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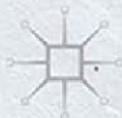
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ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

CONTRIBUTIONS TO
THEORY AND PRACTICE



Islam and International Relations

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Islam and International Relations

Contributions to Theory and Practice

Edited by

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ISLAM AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

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Preface

Co-IRIS (International Relations and Islamic Studies Research Cohort) is an organization interested in the advancement of comparative research between International Relations (IR) and Islamic Studies (IS). It was created by a group of researchers interested in developing and sustaining a body of knowledge that addresses the theories and practices of Muslim civilization and societies with regard to international affairs and the discipline of international relations. IR as a field is not a unilateral project but an intellectual platform. The aim of Co-IRIS is to explore Islamic contributions to the field. The inclusion of Muslim contributions is not meant to create an isolationist, controversial divide between what is Islamic and what is not. Co-IRIS was created to act on the inclusion of that knowledge as a building block in the IR field. It is premised on the idea that knowledge is fluid: people adopt and utilize thoughts and ideas regardless of faith, gender, nation, and so on. The mainstream idea that all knowledge presented by the West is from an Orientalist perspective, or that there is a clash of civilizations, are both notions antithetical to our mission.

Co-IRIS was previously known as IR-IS Research Cohort when it was created by Nassef Manabilang Adiong on December 29, 2012 through various social networking sites such as Facebook, LinkedIn, Twitter and Google+. His blog/website and Twitter feed served as temporary e-places where he formulated his thoughts and disseminated information. It was his aspiration to introduce Islamic contributions to the field of IR because he observed a tremendous non-recognition among IR scholars of theories and practices of international relations from Islamic scholars, particularly in the West. His dream is to find shared values and a mutual understanding between IR and IS. Up until he found avenues and academic tools for a starting point to materialize his aspirations, he was able to edit a book, create a section conference, and organize meetings with people with similar passions and interests. Firstly, through exchanges of correspondence with Dr. Raffaele Mauriello and Dr. Deina Abdelkader and then, at a meeting in Rapallo (Italy) from 30 October to 02 November 2013 held as part of the annual Exploratory Symposia organized by the European International Studies Association, Co-IRIS was born.

*Your Co-IRIS team,
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Raffaele Mauriello is a postdoctoral research fellow at the Faculty of World Studies, University of Tehran, Iran. He is an historian specializing in contemporary Shi’a Islam, international relations and geopolitics. He holds a first-class honours degree in Oriental Languages and Civilizations

(2002) and a PhD in Islamic Civilization: History and Philology (2009) from Sapienza, University of Rome. In 2013, he was awarded the World Prize for the Book of the Year from the Islamic Republic of Iran in the field of Islamic Studies. His most recent work is the translation into Italian of the Civil Code of Iran (2015).

Carimo Mohamed is an independent researcher based in Portugal with a PhD in Political Theory and Analysis. His research interests are the history of political ideas in the Islamic world, particularly in South Asia, and relations between religion and politics in different cultural and civilizational contexts. Mohamed is an executive member of the International Political Science Association Research Committee for Religion and Politics, a member of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies' Faith, Politics, and Society Research Network, and member of the editorial board of the *International Journal of Islamic Thought*, published by the International Society of Muslim Philosophers and Theologians and the Department of Theology and Philosophy, National University of Malaysia.

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Part III

Contemporary Muslim Insights on Muslim Governance and International Relations

Nassef Manabilang Adiong

For more than 1,400 years before decolonization Muslims had practiced various political systems, such as the caliphate, sultanate, and imamate. Sometimes the leader had both spiritual and temporal authority, often-times the roles were separated, depending on particular needs. Indeed, Muslims experimented widely with their governmental systems by borrowing, emulating, and adapting from foreign practices (mostly from the ancient Persians, Greeks, and Indians), but with a spirit of creativity and innovation. However, after destruction by Mongolian invasion and colonialization by European Christendom, Muslim civilization never fully recuperated, and the sickness of fundamentalism, radicalization, and intellectual stagnation emerged within its communities. The spirit of creativity, innovation, and intellectualism gradually faded away and remained dormant. Consequently, nation-state system was abruptly adapted by most of the contemporary Muslim countries. Nation-state's elements such as citizenry, territoriality, authority, constitution, and sovereignty configured the whole system of Muslim governance.

Muslim political expressions

The spread of Islam was done through missionary (sometimes propaganda) work, diplomacy, and conquest.¹ Prophet Muhammad² brought in a new kind of community beyond Arab kinship, in which non-Arabs and non-Muslims took part in the formation of polity. This new polity would soon be guided by shari'ah to regulate people's beliefs, rituals, leadership, families, business, morals, etc.³ In Fazlur Rahman's understanding, the inception of the Muslim community was connected with

three events: “the declaration that all Muslims must undertake the *hajj* (pilgrimage) to Makkah, that *jihad* (struggle in the way of Allah) is obligatory, and that the *qiblah*’s direction is changed from Jerusalem to the *Ka’bah* in Makkah.”⁴

After the demise of the Prophet in 632, his succession became a political question. There were three political groups contending the leadership: the *Ansar* (with the majority of Muslim soldiers); the *Muhajirin* (who raised the issue that a leader must be from the tribe of Quraysh); and the Banu Hashim (who stood for hereditary succession).⁵ The establishment of an absolute political religious authority, according to Talal Asad quoting Bashir, must be “seen primarily as political reaction, on the part of the trading city of Mecca, to the threats posed to its commercial interests by external powers in the Middle East, as well as by internal tribal anarchy.”⁶ When the rule of the *Rashidun* Caliphs (or rightly guided caliphs)⁷ ended, it was the start of dynastic monarchies in the guise of caliphates, most notably the Umayyads⁸ (661–750) and the Abbasids (750–1258).⁹

With dynastic monarchies, the leadership of *dawlah* (state), according to Davutoğlu, can be seen in two ways: by perceiving the Prophet as state leader; and/or as religious head of a community prior to subsequent socio-political formations.¹⁰ The term *dawla* evolved over time to mean:¹¹ (1) a change of political power or the victory of one dynasty over another; (2) used for continuity and for the ultimate political authority and structure; and (3) it occurred after the political supremacy of the Western international system based on individual nation-states.

Islamic sources (the Qur’an and *sunnah*) had very few political stipulations and thought processes, so Muslims had to borrow, improvise and innovate to devise their political systems, which were usually inspired by shari’ah, Arab tribal systems, and the lands they conquered (especially Persian and Byzantine polities).¹² Kaminsky contends that in the 10th century there was a clear lineage of political thought running from late Greek antiquity to Islamic scholars, e.g., al-Farabi, acquired due to necessity.¹³ Thus, Muslim political traditions were a mixture of pre-Islamic Arab tribal systems, Persian statecraft, and political philosophies from the Greeks and Indians.¹⁴

In the 16th century, Muslim governance/polity was divided into several divisions and subsets which were “consolidated by the trends of political development within Islam as well as by its relationships with the Christian world. The Islamic universal state became transformed into an Islamic state system, following a long process of decentralization and break-up, just as Western Christendom was transformed from a universal

into a European state system.”¹⁵ Consequently, Muslim governance, according to Farhang Rajaei, attained its maturity and sophistication in the 9th century, where the formulation of shari’ah regulated Muslims and set rules regarding foreign relations, especially with non-Muslim regimes.¹⁶ However, Muslim encounters with European modernity in the 18th century suffered a major setback that gave birth to radical Islamic movements in response to, as they saw it, the threat of modernity to pristine Islamic life.

Fred Halliday claimed that the 1878 Treaty of Berlin brought dramatic change to the Ottoman Empire and that it was the “formative period of state formation”¹⁷ in the region¹⁸ as, from 1918 to 1922, the empire was partitioned by colonial powers. After World War I Sharif Husayn of Mecca declared himself caliph; only Iraq, Hijaz (present-day Saudi Arabia), and East Jordan recognized his position, while Muslims in India and Egypt rejected his caliphate because they saw him as a British agent.¹⁹ He connived with the British colonizers to revolt against the Ottomans and promised an Arab nation that would extend from Hijaz to Egypt and Iran. But he was later betrayed by the Sykes-Picot secret agreement in 1916, which strengthened British and French control of oil in the region.²⁰ Another embarrassment for Sharif Husayn was the UK’s Balfour Declaration of 1917, which favored the establishment of a Jewish homeland in Palestine. This showed that Britain’s real intention was to use dissenting Arab voices and nationalism against Ottoman “attempts to erode Muslim loyalty in the Empire at the opening of World War I.”²¹

Throughout the decolonization period and the gradual decline of the Ottoman Empire, the abolition of the caliphate in the earlier years of the Turkish republic left an indelible impact on Muslims worldwide. Notable Muslim figures expressed diverse reactions to the removal of the office of the caliph in Turkey in 1924.²²

- Rashid Rida²³ (b. 1865, d. 1935) protested against the Turkish decision and called for urgent reestablishment of the caliphate, combining spiritual and political authority.
- Ali Abdel Raziq²⁴ (b. 1888, d. 1966) contested Rida’s call in 1925 by advocating the separation of Islam and politics and argued that Islam had never prescribed a system of government. Paradoxically, this position was also supported by the Grand Ayatollah Mohammad Hussein Fadlallah (b. 1935, d. 2010), who argued that Islam “was not revealed in order to establish a state as an end, but to spread a message based on which a state would come into existence only as a subsequent means toward achieving this goal.”²⁵

- Abul A'la Maududi²⁶ (b. 1903, d. 1979), a prominent Islamist²⁷ thinker, urged for the establishment of a Kharijite-inspired Islamic state²⁸ (which calls for an absolute divine sovereignty) and the enforcement of Islamic law on all aspects of human activity. He was a staunch opponent of Western nationalism and democracy.
- Hassan al-Banna²⁹ (b. 1906, d.1949), founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928, called for a superior Islamic nationalism and believed that Islam is both a religion and a state.
- Sayyid Qutb (b. 1906, d. 1966), the foremost and most influential Islamist thinker and activist, advanced the idea of *jahiliyyah* (ignorance of divine guidance) which, for him, covered not only the pre-Islamic era but also contemporary times, including Muslim communities. He also urged for the establishment of a Maududi-inspired Islamic state.³⁰
- Out of all the Islamists, only Ruhollah Khomeini³¹ (b. 1902, d. 1989) was able to put his theory of Islamic state into practice by imposing his concept of *velayat-e faqih*³² (guardianship/providence of the jurist), a theocratic polity ruled by jurists.

Muqtedar Khan³³ has an interesting view of political thinkers in Islam; he distinguished them by dividing them into two camps: the Islamic theoreticians of the state (e.g., al-Farabi, al-Mawardi, Ibn Taymiyyah, and Ibn Khaldun) and the theoreticians of the Islamic state³⁴ (e.g., Afghani, Maududi, Qutb, Khomeini, and Taqiuddin al-Nabhani³⁵).

In contrast with Ali Abdel Raziq's claim, Yusuf Qaradawi demonstrated that there are two verses revealed in the Qur'an that says something about the state: "God doth command you to render your trust to those to whom they are due; and when ye judge between men, that ye judge with justice. Verily how excellent is the teaching which He giveth you! For God is He Who heareth and seeth all things. O ye who believe! Obey God, and obey the Apostle, and those charged with authority among you. If ye differ in anything among yourselves refer it to God and His Apostle, if ye do believe in God and the Last Day. That is best, and most suitable for final determination." (Qur'an 4:58-59)

He interpreted the first verse as "directed to governors and rulers: to preserve trust and to judge with justice, because wasting trust and justice inevitably leads the ummah to destruction and ruin."³⁶ And the second verse as addressed to "believing subjects: to obey the rulers stipulated that they are from among themselves."³⁷ Ironically, Hallaq argued that "postcolonial nationalist elites maintained the structures of power they had inherited from the colonial experience and that, as a rule and after

gaining so-called independence for their countries, they often aggressively pursued the very same colonial policies they had fiercely fought against during the colonial period."³⁸ Seyyed Vali Reza Nasr agreed that the Muslim world inherited its "machinery of government, ideologies of modernization, views on social engineering, and political control were all handed down from the colonial era."³⁹

The increasing call for the establishment of Islamic states or movements must be seen "in a broader historical process, following on the pan-Islamic movement, the national movements, the restructuring of Muslim societies after independence, and the establishment of international Islamic organizations."⁴⁰ According to Fred H Lawson, there are "three broad dynamics generated the states-system that took shape in the Middle East during the first half of the twentieth century: (1) the end of the imperial institutions of governance that had structured regional politics over the previous 600 years; (2) the rise of local nationalist movements in Cairo, Tunis, Baghdad, Damascus, and other major urban centers; and (3) the appearance of narrowly self-interested, territorially bounded, mutually antagonistic states."⁴¹ Nation-states had reconfigured the entire course of Muslim governance, and below are discussions by selected thinkers regarding socio-political ways of how Muslim societies and nations must adapt to the Westphalian state system.

The chapters

Sayyid Qutb (b. 1906, d. 1966), a prominent Islamist thinker and leading member of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood, advocated using political theory in the study of social justice for Muslims. Carimo Mohamed shows Qutb's political thinking as a way to make sense of the world rather than succumbing to a pre-Islamic state of ignorance (*jahiliyyah*). His understanding of Qutb's corpus rejects Western modernity, with its focus on a material progress which leaves out the significance of a moral and ethical religious order. Thus, Qutb promoted an interwoven inclusion of both spiritual and material values in the development of human beings. In his idea of an Islamic system, communal structures percolated through welfare services between ruler(s) and ruled, which are guided by *shari'ah* principles (solely legislated by divine authority). Qutb was influenced by Mawdudi's idea of God's sovereignty, which guarantees absolute justice of the Islamic order, and in which adherence to this order is a prerequisite for a coherent integration of the Muslim community (*ummah*). Consequently, Qutb's political system is based on an

egalitarian society that is guided and represented by Islam throughout the ages. Thus, Islam is impermeably and infinitely divided from the rest of the world (i.e., the non-Islamic world).

Yusuf al-Qaradawi (b. 1926), a famous contemporary theologian of Islam and leader of the International Union of Muslim Scholars, tried to formulate a world order based on the principle of *wasatiyyah* (moderation). Rodolfo Ragonieri, claims that Qaradawi always tried to position himself in the middle way, or a balance, between two extremes: Islamic radicalism and Western political secularization. That is, by avoiding too strict an interpretation of what is forbidden in Islam, and of excessive freedom due to Western influence on secular thinking. Qaradawi's discourse on moderation acknowledges the individual's commemoration of Islam's spiritual (and intellectual) past and the need to live in the present that is characterized by widespread ethical development and material progress. The universal manifestation of his, principally, moderate society may be empirically shown through the significance of *ummah* (Muslim community), marked by juristic division between the abodes of Islam and of war, and of collective security through his ideas of defensive and offensive jihad. However, his presentation of his ideas on world order is rather inconsistent, especially when it comes to the Palestinian Question.

Abdullah Ahmad Badawi (b. 1939), prime minister of Malaysia from 2003 to 2009, introduced the concept *Islam hadhari* (civilizational Islam) to the world. According to Muhamad Ali, it was conceived as a result of Malaysia's domestic politics that were relatively successful in exporting ideas to the OIC, particularly in Muslim-dominated societies in Southeast Asia. However, it was not successful in influencing the behaviors (local and foreign policies) of OIC member states because of intransigent competition from Saudi Arabia, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan, Malaysia, etc. *Islam hadhari* was viewed as a middle ground between Islamic ethos and Euro-American modernity, through the adoption of the Westphalian state system while following the tenets and historical empiricism of Islam and Muslim civilization. Badawi saw it as an opportunity for Muslims to adapt and live within the confines of modernity without jeopardizing their belief system in order to attain both spiritual and material progress. It was seen as laying the foundation for commonalities between Islam and the West through the promotion of justice, ethics, rule of law, democracy, equality before the law, and so on, in order to address the poverty and underdevelopment besetting the Muslim world. Badawi and his cohorts aimed to clean up the international reputation of Islam,

which also included uplifting the spiritual and intellectual confidence of Muslims by looking back to the glory of their historical past while living as modern individuals.

Notes

1. Kennedy, Hugh. *The Prophet and the Age of the Caliphates: The Islamic Near East from the Sixth to the Eleventh Century*. 2nd ed. London: Longman, 2004, p. 45.
2. The Prophet also appointed political positions such as the *wali* (the guardian) and judges to settle disputes. (See: An-Nabhani, Taqiuddin. *The Islamic State*. London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1998, pp. 118–120.)
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5. Iqbal, Justice Javid. "The Concept of State in Islam." In *State Politics and Islam*, edited by Mumtaz Ahmad, 37–50. Indianapolis, IN: American Trust Publications, 1986, p. 42.
6. Asad, Talal. "Ideology, Class and the Origin of the Islamic State." Review of *Sulayman Bashir's The Balance of Contradictions: Lectures on the Pre-Islamic Period and Early Islam (1978)*. *Economy and Society* 9, no. 4 (1980): 452.
7. They are Abu Bakr (r. 632–634), Umar (r. 634–644), Uthman (r. 644–656), and Ali (r. 656–661).
8. Fred Donner argued "that a state certainly can be said to have existed from the time of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik (685–705), and that a state probably existed back into the time of Mua'wiya ibn Abi Sufyan (661–680)." (See: Donner, Fred M. "The Formation of the Islamic State." *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 106, no. 2 (1986): 283. doi:10.2307/601592.)
9. Ahmad, Mubasher. "Khilafat and Caliphate." *Al Islam: The Ahmadiyya Muslim Community*: p. 7. <https://www.alislam.org/topics/khilafat/khilafat-and-caliphate.pdf>.
10. Davutoglu, Ahmet. *Alternative Paradigms: The Impact of Islamic and Western Weltanschauungs on Political Theory*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1994, p. 191.
11. Davutoglu, 1994, p. 192.
12. Ayubi, Nazih. *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*. London: Routledge, 1991, pp. 6–8.
13. Kaminski, Joseph J. "A Theory of a Contemporary Islamic State: History, Governance, and the Individual." 2014. MS, PhD Thesis, Purdue University, p. 50–51.
14. Berkey, Jonathan Porter. *The Formation of Islam: Religion and Society in the Near East, 600–1800*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003, p. 62.
15. Shaybani, Muhammad. *The Islamic Law of Nations: Shaybani's Siyar*. Translated by Majid Khadduri. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1966, p. 61.
16. Rajae, Farhang. "Paradigm Shifts in Muslim International Relations Discourse." *Studies in Contemporary Islam* 1, no. 1 (1999): 2.

17. It is important to note that Hinnebusch stated that “state formation is coterminous with a contested process of identity construction, whether a state’s boundaries satisfy or frustrate identity shapes its foreign policy role.” (See: Hinnebusch, Raymond A. *The International Politics of the Middle East*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2003, p. 74.)
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27. Boroujerdi said that “scholars like Abdullahi An-Na’im and Bassam Tibi argue, the ideology of Islamism and the concept of the Islamic theocratic state whose sole purpose is implementation of the shari’a are but modern and postcolonial phenomena in the Middle East.” (See: Boroujerdi, 2013, pp. 15–16). An-Na’im and Tibi’s position was also similar to Maximilian Lakitsch’s. He argued that “Political Islam and its synonym ‘Islamism’ is a specific modern interpretation of Islam. It has its roots in social conflicts: the establishment of autocratic monarchies in the newly independent Arab countries in the 1950s and 1960s gave rise to social justice demands which these regimes did not meet.” (See: Lakitsch, Maximilian. “Islamic State, the Arab Spring, and the Disenchantment with Political Islam.” In *Caliphates and Islamic Global Politics*, edited by Timothy Poirson and Robert Oprisko, p. 15. E-International Relations, 2014.)
28. Bassam Tibi claimed that “the model state presented by Islamic fundamentalism is basically a form of totalitarian rule, even though some writers perceive it as an Islamic pattern of democratic state-making.” (See: Tibi, Bassam. *The Challenge of Fundamentalism: Political Islam and the New World Disorder*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998, p. 158.)
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32. Boroujerdi presented that "dissenting voices like those of Mahdi Ha'iri Yazdi (1923–1999), Mohsen Kadivar (1959–), Muhammad Mujtahid Shabistari (1936–), and Abdulkarim Soroush (1945–) have complained that the doctrine of *velayat-e faqih* is destroying the sacredness of Islam as jurisprudence and theology have become intertwined with state power, material interest, and political considerations." (See: Boroujerdi, Mehrzad. *Mirror for the Muslim Prince: Islam and the Theory of Statecraft*. New York: Syracuse University Press, 2013, p. 15)
33. Khan, Muqtedar. "The Islamic State." *Encyclopedia of Government and Politics*. Edited by Mary Hawkesworth and Maurice Kogan. 2nd ed. Vol. 1. London: Rout, 2004, pp. 226–227.
34. Mohd's narrow view insists that "Islam is composed of the 'aqidah' (doctrine) and a collection of laws emanating from it, the Islamic State must derive its entire constitution from the Islamic aqidah." (See: Mohd, Nasran Mohamad. "The Concept of Islamic State." *Grande Strategy*. Accessed April 17, 2015. <http://www.grandestrategy.com/2009/03/4484848491219the-concept-of-islamic.html>.)
35. Al-Nabhani (b. 1909, d. 1977) was an Islamic scholar from Jerusalem who founded the Islamist political party *Hizb ut-Tahrir*.
36. Qaradawi, Yusuf. *State in Islam*. Cairo: El-Falah, 1998, p. 12.
37. Qaradawi, 1998, p. 12.
38. Hallaq, Wael B. *The Impossible State: Islam, Politics, and Modernity's Moral Predicament*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2013, p. 12 (kindle version)
39. Nasr, Seyyed Vali Reza. *Islamic Leviathan: Islam and the Making of State Power*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001, p. 9.
40. Waardenburg, Jean Jacques. *Islam: Historical, Social and Political Perspectives*. Berlin: W. De Gruyter, 2002, p. 358.
41. Lawson, Fred Haley. *Constructing International Relations in the Arab World*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006, p. 1.