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ALLAH'S POLITICAL SOVEREIGNTY, AS 'IMAGINED' BY FUNDAMENTALIST MUSLIMS, AND ITS ROLE IN DISAPPROVING SECULARISM IN THE ARAB WORLD

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ABSTRACT: This article's central theme is to expose the 'views' of fundamentalist Muslims and radical Ulema about secularism; which is the separation between religion and state affairs. Fundamentalists and Ulema have been using many internet websites and forums to oppose Arab governments and liberals' endeavors for secularization. Fundamentalists introduced what they call "Islamic alternative" which insist on fusing religion and state affairs. Through their intellectual discourse, the fundamentalists distorted secularism in the collective consciousness of Arab societies, and have created a psychological complex rooted in the subconscious and internal thinking that secularism is jahiliyyah (ignorance), kufir (unbelief/infidelity), Rida (apostasy) and iilhad (atheism). This fact is of great importance in the present history when the influence of Islamic extremism; that producing terrorism, is increasing throughout the world. This study focuses on the internet, websites, and forums run by fundamentalist groups and individuals, since these sites became more influential than books, because of its easy availability and lower costs.

KEYWORDS: Secularism, Islam, Arab, Fundamentalism, Religion, Ulema.

INTRODUCTION

It seems today that the acceptance of secularism within the Arab world is extremely far away; this is because of the campaigns against secularism led by Muslim fundamentalists. In the last 10 years, those hardliners have been able to use internet Web sites to intensify their campaigns to prevent Arab governments and Arab liberals' attempts to secularize Arab countries and societies.

The word "secularism" (as an Arab thinker, Hashem Saleh, point out) is something that looks like a scary thing not only for the general public but also for a significant section of Arab intellectuals (Saleh, 2012). The reason is that secularism in the Arab Muslims collective consciousness became identical with atheism. When we say we want a secular state as if we say we want an atheist state!

Saleh (2012) asks why the secular or civil state seems impossible in the foreseeable future. He answers because the battle between modern ideas, (which insist on secular state that ruled by politicians and governed by civil laws), and fundamentalist ideas, (which insist on Islamic state ruled by Allah and governed by His divine law (sharia)), has not yet been resolved, or is it almost entirely resolved in favor of fundamentalist ideas that are pervasive among the masses. The most obvious proof of this is the sweep of fundamentalists in all free elections in most Islamic countries: Yes, fundamentalist ideology has a huge historical legitimacy that no one has dared to question yet, let alone dismantle and explain its history and proportionality. Who can dismantle the sanctities of the people?

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Fundamentalists, through their many websites, made many Arab Muslims not to differentiate or distinguish between secularism as a way of tolerance and peaceful coexistence, and the ideological and intellectual position of rejecting or accepting religion (any religion) (Shboul, 2017, p. 9).

In their view, secularism is not a sweeping historical phenomenon, and some argue that the process of transferring and applying secular ideas in the Muslim world takes place through a global conspiracy called (crusade), (Jewish) or (Western)! (Shboul, 2017, p. 8; Baho, 2016).

Therefore, governments and intellectual elites in the Arab world found it difficult to proceed with their secularization process, because of the media demonization exercised on the concept of secularism by influential internet websites. bin Jibreen, (2008) present secularism as an atheistic ideology that does not weigh ethics, values, and principles.

Instead, the Fundamentalist produces a different political theory of state and government. Their theory focuses on a form of a state where Allah (God) is the only sovereign and supreme ruler; He forms the government, make laws, and absolute Judge, He determines the state's policies (internal and external). The fundamentalist call such a state "Islamic state".

Fundamentalist's "Islamic state" cannot accept the cultural, ethnic and ideological diversity that characterizes modern societies, nor does it believe in equality among citizens of a state because they do not consider 'citizenship' to be the basis of national affiliation (Shboul, 2017, p. 8; bin Ahmed, 2015).

The fundamentalists support their ideas and visions by citing many Qura'nic verses and prophetic traditions, and extracts from the biography of Prophet Muhammad and the caliphs who came after him; they, intentionally, interpreted them in a way that suits their ideology. They strongly reject the views that speak of the rule of secular democracy and use Takfeer (condemnation of being an unbeliever [infidel]) as a weapon against anyone who opposes their ideology.

This study traced many influential fundamentalist's websites on the Internet and learned how they explain their (imaginary) state, and on the other side, how they view secularism. These sites have a great influence on the formation of Arab Muslims ideas, particularly the youth who use internet intensively.

Significance of the Study

Hopefully, the results from the present study will have implications towards achieving the intended targets, most importantly for scholars interested in studying, in-depth, the phenomenon of Islamic fundamentalism and terrorism. The present study, on the other hand, could be beneficial for policy makers of states and governments that endeavor to combat Islamic radicalism and terrorism intellectually.

Methodology of the study:

This study focuses on the internet, websites run by fundamentalist groups and individuals, since these sites became more influential than books or other similar materials, because of its easy available and lower costs. These websites have a great influence on the formation of Arab Muslims ideas, particularly the youth who use internet intensively.

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The study follows the descriptive analytical approach by reviewing and analyzing the intellectual discourses produced by these websites that have been running by radical Muslims groups and individuals since five years continuously. Therefore, these sites became the original sources of the research. This study is novel, because it's one of the first to use internet websites as its original sources.

Previous studies:

The researcher did not find a specialized study based on scientific objective of the subject. All that found was press articles exposed to the subject from specific angles, not comprehensive, so this study came in order to provide a comprehensive view of the subject according to scientific research bases.

Allah's Political Sovereignty

Political sovereignty means the source of power. In Islam, as manipulated by Fundamentalists, Allah is the source of all powers and laws. There is no individual or institution, or even the whole of humanity, can claim any political sovereignty over a state. Sovereignty belongs to Allah alone, and the Islamic law (Shari'a) is the embodiment of Allah's sovereignty (AL-SOMOOD, 2015).

For fundamentalist Muslims, Allah alone has the authority to make laws for all the affairs of men. He is the absolute Judge and the Legislator Who distinguishes right from wrong. His law—Shari'a—must be practiced as the law of the land (islamway.net, 2015).

Islam, as the fundamentalists insist, is a comprehensive system that includes worship (ibadah) and politics (siasa). Prophet Muhammad was a messenger of Allah and politician at the same time. He received divine revelation from Allah and taught them to people, and was state-builder and head of state. This overlapping of religious and political functions was ordered by Allah Himself (Bayanelislam.net. n.d; BALDF.NET, 2010 & islamway.net, 2015).

Fundamentalist Muslims believe that Allah is not only the Creator and Sustainer of the universe, but also its Governor and Controller. Nothing happens without His will and His awareness. Allah takes account of every single thing that He is omnipotent and omniscient. Not only the physical world who inevitably submits to God's laws (natural laws); human beings must also submit to their Lord's teaching. In that capacity, Allah revealed His final divine guidance [Islam] to humanity through His messenger (Muhammad), made certain things permissible (halal) and others prohibited (haram): Thus-and-so people must do, thus-and-so they must not do, this is right; that is wrong, and commanded people to observe His instructions and judge according to them. If they do not do so, then they commit kufr, transgression (binbaz.org, n.d; Center of Fatwa, 2011). Therefore, the acceptance of secularism means rejection of Allah's dictum and abandonment of His divine guidance.

For example; The Qur'an says, "[As for] the thief, the male, and the female, amputate their hands in recompense for what they committed as a deterrent [punishment] from Allah. And Allah is Exalted in Might and Wise" (Qur'an, Al-Ma'idah: 38).

According to fundamentalist interpretation, this order is unchangeable by any parliament or any government which claims to be Islamic. Not only this law, the rest of the Shari'a law must be put into practice by an Islamic state for the greater good of the people.

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They argue that 'Islamic Shari'a' is an all-encompassing program, it does not only refer to a collection of beliefs and rituals, but it guides Muslims through every detail of running a state. In another sense, Islam does not only teach how to pray (Salah), observe fasting (Sawm), pay Zakah money, and undertake pilgrimage (Hajj), but it also teaches how to run a state, form a government, and make policies (internal and external) (islamway.net, 2015).

Supreme sovereignty and absolute authority over the state is vested with Allah, The state derives its legitimacy through its commitment to the Shari'a and its implementation, a dispute over that is Kufr and misguidance (islamQA.info, 2000). Therefore, Muslims (according to the fundamentalist logic) have no choice but to reject secularism for it demands people to replace Allah -given laws (Shari'a) with an entirely different set of man-made laws.

There is no obedience except for Allah, and for those who act according to His command and His laws. The sovereignty over the conscience of the people and their behavior is to God alone by virtue of Islamic faith. Hence, the laws and rules of creation, and the systems of society, economy and politics originated from Allah. This is the meaning of faith in Allah (Ahmed, 2011; Yousef, 2016).

As for man, he is subordinate to the supreme ruler (Allah). The task of man is to apply the law of the supreme ruler in everything and to administer the political system according to His provisions.

Formation of True Society

The primary act of Muslims, as debated by the fundamentalists, is to strive to implement Allah's Shari'a in both private and public life in order to create a "true" society.

Islamic philosophy, as presented by the fundamentalists, distinguishes between two types of society: the `natural' and the `true'; the natural society is one that evolved by men for their own purposes and in ignorance of Allah's divine guidance (jahiliyyah). In such a society, social solidarity is based on natural relationships (asabiyya) and political power is created by the human process, controlled by human calculations, and directed towards worldly goals. Such a society, however, cannot be free from all types of ills (twhed.com, 2012; midad.com, 2007).

It is precisely for this purpose that Allah has revealed Islam to mankind so that the 'true' society could be established and maintained, a society that is free of all types of ills. In this context, political action must have the execution of Allah's will and consequently political power is essentially a delegation by Him (Wilaya), controlled by His commandment and directed to the happiness of human beings in this life and hereafter. The change will only be for the worse, and the worse will be cruel; not creating something new but renewing (jahiliyyah) (twhed.com, 2012; midad.com, 2007).

In the pre-westernized world, the Islamic Umma (community) lived a glorious history when it was ruled by Shari'a; it was happy and blessed, and its sun shone on humanity (Al-Suyooti, 2015; binbaz.org.sa, n.d).

Fundamentalists view that the more the nation clings to the divine rule, the stronger the nation becomes, the greater its victories, and the higher its status among the nations. The authors of this opinion cite Islamic history and suggest: it is no surprise that the Arabs, after adopting Islam, in the seventh century, succeeded in defeating superpower empires of the time, like the Persian and the Roman empires (alimam.ws, n.d; alminbar.net, n.d).

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In the post-westernized world, a new group of Muslim; lost their way, deviated from Islam, and threw themselves in the arms of the (infidel West) or the (atheist East), they came to us by heresy: They say (Islam is a religion, not a state)! They insist that Islam should not have a state; speak in its name, raise its flag in the land, apply its provisions- Shari'a- and communicate its message to the world, and defend its land and umma against invaders and aggressors_(Helmy, 2016; bin Ahmed, 2015).

Secularism is infidelity and atheism

The dominant factor in the Arab-Islamic culture today is that secularism itself is infidelity and atheism, or a direct path to this end; scholars and thinkers of fundamentalist Islam say so. Over time, this idea prevailed and rooted in the deep thinking of many Muslims^{1.}

"In a statement No. 99 issued by the Council of the Islamic Fiqh Academy of the Organization of the Islamic Conference at its eleventh session in Manama, Kingdom of Bahrain, from 14 to 19 November 1998, under the title: "infidelity of secularism and its people"; the statement reads: After studying the research papers presented to the Council on the subject of "secularism"; and in the light of the discussions that drew attention to the seriousness of this issue to the Islamic Umma, the Council decided that:

"Secularism is a materialistic system based on atheism that contradicts Islam in its entirety and details. It meets with world Zionism, pornography, and tyranny. Therefore, it is an atheist doctrine that Allah, His Messenger, and the believers reject". And "Islam is a religion, a state and an integrated way of life, which is good for all times and places. Islam does not recognize the separation of religion from life. Rather, it requires all rulings to be issued according to the Islamic Shari'a, whether in politics, economy, or media and others" (Council of the Islamic Fiqh Academy1998; Al Hosn Network 2016).

Those who believe that Islamic law is not suitable for matters of the world, or that it was valid for a period of time, then the time changed, or that Islam is incompatible with civilization and leads to backwardness is an infidel and apostate of Islam, even if he claimed to be a Muslim (Center of Fatwa, 1999). The fundamentalists call for a revolution to destroy the human kingdom and abolish its human laws; to establish the kingdom of God on earth so that the divine law (Shari'a) prevails.

Any head of a Muslim state or government that is not governing by Islamic law (Shari'a) must be removed, and his obedience is forbidden because he is a disbeliever in Allah and he must be killed. Therefore, it is imperative for Muslims, through jihad, to remove regimes and governments that are governed by human whims (secularism) (islamancient.com, 2014). Governing by what Allah has revealed leads to the goodness of the people in this life and hereafter while governing by human-made ideologies and laws leads to the perversity of the society and torment in the Hereafter_(bin Samail, n.d). There is no doubt that whoever rejects the book of Allah (the Quran) and the Sunnah of His Messenger and substituting them with secular laws, is a disbeliever in Islam (AJURRY.COM, 2008).

This view allows fundamentalists to call for fighting any political, philosophical or humanitarian system that does not recognize the political sovereignty of Allah and the application of His Shari'a.

It's important we know that condemning a Muslim of being apostate [infidel]; means transferring him from belief in Islam to disbelief. This is followed by great Shari'a rulings of

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punishment, the most important of them, according to the fundamentalist understanding, are: the shedding of his blood and confiscation of his money (islamQA.info, 2002; Center of Fatwa, 2006; Bayanelislam.net, n.d.).

The fundamentalists divide human beings into two approaches: the first is God's approach; the followers of that approach are the party of Allah. The second is the 'secular'; the followers of that approach are the party of Satan. The first group is the upright group (true society); the second is the non-righteous group (natural society) or the infidel society.

According to this strict reading, the infidel society is any society that is not based on Islamic Shari'a in its structure, laws, intellect, economy, and political, social and cultural orientations (ISLAMSTORY.COM, 2011).

In a state that based on human (secular) governance; people take their own affairs, choose their lifestyle, and legislates for themselves according to their desires and whims, this state is a source of evil and vice (djelfa.info, 2011). If left to his own devices, man always descends to a lower level. Adhering to the Shari'a precepts lifts humans to a higher moral plane (twhed.com, 2011).

So, the association with any human-made law or the adoption of any political system that does not govern according to Islamic Shari'a is regarded by the followers of the fundamentalist movement as infidelity (alqayim.net, 1437 h).

Therefore, they declared that jihad must be brought down to overthrow the infidel regimes that rule without what Allah has revealed. Secular regimes, whether social or democratic or otherwise, are invented by human beings and may not be adopted, and whoever does so is an apostate from Islam, and fighting him is imperative for Muslims until he rules by what Allah has revealed_(al masri, n.d; al-Damiri, 2014).

Thus we understand how the fundamentalists condemning states and societies as an infidel. Their criterion of governance is not the composition of the population, but the application of the law of Allah. The country where Shari'a is not applied is described as "Dar al-Kufr" (house of infidelity)² even if the vast majority of its population is Muslim (al-Uthaymeen, n.d).

Rejecting Modernity

Fundamentalist Muslims reject all the ideas that advocate secular democracy and civil state.

There is no discussion allowed regarding the legitimacy of Allah's government.

Extremist Muslim theologians believe that the application of the rule of Allah is a major requirement of the Islamic religion. It is one of the most important pillars of Islam; any challenge to this will undermine the foundation of Islam (Islam Online, 2017).

Modern countries are proud that they are committed to the rule of law and adhere to the Constitution. The Islamic state is committed to the law of Allah (Sharia), and does not depart from it; a law that the state, the nation did not legislate, but imposed by the higher authority. Allah's sharia cannot be cancelled or freeze, unless the state or the nation is no longer a Muslim (Al Otaibi, 2011).

The system of democracy is based on a central idea that the 'nation' is the source of authority; the three powers on which the state is based: legislative, judicial and executive.

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Democracy means that the will of the nation is the origin of sovereignty and its source of government". In the Islamic discourse, no individual, family, class or party, or the rest of the inhabitants of the state, has a share of governance; the only true supreme ruler is Allah (God), and the real authority is only in Allah's own power, and those under him in this world are subjects of his great power. No one other than Allah has anything to do with legislation, and all Muslims cannot enact a single law, nor can they change anything that Allah has prescribed for them (djelfa.info, 2011).

As for sovereignty, it should not be for the people or the nation as it is in modern democracies. Rather, it must be subject to the sovereignty of Allah through the application of His Shari'a. Hence, the supreme sovereignty in the Islamic state must be to sharia of Allah alone. Shari'a is the only supreme binding law, system and ideology (Al Ajlan, n.d).

Vesting sovereignty to the nation gives it the freedom to adopt whatever laws it wants, this contravenes Allah's strict command that the provisions of shari'a must be obeyed. In an Islamic state, nation is not sovereign, it cannot, by its will, establish a binding law or decide something beyond the scope of sharia (twhed.com, 2011).

The modern secular democratic system is not accepted by the fundamentalists as a substitute for the literal application of the divine command of the Qur'an and the Hadith. They regard its acceptance an infidelity and departure from the whole religion of Islam (almoslim.net, n.d). The attack is fierce on those who advocate the application of Western theories, values and ideologies.

The call for adopting secular democracy and modern civil laws is considered a revolt against Allah and his messenger and meant to deprive Muslims the right to be governed by Allah and to submit to His commands. Is it not God's right to rule His creatures? Secularists deny Him this right (Abdelghani, 2015).

Therefore, it's noticeable that there is an ideological rejection of a modern state and obvious denial of people's right of sovereignty in their own state and their right to administer it and conducting its affairs.

Muslim fundamentalists insist on imposing the so-called "Islamic alternative". This alternative is the rule of Allah through fully subjugating to the Quran and Sunnah that embodied in the shari'a. It is the shari'a that must be the basis of administration, defining internal and external policies, and the way of life and living.

The teachings of Islam, as manipulated by fundamentalists (Salafists), have confirmed that political sovereignty belongs to Allah alone, not to the people. The state in Islam does not derive its legitimacy from the nation but from Allah. The belief in God's political sovereignty over the state made it imperative to abandon the methods of all modern forms of government.

DISCUSSION

Despite the threats against the modernist Muslims, (secularists and the advocates of reason) by condemning them of being infidels, they challenged the fundamentalist's theory of Allah's political sovereignty as invented by extremist's men of the religion themselves. They argue that: Shari'a is not divine, but human. The application of the rule of Allah is in the hands of the

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clergy, who are human beings, and ultimately fallible, and subject to their whims and influences.

The rule of God, in the final analysis, requires recourse to religious texts, and these texts need human understanding and interpretation to disclose their meaning and significance. According to the religious discourse, presented by fundamentalists Muslims, the only authority capable of carrying out this task with absolute objectivity, is the authority of the clergy, (Council of Muslim Ulama, Department of Ifta or self appointed Ulama or muftis ...) that is, the rule of God (Allah), actually, turns into the rule of the clergy. In the end, they are human beings, with their biases and ideological illusions.

Indeed, the rule of Allah was interrupted by the death of Prophet Muhammad. The Prophet received the divine command through revelation. Now, there is no prophet to receive the command of Allah represented in the verses of the Quran (the divine word of Allah). The government of Allah means that; Allah rules directly through revelation to His Prophet, who then applies them to the Muslim community. In this government Allah is the only ruler, whether it is a direct rule: through the revelation (Quran), or indirectly through the endorsement of what the Prophet ordered (Hadith and Sunnah).

Thus, the rule of God is clear and direct, and the Prophet was only implementing the will of Allah (...) this government requires the presence of a Messenger or a Prophet, and only where there is a revelation continues. In this sense, Prophet Muhammad was the director of the government of Allah, with his death, this government ended. Hence, the government of the people began; Muslims have the right to rely on laws they initiate by themselves for conducting their affairs.

In the current history, most Arab countries are experiencing civil wars; in terms of religious and sectarian fights for power. Such events have confirmed that the Arabs are in dire need for secular 'political culture' that rejects the interference of 'religion' in the affairs and administration of the state. The culture should be conducive to establishing secular states that deals with people on the basis of "citizenship" regardless of their religious or sectarian affiliations.

'Secular state' is based on a social contract, citizenship, and freedom, its source of legislation is parliament and legislators are parliamentarians. In such a state, there is no penalty for atheism or change of religion, meanwhile, there are no barriers to beliefs in religions (any religion), and practicing religious rituals.

The issue of separating religion from state affairs has been accepted by 'contemporary political thought' as a necessity for any country and society aspiring to reach advanced levels of development, modernity, stability and national unity.

European history, in this context, teaches that liberating religion from fundamentalist understanding is a prerequisite for advancement, evolution, and modernity. Fundamentalist understanding of religion stands as an obstacle to man creativity and development and refuses tolerance and coexistence, also, has a solid position in opposing freedom of all kinds (Shboul, 2017, p. 10).

The state that separates religion from its affairs is "religiously neutral": does not commit itself to any religion, rather, it leaves it to the citizens to choose whatever beliefs and values they want to adhere to.

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CONCLUSION

In the light of the present bloody fighting, in the Arab countries, between religious sects, religious vs. secular, and moderate vs. extremist, the researcher see that the application of secular model, with only an ethical role for religion in public life, is a new ship to save the Arab world from the current state of affairs; because Secularism is necessary for the coexistence of faith and atheism and for the coexistence of religions and religious sects with one another.

Most of the people of the world have made their choice of establishing secular states. But, due to fundamentalist's discourse, which become more popular and influential, particularly, in the last decade, through using advanced and influential means like internet websites, to scare Arab Muslims of secularism, as explained above, the Arab peoples and governments have not yet been able to make their options towards establishing civil states.

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Notes:

1 - Many fatwas have been issued by Muslim's prominent ulama (scholars) that secularism is infidelity and atheism, and secularists are apostates from Islam. Those ulama: including Sheikh Muhammad bin Ibrahim, the former Mufti of Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Abdulaziz bin Baz, Shaykh Muhammad Ibn Saleh al-'Uthaymeen, as well as many ulama from the al-Azhar university.

2- For the deeper meaning of Dar al-Islam' and Dar al-Kufr' listen to Muhammad Ibn Saalih al-Uthaymeen: was a Sunni scholar of Saudi Arabia who was considered "a giant within conservative Salafi Islam", died 2001. <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AuRufKEhNx8</u>

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