extension all forms of journalism, writing, publishing and the spoken word, are dimensions of jihad. The setting up of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain in 1992 and our long-standing commitment to punish blasphemy against Islam are all within the purview of the meaning of jihad.

I have no hesitation in putting on record our view that the West is currently engaged in a programme of aggression and oppression against Islam and Muslims in many parts of the world, including Bosnia and Palestine. The British Government is, and has always been, an active participant in this anti-Muslim campaign. This is also reflected in the Government's treatment of its Muslim minority in Britain. The denial of State funds to Muslim schools, the attempt to impose a 'mainly Christian' syllabus of religious education on all children in State schools, the refusal to extend to Muslims legal protection against religious discrimination, and the support and encouragement given to Salman Rushdie in his campaign of insult and abuse of Islam are just some examples of this.

I must also remind you that many other minority communities living in Britain, including the Jews, Sikhs, Hindus, Christians, Russians and other East European emigres during communist rule have actively helped and promoted their particular causes from Britain. This has included 'charitable' work, political lobbying and, in the case of the Zionist movement, the wholesale murder, pillage and plunder of the people of Palestine for most of this century. The Zionists

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have occupied Palestine and displaced its people through a campaign of terrorism carried out under British Trusteeship of that country. Many of the post-1948 leaders of Israel were wanted by British authorities for terrorism, including murder and arson. Israel's current policy of inflicting 'collective punishment' on Palestinian Muslims is a continuation of that tradition.

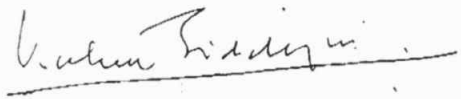
There is a great deal of hoo-haa about the alleged financing of Hamas from London. I do not know of anyone in Britain who has raised funds for Hamas. But what is widely known is that the Zionist Jews and their 'charities' and other organisations routinely raise many millions, indeed billions of pounds a year to finance the Zionist movement and to shore up the illegitimate State of Israel. Allow me to put it on record that Muslims living in Britain also have the same rights to take full part in the defence of the cause of Islam and Muslims in all parts of the world in any manner of our own choosing. This point was also made in our foundation document, The Muslim Manifesto, published in July 1990. Your Home Secretary, Michael Howard, in his letter of March 5 to Greville Janner, QC MP, is less than honest when he says that "the vast majority of the Muslim community in the UK are entirely law-abiding". The fact is that the 'criminal element' among Muslims is proportionately smaller than in any other comparable community in Britain. Muslim leadership of all shades of opinion is working hard to protect the community from becoming involved in the currently rampant 'Western' culture of crime, sex, drugs and alcoholism. Please accept my personal assurance, and that of the entire Muslim community in Britain, that we will not, despite the many hardships and privations we suffer, knowingly break the law. At the same time Muslims living in Britain will individually and collectively exercise their inalienable right to do whatever we can to help the cause of Islam and Muslims in any part of the world. We are open about everything we do. We shall not do anything surreptitiously.

We are also committed to maintaining good community relations in Britain. This is not easy when the Zionist lobby uses its influence in the media and in Government to try to demonise Islam and Muslims in the manner we have seen and experienced in the last few weeks. I understand you have a regular monthly meeting with the chairman of the Board of Deputies of British Jews. At your next meeting kindly consider advising him that, in the long run, their campaign of demonising Muslims and Islam may well backfire. History has a habit of overturning roles and power balances among communities.

Your Government also needs to revise its attitudes and policies towards Islam and Muslims. You probably know, but, in case you don't, let me tell you, that the reputation of Britain among Muslims throughout the world is that of an enemy State. This incidentally also goes for the West as a whole. I cannot advise you on your foreign policy goals, but in domestic policy it would be best if agencies such as MI5 were not used to harass Muslims in the name of preventing terrorism in Palestine or anywhere else. As British Muslims, like British Jews and others, we are part of a global community. As such we have certain duties towards Islam and Muslims in all parts of the world. And, like the Jews and others, we shall always discharge these duties to the best of our ability. No form of official pressure or media witch hunt will deflect us from this.

Assuring you of our highest consideration at all times,

Yours faithfully



(Dr) Kalim Siddiqui, MMP,
Leader of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain.

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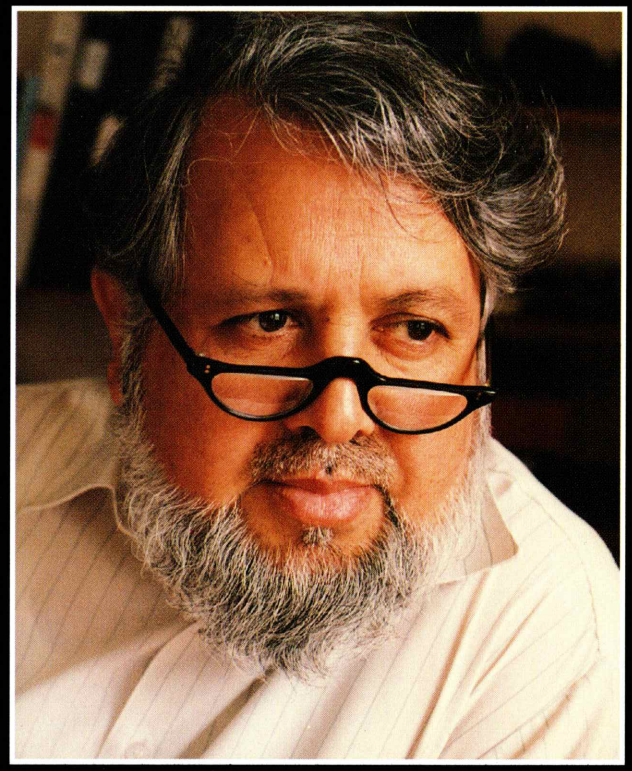

Our task is to dream and work for the future – for a time when a new Muslim civilization will emerge – a dynamic, thriving, growing, healthy and happy civilization; a civilization in which man will be at peace with himself, with the physical environment and, above all, with his Creator. In the meantime we must plan and produce the prerequisites for such a civilization.

Dr Kalim Siddiqui
July 1977

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