



## STUDY GUIDE: RELIGIOUS TRADITIONS AND RESISTANCE THROUGH WORLD WAR II

Materials for deeper study in connection with the film *Enemy of the Reich: The Noor Inayat Khan Story*, by Unity Productions Foundation, 2015 (<http://www.upf.tv/noorteachers>).

### Religious approaches to war and conflict

The most cataclysmic war in history took place in the middle of the last century. It was brought about by a movement toward fiercely repressive rule, which appeared to be in revolt against the humanitarian values of Christianity and Judaism and those of the Enlightenment in Europe – the phenomenon we call Fascism. In Asia, an imperial militarist movement with similar features arose. This trend led to horrific destruction, not just of human lives and civilizations, but of long evolving values around the world. It is important that we remember the resistance to these aggressor states included not only the allies who joined forces against them, but long before, some self-sacrificing spiritual figures who defied the encroaching darkness, even though the destructive momentum seemed unstoppable.

In Nazi Germany, the Protestant Theologian Dietrich Bonhoeffer stood relentlessly for Christian principles. Bonhoeffer began warning early of the barbarism inherent in the Ultra Right National Socialist (Nazi) party, and when much of the Protestant Church agreed to acquiesce to Nazi rule, Bonhoeffer, an unpaid adjunct lecturer from a well-respected family, became one of the sponsors of the “Confessional Church,” which brought together thousands in the German Church who would not compromise their faith with Nazi policies. Bonhoeffer, during the years he would spend in prison, came to respect direct religious teachings prior to any “institutionalization” of them. He even began contemplating the importance of “religionless” Christianity, or the teachings even before they became part of a formal religious hierarchy.<sup>1</sup>

Bonhoeffer and his colleague Hans Dohnyani made the decision to support attempts to assassinate Adolf Hitler, including the last attempt before the invasion of Poland, which resulted in the torture and execution of several generals and Nazi leaders. Though Boenhoffer was committed to non-violence (he had been inspired by the African American Church in the United States, among other things), in his mind, the savagery of Nazi policies was so relentless and massive, from a Christian perspective, that action was morally



required. Even before the plots on Hitler's life, both men had begun a cycle of many years of imprisonment and illness in demeaning conditions and endless torture in Nazi prisons. In 1945, as the Allies closed in, Bonhoeffer was taken from the concentration camp Treblinka, under threat of capture by the allies, to the Flosshausen concentration camp, where he and his collaborators were hung. He had written in the solitude of his early imprisonment the following words:

We realize that the world is in God's wrathful and merciful hands ... We learned too late that it is not the thought but readiness to take responsibility that is the mainspring of action. Your generation will relate thought and action in a new way.<sup>2</sup>

Noor Inayat Khan, a woman of Indian Islamic-Sufi descent, was placed in a similar position by her spiritual upbringing, with a similar outcome. She is known to have viewed Joan of Arc, famous in Noor's adopted country of France, as a Christian role model. Joan of Arc resisted French occupation by England and adopted the code of "chivalry" in fighting for justice. She was burned at the stake.

Chivalry, fighting in service of others, and martyrdom as the sacrifice for a cause is a common element of both Christianity and Islam. It holds a special place in Sufism as well. Chivalry is called *futuwwa* in the Qur'an and was certainly part of Noor's father's teachings.<sup>3</sup> Noor Inayat Khan became one of the great heroines of the French Resistance against Nazi occupation.

As we explore her life, it would be useful to see what tools for resistance to oppression were employed historically, in Islamic thought and in Sufi movements, as part of that tradition. These questions guide thinking about resistance to violence:

- How can conflict be avoided or stopped?
- How can a Muslim resist oppression without violence?
- Finally, when armies were needed to prevent mass slaughter, what were the limits on warfare that preserve the virtues of service, righteousness, and compassion?

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## **Islamic Teachings on Preventing and Resolving Conflict.**

During his lifetime, Prophet Muhammad modeled many specific practices to promote peace between individuals and groups within and outside his community. Even before his prophethood, he was known as a man of truth who resolved conflicts when they arose. Others called upon him for help resolving issues in his tribal society. A famous example occurred when members of the tribe in Mecca were rebuilding the sacred building called the Kaaba. Members of the clans and families were about to argue over who deserved the honor of setting in place the sacred cornerstone of the Kaaba (the sanctuary in Mecca believed to be built by Abraham). In an act that would today be called “conflict resolution,” Muhammad devised a plan that allowed them all to share in the honor equally. The stone was placed in a large cloth, and each clan’s representative held a corner of the cloth to raise it into place.<sup>4</sup>

## **The Constitution of Medina**

Later, during his prophethood, Muhammad’s followers were forced by this tribe of idolaters to flee Mecca. They migrated to the city of Yathrib (later named Medina) in Arabia, where Muhammad was received as the city’s leader. The city’s leaders had sought him out to bring peace among competing groups and tribes because they knew of his wisdom. Among his first acts upon arriving in the city was to consult with the groups and draw up a document outlining the rights and responsibilities of each group. That document came to be called “The Constitution of Medina” (*Dastur ul-Madinah*), and the various groups agreed to abide by it. This document became a model for arrangements among communities in Islamic history and was especially important in laying out civil arrangements among different religious communities. Together with Qur’anic verses that forbid compelling others to change their religion, the Constitution of Medina was a model for Islamic law in dealing with communities such as Jews and Christians, or “People of the Book” (meaning other people who had prophets and revealed scriptures). These principles were applied — not always ideally — and were enshrined in Islamic law as Islam spread toward the West to Africa and Spain and toward the East to Persia, India, Central Asia, and Southeast Asia.<sup>5</sup>

## **A Balanced View Towards War and the Mandate to Make Peace**

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At least since the 19th century, popular views of Islam have included the concept that Islam was spread by the sword and that Islam is warlike. These views were hardened by the fact that Muslim groups resisted invasion by European imperial powers in Africa and Asia at a time when European powers claimed the right to invade and subjugate less militarily dominant groups. The Crusades are a lasting legacy of conflict between Christianity and Islam that resonates into modern times when in fact the British did succeed in conquering Jerusalem, Palestine, and surrounding territories. European military and political intervention in the Middle East in modern times, and the chaos and resistance to such meddling, has only further hardened these views of Islam as opposed to peacemaking.

In fact, the limitations placed on warfare (fighting is *qital* in Arabic, not *jihad*, which means to strive and struggle in the way of God) are very close in nature to modern international concepts of just war theory and the Geneva Conventions. Islamic teachings on war and peace are also close to the books of “balance” in the Old Testament, such as *Ecclesiastes*: “There is a time for every purpose unto Heaven ... a time for war a time for peace.” (3 Ecc. 8) During the first ten years of Muhammad’s prophethood, he and his followers were few and vulnerable as the clan leaders in Mecca tried to stop Muhammad from preaching, dissuaded his followers through torture and other means, and finally put their lives at risk through starvation and threats to murder him. During this time, no revelation to resist came to Muhammad except calls for patience and forbearance. After the migration to Medina, where Muhammad was the leader of the city, the powerful Meccan tribe used its influence with other tribes to physically fight his followers. At that point, Qur’anic verses were revealed that allowed, but set limits, on defensive warfare and established peace as the required outcome.

There are several principles enshrined in the Qur’an and recorded in the practice and admonitions of Prophet Muhammad:

- Ruthlessness as an approach to combat is rejected, as is seeking to destroy or slaughter the enemy, or a “scorched-earth” strategy.
- Military action is not permitted to target non-combatants, such as women, children, and the elderly, or military forces that have laid down their arms.
- Warfare is not permitted against water supplies, fruit trees, crops, and in the modern sense, civilian infrastructure.

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- No mutilation of corpses or slaughter of the wounded.
- Prisoners must be held under humane terms.

Author and religious scholar Reza Aslan, in response to the rise of new Islamic leaders who want to “innovate” with Islam in the direction of creating a following for personal power, or to the advantage of certain tribes within Islam, recently posted the following quote from the first Caliph of Islam, after the death of Muhammad, who, when at war, created a proclamation for the Muslim troops:

Neither kill a child, nor a woman, nor an aged man. Bring no harm to the trees, nor burn them with fire, especially those which are fruitful. Slay not any of the enemy’s flock, save for your food. You are likely to pass by people who have devoted their lives to monastic services; leave them alone. (Abu Bakr’s warfare rules, dictated to his army.)<sup>6</sup>

The most important admonition in the Qur’an is part of the first verses revealed that permitted defensive warfare (*qital*, or fighting, was the term used, not *jihad*) but also made it a condition that if the opponent seeks peace, fighting must stop.

*And fight in God's cause against those who wage war against you, but do not commit aggression-for, verily, God does not love aggressors.*

(Qur’an 2:190)

*And slay them wherever you may come upon them, and drive them away from wherever they drove you away – for oppression is even worse than killing ...*

*But if they desist-behold, God is much-forgiving, a dispenser of grace.*

(Qur’an 2:192)

*Hence, fight against them until there is no more oppression and all worship is devoted to God alone; but if they desist, then all hostility shall cease, save against those who do wrong.*

(Qur’an 2:193)

*But if the enemy inclines toward peace, do thou also incline toward peace – and trust in God, for He hears and knows all things.*



(Quran 8:61)

### Key Historic and Legal Concepts in Islamic Peacemaking

Military action of fighting was to be a last resort; all other methods for achieving change came first, including striving for benefit and avoiding harm:

*Any one of you who sees wrong, let him undo it with his hand; and if he cannot, then let him speak against it with his tongue, and if he cannot do this either, then (let him abhor it) with his heart, and this is the least of faith.*

(Hadith, from a selection by Kabir Helminski and Dr. M. Hafiz Syed)

Islamic teachings demonstrate concern for balance, legality, promoting peace, and bringing wars to an end as soon as possible and were applied using very practical methods. These methods took human nature into account as well as the dangers of bringing disgrace upon of the violators of the peace and their families by allowing them to save face. These methods also addressed the need for just compensation of victims. Three related concepts and principles can be explained by a few key terms from Islamic law:

- **Diya:** This simple concept rests on the teaching that forgiveness is always best whenever possible. The payment of restitution (compensation) for terrible crimes like murder has often been translated to English using the misleading term “blood-money.” Such systems to prevent violence were not common anywhere in medieval times. *Diya* also is based on the assumption that a restoration of balance and moderation between people is the highest goal. This allows the family of one who has committed a crime against another at some point to return to a normal, respectable place in the community. Even further, Islamic teachings encourage an additional possibility to restore peace: If the victim or offended party forgives in place of restitution, it was emphasized that the esteem of the victim’s people would then be further raised in the eyes of the community and the eyes of God. This idea relies upon the following passage of the Qur’an: “*And he who is patient and forgives, that, surely, is a matter of high resolve.*” (42:24)<sup>7</sup>

- **Tahkim:** The idea of arbitration to take the place of “an eye-for-an-eye, tooth for a tooth” revenge was introduced early under Islamic rule in Arab lands. This has been used



historically to resolve family or tribal feuds. Arbitration would have to be conducted by a very high authority who was esteemed by all the community as well as relied-upon persons of influence, prestige, or power. These negotiators were given the title “hakim,” someone who has superb judgment or wisdom, and thus someone with authority in the community because of that quality.

- **Sulha:** *Sulha* is derived from a pre-Islamic Arabic term for resolving violent conflicts that are in danger of evolving into feuds, setting off a cycle of violence that might turn to war. This involves mediation by appointed groups of people between two sides. The goal is *musalaha*, or reconciliation, whenever it is possible.<sup>8</sup> *Sulha* might result in a spoken or written treaty or accord.

### **Islam, Sufism, and Resistance during 20<sup>th</sup> Century Colonialism and World War II**

“*Sabr*,” or patience, is enjoined on Muslims by the Qur’an, to prevent conflict. *Sabr* is a form of patience “in the face of provocation,” which includes the idea of “restraint.”<sup>9</sup> An example from a narrative (*hadith*) from the Prophet Muhammad’s life explains the concept. There was a woman in Mecca who hated Muhammad, and she used to place obstacles like thorns in his path and dumped refuse on his head when he walked. Instead of seeking revenge, Muhammad merely continued on his way. Another part of the *hadith* is that when the expected abuse didn’t take place on one occasion, the Prophet went to see if the woman was ill. This concept of “patience” is a part of the principle of nonviolent struggle, the preferred form of achieving justice. The idea is found in many verses in the Qur’an. “*But turn away from them and say ‘Peace!’* (43:89) and ‘*God is with those who restrain themselves.*’ (2:194)

### **What is Jihad?**

The term *jihad* has often been translated as “holy war” and is used to refer to any type of fighting as praiseworthy in Islam. The word actually means “making an effort, struggling, especially for a cause, in a sustained manner.” In this age of bombings and global weapons trade and seemingly constant warfare, the term *jihad* is often used to imply that constant war is an Islamic value leading to paradise. Fighting as a political ideology is called “jihadism”; it is increasingly used that way to paint current military confrontations as a



clash of religions and civilizations. Various experts and amateurs randomly quote from the Qur'an to show that Islam mandates violence and constant warfare.

The concept of jihad is much more complex. According to a recent religious legal judgment by Pakistani Muslim scholar Dr. Tahir al-Qadri, there are multiple forms of jihad that illustrate practical action in pursuit of justice.<sup>10</sup> There are 5 kinds of legitimate jihad (*nafs, ilm, amal, mal, qital*), each of which has conditions and limits, and only one, the last, involves fighting under threat:

1. Jihad as struggle against temptation of the soul.
2. Jihad as the effort to acquire knowledge and teach.
3. Jihad as public service, meaning to perform good deeds.
4. Jihad as effort to use one's property to benefit people.
5. Jihad as defense against oppression, tyranny, or aggression, only under proper conditions.

The first form of jihad is the Quranic ideal of "the greater struggle" (*jihad al-akbar*). This is the work people do to improve themselves, to live virtuously, to be mindful of wrong actions, and to seek to purify themselves from doing wrong against the self or others. *Jihad al-akbar* fits well with non-violence in dealing with many forms of conflict and oppression. The last form was called the lesser jihad by Prophet Muhammad. A better understanding of the concept of jihad turns on its head both misperceptions spread in the media about Islam and violence and also the twisted ideology of "jihadists" and extremists of all religions.

### **Non-Violence in Islam, a Case Study: Ghaffar Khan and the Pashtun Anti-Colonial Movement in India and Afghanistan**

As shown in the section you have just read, the search for peaceful approaches to resolving conflict is embedded in the earliest Islamic teachings and the Prophet's practice. Sufism, the spiritual branch of Islam, is known for its peaceful work. It is now forgotten in the media as a result of multiple wars in Afghanistan and Pakistan that the Pashtun tribes in the region have not always been type-cast as "violent fundamentalists." Under other circumstances, they revealed another side that is told here. Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan allied with Mahatma Gandhi to free India from British Colonialism and began working among his Pashtun people as early as 1912 to build a movement employing non-violence to gain independence. The movement was called the *Khudai Khidmatgar* (The Servants of God).<sup>11</sup>



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They trained in the spirit of self-sacrifice and non-violence in struggle, so they restrained themselves from harmful fighting. They began with public service, cleaning the houses of other Pashtuns (Ghaffar Khan himself provided the example by doing this regularly) and spinning cotton as Gandhi did to become self-sufficient in making cloth and garments and to counter the import of British cottons that had replaced Indian manufactured cloth. Members of the movement also made spiritual and personal commitments to absolute non-violence in the struggle for independence.

Though it was aligned with Gandhi and the Congress party (to which both Hindus and Muslims belonged), this was a uniquely Muslim movement. Between 1912 and Independence in 1947, the British often violently suppressed and imprisoned members of the movement. Officers fired upon their demonstrations without the protesters resorting to violence. On April 23, 1930, as many as 200 were killed in the Kissa Khani Bazaar massacre.<sup>12</sup> Like Gandhi, Nehru, and others, Ghaffar Khan spent many years in prison, being released and rearrested because he was seen as a threat to British control. From April 1930 until the end of 1932, the Colonial British authorities imprisoned 12,000 of the 100,000 active members of Khan's movement in the notorious prisons of the Northwest Territories. Throughout the independence struggle, this Muslim movement among the Pashtuns remained resolutely nonviolent, and in their form of *jihad*, they never resorted to armed struggle. The entire Indian subcontinent gained Independence from Britain in 1947.<sup>13</sup>

### Colonial Resistance in North Africa

A French Colonial government had been ruling Algeria without allowing democratic self-rule after the French invasion in 1832. Before the Second World War, France had no fascists in its government until after the German Nazis invaded France. They gave the rule of Southern France to French fascists, who established the so-called "Vichy Regime" (named after the town of Vichy).

During the period of French colonial rule and later under French Fascism, and then continuing after World War II, members of the Islamic Sufi order called the Qadriya — named after the renowned Persian Sufi Pir (sage or master) Abd el-Qadir Gilani — trained themselves in martial skills and retained control of some areas of the Algerian desert region to protect against the French military forces. Abd el-Qadir's activities emphasized spiritual training as primary to the movement. He promoted retreats in solitude, called *khalwa*, and



spiritual reflection. Their approach to resisting French colonialist rule was flexible; they appeared where they were needed to face the French. In a case well known among Western writers and artists, the Qadriya order took it upon themselves to protect the young Swiss anti-colonialist writer and traveller Isabel Eberhardt, whom the French captured and deported three times — and who converted to Islam through the Qadriya order.<sup>14</sup>

### **Muslim responses to the Rise of Fascism in the Twentieth Century and WWII**

The rise of Fascism dominated the period between World War I and World War II in most of Europe and spread to countries around the Mediterranean Sea. Fascism was a totalitarian, autocratic form of government in which one party ruled and suppressed all forms of freedom of speech and activity. Fascists tortured, imprisoned, and exterminated perceived enemies in a systematic way through secret police and a system of prisons. Nazism is the most well-known, powerful, and dangerous form of fascism; other fascist groups were gaining power and followers throughout Europe, beginning in Portugal and Italy in the 1920s, before the Nazis came to power in Germany in 1933. Benito Mussolini's Italian Fascist state invaded and seized control of Ethiopia and expanded its Italian colony in Libya before the first German invasions in Central Europe. He launched a "Reconquista" (reconquest) of Libya in 1922, making the North African country one of the first under fascist rule. Italian fascist rulers created prison camps for anyone they suspected of disloyalty. Their idea of "reconquest" was that since Libyan territory had been ruled by the Roman Empire 2,000 years earlier, Italy was merely restoring that situation in modern times to re-create the glory of Rome. The Senussi Muslim Sufis formed the first movement to resist Italian Fascist rule. The Sufis in particular have always been committed to peaceful means in all things, but they were not pacifists; they sought to defend their territory against invasion.

The Libyan national struggle against Italy was led by Omar Mukhtar, a Senussi Sufi teacher. Hundreds of thousands of Libyans died in that horrible conflict. Omar Mukhtar was hanged by the Italians in 1931. He had studied at an earlier Senussi university, in the town of Al-Jaghbug, the main Senussi center on the Libyan-Egyptian border. Omar Mukhtar was portrayed by Anthony Quinn in a well-known 1981 film "Lion of the Desert."<sup>15</sup>

The first ruler of Libya after the defeat of the Italians in World War II was King Idris Senussi. Most Sufi Muslims hesitated to accept roles in government because of the risk of

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corruption. The Qur'an teaches that the ego, called in the Qur'an the *nafs al-ammarah*, ("the commanding self") is enflamed by power and politics. After the terrible period leading to independence, Libyans needed unification, and the memory of Senussi leader Omar al-Mukhtar's leadership was important in that way.

In 1969, King Idris was overthrown by Colonel Muammar Al Gaddafi in a military coup d'état. Gaddafi suppressed all Sufi orders and their activities with brutality. As military dictator of Libya, Gaddafi proclaimed his seizure of power at Mukhtar's tomb. He both suppressed and used the memory of the national struggle to increase his power. As head of the Senussi Sufi order, King Idris was highly respected, and his memory is still powerful among Libyans. Idris governed a constitutional state that was aligned with the West and worked toward economic development, building schools and modern universities, including a distinguished Senussi religious university that Gaddafi closed in 1984 in his campaign against the Senussi Sufi tradition.<sup>16</sup>

### Islam and Non-Violent Resistance to Nazi occupation in Europe

Our study of how a resistance heroine such as Noor Inayat Khan — brought up in the non-violent tradition of Sufism — might also be moved to practice *futuwwa*, chivalry or resistance for compassionate reasons, may now be better understood.

In Western Europe during World War II, there was only a tiny Muslim population in most countries. In the Balkan countries of Southern Europe, however, there were many Muslims, a legacy of centuries of rule by the Ottoman Empire. Muslims and Jews had a history of coexistence with Christians in those areas, but as Ottoman rule weakened, nationalist struggles for independence grew in the Balkans. Albania, a majority Muslim country, provides a particularly extraordinary story.

The Nazis made Albania a "German Protectorate." During the occupation, Albanian families sheltered many hundreds of Albanian Jews and Kosovar Jews who were sent to them for protection. When the Nazis decided to exterminate all Jews in the "Final Solution," 200 German Jews fleeing deportation to the camps were smuggled into the Albanian capital, Tirana. These German Jewish families had no resources. Since Albania's ports were closed by the German navy, they could not escape. When local Muslims heard of their situation, about 100 Muslim families took in the German Jews without receiving any financial support at all.<sup>17</sup> For security reasons, they had to separate members of the families into different



homes where they dressed and lived like Muslims until the war was over. In many parts of the Mediterranean, Muslims and Jews had lived together for centuries as neighbors and fellow “children of Abraham,” or “People of the Book,” who shared heritage of prophets and sacred texts going back to Abraham. The Albanian cultural concept of “Besa,” or a promise or sworn oath, was prevalent among both Christians and Muslims. In short, it means, “to get to you, they must get me [first],” words that were repeated by Jews in Albania and the German Jews escaping the Nazi threat.<sup>18</sup> If any of these German Jewish families had been discovered living as Muslims in these homes during the final years of the war, the Muslim protectors would have been killed without question. Every one of the German Jews in Albania survived the war. Many of them remained in touch with their Muslim families for the rest of their lives. In recent years, a few of the Jewish families who had been children at the time, have made a visit to their childhood friends. Recently, a documentary entitled “Besa: The Promise” has been filmed to preserve the memory of the experience.

There are many stories of Muslims and Christians sheltering Jews from Nazism and the Holocaust, and many have been awarded the title “righteous gentile” by Jewish historic institutions in Israel and in the United States. Even in Paris, where Noor Inayat Khan worked to help the battered French opposition during a Nazi occupation, a few Jews were taken into the homes of Muslims to help them (sometimes successfully) survive the war or escape overseas. Further north in Europe, numerous Christian families did the same. Such people believed they all belonged in “God’s House,” the name of a little-known documentary on Muslims who hosted German Jews.

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Omar Mukhtar was arrested by the Italian Fascists in September 1931

<http://www.iosminaret.org/vol-6/issue5/leaves.php>

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## ENDNOTES: Religious Traditions and Resistance

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<sup>1</sup> Sifton, Elisabeth and Fritz Stern. "The Tragedy of Dietrich Bonhoeffer and Hans von Dohnanyi." *The New York Review of Books*. October 25, 2012.  
<http://www.nybooks.com/articles/archives/2012/oct/25/tragedy-dietrich-bonhoeffer-and-hans-von-dohnanyi/>

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

<sup>3</sup> Inayat Khan, Vilayat. *Awakenings* (New York: Tarcher/Putnam, 1999), pp. 207-209.

<sup>4</sup> Nathan Funk and Abdul Aziz Said. *Islamic Peacemaking*. (Boulder: Rienner Publishers, 2009), pp. 148-149.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid., p. 148.

<sup>6</sup> Aboul-Enein, H. Yousuf and Serifa Zuhur, *Islamic Rulings on Warfare* (Darby PA: Strategic Studies Institute, (US Army War College, Diane Publishing), p. 22.

<sup>7</sup> *Islam and Peacemaking*, p. 151.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 155.

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<sup>9</sup> Ibid., p. 181.

<sup>10</sup> Speech by Dr. Tahir al-Qadri at Georgetown University, November 2010 at <http://www.minhaj.org/english/tid/12902/Shaykh-ul-Islam-Dr-Tahir-ul-Qadri-speaks-at-Georgetown-University-in-Washington-DC.html>

<sup>11</sup> Dr. Mohammad Raqib, “The Muslim Pashtun Movement if the North-West Frontier of India—1930-1934,” in Gene Sharp, *Waging Nonviolent Struggle*. (Boston: Extending Horizon books, 2005), pp. 117-123.

<sup>12</sup> Ibid., p. 126.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., pp. 113-134, passim.

<sup>14</sup> Isabel Eberhardt. Intro. Paul Bowles, *The Oblivion Seekers* (San Francisco: City Lights 1972), pp. 7-17.

<sup>15</sup> Igor Cherstich. “Persecution of Sufis in Libya is Relic of Qaddafi’s Strategem.” The National Opinion. United Arab Emirates, Dec. 5 2012 at <http://www.thenational.ae/thenationalconversation/comment/persecution-of-sufis-in-libya-is-a-relic-of-qaddafis-stratagem>.

<sup>16</sup> Stephan Schwartz. “The Sufi Foundation of Libya’s Revolution,” *Huffington Post*, (Article on Senussis and Qaddafi), 23 August 2011.

<sup>17</sup> Norman Gersham, <http://www.yadvashem.org/yv/en/exhibitions/besa/veseli.asp> and Adie Cama “Albanians Saved Jews from Deportation,” *DW*, 27 Aug., 2012. <http://www.dw.de/albanians-saved-jews-from-deportation-in-wwii/a-16481404> and Video on German Jews in Albania.

<sup>18</sup> Laura Koran. “Besa: The Promise.” About the video. CNN.com. <http://religion.blogs.cnn.com/2012/08/03/documentary-seeks-to-explain-why-albanians-saved-jews-in-holocaust/>