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THE FEATURES OF MODERNIZATION OF RELIGION AND STATE IN MIDDLE EAST

Defining the role of Islam in social development of Arab countries – extensive independent problem, which is important in modern life conditions. Arab-Muslim world with its long history and culture impregnated with complex and not balanced systems of co-operation of many factors: religious, political, economic, social, ethnic. The ambiguity and inconsistency of different development models in the Arab States was often confirmed by the practice of the last decades. Secularist tendencies, the penetration of Western ideas and values in the public life of Arab countries in the Middle East and North Africa combined with the increasing influence of traditional concepts, the revitalization of religious-political opposition in the countries of study region. The possibility of the dominance of certain political attitudes are largely determined not only by external influences, this category of “third world” countries, the domestic climate, but still powerful influence of the Muslim religion. Turn to Islam and the supporters of a secular way of development, insisting on the need to adapt religious observance to changing domestic and world situation. Islamization of various areas of social and political life, the relationship of religion with the political culture of the Arab and other Muslim countries was widely observed in previous periods of development, and in the last two decades.

Key words: political modernization, illiberal democracy, political religious parties.

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Қиыр Шығыстағы дін мен мемлекеттің модернизациялану ерекшеліктері

Араб мемлекеттерінің әлеуметтік дамуындағы исламның рөлі бүгінгі күнде өзінің өзектілігін жоғалтпай отырған тақырып болып тұр. Араб-мұсылман әлемі өзінің көптеген ғасырларға созылатын тарихы діни, саяси, экономикалық, әлеуметтік, этникалық және т.б. факторлардың күрделі қарым-қатынасымен байланысты. Араб мемлекеттерінің даму модельдерінің өртүрлілігі соңғы он жылдықтардағы тәжірибеден көруге болады. Секуляристік тенденциялар және батыстық идеялар мен құндылықтардың Таяу Шығыс пен Солтүстік Африка елдерінің өмір салтына араласуы дәстүрлі концепциялардың ықпалының күшеюімен және діни-саяси оппозициялардың белсендірілуіне әкеліп соқты. Қандай да бір саяси жүйенің басым болуы тек сыртқы факторлар мен сол мемлекет ішіндегі микроклиматтың ғана емес, сонымен қатар, ислам дінінің де ықпалы өте зор. Ал дамудың зайырлы жолын ұстанушылар, діни канондарды қазіргі сәтте өзгеріп жатқан ішкі және әлемдік ситуацияларға қолайлы етіп жасауға тырысуда. Әлеуметтік және саяси өмірдің әр түрлі сфераларының исламизациясы, сонымен қатар діннің араб және басқа да мұсылман елдеріндегі саяси ерекшеліктерімен қарым-қатынасы соңғы он жылдықтармен қатар, бүгінгі күннің өзінде де көрініп келе жатыр.

Түйін сөздер: саяси модернизация, шектелген демократия, саяси және діни партиялар.

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Особенности модернизации религии и государства на Ближнем Востоке

Определение роли ислама в социальном развитии арабских стран – обширная самостоятельная проблема, не утрачивающая значимости в условиях современности. Арабо-мусульманский мир с его многовековой историей и культурой до предела насыщен сложными

и не всегда сбалансированными системами взаимодействия многих факторов – религиозных, политических, экономических, социальных, этнических. Неоднозначность и противоречивость различных моделей развития арабских государств нередко подтверждались практикой последних десятилетий. Секуляристские тенденции, проникновение западных идей и ценностей в общественную жизнь арабских стран Ближнего Востока и Северной Африки сочетаются с усилением влияния традиционалистских концепций, активизацией деятельности религиозно-политической оппозиции в государствах исследуемого региона. Возможность доминирования тех или иных политических установок во многом определяется не только комплексом внешних воздействий на эту категорию стран «третьего мира», внутри государственным микроклиматом, но и по-прежнему мощным влиянием мусульманской религии. К исламу обращаются и сторонники светского пути развития, настаивая на необходимости приспособления религиозных канонов к меняющейся внутренней и мировой ситуации. Исламизация разных сфер социальной и политической жизни, взаимосвязь религии с особенностями политической культуры арабских и других мусульманских стран активно проявлялись как в предшествующие периоды развития, так и в течение последних двух десятилетий.

Ключевые слова: политическая модернизация, ограниченная демократия, политические и религиозные партии.

Introduction

As is known, the involvement of the Arab-Muslim world in the orbit of renewal reforms, during which the traditional system of society was violated, was largely determined by the factor of colonialism. But some countries were forced to pass the school of modernization in the status of legally sovereign states, others – in the status of colonies. To some borrowings from the

European experience connected with the creation of an army of a new type, the rationalization of the administrative system, the establishment of educational institutions, which were intended to train officer cadres and cadres of civil servants, since the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Resorted to the rulers of the Ottoman Empire. Attempts of similar modernization were made during the reign of Mehmet Ali in Egypt, which legally was then under the rule of the Turkish sultan.

Essential to the fate of the Arab countries was that even before the collapse of the colonial system, those proponents of orientation toward European achievements in the field of state and cultural construction, who substantiated the right of their peoples to sovereign development, were able to secure a decisive word. Thus, a powerful impetus was given to the formation of the “initial forms of the modern political process” in the Arab-Muslim world.

Main Part

The emergence of new nation-states and their encounter with the modern West led to other influential political and cultural events, which in turn contributed to the experience of modernity and modernism.

These experiences differ from country to country; however, we can give a brief account of modernity and modernism in this region by breaking it down into the Arab-speaking world, including Egypt, Iraq, Bilad Al-Sham (Syria, Lebanon, Palestine) and Maghreb (Morocco, Algeria, Tunisia, Libya) on one hand; and Iran and Turkey on the other. This period saw Middle Eastern intellectuals looking for native sources of progress and success, as opposed to the first period, which was characterized by a fascination with the West. In the third intellectual current, a strong desire for development opens the way for more liberal values, causing fundamental shifts in the political sphere. In this period, academics try to analyze their societies with the modern critical tools they have borrowed from Western disciplines.

The problem of compatibility of Islam with the ideas of modern democracy is complex and ambiguous. The opinions of researchers on this issue are very different, and sometimes even polar. However, two main approaches can be traced in the scientific literature. According to the first, Islamic democracy already exists, but it differs from Western democracy in a number of parameters. American political scientist F. Zakaria calls it an illiberal democracy. At the same time, as the events of recent years have shown, with regard to the current political process in the countries of North Africa and the Middle East, the phenomenon of illiberal democracy is manifested in the fact that the result of political modernization is the coming to power of anti-democratic forces. A number of other positions are held by a number of Islamic researchers.

According to A. Filali-Ansari, the modernization processes that swept the Islamic countries had an impact on Islam and contributed to its reform. The reform of Islam was designed to purify the

religious feelings and faith of Muslims. A new reformed Islam can and must deal with socio-political problems, thereby contributing to the political modernization of Islamic society as a whole. However, Islam should in no way be the only mechanism for reforming society.

R. Gannushi, a Tunisian political religious figure, formulated an interesting and significant idea: if democracy is understood as a liberal model of state structure prevailing in the West, then a system in which people freely choose their representatives and leaders, a system in which power alternates, and Also respected all freedoms and human rights, can not be called anti-Islamic. R. Gannushi is sure that Muslims can use democratic tools, since they do not contradict Islamic principles.

Many believe that Islam is the most conservative religion in the world, which does not recognize any changes that have befallen the human community since the time of the Prophet Muhammad. But in practice this was not exactly the case, as evidenced by the changes in these countries, which will be discussed further. The main reason for modernization is the desire of Muslim countries to narrow the gap in development levels with developed countries.

It is advisable to begin with the process of adapting the legal thought of Muslim countries to the realities of modernity. First, let us turn to the general concept of Muslim law. Law in these countries remains unchanged for many centuries, but in spite of this, in recent years, Muslim states have made serious legislative reforms, mainly concerning the expansion of democratic foundations in the political system, the protection of human rights.

An example of such changes is the holding of free democratic elections to legislative bodies that have been held in Yemen, Algeria, Jordan, Morocco, Kuwait and other countries over the past few years, mass educational reform, and the inclusion of relevant articles in the constitutions of most states, in which the common rights of citizens are guaranteed. But it should be noted that the views of researchers and citizens of Muslim countries on the issue of expanding democratic foundations in the political systems of the countries of the Middle and Middle East diverge: some believe that many principles of democracy can not fit into the legal system of Muslim countries, while others believe that Islam It can not be a ground for violating rights and corresponds to many principles of democracy.

In the domestic and foreign oriental studies, several groups are formed, formed as a result of disagreements over modernization in Muslim countries:

1. Traditionalists - stand for restriction of innovations, believe that Islam is the only determining force that supports the stability of society and forms the normative order and identity of culture;

2. Modernists. Adherence to the past is a sign of backwardness; they advocate a complete renewal of culture on the basis of borrowing Western philosophical doctrines of Western thought;

3. Synthesis of representatives of groups 1 and 2 is the most common direction. They advocate the synthesis of the values of the West and the traditional heritage;

4. The extreme traditionalists (fundamentalists) stubbornly resist innovations, rely on traditionalism in a narrow sense, as well as on identical religiosity;

But, despite the existing disagreements over modernization, it still takes place in Muslim countries and it will be fair to note the fact that modernization entails cardinal changes in all spheres of life of these countries - both positive and negative consequences, thus, a social regulator. In the framework of another approach, which is usually supported by European thinkers and a number of Islamic politicians, the idea of complete incompatibility of the ideas of democracy and Islam is affirmed. Thus, according to E. Gellner, the reasons for the incompatibility of Islamic and democratic values are rooted exclusively in the transcendental and political spheres. The problem lies in the fact that the basis of religion is faith, which is irrational in its essence. As for such a phenomenon as the transcendent, it can in no way be subjected to modernization.

F. Kedouri, an American researcher of political problems in the Arab countries, believes that the values of Islam and democracy are fundamentally incompatible and, moreover, deeply alien to the Muslim political tradition. A close-minded point of view is held by S. Nasr, a well-known Iranian philosopher. In his opinion, political modernization has weakened not only traditional Islamic institutions, but also the foundations of the original Islamic tradition. Modernization has become a reformation for Islam, it led to secularization, and then to a decline in the level of spirituality in the Islamic world. It should be noted that Muslims who have been living in countries of Western Europe for a long time also have different views on this problem. For example, representatives of the political elite of European Muslims believe that Islam does not oppose the ideas of liberalism. Moreover, Islam should be integrated into the liberal values system of Western Europe.

According to Islamic figures, modern Islam should be more flexible, which will help it adapt to

the ideas of Western democracy. It should be noted that in Germany, the compatibility of Islamic and democratic values is evidenced by the fact that the country registered the first Islamic party representing the interests of its electorate - Muslims. The second group of Muslims is small, Islamists who adhere to orthodox views and consider it necessary to create a caliphate in Western Europe.

In our opinion, a number of factors are a threat to the development of the ideas of liberalism in the Islamic milieu, which include the processes of self-identification that Muslims have on a confessional basis, and the fact that Islam is an important source of political mobilization. The processes of political modernization in the Islamic world were ambiguous and had the specifics of a particular country.

However, it is possible to single out one common feature of political modernization characteristic of the countries of the Islamic world that have embarked on the path of developing democracy. Political modernization as a transition to democracy was accompanied in the countries of the Middle East, North Africa, and in modern Russia in the early 90s of the last century by the active activities of political religious parties. Thus, political modernization became a factor in the politicization of religion and contributed to the emergence of the phenomenon of illiberal democracy. The peculiarity of political modernization in such Near Eastern countries as Turkey, Syria, Tunisia, Egypt was manifested in the fact that as a result of the Western "vaccination" of democracy this part of the Islamic world took the road of democratic reforms. As a result, the role and place of religion in the political sphere were partially limited.

At the beginning of the XXI century. Significant changes have taken place in the political system of Pakistan. In 2002, President P. Musharraf formed the "Pakistan Muslim League". The program of the party noted such an important aspect as the development of the ideas of democracy in Pakistan. In modern Pakistan, a democratic culture must develop, and the basic democratic values are expressed in the commitments and policies pursued by the Pakistan Muslim League. The party program notes that transformations in Pakistan are possible only if a stable democratic process is in place in the country, which in turn is related to the activities of democratic institutions in all spheres of national life. The leaders of the League have repeatedly stated that the strengthening of democratic values and human rights is the foundation of a just and pluralistic Pakistan. At the same time, it was noted that corruption is the obstacle to the development of the country and the cause

of poverty. "The Pakistan Muslim League" declared its main goal to combat large-scale corruption in the state, for this experts were asked to take under strict control the entire system of state organizations and institutions. Priority goal was declared and education, as it was the main in the construction of a new society.

In North Africa, in the Maghreb countries, political modernization had a significant impact on Islam and contributed to the secularization of society. So, in Tunisia, the result of modernization was a departure from the religious model of the state and the transition to a democratic one. The country adopted a democratic Constitution, the provisions of which did not differ in any way from the laws and regulations of a number of European states. In the 1980s, Tunisia adopted the "Civil Status Code", according to which polygamy was officially banned in the country, women received equal rights with men, including the right to divorce. More than 50% of women had the opportunity to study in universities. Women began to serve in the armed forces. As a result of social reforms, Sharia courts were banned, secular justice was established.

Then in the 90s of the 20th century, the growth of Islamic organizations and parties began in Tunisia. The Islamic party "An-Nahda" advocated the creation of an Islamic state. The government banned the activities of the party, and its leader R. Gannushi expelled from the country. It should be noted that in the 1990s, the Tunisian leadership managed to integrate part of the moderate Islamists into the state-political system: it suggested that prominent figures of the Islamic opposition join the Supreme Islamic Council and the Socio-Economic Council.

On the initiative of the President of Tunisia, the "National Pact" was signed, which stressed the belonging of Tunisia to the Islamic civilization, but at the same time all democratic reforms and the "Civil Status Code" were confirmed. For a long time, a multi-party system operated in Tunisia, led by the dominant secular party Constitutional Democratic Union, chaired by Tunisian President Zine El Abedin Ben Ali. It should be noted that in the Parliament of Tunisia, Islamic parties were not represented.

At the beginning of the XXI century. A wave of Arab revolutions swept across Tunisia. In 2010, President Zine al-Abeddin Ben Ali was deposed in the country, who was in power for 23 years. Political reform took place in the country: political prisoners were released and more than 100 political parties were allowed to operate. After twenty years of exile, R. Gannushi, leader of the Islamic fundamentalists' party An-Nahda, returned to the country. According to

the leaders of An-Nahda, one of the biggest mistakes of the Ben Ali regime was the exclusion of Islam from political life. After all, Islam is a set of values and a way of life, not just religion. "An-Nahda" became the first Islamic party in Tunisia, which formed the government. The Party's party statute notes that An-Nahda is a national Islamic party that operates within the framework of a democratic system.

Today, the political situation in Tunisia is somewhat similar to the situation in Turkey. In both countries, secular political parties were in power for a long time, and Islamic parties were in opposition. In Tunisia, Islamic parties were not adapted to democratic traditions, but in the light of recent revolutionary events, they are actively seeking to cooperate with secular political parties. A clear threat to "illiberal democratic" transformations in the country is represented by orthodox Salafis.

A similar situation has developed in Egypt. After the fall of the secularly oriented regime of H. Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood came to power, a movement that enjoyed great support from the country's middle class and had more than 700,000 members. As a result of the elections, M. Mursi, the political leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, came to power. In the parliamentary elections in 2012, a majority of votes (47%) were received by the Muslim Brotherhood, a coalition group of radical Salafis received a quarter of seats, while the remaining seats were divided among themselves by independent candidates and Christian Copts.

Under the new Constitution, Egypt was proclaimed a democratic state, but Sharia law began to determine the legal field of the country. As practice shows, over time, the long-standing radical Islamic organizations begin to gradually introduce democratic values into their political activities, but only after they begin to enter the state power structures. For the first time in the modern history of Egypt, a precedent was created - the president of the country was elected the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood M. Mursi. The peculiarity of

the internal political process in the country was that, along with moderate religious movements in Egypt, radical Islamic parties were active.

In the Egyptian parliament, there were violent political battles between the Muslim Brotherhood and the radical Nur party of Salafists. As H.M. Malik, the Nur salafist party actively opposed the creation of a secular democratic state in Egypt, the creation of which was actively supported by the Muslim Brotherhood movement.

Conclusion

The coming to power of Islamic parties of moderate and radical persuasion at the beginning of the XXI century marked new tendencies of political modernization in the Islamic world. First, religious parties attempted to create a coalition government, which included both secular and religious parties. Secondly, the result of political modernization is the alternate dominance in the domestic political process of moderate, democratic Islamic parties, then radical Islamic parties. The third trend is the active political confrontation between religious and secular parties and the striving of religious parties for total domination. Surveys conducted in the countries of the Middle East showed that most of the Muslim community is positive about the participation of religious parties in politics. For example, in Pakistan 46%, in Egypt, 48% of Muslims believe that Islam plays a big role in the political life of the country.

Most Muslims are positive about the democratic form of government, believing that it is preferable to any other. This view is especially prevalent in Lebanon and Turkey, where 81% and 76% of Muslims prefer the democratic parties. Support for democratic parties is less common in Pakistan. Only 42% of Muslims in Pakistan prefer democracy. 15% of Pakistani Muslims believe that in some cases an undemocratic government may be preferable to a democratic one.

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