



Islam Political Jurisprudence against Globalization

Marym Riki¹, Seyyed Hossein Sadeghi^{2*}, Mohammad Reza Kikha³

¹Student of Jurisprudence and Basics of Law, Zahedan Branch, Islamic Azad University Zahedan, Zahedan, Iran.

²Holder of PHD in International Relationships, Faculty Member, University of Zabol, Iran.

³Doctor of Jurisprudence, faculty member of the University of Sistan and Baluchestan, Sistan and Baluchestan, Iran.

Abstract

In the early 1990s, an atmosphere was created where political Islam as "Green Peril" replaced "Red Peril". The threat to face which, west organized all its security strategies. At this time, due to a specific security vacuum that was formed after the 1990s, it was attempted to provide a new paradigm to analyze the security aspects and the current structure. This paper examines the emergence of Islam as a major political force in world affairs. According to some observers, the revival of political Islam is not just another dimension to the phenomenon of globalization, but it is also the result of globalization. The rapid development of global communications has made globalization of political Islam in the ideological and operational levels possible. After analyzing the interaction between political Islam and competitive national interests during the Cold War, the paper concludes that fears of "clash of civilizations" between "Islamic fundamentalism" and west is exaggerated.

Keywords: political -Islam, globalization, confrontation

Corresponding Author: Seyyed Hossein Sadeghi

INTRODUCTION

The rise of Islam as a political force cannot be studied alone the same as a local or regional phenomenon. Preferably, Islam has a positive correlation with global events and political changes that are happening (Bina, 1996: 37). Although Islam does not separate religion and government or policy from each other, the term "political Islam" is not as a set of ideas that form the basis of Islam. Islam is a political ideology that is anti-Western and anti-separation and wants to create another world order compared to the existing world order that is based on Western norms and values. Thus, Islam as a set of religious beliefs is completely different from political Islam. The above issue mentions that the revival of political Islam cannot be apart from its internal dynamics and cultural and political interactions with the outside world (Cycle 2000: 77-175). In certain countries, particularly in the Middle East, political Islam is the product of both internal and external conflicts. Moreover, one should know political Islam in the context of unequal long term relationships between Islam and the West. The main purpose of this article is placing these conflicts in a historical context. As a result, we should be able to achieve these claims more closely that a similar "Islamic threat" has arisen against contemporary forces of globalization.

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

The research method is descriptive-analytical conducted based on documentary and library studies, articles, conferences and seminars.

World War II

During Second Persian Gulf War in 1991, most Americans showed a major offensive against Arab Americans, including those coming from the United States of America to Iraq, and hatred of Arabs and Muslims during this crisis reached its peak and intensified after the start of Operation Desert Storm. In contrast, according to a survey, fifty-two percent of America's leaders, more than the Americans, consider the expansion of the Islamic Fundamentalism a major threat. Western people have a hostile view of Islamic culture and consider it a threat to their cultural interests and values. Their perception of Islam, to some extent, is rooted in the Religious Foundation of America and the West. On the other hand, this understanding can be attributed to the historical conflict between Islam and Christianity, something that has been transferred and extended historically and over several generations through literature, popular culture, media and academic discourse.

The anti-Islamic discourse in the West after September eleventh, the implementation of Islamism discourse, the expansion of political Islam and its official entry to theoretical

debates of international relations, and its security consequences have caused the intellectual disposition of political Islam, the Middle East, to be of great importance. Political Islam and anti-Muslim discourse have become a global security issues. After 1995 and the explosion of Oklahoma City, America, and anti-Arabic and anti-Islamic propaganda, this securitization entered a new phase. The New York Times and the American media attribute the explosion to Gaza and Beirut within 48 hours, and then in the New York Times on Friday, May 12, 1995, the editor of the newspaper called for the bombing of Syria and Lebanon and attributed it to political Islam and Islamists. These events represent different identity aspects of political Islam in the Middle East.

Some believe that the raising the issue of Islam and the West is due to the emergence of Islamism in the Middle East and other regions of the Islamic world whose turning point of manifestation can be seen in the Islamic Revolution of Iran. In other words, it was thought that a form of "Islamic revival has made Muslims confident of their valuable distinctive features of Islamic civilization and has encouraged them to rivalry West in this field." Others see the emergence of this issue due to the collapse of the Soviet Union (Autumn 1991) when with the disappearance of communism, a kind of "Security Vacuum" emerged in the West that provided the atmosphere for rising a kind of "New Zeal" in the context of political Islam for keeping West unified. In fact, the decline of Marxist ideology and the triumph and spread of Western civilization have created a vacuum in the world in the sense that the world is in need of an ideology that can adjust the West domination and Islam is thought to be such an ideology. In this regard, Graham Fuller says, "Security and foreign policy after the Cold War, with which the West is faced with the challenges, are due to the emergence of Islamist trends that have a central role in international affairs in general and the security of the West in particular." What added to the importance of paying more attention to the religious dimension of the activities of Islamic fundamentalists in the works of West scholars to understand their identity was September 11, 2001 that led them to adopt a new approach and revise the relationship between religion and politics and their participation in political life. The government's weakness and lack of democratic principles have increased discontent over the government's actions in the Middle East. On the other hand, anger and hatred toward America's policies in the region is as one of the external factors aggravating the unfavorable situation in these communities. In such circumstances, Islamism has found a great opportunity, but what is important is that the phenomenon of Islamism has no single form and various forms such as radical, moderate, political, traditional, democratic, and authoritarian are emerging and developing. However, it should be noted that only a small minority of the Muslim world are receptive to extremist Islam. Crowley believes that America badly needs "a new national security strategy" to be developed to seek serious reviews of United States policy towards Islam and Muslims.

After World War II

Although in some simplistic terms the Cold War is seen as an ideological and military confrontation between the West and the East, we should recall that it was also an era of decolonization. Many independent Islamic states were formed from 1950 to 1970 in South Asia, Middle East and North Africa. Many Islamic leaders believed that the Cold War created decolonization as an opportunity to create an Islamic block to cope with the ones built created by the superpowers. For countries such as Indonesia, Libya, and Yemen, Islam is an "effective and vital force" for independence struggle against colonialism and "a powerful spiritual force and source of identity" against the former colonial heads (Monodin, 1987: 69).

These conditions led to an effort for the unity of the Muslim world, so that it determined close relationships between Islamic nations and in order to deal with the communist and Western blocks, they made their coordinated relations closer (Lenoda 1990: Bada: 1994).

However, the main problem for the establishment of such a block was the significant differences among many Muslims and Muslim communities in the world. The Islamic world has never had an integrated form. Muslim world includes a diversity of interpretations, institutions, beliefs, cultures, and practices. Thus, Islam induced two contradictory directions: towards unity in the first place, and in the second place towards the distinction (Hussain, 1995: 209). The possibility that these societies politically unite under the banner of the Islamic block taking into account other interests, both domestic and foreign interests was low. The following examples show the interaction of domestic interests and the interests of external actors Islamic countries, especially the main powers.

In 1979, the Iranian revolution, led by Ayatollah Khomeini, not only destroyed old domestic power structures, old royal, aristocracy, and western upper class and upper-middle, but more importantly, shifted Iran an ally advocate of West to a revolutionary government based on the Shiite Islamic orthodoxy (Hiro 1985: 185).

Ayatollah Khomeini called for Islamic community (umma) to gather all Islamic nations against the international system led by the United States and the Soviet Union. This demand was based on the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran in 1979 according to which "All Muslims are one community and the government must constantly strive to get to political, economic, and cultural unity of Muslim world" (Stample 1981: 169). Khomeini's regime following Shiite theological issues undermined the legitimacy of majority of the states in the Islamic world.

Openly, the threatening of {Imam} Khomeini to export revolution of Iran to all Islamic countries scared neighboring countries in the (Persian) Gulf, Arab world, and superpowers. Conversely, Tehran's efforts to create a revolution in other countries made Iran's isolation in the international communities more. In response, [Ayatollah] Khomeini accused Gulf rulers as "corrupt monarchies" breeders of "American Islam" and described the United States as the "Great Satan", the great Satan that is the number one source of corruption on earth (Hiro 1985: 335).

However, condemnation of Iran by the West as a "rebel" country was without success. The Iranian revolution has accelerated Islamic and radical revival in many Islamic countries, both directly and indirectly (Hussein 1995: 27).

The Iranian Revolution of 1978-79 had a considerable importance for other Islamic countries, especially Iraq. First, the overturning of the Shah by the Islamic Revolution made Iraq and other countries of the Gulf hopeful that the new regime in Iran will adopt the foreign policies in accordance with the wishes of other Muslim countries and secular Arabic regimes (Khadvari 1988: 68).

When Iran challenged the secular nature of the Baathist regime of Iraq as the greatest challenge for the creation of the first Islamic Revolution in the (Persian) Gulf region, political entity in the Gulf began to change. The new regime in Iran began to export its revolution to Iraq using this propaganda campaign that aimed to create Shiite community. While more than half of Iraq's population was Shiite, they were forced to revolt against Sunni Baathist regime in Iraq (Azhari, 1984). Iran's leaders attacked the anti-Islamic ideology of the Baath Party under Saddam Hussein reign and Ayatollah Khomeini repeatedly called for the destruction of the regime of Saddam because he called that regime the enemies of Islam and all Muslims (Khadvari, 1988: 117). In reaction, Saddam Hussein

pressured the main Gulf States such as Saudi Arabia and Kuwait response to give financial and diplomatic support to Iraq. He argued that war with Iran is not Iraq's private issue but rather a defending the eastern flank of the Arab world against Iran's fundamentalist Islam (Kareshand Friedman 1993: 45). He also made his regime more acceptable to Arabic governments, so that he aligned his foreign policy with moderate Arabic allies of which Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Sudan were the manifestation. He did so to support the political solution to the Arab - Israeli war and end extreme anti-Zionist position. Thus, in fact, the ideological radicalism of Iran was an important part of his attempts to dominate the Persian Gulf region. In addition, the Iran-Iraq war encompassed economic and territory interests, which led to long-standing conflict between them for a decade. The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in December 1979 happened when the communist regime in Afghanistan under the leadership of Noor Mohammed Taraki was gradually moving towards sterilization. However, the basic impetus for the invasion was Moscow's fear of spread of Islamic fundamentalism from revolutionary Iran panic to Afghanistan and Central Asia (see Mazroi, 1994). During the 1970s, Muslim populations in Central Asia had grown five times faster than the rest of the Muslim population in the Soviet Union. In January 1979, the Soviet Muslim population was 49 million that was 35 million in 1970 (Mazroi, 1994: 509). Muslim population of Uzbekistan alone had increased 36% over the same period. In military terms, this attack not only made Soviet troops a few hundred miles closer to the Gulf, but also led to a large increase in Soviet military facilities in the region and the attack received quick respond from the rest of the world. The United States condemned the attack and integrated Middle Eastern Muslim states against the Soviet Union. When the problem of Soviet invasion of Afghanistan arose in the UN Security Council, only Ethiopia and South Yemen voted for a resolution against Moscow that condemned the attack in the midst of Muslim countries, while Algeria, Syria, Libya and North Yemen abstained from voting. Among the hundred and four countries that voted against Moscow was Iraq that even publicly condemned the attack to show its independence from Moscow. Vote in the UN Security Council clearly showed that the Soviet invasion has damaged Soviet relations with the Muslim world (Cycle and Maali, 1989). In fact, Muslims in Afghanistan with the Soviet invasion were more radical than the revolution in Iran. This became evident with rise of the Mujahideen (Rashid 2001: 395- 410), because they used and led military war against the Soviet Union. Mujahideen were supported by the United States and other Western governments and that between 1979 and 1989 received more than seven billion US dollars plus economic aid (Mazrui 1994: 507). This support was because of anti-Iranian policy of the United States, Cold War competition with the Soviet Union, and aimed to build a pipeline from Central Asia to the Persian Gulf through Afghanistan (Mazrui 1994: 505). As a result, Mujahideen's becoming radical against the Soviet occupation and United States support of this the (Mujahideen against the Soviet), gave a lot of motivation to form six republics of the former Soviet Union in the Caucasus ... (Azerbaijan) and Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan) that (Pipe, 1994). All these six states have close ties with Iran and Afghanistan. In addition, they are significantly influenced by the region's history as an old Muslim land (Karichlu 1994: 270). Iran also acts as a communications center for providing access to the sea and oil technology for Central Asia (Rashid, 1994). Behind the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait in August 1990, there was a combination of economic interest in petroleum and the wish to lead the region. Moreover, tensions between Iraq and Kuwait were deeply rooted in history, geography, and ideology. Since the Ottoman Empire on, Iraq has claimed that Kuwait is part

of its territory (Booker 1991: 194). However, the benefit of Iraq in Kuwait in terms of historical and legal rights was less than the massive resource and wealth of Kuwait (Friedman and Karesh 1993: 45). Iraq condemned Kuwait for breaking agreements by the OPEC (Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) to prevent the accused from production and maintaining oil prices (Booker 1991: 11).

Arabic countries were deeply divided in response to it. Moreover, they separated regarding the tools to solve this conflict. This bipartisan was basically between those that were on America's side and so-called radicals who were pro-West. Many Palestinians and Jordanians stressed their commitment to Islam, and it was when they were out of the war in Iraqi line. Libya, Yemen and Algeria Islamic radicals also supported Iraq. Saddam Hussein also found political support from among non-Arabic Muslim countries such as Pakistan, Bangladesh and Malaysia. On the other hand, Egypt adopted a firm stance and became ready to send volunteers to help save Kuwait and Saudi Arabia and defend holy places of Islam (Booker 1994: 482). In short, Islamic fundamentalism on was found on both sides of the battle lines (Baker 1994: 483). In fact, in the Gulf War, it was not only Islam's position that emphasized war. This well shows the good diversity of Islam in the light of changing interests in a rapidly changing international environment.

Globalization and Political Islam

The most important international policy in the late 1980s was the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of the Cold War. In the era after the Cold War, dynamic of international relations had dramatically changed. In the eyes of some observers, contemporary globalization has reduced supremacy of military and political competing in international relations. In particular, this era is sometimes described as an era in which religious and cultural identity will be increasingly important in global politics (Huntington, 1996), and that this era will be determined by the resurgence of local identities that are based on religious loyalties (Ehteshami 1997: 179).

In this context, revival of political Islam has become an important ideological power in the Third World, especially in the Muslim world. As Mir Hossein argues Islamic "revivalists" can be divided into four categories: the fundamentalists, traditionalists, modernists, and pragmatism. In West, fundamentalists are mainly considered as the only type of revivalists (Hussain, 1995: 270). In addition, as Halton mentions, the revival of political Islam can also be "interpreted" as "de-globalization trend towards regionalism and localism" and having and also as a re-globalization that challenges the credits of attitudes of globalization (Halton, 1998, 48).

Western governments apparently have some responsibility towards the revival of political Islam. Its evident example is supporting Mujahidin war against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan. In addition, the rapid development of global communications has facilitated the globalization of political Islam.

Although the Islamic Revival is different in every Islamic countries, common and definite issues are certain and distinguishable features. As Andrew Tan points out, a common basic principle is that society should be organized based on the Quran and the Sunna (the prophet's conduct). He suggests that Islamic revivalism is the result of frustration of the Islamic world with the West and looking for an alternative model that enables the development of Islamic society in accordance with the teachings of the Qur'an. Revivalism is also a reaction against the development of Western capitalism.

Thus, in fact, Islamic Revival can be considered as a unifying factor and a focal point for strengthening political resistance against certain forms of globalization, especially forms that are associated with political and cultural hegemony of America.

United States has utilized its military influence by a variety of financial instruments in Islamic countries domestic politics like supporting the regimes that are not popular domestically (Hunter 1998: 20).

The emergence of Islamic consciousness has created efforts that would create an Islamic state without territory to facilitate the process of crossing the borders between identities or groups of political Islam (Muslims) who are active in different countries. It would seem that this phenomenon of proves "superior globalization" that will eradicate the new forms of political and religious organizations of the traditional nation-state as the basic political units of the international community.

Does this mean that the end of communism has been replaced by a new "threat" in the form of political Islam? For many Western countries, threatening nature of political Islam is not only political but also demographic and socio-political as well (Espitou 1992: 175). Many western political analysts assume that relations between the Muslim world and the West are inherently contradictory. However, the assumption of Islamic threat to the West is based on a general fear of Islamic fundamentalism. Using this term, in uncertain terms, other terms such as "Islamic revivalism" Political Islam and Islamism are dealt with. Using the term "Islamic fundamentalism" in assessing the role of Islam and the Muslim world is pejorative and misleading. Not distinguishing between Islam as a religion and political Islam creates wrong interpretations of political Islam. As Tayebi argues "We should not ignore the distinction fear of Islam and Islamic fundamentalism; any strengthening of animosity towards Islam fundamentalists is accidental clash of civilizations to play with the efforts to avoid a hostile West (Tayebi, 1998 :).

CONCLUSION

As Ehtemashy (1997: 184) has argued, "Islamic fundamentalism" has been evaluated from two respects. First, it can be seen as a response to the crisis in the Middle East that Arabic states have encountered. The second aspect supported by Samuel Huntington connects emergence of Islamic Fundamentalism to "clash of civilizations". According to Huntington (1996: 6), "Central axis of world politics in post-war era would be the interaction of power and cultural power and culture with power and culture of the West and non-Western societies." In other words, the clash between civilizations replaces the former Cold War ideological wars. This aspect sees fundamentalism the same as Islam that is connected to the purpose of "peaceful Islam" (Islamic peace literally) in the Muslim world (Ehteshami, 1997: 180).

In this context, some Islamic governments seem to be endorsing the West's assumptions about the same Islamic threats. They do this by proving that they have replaced the Soviet Union as the main challenge for the West. However, in this paper, I have argued that Islam is neither inherently integrated, nor has it been an integrated political force.

Thus, I agree with the first aspect. In terms of conflicting national interests and priorities of governments in the Arab world, generalizing Islamic "threat" for to the West could not be done.

REFERENCES

- Allison, Robert j. (1995) 'The Crescent Obscured, The United and the Lim World 1776-1815', New York oxford.
- Anonymous (2006), "Revelations about Israel's nuclear secrets", Kayhan Magazine, No. 18506, May 22.
- Brzezinski, Z. (2006), "America wants another policy", translated by Ahmad Samaei, newspaper, No. 2369, 21 July.
- Gendzier, Irene (2000) 'Islam and Politics', 1090s: 'A Journal of Modern Society (1-2) Volume One-spring 18 : www. 1090 s.com
- Huntington, S. (1997), "Islam and the West from confrontation to dialogue", Monthly Message of the Day, January, p. 39.
- Heresh, S. (2004), "The Zionist regime's efforts to influence Iraqi Kurdistan", translated by Kaveh Afrasiabi, Negah Magazine, Fourth June
- Inbar, E. (1997), "Highlights of the new Israeli strategic thinking", translation Mir Saeed immigrants, Journal of defense policy, p 5, n.
- Janice J. Terry. (2009), America's foreign policy in the Middle East: the role of lobbyists and interest groups, translated by Reza Ghorbani, R. Simbar, Tehran: Publications Office, the first edition of Strategic Studies porter
- Morgan-Patrick M. (2003), the regional order - Security in the Modern World, translated by Seyed Jalal Dehghani Firouz Abadi, Tehran. College
- Morgenthau, H. (1995), The policy causes Translation by Humira Shirzadeh, Tehran: Ministry of Foreign Affairs 2, Spring Lake, David A.
- Morgenthau, Hans (1954) 'Politics Among Nations: The Struggle for Power and Peace', New York: Knopf.
- Motaghi, E. (2006), "conflict of two ideologies study of patterns and processes of America against Iran confrontation", the journal of contemporary political thought and history, No. 44, May.
- Smith, J and M. (1995), The nature of foreign policy: in this world and Hersh, Seymour. (2004), "The Zionist regime's efforts to influence Iraqi Kurdistan", translated by Kaveh Afrasiabi, look magazine, Fourth, June and July the countries dependence, translated by Seyed Hossein Seifzadeh, Tehran.