Chapter 7

Conclusion and Suggestions
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The teaching of Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) abolished the inequalities of races and classes and brought to human beings a modern teachings specially political system and moreover, the Prophet himself exercised all powers, spiritual as well as temporal and others, in the community which he had organized into a state and endowed with all its organisms. Thus cumulation of powers was passed in heritage, after his death, to his successors in the state, with this difference that these successors were not Prophets, and so did not receive the Divine revelations. The Prophet Muhammad had always insisted on the necessity of community life, and he went so far as to declare that, “Whoever died without knowing his imam (Caliph) dies in Paganism”.

In the time of prophet, there were individuals and even groups of Muslims, who lived voluntarily or under constraint, outside the frontiers of the Islamic state, for example in Abyssinia, and in Mecca (before its conquest by the prophet). Some of the non-Muslim regions did not know religious tolerance, and prosecuted the Muslims (as in the City-State of Mecca and the Byzantine empire). Others, like in Christian Abyssinia, practiced a liberal policy in matters of conscience. The Caliph inherited from the Prophet the exercise of the double power, spiritual-temporal, and he presided over the celebration of the service of worship in the mosque, and he was the head of the state in temporal affairs (chapter one).

The Quran speaks of kings, both good and bad, and never refers to other forms of government, such as a republic. The form of government thus established was intermediary between hereditary
monarchy and a republic- the Caliph was elected for life. If the fact of election makes it resemble a republic, the duration of the power was like that of monarchy. From the very beginning, there have been dissidents to the elected caliphs; later there have been even rival claimants and these caused bloodshed in the community from time to time.

Later, power was held by some dynasty, thus came the Umayyads, who in their turn were replaced by the ‘Abbasids’; these latter did not succeed in obtaining the homage of the far-off province of Spain, where independent dynasties of Muslim rulers exercised sovereign powers, without, however, daring to assume the title of “Caliph” and by name of Islam (Chapter one).

Political experimentation and practices of the Prophet and his successor paved the way of theorization and the scholars of later countries developed on their basis a whole political system of Islam. Most prominent of the theoretical traditions of Philosophy and politics by Al- Farabi and Avicenna and later by Ibn Khaldun and Khawja Nasir al-Din al-Tusi and soon with their challenges on the political theory that borrowed from Philosopher king of plato and Republic from Aristotle and then established their political theory of “Madina Fadilah” and did good researches on political system of Islam. Specially the details of Ibn-Khaldun of “group feeling” and many other things were also very useful. Moreover some of them like Avicenna and Nizamul Mulk Tusi: entered in polity and they did practical experimentations and wrote their experiences of political activities.

Farabi in his political philosophy looking at the ideal republic of Plato merges into ‘The Philosopher as ruler’, and he endows his ‘prince’
with all the virtues of humanity and philosophy: he is plato in the metal of the Prophet. Farabi divides the regimes into three broad types, the “ignorant” regimes (Medina al-jahilah), “Wicked” or “immoral’ regimes and the regimes whose citizens have acquired certain opinions about these things but false or corrupt opinions. Then he concentrated on virtuous city (Medinah al-Fadilah). The political Philosophy of Avicenna also and essentially Farabian and rests on the theory of Prophet hood and revelation. Al-Ghazzali proposed a sincere loyalty to the caliphate, recognizing the legitimacy of Abbasid rule. He argued that caliphs and Sultans had to –co-operate to bring peace and safety to the Muslim empire. Ibn Bajjah accepted al-Farabi’s division of the state into perfect and imperfect and Ibn Tufail’s point of view is individualistic.

Ibn Khaldun’s socio-political theory based upon the concepts of al-‘asabiyah (group-feeling) and al-mulk (royal authority) and the idea of al-mustabid (despot); and he says the group feeling is necessary and good if to be used in the case of Allah. He also says; that royal authority is the natural goal of group feeling. Of the later Islamic philosophers, Khwajah Nasir details his political Philosophy in his book (Akhlaq-i-Nasiri) which belong the politics of cities. He also discusses the institution of philosopher/ Vazir. At last Nizam al-Mulk Tusi shows his political philosophy in his book (Siasat Nameh). (Chapter two).

The Turks, when converted to Islam, brought a new element. First they furnished soldiers and commanders who became the real governing power in the state. Side by side with the caliphs, there appeared a “commander of the commanders”, and later a “sultan”, and the state authority became divided and administration went into the hands of the Sultan who governed in the name of the Caliph. This period was at
medieval experiment of the Ottoman dynasty in the name of Islam, the same Ottoman dynasty had also two medieval counterparts, namely, the Safavids of Iran as a Shia state and the Mughals of India. Anyway, these three daynasties were most powerful and took their powers from Islam and ruled in the name of Islam by different methods in their areas (Chapter three). The Fatimid Caliphate of Cairo disappeared first, and this Kingdom was acquired by a dynasty of Turkish-Kurdish governors, who recognized the caliphate of Baghdad. When the later was devastated by the Pagan Tartars, the Seat of the caliphate was moved to Cairo. Later the Ottoman Turks conquered Egypt, and abolished the neo-‘Abasid dynasty of Caliphs there. The Turkish Istanbul (The city of Islam) and the Mughal Delhi (India) also pretended to be champions of the caliphate and the Safavids of the Imamat: but, however big their empires might have been, their claims were recognized only inside their respective jurisdictions. The Mughals were removed from their Indian power by the British; the Turkish Ottoman also by the British and Safavids by Qajar (with the support of the British).

The modern experiments in Muslim World are available in more than 55 countries like Egypt, Turkey, Malaysia, Tajikistan, Iran, Pakistan, Indonesia and Arab World that we have explained about their perspective in chapters four, five and six give us a clear understanding of political authority and leadership, therefore we can say; Islam attaches no importance to the external form of government. It is Satisfied if the well-being of man in both the worlds is aimed for, and the Divine law applied. Thus the constitutional questions take a secondary place. Thus, a republic, like Egypt and Turkish and Tajikistan and Iran, a monarchy like Malaysia, Saudia Arabia, Qatar, a joint-rule,
among other forms, are all valid in the Muslim community. But what is important, that is the duties of the state. The duties and functions of a Muslim state seem to be four:

1. Executive (for the civil and military administration)
2. Legislative
3. Judicial
4. Cultural

The sum up, Islam seeks to establish a world community, with complete equality among people and without distinction of race, class, or country. It seeks to convert by persuasion, allowing no compulsion in religious beliefs, every individual being personally responsible to God. To Islam, government signifies a trust, a service, in which the functionaries are the servants of the people. According to Islam, it is the duty of every individual to make a constant effort to spread good and prevent evil.

At the dawn of the twenty-first century, much of the Muslim world, having attained independence as nation-states, now faces a second revolution or transformation: That of national identity and religious/intellectual reform. Issues of authority, legitimacy, identity, authenticity, political participation, and human rights are prominent. This occurs within a context in which secular forms of liberal nationalism.

Political Islam has proved a formidable force even though Islamic movements or organizations often constitute a minority of the community. It has proved attractive and effective in response to the political and socio-economic failures of governments and elites: sectarian, tribal, and class grievances: Second-class citizenship in terms
of access to education and employment; mal-distribution of wealth, and official corruption. In societies when opposition is absent, repressed, or muted by governments. Islamists have often proved effective both in mobilizing their own following and, as the only viable outlet or “game in town”, in attracting those who wish to register their frustration or opposition to the prevailing order. Islam has increasingly reemerged in Muslim political discourse and politics and has been effective in providing or reinforcing national identity and political legitimacy; it has also been a source of mass mobilization. Governments and opposition movements have appealed to Islamic symbols and slogans. Islamic movements and organization have proliferated across the Muslim world. However, the appeal to religion is a two-edged Sword, as demonstrated by the experience of some Muslim countries.

Some Muslim countries like Malaysia is powerful in economy and industrial technology despite monarchial political system and could be a pattern and Indonesia in democracy and Pakistan as a nuclear energy and military, and Iran as an independent country also could be a pattern. But if possible they gather all those patterns together or not? This is another thing.

Egyptians from the ancient upto present time have experiences in political activities (about 5000 years) and two times in modern times the president of United Nation (UN) was Egyptian (Petross Ghali). For the time being, in 20 years later, things seem to go well, but gradually, there developed a gap between the state and society. The state agenda became different from society’s agenda, and the respective priorities of the state and the society appeared heading for a clash.
Turkey Ottomans became Nation-State after world-war I and in the hand of Kemal Ataturk became a secular state, then he abolished many symbols (Sha’air) of Islam in modern Turkey, like abolishing of ‘Adhan’ and changing weak end holiday Friday and also the alphabets and legislative law to European law. The Malaysian also developed in many areas of polity and in the Shadow of polity, economy, especially in the period of Mahatir Mohammad its Prime Minister. This country had a good relationship with the west and also with Muslim countries in foreign policy. Despite it has monarchical system of governance but it is constitutional in nature and real power is vested in the parliamentary system based on election in that country that has good status, and the king is elected for 5 years and the political parties have total freedom. Thus welfare of the people is the hollwork of the political system.

Finally in the chapter four we have discussed about a new Muslim country. Tajikistan, that it obtained independence in 1991 from the Soviet Union. Parties in this republic have also been grated freedom although it experienced civil war for five years. Many challenges which cause the development of political system come from outside of Tajikistan, and inside the society, or from the political elite of the society.

The case of modern Iran, considered in Chapter five illustrates the difficulties encountered by a modern government in a complex society. After revolution (in 1979), the theory of the Wilayat-i-Faqih became the theory of government, and after sometimes Imam Khameini turned from Wilayat-i-ifiqih to Wilayat-i-Motlqeh-i-faqih (The absolute guardianship of the jurist) for the solution of the problems of country. Imam Khameini’s doctrine was in operation in the 1970s, hence
constitution was also changed. The position of the ‘ulama’ in Iran is very strong. Nowadays Iran has challenged the USA about nuclear energy therefore the foreign policy of Iran was oriented or inclined in favour of European Union. Elections in Iran were held frequently and in the 25 years after revolution almost 25 elections took place for Assembly and consultation and president.

Pakistan which was dominated by military dictatorship for a long time after independence and also as a nuclear armor country is the most powerful Muslim country in the military matters its relationship with USA after September 11, 2001, got a high rank in her foreign policy with USA, because it allowed the USA entrance to Pakistan and through Pakistan fighting Taliban. The logistic base of US army in Jacobabad in Pakistan in the state of Baluchistan supported American’s in fighting the Taliban. Status of Parties and Press and private channels of Television otherwise is good.

Indonesia’s status of parties and press and private televisions also good and it is said that the third best democracy obtained in Indonesia in the world after USA and India. Finally we have discussed Arab political experimentations and systems especially of Syria, Iraq, UAE and their challenges to the Israel and the west. Part of the Arab World is dominated by absolute monarchy and another part by republic systems. Monarchical states prohibited the establishment of political parties but private television and press have been allowed to work in some countries like Qatar and UAE. There are some republics like Egypt, Syria and Iraq where political parties are allowed to operate but in all these countries one party system dominates there is free party-system like India, Pakistan or even Indonesia and Malaysia where multiple
party system strengthens the polity of the countries. In fact, freedom and liberty are two touchstones of the political health of a country, which are not found, generally speaking in west of the Muslim World. But it may be admitted that their political experimentations have quite enriched the Muslim legacy, and it is hoped that one day a truly Muslim, if not Islamic, polity would be brought into being which may be based on human dignity, love and affection, or at least on peaceful coexistence.

Being a Muslim in the contemporary world needs the fact that all Muslims try to base their social systems on the human rights ideals. It is accepted that human rights doctrines are not included in the Kitab (Qur'an) and the tradition but it is accepted belief that the modern societies which have established their base on human rights are successful in providing justice, togetherness and kindness. And it is the best way in facilitating faithfulness and morality to the morals of the society.

The avoid of establishing the totalitarian regimes and accepting seriously the human rights and democracy which is the reality of our age is one of the basic needs of being a Muslim in this period. In modern Muslim societies like other modern societies taking into the consideration of human rights is the only correct and acceptable way for improving human relationships on the base of justice and morality. In this modern age, establishing the systems on the base of human rights is the only way that Muslims can be faithful to Islam, faith, justice morality, togetherness and kindness.