Taqiyya: Islam's doctrine of deception



an edited extract from Mark Durie's book:
The Third Choice: Islam, Dhimmitude and Freedom

© Mark Durie

VoxBrief
February 2010
FamilyVoice AUSTRALIA

One of the most controversial television documentaries on Islam ever made in Britain was Undercover Mosque, which first aired on 15 January 2007.[1]

The documentary, produced by the independent television company Hardcash Productions for the Channel 4 series Dispatches presents film footage gathered from 12 months of secret investigation into mosques throughout Britain.[2]

Among the mosques investigated was the London Central Mosque and Islamic Cultural Centre in Regent's Park, an institution which cultivates an image of moderation and supports integration of Muslims into British society.[3]

The director of Undercover Mosque, David Henshaw, when interviewed on ABC Radio National in 2008, was asked about the program's portrayal of taqiyya – a moral code in Islam about circumstances when Muslims are not obliged to tell the truth to non-Muslims.[4] David Henshaw replied:

"Yes. It's a sequence in the program that most people have talked about. Regent's Park Mosque is officially committed to inter-faith dialogue which we all believe in, and at one stage our undercover reporter films a group of Christians visiting the mosque and the preacher and the Women's Circle treat them kindly and talk about: 'We're all people of the book and we all come from the same history'. Just as soon as that group of visitors leaves, the language changes completely. 'Christianity is vile', the preacher says. 'It's disgusting going past their churches and seeing what they do in there.' So yes, pretty two-faced ... that you can lie to the unbeliever, that's not a sin."

So what is taqiyya – the Islamic doctrine of deception? Are there teachings in Islam that deception can, under certain circumstances, be approved? The following edited extract from Mark Durie's book The Third Choice (published by Deror Books, USA in 2010) offers some important insights.

Taqiyya – lawful lying and deception

In a lecture to the Muslim Society at the University of Western Sydney in 2001, prominent Australian Muslim youth leader Zachariah Matthews spoke about establishing Islam in the "lands of immigration". He argued for six principles derived from the example of Muhammad's *Hijrah* (migration) to Medina, including "secrets should be hidden" and "deception is necessary".[5]

Is it true that deception is a legitimate part of establishing Islam?

While Islam does consider lying to be a very serious sin, lying is permitted in some situations. For example, the *hadith* teaches that Muslims are permitted lies of a positive nature when reconciling people.[6]

Harm prevention

According to the Quran, another circumstance for deception is when Muslims are in danger from non-Muslims. The Quran states:

"Let not the Believers take for friends or helpers Unbelievers rather than Believers: if any do that, in nothing will there be help from Allah, except by way of precaution, that ye may guard yourselves from them. But Allah cautions you (to remember) Himself; for the final goal is to Allah."[7] [Sura 3:28]

This refers to the practice of deception in order to keep Muslims safe. Commentaries on this verse take the view that what is known as *taqiyya* is permitted when Muslims are subject to the power of non-Muslims (so that Muslims could have reason to fear them). Thus the commentator Al-Baghawi said: "If the believer is living amongst the infidels and he is afraid of them, he may praise them with his tongue while his heart is comforted with faith, to avoid harm to himself [i.e. from the infidels] (al-Baghawi, d. 1122)2

The renowned, and popular commentator Ibn Kathir wrote: "... believers who in some areas or times fear for their safety from the disbelievers ... are allowed to show friendship to the disbelievers outwardly, but never inwardly. ... 'We smile in the face of some people although our hearts curse them.'"[8]

And the twentieth century Indian scholar Mawdudi wrote: "... it is lawful for a believer ... to keep his faith concealed and to behave in such a manner as to create the impression that he is on the same side as his enemies."[9]

Al-Khazin (c. 1340) reports that some scholars say this *taqiyya* was only for the early stages of Islam, before Muslims gained power, so the doctrine no longer applied after Muslims gained the upper hand.[10] However the logic of this view would imply that when Muslims are no longer in power, the concession for deception must come back into force.

One implication of this doctrine is that the behaviour of Muslims towards non-Muslims may become less friendly, and their beliefs less veiled, as their political power increases.

Misleading impressions

In Islam, deception is not limited to contexts where Muslims fear persecution. An extended discussion of the subject of lawful lying is found in the *Sharia* manual, the *Reliance of the Traveller,* in four sections: lying, permissible lying, exaggeration and giving a misleading impression.[11] A *hadith* is cited reporting that Muhammad permitted untruth in warfare, settling disputes, and between husband and wife to "smooth over differences".

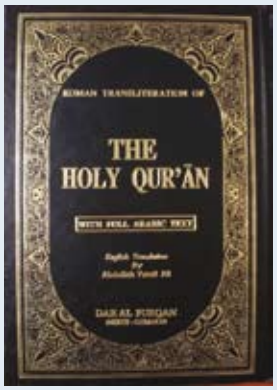
The editor of the *Reliance of the Traveller,* Nuh Ha Mim Keller, cites Abd al-Wakil Durubi to offer an example of the difference

between lying and giving a misleading impression. If someone asks you whether a particular person is present in your house, and you do not want to give the person's whereabouts away, you could lawfully give a misleading impression by saying, "He is not here", meaning the empty space between you and the questioner, but intending that the questioner would think you are referring to the house.[12]

The need to pay attention

Because of the potential for misleading impressions to arise, it can be important to pay very careful attention to what is and is not said, when interpreting statements by Muslim apologists.

The Australian Muslim commentator Keysar Trad issued a statement in June 2008 commending the United Kingdom for giving formal recognition to polygamy.[13] This resulted in a storm of media commentary about consent. Keysar Trad responded: "Marriage being a union that requires consent, males can only enter into it when they find a willing woman."[14]



Australian media commentators were quick to interpret Trad as saying that Islamic polygamous marriages are voluntary on the women's part because of Trad's reference to finding "a willing woman". All Trad actually said was that the woman must be willing to marry. What he did **not** say was that the woman (or any of the pre-existing wives) must give their consent to the polygamy.

Getting caught out

Sometimes Muslim leaders can be "caught out" saying one thing to a non-Muslim audience, and something else altogether to a Muslim audience.

In 1994, when negotiations between the Palestinian Liberation Organization and the Israeli authorities appeared to be going well and international optimism was riding high, Yasser Arafat gave an inflammatory speech in a Cape Town mosque in which he exhorted his hearers "to come and to fight a *jihad* to liberate Jerusalem".[15] A journalist secretly recorded Arafat's speech, in which he said: "I see this agreement as being no more than the agreement signed between our Prophet Muhammad and the Quraysh in Mecca."[16] Muhammad subsequently rejected this treaty (known as the Treaty of *al-Hudaybiyyah*) and the Muslims secured a great victory over the Meccans.

When the speech was relayed to the world, Arafat's words created a storm of protest. Yet Arafat defended himself by saying that he had only been speaking of his peacemaking efforts: "I will continue my *jihad* for peace."[17]

In another example, Dan Sytman of Seattle's KTTH radio compiled an audio collage of Azzam Tamimi, of the Institute of Islamic Political Thought in London, in which Tamimi's calm and reassuring statements on American National Public Radio alternated with excerpts from a fiery street speech delivered to a mainly Muslim audience. Here are two such contrasting passages from the two recordings:

National Public Radio Interviewer: "Do you think there is significant support in the British Muslim Community for using violence to express opposition to British policy?" Tamimi: "Not at all. The majority of Muslims are absolutely opposed to the use of violence. It is illegitimate. It's not acceptable. ... We have the responsibility to explain this to our youngsters, that they cannot resort to force."

Tamimi's street speech (shouting): "And We say, we say we are willing to bring it to an end peacefully. But if they don't want peace, we have another language! We have another language! And we have every right to use that language! And time will tell! And history will tell! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar! Allahu Akbar!"[18]

On national radio Tamimi declares that Muslims are opposed to violence, but in the street he loudly proclaims their right and readiness to use violence.

Lost in translation

Because of the potential for deception, hard questions need to be asked about some translations of Islamic texts into English. Translations can tend to "soften" the original meaning. While this is hardly unique to Islam, lawful dissimulation in Islam provides an ethical framework which encourages such practices.

An example of important information being lost in translation occurs in relation to Q4:34, which states that husbands may beat their wives as a punishment. The Arabic expression just says "beat" or "hit" and could mean anything from a light blow to a flogging, but the normal understanding is a beating. Yusuf Ali's original 1934 translation of the Quran rendered this as "beat them (lightly)" but a more recent edition has changed this to "chastise them (lightly)". This is misleading, as *chastise* need not imply any use of force, and could simply mean a verbal rebuke, which is not at all what the Arabic says.

Another apparent example of a misleading impression being given by translation comes from Keller's translation of the *Reliance of the Traveller*, in a section dealing with female circumcision.

The term "female genital mutilation" was coined at a World Health Organization seminar held in Khartoum in 1979. An NGO report by the Association for World Education to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights in July 2005 stated, concerning female circumcision: "... two million female children and girls in more than 30 countries – including more and more thousands in Europe from an immigrant population – are being brutally mutilated each year."[19]

Over the years countless public statements have been made alleging that female circumcision has no basis in the teachings of any religion. Nevertheless in 1981 Sheikh Gad al-Haq, of Al-Azhar University, a supreme authority in Sunni Islam, issued a fatwa stating that circumcision of girls was a religious obligation.[20]

Circumcision is one of the matters dealt with in the *Reliance of the Traveller*, a manual of Shafi'i law, in which the original Arabic text is published facing Keller's English translation. The English translation of the section on circumcision conceals the Arabic instructions for circumcising girls by excising the clitoris. The Arabic is translated by Nuh Hah Mim Keller as follows:

"Circumcision is obligatory (O: for both men and women). For men it consists of removing the prepuce from the penis, and for women, removing the prepuce (Ar. bazr) of the clitoris (n: not the clitoris itself, as some mistakenly assert). (A: Hanbalis hold that circumcision of women is not obligatory but *sunna*, while Hanafis consider it a mere courtesy to the husband.)"

However what the facing Arabic on the same page actually says is:

"Circumcision is obligatory (for every male and female) by cutting off the piece of skin on the glans of the penis of the male, but circumcision of the female is by cutting out the clitoris."

Different versions of the Quran

The claim is often made that the Arabic version of the Quran has never been altered, and exists without variation. This claim is often used in arguments to assert alleged inferiority of the Bible. For example, a widely used Islamic publication asserts: "No variation of text can be found in it. You can check this for yourself by listening to the recitation of Muslims from different parts of the world."[21]

In fact there are several different versions of the Quran, with variations affecting virtually every page, and at least four of these are in print in different parts of the world today,[22] so recitations of the Quran are not the same all over the world. In addition there are also divergent Shi'ite readings of the text.[23] There were once even more variants, but under the caliph 'Uthman many variant Qurans were burnt in order to eliminate the variation.[24]

Obscuring the meaning of *jihad*

A common claim is that the word *jihad* does not primarily refer to military conflict, but to personal struggle with oneself.[25] This claim is based upon a *hadith* which speaks of military activity as the "lesser *jihad*". However this *hadith* is not in any of the six canonical *hadith* collections and has been rejected as a fabrication.[26]

In contrast, an authentic *hadith* declares that the use of force should be a Muslim's first preference:

He who amongst you sees something abominable should modify it with the help of his hand; and if he has not strength enough to do it, then he should do it with his tongue, and if he has not strength enough to do it, (even) then he should (abhor it) from his heart, and that is the least of faith.[27]

The *Kitab al Jihad* (book of *jihad)* in the *Sahib al-Bukhari*[28], or any of the canonical *hadith* collections, reveals that the principal meaning of *jihad* is the use of military force against unbelievers to make Islam victorious and dominant.[29]

Within Sharia legal traditions, a chapter in a legal manual on *jihad* would be concerned with military jurisprudence, dealing with warfare against unbelievers, and discuss such topics as the rules of engagement, the division of booty, and treatment of captives. It would not be a self-help book.



In the worldview of classical Islam, which unites the military, legal, political and religious domains, any justifiable military action by the Islamic state is *jihad*, a religious conflict to secure and extend Islam, and any soldier who dies fighting in the army of an Islamic nation is a martyr to his faith. In the long and bitter war between Iran and Iraq, both sides claimed that their vast casualties died as martyrs in *jihad*.

Strategic deception

A contemporary example of the strategic use of deception is provided by the Islamic Reform movement in Algeria led by Abdul-Hamid ibn Badis, which culminated in the bloody Algerian War of Independence that commenced in 1954.

A biographical essay on the achievements of Ibn Badis titled: "The Understanding of Abdul-Hameed Ibn Baadis of the Phases of *Da'wah*" was concerned (like Zachariah Matthews' lecture mentioned above) with the correct method of *da'wa*, or "summoning" a community to Islam.[30] The essay describes the role of Ibn Badis in leading the Islamic revival in Algeria before World War II, through a carefully planned series of phases, and praises his skilful use of deception.

During the initial phase he focused on training the young, while assuring French authorities that his efforts were apolitical and supported French political ideals: "We are not intending by this to mix religion and politics".[31]

Later, when Ibn Badis formed an association of Algerian *ulamas* (Muslim legal scholars), he was careful to include in the constitution the stipulation: "It is not permitted for *the Jam'iyyah* [Association], under any circumstances to get involved in political matters." When Ibn Badis was challenged for inciting people against the French authorities, he protested that the association "is a religious organisation, merely corrective, and completely far away from politics?!"[32]

The essay author comments: "that was just to conceal the real activities that were happening. Indeed, the *Jam'iyyah* got involved into politics by another avenue ... his plan was to encircle [colonialism] and to destroy [it] ... step by step."[33]

This essay eulogises Ibn Badis for strategically deceiving the French authorities over a period of almost thirty years. He pretended that his religious ideals had nothing to do with politics, while his religious vision was always thoroughly political. He pretended to support French political ideals, while being fundamentally opposed to them. He pretended friendship with France, while being determined to drive the French from Algeria. Even the constitution of the peak body of Algerian *ulamas* led by Ibn Badis was a fabrication, designed to lull the French into a false sense of security.

An ethically damaged community

A utilitarian ethic that sanctions lying and deception can be very damaging – destroying trust, creating confusion and destabilising society. If husbands habitually lie to their wives, to "smooth over differences", this will erode trust within marriage. A culture of lawful deception will incite suspicion and stimulate conspiracy theories. Enemies who routinely lie to each other – because religion makes a virtue of such behaviour – will prolong conflicts and hinder negotiations for peace.

The *Sharia* principle that lying is a means to an end can also drive a cycle of mistrust between Muslims and non-Muslims – as observed in media reports of Islamic hate-speech. An Islamic leader may be quoted in the media as having incited contempt for Jews, Christians, women or democracy. The media report is then condemned by Muslim groups, who dismiss it as defamatory: the material was taken out of context; the directors of the mosque were not aware that these views were being promoted; the group in question were only renting the facilities; the Arabic was mistranslated; the report is an attempt to demonise Muslims and exemplifies Islamophobia and racism in the media; other faiths hold similar views but only Muslims are targeted by the media; and so forth.

Whatever the particularities, the essence of the dissimulation is the implication that the report was false – so the Muslims involved have nothing to answer for. However months or years later, the same preacher or the same mosque is implicated in the same kind of hate-speech. Mistrust increases and community relations go from bad to worse. This cycle occurred in responses to UK Channel 4's *Undercover Mosque* documentaries in January 2007 and August 2008,[34] which repeatedly exposed preachers of hate in some of Britain's leading mosques.[35]

The best way to break the cycle would be for Muslims together to acknowledge the problem, as Ghayasuddin Siddiqui, head of the Muslim Parliament of Great Britain proposed soon after the first *Undercover Mosque* documentary: "British Muslims have a problem and it needs to be recognised."[36]

The problem of immoral teachings

A further complicating factor is the moral unacceptability of some Islamic teachings. Some rulings can present great difficulties for Muslims living in modern society. Muslims who advocate or follow these rulings may find their faith coming under attack and may even face criminal prosecution.

Consider the ruling in Islam that apostates should be killed, and that no one who kills an apostate should be held accountable for their blood. A Muslim who promotes such a belief openly in a non-Muslim society invites contempt, rejection and possibly criminal changes for incitement to murder. Anyone who kills an apostate – in a so-called "honour killing" – risks a long sentence in prison for murder, or worse.

Consequently, the penalty for apostasy may not be taught freely among Muslims who live in a non-Muslim society – and recent converts may be unfamiliar with this law.

The problem of Muhammad's example

Many aspects of the life of Muhammad also raise concerns. As a result there are large "no-go" areas in Muhammad's life which, even among Muslims, only scholars know about. Such subjects traditionally

could not be debated openly.

For example, the *hadiths* contain several reliable references to Muhammad instructing a woman to suckle a grown man so that he could be considered her foster son. This would allow him to be alone with her – without her wearing the veil.[37]

In May 2007 Ezzat Attiyya, head of Al-Azhar University's Department of Hadith, issued *a fatwa* based on this tradition to enable an unrelated man and woman to work together in private. If she suckled him, he would become her foster son, and they could be together without a chaperone. This ruling, although logically consistent with the *Sunna* of Muhammad, caused considerable public embarrassment, and the matter was even debated in the Egyptian parliament.[38] As a result Attiyya had to face an Al-Azhar disciplinary panel.[39]

Muslims and others who expose such material to public scrutiny can find themselves being severely censured, whatever their motives, as Ezzat Attiyya was, because of the requirement that Muslims maintain a positive image for Islam.

The problem of historical consciousness

Another problem concerns the place of history in the Islamic consciousness. Like other conquering ideologies, Islam has tended to appropriate history for itself. One of the effects of this process can be the promotion of ahistorical mythologies, such as the belief that the expansion of Islam was a comparatively peaceful series of "liberations" of grateful peoples across the Middle East.

One myth is that of an Andalusian golden age when, so the story goes, Muslims lived in peaceful and admired coexistence with Christians and Jews, and did not engage in *jihad* aggression against their Christian neighbours. Although this myth has no foundation in history,[40] it can be most fervently held, and Muslims will sometimes appeal to it to counter ideological challenges.

For example, a claim that the Quran advocates violence may provoke a Muslim response along the lines: "Consider Andalusia, when Muslims lived in peace with their neighbours. History proves that Islam does not advocate violence and bears no hostility to Jews or Christians." Such an argument was put by a spokesperson for the Islamic Council of Victoria in 2003.[41]

Conclusion

Muslims and non-Muslims alike are crying out for Islam to be understood. For this to happen, non-Muslims and Muslims alike must be free from the restrictions which *Sharia* law and Islamic tradition would place upon the dissemination of knowledge about Islam.

Non-Muslims should not be intimidated by claims that they have no right to express opinions about Islam, the Quran and the *Sunna* of Muhammad. In this age when primary source material is available on these subjects as never before, Christians, Jews, atheists and Muslims should take every opportunity to inform themselves, and speak out their views on these matters which affect us all.

References

1. *Undercover Mosque*, Wikipedia; http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Undercover_Mosque
2. *Undercover Mosque*, **hard**cash productions, 15 January 2007; http://www.hardcashproductions.com/recent29.html
3. *The undercover Mosque*, ABC Radio National: The Religion Report, 10 September 2008; http://www.abc.net.au/rn/religionreport/stories/2008/2360820.htm
4. *Ibid.*
5. Zachariah Matthews, "The Hijrah: a necessary phase in the Dawah", a lecture organised by the Muslim Society at the University of Western Sydney on Friday 30 March 2001, in *Salam Magazine*, March/April 2001. After being publicly criticized for this teaching, Matthews delivered an address emphasizing that Islam regards lying as wrong.
6. Sahih al-Bukhari, *The Book of Peacemaking (or Reconciliation)*, 3:53:2692: "He who makes peace between the people by inventing good information or saying good things, is not a liar."
7. Ma'alam al-tanzil. Commentary on Q3:28, viewed 21 February 2008, <http://altafsir.com>.
8. Tafsir Ibn Kathir, vol. 2:142. (Commentary on Q3:28.)
9. Mawdudi, *Towards understanding the Qur'an*, p.130. Commentary on Q3:28.
10. Tafsir Lubab al-Ta'wil. Commentary on Q3:28, viewed 21 February 2008, <http://altafsir.com>.
11. Nuh Ha Mim Keller, ed. and trans., *Reliance of the Traveller*.
12. *Ibid.*, p.748.
13. Jonathan Wynne-Jones, "Multiple wives will mean multiple benefits", *The Daily Telegraph*, 18 April 2008.
14. Keysar Trad, "UK is right to recognize polygamy," viewed 8 May 2009, <http://www.crikey.com.au/Politics/20080625-UK-is-right-to-recognise-polygamy.html>.
15. Clyde Haberman, "Rabin says Arafat 'Jihad' remark set back peace effort", *The New York Times*, 20 May 1994; http://query.nytimes.com/search/sitesearch
16. Daniel Pipes, "Lessons from the Prophet Muhammad's diplomacy", *Middle East Quarterly*, September 1999; http://www.meforum.org/480/lessons-from-the-prophet-muhammads-diplomacy
17. Clyde Haberman, *op cit.*
18. See <http://littlegreenfootballs.com/weblog/?entry=22136_Azzam_Tamimis_Duplicity_Exposed>, downloaded 8 May 2009. The quotation here is from the video, posted at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zh6q02J6dJk>, viewed 8 May 2009.
19. "Specific Human Rights Issues: Women and Human Rights", NGO written statement by the Association for World Education to the Sub-Commission on the promotion and protection of Human Rights, 57th session, 2005 (E/CN.4/Sub.2/2005/27).
20. Sheikh Gad al-Haq 'Ali Gad al-Haq, 'Khitan al banat.' See also Sami Awad Aldeeb, Mutiler au nom de Yahve ou d'Allah.
21. *Basic Principles of Islam*, Abu Dhabi, UAE: The Zayed Bin Sultan Al Nahayan Charitable & Humanitarian Foundation, 1996, p 4.
22. Samuel Green, "The different Arabic versions of the Qur'an"; http://www.answering-islam.org/Green/seven.htm
23. Daud Rahbar, "Relation of Muslim Theology to the Qur'an", *The Muslim World*, 3 Apr 2007, Vol 51 Issue 1, pp 44-49.
24. Samuel Green, "How and why the Qur'an was standardized"; http://www.answering-islam.org/Green/uthman.htm, viewed 8 May 2009, <http://www. answering-islam.org/Green/uthman.htm>.
25. For a critique of this mythology see Daniel Pipes, "Jihad and the Professors", November 2002; http://www.danielpipes.org/498/jihad-and-the-professors
26. Abu Fadl, "Greater and Lesser Jihad", Nida'ul Islam, April - May 1999; http://web.archive.org/web/20030607202630/http://islam.org.au/articles/26/jihad.htm
27. Sahib Musli, *Book of Faith*, 1:1:79.
28. Considered by Muslims to be the most authentic *hadith* collection.
29. For an extensive treatment of this subject, see Andrew Bostom, *The Legacy of Jihad: Islamic Holy War and the Fate of Non-Muslims*, Prometheus Books, 4th ed., 25 October 2005.
30. Muhammad Abduh, "The Understanding of Abdul-Hameed Ibn Baadis of the Phases of Da'wah", Al-Manar Al-Jadid, October 2002, English trans. by the Islamic Information and Support Centre of Australia (IISNA), posted on their website in 2003: http://web.archive.org/web/20030208010959/www.iisca.org/knowledge/misc/ibnbaadis.htm
31. *Ibid.*
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.*
34. Sarah Hassan, "Preachers of separatism at work inside British mosques", *The Daily Telegraph*, 31 August 2008; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/2653266/Preachers-of-separatism-at-work-inside-Britains-mosques.html
35. For two initial Muslim responses, see "Channel 4's Dispatches: Undercover Mosque another example of anti-Muslim hostility as discussed in forthcoming IHRC report", Islamic Human Rights Commission, press release 15 January 2007; http://www.ihrc.org.uk/show.php?id=2414 and Muslim Council of Britain letter to affiliates and press release, 15 January 2007; http://www.mcb.org.uk/downloads/MCB%20Letter%o20&%20Press%20Release.pdf. See also "Muslim Groups Organised Campaign to Silence Critics Over Channel 4's Dispatches", *The Daily Pundit*, 21 January 2007; http://the-daily-pundit.blogspot.com/2007/01/muslim-groupsorganised-campaignto.html
36. Tom Harper, "TV 'preachers of hate' escape police action", *The Sunday Telegraph*, 20 January 2007; http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1540081/TV-preachers-of-hate-escape-police-action.html
37. Sahih Muslim, *Book of Marriage* (Kitab al-Nikah), 1:3:3424-31.
38. A report in Al-Arabiyya newspaper, 16 May 2007; http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2007/05/16/34518.html#007
39. "Egypt: Fatwa allows breast-feeding among adults", Jerusalem Post, 21 May 2007; http://www.jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid=1178708655924&pagename=JPost%2FJPArticle%2FShowFull
40. See, for example, chapter 13 "The Andalusian Utopia", in Bat Ye'or, *Eurabia: The Euro-Arab Axis*, Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2005.
41. Bilal Cleland, letter to the editor, *Australian Jewish News*, 21 February 2003. Cleland wished to show that Muslim's present-day hostility to the Jews was because of Israel.