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ИЗВЕСТИЯ

НАЦИОНАЛЬНОЙ АКАДЕМИИ НАУК
РЕСПУБЛИКИ КАЗАХСТАН

КАЗАХСКИЙ НАЦИОНАЛЬНЫЙ
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Z.G. Dzhalilov, B. Batyrkhan

Institute of Oritntal Stadies named after R.B. Suleymenov, Almaty, Kazakhstan.
zaur1952@mail.ru, bolatkazakh@gmail.com

THE ORETICAL DISCOURSE ON ISLAM AND POLITICS IN FOREIGN HUMANISM OF THE SECOND HALF OF 20th CENTURY

Abstract. In this article, the author made an attempt to analyze some theoretical concepts of foreign researchers on the problem of the ratio of religion and politics in the Islamic religion, as well as to consider the nature of the use of religion for political purposes. The purpose of this article is to try to connect the problem under consideration with a broader range of issues of socio-political development, in particular, to show the reality of the construction of an Islamic state in modern conditions. The emphasis is on the important role that foreign Islamists played in studying the process of politicization of religion, built on new methodological principles of the interrelation between secularism and religiosity. This is the actual political meaning of the works of foreign authors. It should be noted that the approaches of Western Islamists to the disclosure of the problem were not narrow, politically straightforward. In them there emerged a desire for critical analysis. And at the present stage, the study of the problem of politics and religion remains urgent. Today, the tasks of renewing Kazakhstan's society, developing not only the economy but also the political system, the revival of traditional religion are brought to the forefront. And therefore, it is important to re-analyze theories and concepts of foreign researchers who will help us now understand the place and role of Islam in contemporary political processes. At the same time, it should be noted that although modern society has changed dramatically during the time that has elapsed since the global and regional problems of the 20th century, many concepts and theories developed by foreign scholars of Islam at that time still retain their significance.

Key words: politic, Islam, relations, theoretical concepts, ideology.

Specific conditions, manifested in the historical dynamics of the problem, are focused, in our opinion, in the nature of the relation between religion, politics and culture. It is precisely the consideration of these relations in the countries of the East, through the prism of the features of the spread and development of the Islamic religion, its differentiation, the formation and formation of various movements and currents, and allows to take into account the whole complex of issues related to the transformation of socio-political life, both in the Muslim East and Central Asia.

As shown by historical practice, the dynamization of economic, social and political relations, aimed at the transition from a traditional society to a modern one, required the consideration of a "religious factor". From the strategy of "catch-up development" in the middle of the 20th century and before the irrationality of state policy in the late 1970s Islam took many forms in the conditions of social and political crisis. The "ideal" model of political modernization of the Western model was not inscribed in the traditional structure of the system of Islam, which aggravated the contradictions between the spiritual and secular elite, various Muslim movements and trends, traditionalists and modernists [1, p. 207]

Thus, it became necessary to conduct research at a level that would take into account both the specific historical material and the stable structural and functional features of the Islamic religion within the framework of political programs. At the same time, the most difficult and interesting historical period of time is the period of the second half of the 20th century, i.e. the initial transformation of socio-political shifts in Eastern societies.

The interest in the problem is explained by the need to develop a strategy for regulating the religious sphere, analyzing the features of religious movements and trends, and the influence of Islam on sociopolitical processes. From the second half of 20th century among scholars, the thesis that the problem of the ratio of religion and politics in Islam has always been an important part of its study, both in the historical past and in the present, and it continues to spread. In a more detailed form, this thesis took on the following form: the question of the nature of power in Islam should be the subject of discussion and reflection in religion, although by tradition, power in general belonged to Allah, and earthly power was his gift[2, p. 19].

Explaining the specific historical conditions for the formation of the Islamic religion, Western Islamistsdefined a peculiar correlation of "religion" and "politics" within the whole Muslim civilization. According to their point of view, "Islam, originated in an environment in which each element of social organization simultaneously carried socio-political functions, naturally should have assumed these functions in order to spread out". In foreign studies, the problems of revealing the reasons for the politicization of Islam were analyzed in the publications of M. Watt [3], L. Loboda [4], J. Esposito [5], B. Lewis [6], DevinDeweese [7].

Many recognized that Islam already at the point of its genesis dealt with the socio-political organization of the Muslim community and did not cease to be an "integrative" religion. In the mid-1980s in the science of Islam, the question of the admissibility of politics in religion was practically not raised, and vice versa. The order of the relationship between religion and politics was presented in the form of a formula: the state regulates religion, and religion guides politics[8, p. 8].

At the first stage of the discussion, most Islamistssingled out the political universe from the universe of religion. However, the interpretations of this thesis, its rationale were far from unambiguous, which led to a change in the emphasis, and even the meaning, the content of the thesis.

A certain group of Islamists, among them (A. Hermassi and others) believed that there is no unity of religion and politics in Islam, and this fact has never been assimilated by consciousness. The fact that the policy is far from religion without due recognition, and therefore rationale has led to the fact that the political sphere in the Muslim world has not developed its "own logic" and has not acquired an independent character [9, p.457]. "The emergence of the Sufi orders," wrote A. Hermassi, "further strengthened the separation of political institutions from the organization of Muslim life" [9, p. 458]. Secularization of the political history of the Muslim world while maintaining religious and normative unity within it, according to A. Hermassi, ultimately led to the complete dismemberment of practical and ideal levels of politics in the Arab-Muslim countries [9, p.457].

The progress of the discussion on politics and religion was largely hindered by the lack of unity of methodological foundations on a number of issues. They bravely took on the solution of private, topical issues; Islamists increasingly began to run into many common questions, without the solution of which it was impossible to move forward. In this regard, it was necessary, first of all, to realize the essence of the full dynamics of the religion and politics in the Islamic world. About this, by the way, was written by C. Geertz. "The overlapping of various structures, such as the family, the village, the clan, the class, the sect, the army, the party, the elite, the state," appears on closer examination by the unstable micro-political units that compete, enter into temporary alliances, gain strength and very soon again disintegrate "[10, p.22]. Under these conditions, C. Geertz noted, political life takes the form of fractional rivalry, in which defeat is never total, victory is complete. The peculiarities of such a political style give rise to a false dilemma: either an imitation of Western experience and orientation toward a national state or attempts to reintroduce the original Islam [10, p.20].

A number of researchers, from both East and West, were against some views of A. Hermassi. Thus, according to B. Tibi, in Islam religious and political functions are merged, so those religious ideas can be successfully applied as an element of political technologies [11, p. 5]. The author's general thesis is that Islam, in the course of its development, was leveled as a political ideology in many countries of the world of the East. At the same time, this did not mean changing the system of views: Islam remained the

prevailing factor in the norm of this system. In many cases, especially since the late 1950s, the growing role of Islam was directly related to the process of political transformation, since many policy changes were based on the political ideology of the Islamic religion, as mentioned above.

And now Islam is becoming the ideology of political opposition to the existing regimes, for example, in the Middle East. And Islam became a political factor in the region long before the events in Iran [11, p.5]. To a certain extent, according to B. Tibi, the turning point for the Arab East was 1967, which marked the beginning of a long crisis of stability for all political regimes in the region, which gave rise to skepticism and led, in particular, to the emergence of radical religious movements and trends [11, p. 9]. A characteristic feature of the fundamentalist movement gaining strength then, the researcher considers the fact that Islam attracted a significant number of intellectuals, scientific and theological circles. He notes that most of the activists and leaders of Islamic religious and political groupings have not a theological but a secular higher education. And in many respects, precisely because of their active efforts, the Islamic movement remains one of the most important destabilizing factors in the political situation in the Middle East [11, p.9].

Today Islam faces the pressure from the outside and reacts sharply to its involvement in the world political process. Without taking this fact into account, it is impossible to clearly imagine the prospects for its development. And now the political opposition uses religion as its mobilizing ideology.

The most accurate opinion according to B.Tibi is the opinion of the French scholar Georges Balandier, who said: "Religion can be an instrument of power, a guarantee of its stability, but religion can also be a tool for challenging the existing regime, when during the crisis, prophetic messianic movements call into question the existence of the ruling regimes and form an opposition to the authorities"[11, p.11].

Always religion and politics were, first of all, ideological systems that affect not only each other but also the behavior of the masses. Historical practice shows that representatives of various faiths successfully achieved their interests with the help of politicians, and politicians achieved their goals through religion. It also says that many radical religious movements and trends represent one of the factors influencing political relations. Religious ideas are used by them not only to justify political actions but also to mobilize the masses in other spheres. At the same time, political means are widely used to justify religious ideas and achieve religious goals [12, p. 19]. Religion can be an instrument of power, a guarantee of its stability, but religion under certain conditions can be an instrument for challenging the existing regime when in the period of socioeconomic and political crisis, Islamist movements call into question the existence of ruling regimes and form opposition to the authorities.

However, recognizing the possibility of politicization of religion, researchers asked the question: on what basis of conditions and factors is this process ultimately carried out? Answering it some thought that the process of filling Islam with a political component depends largely on both the internal and external situation that is formed in this or that country of the Muslim world. This process could be observed in the 1950s-1960s in Egypt, Indonesia, Syria, Iraq, where in those years there was a profound transformation of socio-economic and political life, ethnic, confessional and other contradictions of a disintegration nature were aggravated. In the 1970s this process has come to Pakistan, Iran, and other countries. Today, it is observed in Egypt, Tunisia, Iraq, Syria, Libya and other countries of the Middle East and North Africa. Religion can be an instrument of power, a guarantee of its stability, but religion under certain conditions can be a tool for challenging the existing regime, economic and political crisis, Islamist movements call into question the existence of ruling regimes and form an opposition to the authorities.

If during the "Westernization" of the Muslim world Islam was considered only a religion and an essential part of the Arab cultural heritage, from the late 1960s, the justification by Islam of the prospects for the future looked most promising already in the ideological sense. However, this tradition did not obscure practical problems. For example, it follows from the text of the National Charter of Algeria (adopted in November 1976) that although "Algerian socialism" is rooted in the historical past of the country and "is not an import system," its ideological basis is mainly socio-economic and political, rather than religious aspects "[13, p. 77].

Neither under the President of Algeria H.Boumédiène, nor during the reign of C. Benjedide, the role of Islam was not denied, both in the national liberation struggle and in the creation of a new socio-political system of the country. Speaking at a seminar on socio-economic development, C. Benjedide stressed that the new generation "must understand the outstanding role of Islam in the Algerian revolution. Islam will continue to be an important source of people's power "[13].

It is known that the initial steps for socio-economic development in many countries of the East on the basis of the proclamation of the slogan of modernization occurred due to the deterioration of the life of a huge mass of both urban and rural populations. The rebellion against such "modernization" required an appropriate political-ideological form that would meet the interests of the Muslim population and protect it from social inequality-improving living conditions. And the fact that Islam became this form is quite understandable. Moreover, the Quranic dictum "al-Adlasas al-hukm" (justice is the source of government) has firmly established itself in the minds of Muslim peoples. The cultural and religious tradition itself had, in one way or another, an opportunity to answer many questions. The clergy had only to fully revive these traditions and actualize the social aspect of Islam [14, p. 151].

Their theological interpretations of social processes claimed to replace the non-religious political and ideological concepts that formed in the current social thought. The Muslim order has no alternative. What it confronts is not a natural order, but a departure from it. That is why in Iran, unlike, for example, the Central Asian republics, the solution of many internal political problems was mainly based on the concept of "Muslim unity", rather than ethnic or other ideas. The idea of solidarity in the Iranian society based on Shiism remains unshakable, to this day. Another group of Ulemain many socio-political issues took a more moderate position. They believed that the modern Islamic state should be built on the basis of the laws of Islam at the same time saw the need to adopt the basic non-Islamic provisions in order to continue to influence the public life of the state.

Religion can be an instrument of power, a guarantee of its stability, but religion under certain conditions can be an instrument for challenging the existing regime when in the period of socioeconomic and political crisis, Islamist movements call into question the existence of ruling regimes and form opposition to the authorities.

One cannot imagine the prospect of solving the problem of radicalization of religious consciousness without an accurate assessment of the scale of the politicization of the religion itself of its movements and currents, their mass base and organization, the program and methods of action, its strength and weakness. Such an assessment is not of academic interest.

As I. Dobaev notes, despite the diversity of Islamism and the processes occurring in it, two main trends can be distinguished within its framework which differ from one another in the methods of activity: moderately radical and ultra-radical [15, p. 110]. In his view, such a classification "helps to develop the right approach when studying a particular grouping and to determine the appropriate attitude" [15, p. 110]. An important clarification is made by the author when he writes that "not all radical Islamic organizations can be unequivocally attributed to this or that wing since in many of them both components are present" [15, p. 110].

Characterizing modern political concepts in Islam Sh.A.Yevkochev divides them into the following groups:

- Islamic modernism, according to which Muslim states should be built not on the principles of religion, but on the basis of the common language, territory, ethnic features;

-Islamic fundamentalism - the concept is built on specific features of Islam, without division into secular and spiritual principles, and the way of life of the individual and community is regulated by a set of Islamic laws;

- the concepts of the exact science of the "third way" are in the idea of an "Islamic way of development", as the only acceptable for Muslim countries. On its basis, in due time the concepts of the "Islamic state", "Islamic government", "Islamic economy", "Islamic socialism" were created. A number of concepts presuppose the embodiment in modern conditions of the "Islamic model" of the political

organization of society, where the secular and spiritual power would be combined, the fair distribution of public goods and economy according to the Sharia[16, p. 18].

It should be noted that many foreign Islamists, recognizing the validity of modern political concepts, at the same time drew attention to the very assessment of the essence of the Islamic state. Religious and political groups, in the opinion of the Pakistani scientist I. Ahmed, assessed the essence of the Islamic state in different ways. In this process, he singles out several views. Let us distinguish two of them: 1) a sacred state, excluding the human will; 2) a sacred state recognizing the human will. The first presentation of I. Ahmed divides into two main positions: a) absolutist, aimed at the revival of traditional Islam. Its supporters believe that all social and political laws were developed during the time of the Prophet Muhammad's life. The construction of the state should be based on the Quran as the creation of Allah and the Sharia as a system of Islamic law. They cannot be changed and supplemented; b) fundamentalist, aimed at a more flexible interpretation of Islamic laws. Adherents of this position are guided by the Quran and Sunnah but believe that not all forms of socio-political life that existed under the Prophet should be used in modern life [17, p. 27]. Supporters of the second view believe that the basis of the Islamic state should be both democratic principles and traditional Islamic ones. I. Ahmed distinguishes four versions of this approach: a) moderate theocratic, aimed at cooperation with modernists; b) radical theocratic, restricting tradition and opposing the rigid interpretation of Islamic laws; c) a moderate approach based on the idea of coexistence of theocracy and secularism. His supporters recognize the correctness of Islamic laws, advocate the construction of an Islamic state on the principles of a "socialist republic"; d) a radical approach, advocating a combination of theocracy and secularism. The bottom line is that if the Supreme is the basis of sovereignty, then the people elected by the people should be recognized as a means of translating into practice Islamic laws [17, p. 39].

In his article "Sharia and positive law: is it possible and viable for an Islamic state?" an American professor Abdullahi Ahmed al-Na'im writes: "I oppose the introduction of the Sharia by the state, but not personally subordination to the requirements of its faith. Undoubtedly, people can strengthen religious or moral values through the work of non-governmental organizations and other forms of civil society activity "[18, p. 189].

The most common is the triple division of socio-political thought in the countries of Islam in such areas as fundamentalism - modernism - secularism. The last direction some authors seem to take out of the framework of Islam, but it must be taken into account that basically all Muslim countries are not completely secularized. For example, L.R. Polonskaya divides all the ideological trends and trends in Islam into two main types: "First, traditionalist currents, opposing any innovations, for the preservation of an intact medieval Islamic religious system. Secondly, the currents of the reformatory type, allowing changes to this system, a new interpretation of dogmas relating to political, legal, social problems and regulation of economic life, and the development of a new model of development based on the principles of Islam "[19, p. 8].

The new methodology applied by foreign orientalists in comparative analysis helped to clarify many specific historical features of religion in Eastern societies but made it difficult to construct general models for the development of religious processes in the countries of the East and Central Asia. Finally, the result of another attempt was the concept of a "formational region". The approach of its authors is certainly fruitful from a methodological point of view, in any case, for the purposes set by the author of this work.

Summing up, I would like to highlight the following. In the course of discussion by foreign scholars of the problems of "politics and religion", three theoretical concepts have emerged and were approbated, to one degree or another, the "rigid", "interpenetrating" and "organic" combination of political and religious. The first two concepts, despite the considerable differences, are united by the fact that they view politics and religion as two isolated systems with their own distinctive specific features. Undoubtedly, the supporters of the "interpenetrating" form of interaction between politics and religion have moved away from their sharp opposition, but in their interpretations of politics and religion nothing has changed yet. Analysis of the development by foreign scholars of Islam in the second half of the 20th centuryof the

problem of the correlation of political and religious in Islam allows us to speak about their significant contribution to the realization of this pressing, multifaceted and extremely complex problem. Active scientific search, undertaken by scientific thought is far from its completion. However, the results achieved must be comprehended and mastered.

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З.Г. Джалилов, Б.Ш.Батырхан

Институт востоковедения им.Р.Б. Сулейменова Комитета науки
Министерства образования и науки Республики Казахстан

ТЕОРЕТИЧЕСКИЙ ДИСКУРС ОБ ИСЛАМЕ И ПОЛИТИКЕ ЗАРУБЕЖНЫМИ ИСЛАМОВЕДАМИ ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЫ XX В.

Аннотация. В данной статье автор предпринял попытку проанализировать некоторые теоретические концепции зарубежных исследователей по проблеме соотношения религиозного и политического в исламской религии, а также рассмотреть характер использования религии в политических целях. Задачей настоящей статьи состоит в том, чтобы попытаться связать рассматриваемую проблему с более широким кругом вопросов общественно-политического развития, в частности показать реальность построения исламского государства в современных условиях. Акцент делается на той важной роли, которую зарубежные исламоведы сыграли в изучении процесса политизации религии, построенной на новых методологических принципах взаимосвязи светскости и религиозности. В этом и состоит актуальный политический смысл работ зарубежных авторов. Следует отметить, что подходы западных исламоведов к раскрытию проблемы не были узкими, политически прямолинейными. В них проступало стремление к критическому анализу. И на

современном этапе изучение проблемы политики и религии остается актуальной. Сегодня на первый план выдвигаются задачи обновления казахстанского общества, развития не только экономики, но и политической системы, возрождения традиционной религии. И поэтому важно заново проанализировать теории и концепции зарубежных исследователей, которые помогут ныне понять место и роль ислама в современных политических процессах. При этом следует отметить, что хотя за время, истекшее после глобальных и региональных проблем XX в., современное общество сильно изменилось, многие концепции и теории, разработанные зарубежными исламоведами в тот период, сохраняют свое значение и ныне.

Ключевые слова: политика, ислам, отношения, теоретические концепции, идеология.

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З.Г. Джалилов, Б.Ш. Батырхан

ҚР Ғылым және білім министрлігі Ғылым комитеті
Р.Б. Сүлейменов атындағы Шығыстану институты

XX ғ. ЕКІНШІ ЖАРТЫСЫНДАҒЫ ШЕТЕЛДІК ИСЛАМТАНУШЫЛАРДЫҢ ИСЛАМ ЖӘНЕ САЯСАТ ТУРАЛЫ ТЕОРИЯЛЫҚ ДИСКУРСЫ

Аннотация. Мақалада шетелдік зерттеушілердің ислам дініндегі дін және саясат арақатынасы мәселесінің кейбір теориялық тұжырымдарына талдау жасалып, сонымен қатар, дінді саяси мақсатта қолданудың сипатын қарастырылады. Бұл мақаланың мақсаты – қоғамдық-саяси даму, атап айтқанда, қазіргі жағдайда ислам мемлекетін құрудың іске асатындығын көрсетіп, оны осы мәселелердің кең ауқымымен байланыстыруға тырысу. Зайырлық пен діншілдіктің өзара байланысының жаңа әдіснамалық қағидаттарына негізделген діннің саясаттануы үдерісін зерделеуде шетелдік дінтанушылар рөлінің маңыздылығы атап өтіледі. Шетел авторлары жұмыстарының өзекті саяси мәні де осында. Мәселенің басын ашуда батыс дінтанушыларының қолданған тәсіл аясы тар емес, саяси тұрғыдан турашыл болғандығын атап өткен жөн. Олардың сыни талдауға талпынысы бар. Қазіргі кезеңде саясат пен дін проблемаларын зерделеудің өзектілігі артып отыр. Қазақстан қоғамының жаңару жағдайында тек экономика ғана емес, сондай-ақ, саяси жүйенің, дәстүрлі діннің жандану мәселелері алға шығады. Сондықтан, қазіргі саяси үдерістерде исламның алатын орны мен атқаратын рөлін ұғынуға жәрдемдесетін шетелдік зерттеушілердің теориялары мен тұжырымдамаларын қайта талдаудың маңызы бар. XX ғасырдағы жаһандық және аймақтық оқиғалар болғалы уақыт өтіп, замануи қоғам сипаты қатты өзгерсе де, сонау кездегі шетел дінтанушыларының көптеген тұжырымдамалары мен теорияларының маңызы бүгінде де сақталып келеді.

Түйін сөздер: саясат, ислам, қарым-қатынас, теориялық тұжырымдама, идеология.

Information about authors:

Djalilov Z.G. - R.B.Suleimenov Institute of Oriental Studies, chief researcher, doctor of historical sciences. E-mail:zaur 1952@ mail. Ru;

Batyrkhan B. Sh. - scientific secretary of the Institute of Oriental Studies named after R.Suleimenov, e-mail: bolatkazakh@gmail.com

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