CenRaPS Journal of Social Sciences

FROM JAMAL UDDIN AFGHANI TO RACHID AL-GHANNOUCHI; THE APPROACHES OF CONTEMPORARY MUSLIM INTELLECTUALS TO THE CONCEPT OF STATE[1]

HAFIJUR RAHMAN*

***PhD Candidate, Gazi University, Turkey.**

Email: hafijdu@gmail.com

Abstract:

This research addresses the approaches of contemporary Muslim more specifically Islamist intellectuals to the concept of the state. To analyze their approaches, this paper will discuss all of the three stages of Modern Islamic political thought, namely; Pan Islamism, Islamism and, Post-Islamism. Within this three stages which are referred the time frame of developing Modern Islamic Political Thought, this paper will address the concept of state in the thought of Jamal Uddin Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, Rashid Rida, Abul Al'a Maududi, Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Malik Bennabi, Hassan al-Turabi, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, and Rachid al-Ghannouchi. The aim of this paper is to analyze the concept of the state of mentioned intellectuals based on two important research questions; firstly, what was the main perspective of their thought and secondly, what was their stand to accept the concept of Modern state. This research is a qualitative form of research based on primary and secondary data. Primary data will be collected from the literature of mentioned intellectuals and secondary data will be collected from the literature which is written by others on their thought. To collect both types of data, this research used books, articles, websites, and libraries. It is hoped that this research will contribute significantly to Academia by analyzing their approaches to the concept of the state.

---

[1] This paper is partially part of the author's Doctoral thesis under the title, "The concept of state in Modern Islamic Political Thought; Yusuf al-Qaradawi and Rachid al-Ghannouchi's perception of Islamic State.

1. Introduction:

Caliphate, Imamate and Islamic state are the three important terms which are more common in Academia to understand the Muslim approach to the state. In Modern time, there is an extensive debate regarding the concept of the state, especially in Sunni political thought. The terms of Modern state such as nation-state, democracy, pluralism, and secularism are till now debatable issue among Muslim intellectuals. After the fall of Ottoman which was regarded as the central authority of Muslims, this debate has become more crucial. Several Islamist intellectuals are in the opinion of the caliphate is the only form of government in Islam, and the Islamic state is an alternative of the caliphate in Modern time. This group of intellectual generally is in the opinion of rejecting the terms of Modern state. In opposite to this, some intellectuals especially the secularists are in the opinion of noting in Islam are relevant to Modern state. In contemporary time especially in post-Qutb era, there is a new viewpoint within Islamist intellectuals to accept the terms of Modern state in several aspects. Regarding this approaches of intellectuals, this paper intended to focus the three stages of developing the concept of state.

In Modern time, for the first time Jamal Uddin Afghani initiated a Pan-Islamic movement to approach the challenges of Modernity. On that time, the Ottoman Empire was going to decline and the Imperialists were forwarding to the Muslim lands. The major aim of the Pan-Islamic movement was serving two purposes; firstly, to liberate the Muslim lands from imperialist and secondly, to protect the Ottoman Empire from fragmentation. Along with Afghani several intellectuals contributed in this stage especially Egyptian intellectual Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida. Rida was the first man who used the term "Islamic state" as an alternative to the caliphate after the decline of the Ottoman.

After Rida, Pakistani intellectual and politician Abul Al'a Maududi discussed more formally about Islamic state where he covered all aspects of the Modern state. Along with Maududi, Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb regarded as Islamist thinker who contributed not only in academia but also in direct politics. After the Qutb era, a transformation of the concept of politics and state among Islamist intellectuals has occurred. This stage has been named by Post-Islamism; though this term is still a debatable issue in academia which further discussion will be placed in later and this paper intended to use it for understanding the time frame only. Several intellectual contributed this era as Malik Bennabi, Hasan al-Turabi, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, and Rachid al-Ghannouchi.

This research will address all of these three stages of developing the concept of the state in the Muslim, more specifically Islamist political thought to answer the two important research

questions of this paper. Firstly, what is the main perspective, more specifically the focusing point of the thought of mentioned intellectuals; and secondly, what was their stand to accept the concepts of Modern state.

2. Methodological Overview:

This paper argued that Pan-Islamic perspective of state has emerged to unite the Muslims all over the world against Imperialist within the classical understanding of state, "caliphate" where Islamist approach has been targeted for Islamic revivalism with the understanding of "Islamic state" and the Post-Islamist approach is aiming to develop the concept of state as "Muslim democratic" or "civilian state with Islamic reference". Within this hypothesis, this research will apply a qualitative form of research based on both primary and secondary data which will be collected from books, articles, libraries and so on. A historical analysis of Islamic perspective of state both in classical and modern time will give the historical background of this research to understand the three stages. By content analysis of mentioned intellectual's writing and other's writing on their thought as well, this research intended to understand their concept of the state. Within these analyses, this research would like to prove its hypothesis and to answer the research question.

3. Islam and state; a historical background:

Before the birth of the last Prophet, Arabia was a fragmented land between two big empires; Byzantine and Sasanian. Though Mecca was an important place of trade and religion for becoming home of Ka'ba (Etheredege, 2010, p.29). Politically, the Arabia was divided by several tribes where Mecca was governed by the tribe of Quraysh. Hamidullah argued that there were about 25 pubic offices concerning different state departments (Hamidullah, 1941, p. 6).

By religion, Arabia was very complex where the polytheism was the main religious belief. They performed prayers in front of several puts and idols though a number of others divine religions also available as Christianity, Jews and other religion like Zoroastrianism, Judaism. Esposito mentioned,

"In addition to the scriptural religions, Arabia also was home to a host of local animist cults, winch attributed divine powers to natural objects—the sun, the moon, Venus, certain sacred rocks or trees, and so on" (Esposito, 1999, p. 4).

Along with this scenario of politics and religion, there was a social and economic discrimination in everywhere of Arabia. The standard of morality was fallen in the lowest level where the Quran termes it as the age of ignorance (*Jahiliyyah*).

Hazrat Muhammad in his early prophetic year intended to build up a new community (*Ummah*) with the norms and values of Islam rather than building a political authority. Monotheism (*Tawhid*, faith in Allah as one and only God) is the pre-condition for becoming a Muslim. Within the calls to the light of *Tawhid,* the Prophet significantly highlighted the existing problems and discriminations of the society of Arabia. In the early years of Islam, it was accepted by the relatives and friends of Prophet, and significantly the poorest people of the society.

The foundation of political authority in Islam was laid down in Medina in 622 within the migration of Muslims there. This decision of migration was because of serious oppression in Mecca by the Quraysh leader where the Muslims didn't find favorable place to extend their activities. After the migration of Medina, a city-state (in terms of Modern political thought) was established under the Prophetic leadership. Here the name of Medina is also important which previous name was Yathrib, it was changed to "Medinatunn Nabi" (City of Prophet) or "Medina" in short. This city state was being legitimated in terms of Modern state by two important contracts as the Pledge of Aqabah and the Charter of Medina. The Pledge of Aqabah was held two times as an agreement between Muhammad and Citizen of Medina especially from Aws and Khazraj. Within these two agreements, the citizen of Medina was agreed to become moral in the light of Islam with protecting the Prophet and his companions from any threat, especially the second Aqabah pledge was named by the pledge of war (Vanauker, 2016, p. 5-6).

The charter of Medina was a contract between the people of Medina and the migrant Muslims to form a political authority under the leadership of Prophet which considered the first written constitution in the history of political thought (Hamidullah, 1941, p. 1). Following this charter, a formal political authority in Medina was formed under the leadership of Muhammad (Clause-1). As Hamidullah argued,

"In the very first clause, a proclamation has been made of the Inauguration of an Islamic political unit composed of the refugees of Makkah and helpers of Medina and also those who were willing to take part in these wars, under the guidance of and cooperation with this united body of the Muslims of Makkah and Medina. It has been further laid down that this political unit will obey the orders issues by Prophet Muhammad (SA), messenger of Allah (Clause-1)" (Hamidullah, 1941, p. 16-17).

Several clauses of this charter ensured the political authority of several tribes in the level of local government with their tradition and culture though the central authority was under the Prophetic leadership. After finalizing the charter, Muhammad gradually established Medina as a powerful community in world history. As an emerging political power, war with the opposition, especially The Quraysh, was ascertained. As a result, a series of battles (Badr in 624; Uhud, 625; and Khandaq, 627) were held between these two groups. Later, Muhammad broke a truce with the Quraysh at Hudaybiya in 628. Muhammad also faced internal violence by Jews people several times. After the conquest of the Makkah in 630, Islam was expended through all of Arabia and its surroundings.

Under political power, Muhammad implemented a new moral and legal order for society and its people. With his unique personality, he acted as a religious (Prophet) and political leader in the same time. In the 10 years of his active political role in Medina, he gradually transferred his community from tribe to universal arena. So, Arab or Non-Arab was an equal position in his system. He implemented a new legal and economic system gradually among society. His economic system was a welfare economic system based on Zakah system where interest was forbidden.

After the death of Prophet, a system of the caliphate was established. Hazrat Abu Bakar was the first caliph who was elected by the opinion of the people of Medina. This caliphate was continued till the death of Hazrat Ali within four caliphs who were elected or selected by the people or by a previous caliph or the members of Shura. In the time of late Rashidun caliphs, chaos and disorder has been coined in Medina and other provinces of the state. Following this disorder several wars within Muslims community (Ummah) were held, as a result, a monarchical nature of state came in front. The Umayyad dynasty came in the power and continued about 90 years. Following Umayyad, the Abbasid and the Ottoman continued till the beginning of the 20th century. Beside this central empire, several small empires also raised up in several regions.

In political thought, al-Farabi was the pioneer who wrote a very systematic way in the concept of the state. His masterpiece "on the perfect state" is a reference book in Muslim political thought. Following al-Farabi, several Muslim intellectuals significantly contributed to develop the Islamic political thought in medieval ages, such as al-Mawardi, Nizam ul-Mulk, Ghazzali, Ibn Taymiyyah and Ibn Khaldun.

4. State in Modern Islamic political thought:

From the 18th century, Imperialist power forwarded to Muslim countries. The British, France, Dutch, Russia and Italy occupied several Muslim lands especially in North Africa, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. On the other hand, the Ottoman which considered the central authority of Muslim community has been weakening; a large number of its land from Balkan, Eurasia, and Africa had lost. From the theoretical perspective, a movement from within Ottoman has been raised which are named as Young Turk Movement demanding reform in state and government. The people of this movement were educated from the West especially from France where they have been influenced by Modern concepts of state and aftermath of France revolution. Within their strong demand, the Ottoman Sultans have initiated several reforms in the beginning and the late 19th century for two times which refereed to *Tanzimat*.

In conceptualizing Modern state, works of Niccolo Machiavelli (1469–1527) and Jean Bodin (1530–96) had great importance (Held, 1989, p. 12) though the social contract theory is considered the foundation of the Modern state. Within the intellectual contribution of Hobbes, Locke, and Rousseau; the birth of state has become a matter of contract between state and people or ruler and ruled. The social contract theory brings a notion of liberty as the central approach of the state that man has the right in his life and property; no one can interfere here. This approach made a crucial contribution to the France and American revolutions, forming the nation state and finally forwardness toward democracy. Along with this development, the Marxism claimed for class structure between Bourgeoisie and Proletariat which is a cause of surplus values by controlling means of production from highly capitalist society. Marx claimed that state has been protector of this Bourgeoisie class where the Proletariat class is becoming oppressed (Held, 1989, p. 34). He argued for a revolution against this class structure and communist state of common ownership. Within these two basic schools of thought of Modern state, from all perspectives democracy has become the established means of Modern state especially its liberal form as an aftermath of Second World War and Cold War, more specifically within the fall of Soviet Union.

Following the development of several Modern concepts, the Muslim identity both the individual and state level has been a matter of challenge. Several Muslim intellectuals paid their concern on this issue. Within this intellectual engagement on the conception of Modern politics provides several schools of thought or intellectual movement in academia which is

possible to divide by three stages which are referred the time frame of this intellectual development, namely; Pan-Islamism, Islamism and Post Islamism. There may have many debates to divide this time frame or naming these three stages, but this research intended only to understand the time frame of the intellectual development of Muslim political thought in Modern time.

4.1.Pan-Islamism:

The term "Pan-Islamism" first used by Western writers and journalists to understand the mission of resistant movements against imperialists as a threat to Western especially from the second half of the nineteen century (Hirano, 2008, p. 2-3), later used by Muslim intellectual. Specifically, the intellectual movement which was coined by Jamal Uddin Afghani and continued by Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida is known as the 'Pan Islamic' movement. Afghani seems as the father of the Pan Islamic movement.

4.1.1.   Jamal Uddin Afghani (1838-1897):

Jamal Uddin Afghani is the pioneer of the Modern Islamic political thought who worked internationally to unite the Muslim community to liberate Muslim lands from Imperialists and reorganizing to strengthen the caliphate. Within his intellectual movement in Egypt, Paris, India, Afghanistan, and Istanbul he published several magazines and books, and giving public lectures to understand his vision toward a unity of Muslim Ummah. Along with Mohammad Abduh, he published the renowned magazine 'Al Urwa al Wuthqa' from Paris.

Afghani argued for a political union or unity based on Muslim Ummah (Al Wahda al Islamiyah) His goal was rebuilding a strong Islamic state to expel imperialists from Muslim lands. In his article 'Al Wahda al Islamiyah', he intended to discuss extending Muslim sovereign land to Magrib (Andalos) in the west, Tonkin at the border of China in the east, Fazan in the north and Sarandib at the equator in the south. He conceived of a kind of international league: Muslims 'from Edirne to Peshawar … should … agree between themselves on defense and attack' (Black, 2011, p. 293). He added Muslim east, Muslim west, Muslim north and Muslim south would unite and work together against the danger facing them. This unity will be regarded as 'Muslim Ummah' which apart from all kinds of

tribalism (nationalism) and ethnic identity, Muslims should unite within the identity of religion. So he intended to argue 'Muslim nationalism' for resistance to the West.

4.1.2. Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905);

Muhammad Abduh was a prominent Egyptian intellectual who was a great follower of Afghani. He worked in several important posts of central government including the Grand Mufti though he was sent to exile for the claim of helping the Urabi revolt for a few years. As mentioned before, with Afghani he worked as a co-publisher of the magazine, 'Al Urwa al Wuthqa'. Within this magazine, he wrote several articles to unite the Muslim community and how to overcome the challenges of Modernity and the influence of colonialism. He intended to argue for a positive approach toward the Modern concept. In an attempt to reconcile Islamic ideas with Western ones, he suggested the new ideas of several terms of the Quran and Sunnah. As Tamimi mentioned,

"Maslaha (interest) in Islamic thought corresponded to manfa'a (utility) in Western thought. Similarly, he equated shura with democracy and ijma' with consensus. Addressing the question of authority, Abduh denied the existence of a theocracy in Islam and insisted that the authority of the hakim (governor) or that of the qadi (judge) or that of the mufti was civil" (Tamimi, 1997, p. 4).

He strongly believed that Ijtihad should be revived; which are new to the Islamic thought, need to be addressed. He wanted to free the Muslim's mind from shackles of "*Taqlid"* (blind acceptance) and demonstrated the compatibility of Islam with modernity.

4.1.3. Rashid Rida (1865-1935);

Rashid Rida was Egypt based Syrian intellectual who was influenced by Afghani and Abduh. In his childhood he read some issues of the magazine, 'Al Urwa al Wuthqa'. This reading influenced him to work with this movement and later met with Abduh. He worked several years with Abduh and later published the "Manar" which was the following of "Al Urwa al Wuthqa".

Rida was disappointed with the Young Turk movement because of rising Turkey as a secular state. Pan-Islamism has transferred to Pan-Arabism in terms of Rida. He believed that Arabs should play a significant role to revive Islam. He intended to establish a new caliphate based on Arabs though he again disappointed by leadership.

Rida has systematically established the concept of an Islamic state in Modern time as an alternative of the caliphate. Infect, the word "Islamic state" was first coined by Rida. He published his important treatise on the Caliphate and Islamic state *(Al-khilafah aw'al imamat 'al-uzma,* the Caliphate or the Supreme Imämate, 1922-3) in the time of the abolition of the Ottoman Empire.

According to him, caliphate based on religious law (Sharia) is an obligatory matter. He stated several verses of Quran, hadith, consensus (Ijma) and quotation from al-Mawardi, Ghazzali, al-Iji, and Taftanzani in favor of his argument. He discussed elaborately several aspects of the caliphate. He argued that the Ulema (Islamic scholar) have significant responsibilities to establish the caliphate.

He stated the necessity of Ijtihad in every age to approach the contemporary issue. In this Ijtihad "Islamic state" or "Islamic government" is the alternative of the caliphate in Modern age. He approached two important topics of Modern state; popular sovereignty and the man-made law. In the first topic he intended to say about obligatory of 'Shura'; consultation between the rulers and the ruled, and the provisions laid down by the juris-consults on the right to resist injustice, democracy is ensured for Muslims. He intended to ensure further guarantee of democracy by ensuring predominance of the 'Ulama' who, in his view, is ideally placed to act as the natural and genuine representatives of Muslims (Enayet, 1982, p. 77).

In second topic, he argued that Muslim should not borrow the foreign rules and regulation rather it should adopt the legislation from own culture. He again stated the rule of Ulama and the necessity of Ijtihad.

4.2.Islamism;

Islamism is referred to the concept of Islamic movements all over the World which are established aftermath of the Ottoman Empire within the path "Islamic politics". Abul Al'a Maududi, Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb were three important intellectual worked in this stage to develop a more systematic concept of Islamic state in the 20th century. Basically, intellectuals of this stage intended to develop the concept of Islamic state within Islamic politics following the aftermath of Pan Islamic thinkers.

As mentioned before, their works weren't limited only in academia but also they had actively participated in politics with their new ideas and political parties. Banna was the pioneer to establish an Islamic movement, namely "Muslim Brotherhood" in 1928 in Egypt. Later Maududi established Jamaat-I Islami in 1941 in the Indian sub-continent. Both of these two movements firstly were engaged with *Dawah* works later actively joined with politics. These

three intellectuals by their movements worked to establish an Islamic state as revivalism of Islam in which influence every aspect of life referencing the path of Prophet and the Rashidun caliphate. Black argued that,

"Islamism is perhaps most of all characterized, and distinguished from other forms of reformism, by its stringent rejection of the West and all it is supposed to stand for (including, of course, Zionism). This arises from a perception that 'the West' poses a threat to Islam that is new in both power and scope…… The original aim was to educate people, raise their standard of living and spread the message of an 'Islamic order (al-nizam al-islami)" (Black, 2011, p. 307).

4.2.1. Abul Al'a Maududi (1903-1979):

Abul Al'a Maududi, a Pakistani Muslim intellectual who featured the Islamic state more systematic way covering all aspects of the concept of the state. Maududi argued Islamic State is an ideal state within the Quran and Sunnah which is far different from the Western democratic, secular or socialist state. According to Maududi, the sovereignty in Islamic state is belongings to Allah which according to him coined from four Quranic words, as (1) *Ilah* in the means of *Ma'bud* ("an object of worship"); (2) *Rabb* ("Master", or "Lord"); (3) *'ibada* ("worship"); 4) *din* ("faith", "religion"). These words are referring to the owner of all things in the world is belong to Allah. He used the word "Hakimiyyah" to understand this sovereignty concept.

Maududi intended to coin the term "Theo-democracy" to understand his concept of state within Modern meaning. In Theo-democracy, the people are the vicegerent of Allah. The major difference between Modern democracy and Theo-democracy is the legislation. In democracy, people are getting full freedom in legislation where often people make the rules which are harmful for humanity, Maududi put an example from the drug rules in America which is harmful to human body but it has been passed in the Congress because of majority. Maududi argued that there is a limit of the human beings as stated in the Quran as divine limit (*Hudud Allah*). In Theo-democracy legislation is belongs to Allah i.e. the Quran and the Sunnah. The second problem identified by Maududi in Western democracy is, in this system legislation depends on the pressure group or interest group. As a result, true people's participation is absent here. On the other hand in Islam everybody is equal as a creation of God.

He argued that Islamic State is not a state of Papas or religious man i.e. Ulema. He identified two important characteristics of Islamic state; firstly, Islamic state is a universal and all-embracing in nature and secondly, Islamic state is an ideological state which establish based on Quranic and Sunnahtic's ideology. These two characteristics demand an Islamic state which is not a nation state but a universal state within Ummah. This state is covering all aspects of human life; in this meaning, it is similar to the fascist and communist state. But it is not a totalitarian one where individual liberty under threat. Individual liberty is inevitable here.

4.2.2. Hassan al-Banna (1906-49):

Hassan al-Banna was an Egyptian intellectual and politician; the founder of Muslim Brotherhood. Banna considered governing is a pillar of Islam and, the religion and politics are not separate in anyway. Banna identified two important nature of government in Islamic state; firstly, it revives Islamic order of government rather than any other order which is not grounded based on Islam nor drives from its teaching; secondly, it will implement the Islamic law (Shari'ah) as an obligatory nature and it will be a crime if government neglects this obligation. He stated some characteristics of Islamic state; (1) being aware of its subjection to Islam and being kind to the subject; (2) applying justice among people; (3) dealing with the public treasury faithfully and economically (el-Ghazali, 2011, p. 330).

He supported Arabism as a tool of Islamic revivalism though he ignored it as racism and arrogance. He stated that the Arab is the first nation that accepted Islam and they are the chosen community as stated by Allah in the Quran. He argued that patriotism is important because of developing the attraction to the homeland for ensuring the independence of Egypt and making a strong unity with its people. Within strong and unite Egypt he intended to feature a strong Muslim Ummah for a new World order which will work together to make an Islamic global state.

4.2.3. Sayyid Qutb (1906-66):

Sayyid Qutb was also an Egyptian intellectual and politician. Qutb developed the thought of Maududi and Banna rather developing a new concept. In political thought, the basic contribution of Qutb is the theory of Jahilliyah. He considered the existing establishment in his time is not an Islamic one rather the Jahilliyah (pre-Islamic nature). Along with this, he strongly rejected the western concept of state. As argued by Black, Qutb believed that

"Islam has nothing to learn from the West. Islamic and Western values are fundamentally different' (Blcak, 2011, p. 309).

He believes that the system of government in Islam is based on three principles: (1) Justice of the rulers, (2) Obedience of people, and (3) Consultation between the rulers and the people (Qutb, 2013, p. 151). Like Banna Qutb also argued for an Islamic state as a baseline which future adapt is a global Islamic state (Ummah). Qutb was more revolutionary in terms of thinking where he argued for a revolution (Jihad) for uniformed change.

4.3.Post-Islamism:

The term Post-Islamism is referred to the concept of more contemporary Islamist intellectuals, first used by Asif Beyat in 1996. There is a lot of debate about this term but it is not the right place of debating about this terminology. Here, this research intended to use this term to understand the concept of state of Post-Qutb Muslim intellectuals. In terms of Muslim brotherhood, they often use the thought of the second generation where intellectuals worked to adopt a balanced and flexible way (Wasatiyyah) in thought. In this stage this research will discuss the political thought of Malik Bennabi, Hassan al-Turabi, Yusuf al-Qaradawi, and Rachid Ghannouchi.

4.3.1. Malik Bennabi (1905-73):

Malik Bennabi was an Algerian Muslim intellectual who again concerned the matter of civilization after Ibn Khaldun. He considered as the successor of Ibn Khaldun in Modern time. He intended to develop the Islamic values to approach the Modernity. Bennabi was the first intellectual who discussed the concept of democracy in Islam in a very systematic way. He considered democracy is not simply the method of power sharing by election but the result of humanistic cultural development (Zoubir, 2011, p. 109)**.**

According to Bennabi, the social dimension of democracy is very important. He criticized Western democracy and the socialist democracy where the social right is not inadequate and in their system, the people can be a slave. He argued that Islam adopted a unique system of social rights. He put the example of Zakah as an important aspect of social rights in Islam. Bennabi argued that Islamic democracy is difference from any other type of democracy in terms of the position of man. He argued that Islam endows man is an important social beings

in the presence of God (Zoubir, 2011, p. 109). Bennabi believed that true democracy was only available in the time of the first caliph.

.

4.3.2. Hassan al-Turabi (1932-2016);

Hassan al-Turabi was a Sudanese Muslim intellectual and politician who served several important positions in the upper level of both government and politics. He paid concern to an Islamic society because according to him, Islamic state is not possible with Islamic society (Turabi, 1983, p. 241). He stated that Islamic state can't isolate from society because of its integrate nature.

Turabi argued that Islamic state will be based on *Tawhid* within *Ummah* and limited popular sovereignty. He claimed that the concept of Islamic state is often being a matter of misunderstanding because of its use as Sharia. He argued that Sharia is a part of Islamic state where state is the political dimension of collective endeavor of Muslim.

Turabi intended to compare Islamic state with liberal representative democracy. According to him Shura is the foremost matter of Islamic state, so in this meaning Islamic state is a representative democratic one. Along with Shura, Ijma is an important matter of Islamic state. He discussed several aspects of democracy in Islamic state as multi-party system, majority-minority issue. Finally he argued that in many perspectives Islamic government is a limited government where society plays an important role in many functions (Turabi, 1983, p. 246).

4.3.3. Yusuf al-Qaradawi (b. 1926):

Yusuf al-Qaradawi is a Qatar based Egyptian intellectual who is a prominent Muslim scholar in contemporary time. Though he is a scholar of Fiqh but his perception toward the concept of state, "State in Islam" is an important book in contemporary Islamic political thought. Qaradawi intended to argue for a positive political Fiqh rather negative Fiqhs concerning present time and circumstances. He mentioned some four negative Fiqh toward Islamic state as Fiqh of trail (negative thinking because of oppression), Zahiri Fiqh (or so called new Zahirist who basically pay their concern to the text, not the entire object), Khawariji Fiqh (who are narrow mindedness towards religion and life, strictness in treating others and rejection), and traditional Fiqh (who are seeking the solution of every problem from their traditional Fiqh's book) (al-Qaradawi, 2004, p. 109-11). Mentioning these four basic negative Fiqh, Qaradawi intended to develop a positive political Fiqh to approach Modern state.

Within positive political Fiqh, he paid his concern following matters; firstly, current circumstance and condition is very important for politics, he argued that the Rashidun caliphs

have taken many decisions which are different from the action of Prophet in such activities; secondly, the action or Sirah of Prophet is not obligatory for legislation unless another text can found in favor of this actions; thirdly, the innovation in political matter is not the Bid'ah because it only related with A'aml (religious actions).

Al-Qaradawi argued that Islamic state is a civilian state based on Islamic norms and values. He included that the ruler of an Islamic state is being selected from strong, trustworthy, defenders and knowledgeable citizen. It is not the state of religious leader like Papas of European religious state. He intended to mean Islamic state cover all aspects of Modern state which is not opposed to Islamic norms and values. In this way, the argued that democracy is harmony with Islam as also the same for pluralism. He argued that democracy is the best system among established system of government which has a long past to oppose the oppression and struggle the tyrant rulers. He included that the basic of democracy is inviolable. He refuted the claims who argued that democracy is the rule of people and against Allah's rule. He argued that Muslim consider democracy is the system of government where election is one kind certificate that people choose his ruler from best one. Finally he mentioned from the *Shura* which is an obligation of Islamic state which conforms the essence of democracy (al-Qaradawi, 2004, p. 220).

4.3.4. Rachid al-Ghannouchi (b. 1941):

Rachid al-Gahnnouchi is the Tunisian Muslim intellectual who is serving as the speaker of the Tunisian Parliament. His book, "Public liberties in Islamic state" is an important masterpiece is the contemporary Muslim political thought. Ghannouchi started with discussing the concept of liberty and its different aspect in Islam. According to him, Islam covers all aspects of liberty and human right.

Ghannouchi characterized the Islamic state toward Muslim democracy based on Shura. According to him, there are two foremost principles of state, as; text and Shura but Shura is very important because the text will be implemented through Shura (Ghannouchi, 2015, p.128). By Shura he intended to mean the whole Ummah, not a specific body or group though he stated different procedures to implement the Shura.

Ghannouchi stated different aspects of Shura. According to him, Shura is a predominant part of legislation and the birth of state. He stated that, the Imam should be elected by people through Shura. He significantly put the concept of Bay'yah (contract between Imam and people) as the precondition of becoming the head of the state. He intended to argue that the birth of state in Islam through Bay'yah not by coercion. In this aspect his concept toward the

birth of state is nearer to social contract theory which is a basic concept of Modern state though he argued that this concept belongs to Muslim even before the ere of social contract theorist i.e. Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau.

Ghannouchi argued that democracy is the practical implementation of Shura. He criticized the authoritarian ruler who claims that democracy is a product of west or announces it as an innovation (*Bid'ah*) in Islam even unlawful (*Haram*). He responded that, they claimed it with hierocracy because of maintaining their authoritarian rule. Ghannouchi argued that democracy is the summary of last 200 years of political thought which is the cause of forwardness of Western nations and the cause of Muslim's backwardness. Finally he argued that Islamic state is a democratic one in all perspectives.

5. Findings and Conclusion:

The above discussion intended to answer the research questions of this paper as the perspective of their perception of state and the aspect of accepting the concept of Modern state. Within this way, Pan-Islamic approach to the state was intended to unite Muslim Ummah against Imperialist as stated by Afghani (al-Wahda al-Islamiyah). On that time, this political unity within the concept of Ummah was significant to the Muslim intellectuals to reorganize the caliphate and struggle against the Imperialist ruler. Though Afghani and Abduh didn't prescribed any new idea in the concept of state because of existing caliphate but they significantly started their intellectual mission to approach with Modern state especially for a political unity based on Ummah within more nationalistic approach based on religion. By influencing their thought, Rida for first time discussed the concept of Islamic state as an alternative of caliphate just after the fall of Ottoman. These three intellectuals significantly stated the importance of Ijtihad to approach the aspects of Modernity.

Islamists intellectuals intended to revive Islam within Islamic state. They considered Islamic state more fundamental point of view especially for Qutb it was more extreme in thinking. The intellectuals in this stage generally rejected the Western concept of state in many ways and try to answer all questions from a religious point of view. Maududi argued Islamic state as an ideal state based on Quran and Sunnah. Maududi and Banna both intended to develop the Ummah approach by arguing Islamic state is a global state.

Post-Islamist intellectual approached the concept of state from more societal view as state is a societal need of human life more specifically Islamic state is a civilian one with Islamic reference. Along with Bennabi, intellectuals of this state intended to revive Islam as a civilization where they put importance on society as argued by Turabi that Islamic state is not

possible without an Islamic society. Qaradawi and Ghannouchi both of them argued for accepting the concept of Modern state as part of civilizational perspective that Muslim has right to accept the best things of contemporary world which are not oppose the Quran and Sunnah. Intellectuals of this state referred from classical intellectuals in terms of their thought and were more positive to approach the concepts of modern state. They approached more open to accept democracy with its liberal form. Along with democracy, pluralism and nation state is also a matter of positive concern.

This research found that, intellectuals belong to these three stages have influenced by their time and environment. This research demands further research on this topic along with the discourse analysis of their existing time and environment. This author intended to more explore on this issue in his doctoral thesis also.

Reference

Black, A. (2011). The History of Islamic Political Thought; from the prophet to the present, Edinburg University Press

El-Ghazali, A. H. M. (2011). The way to the revival of Ummah A study of the thinking of Imam al Banna, Al Falah Foundation, Cairo

Enayet, H. (1982). Modern Islamic Political Thought, THE MACMILLAN PRESS LTD, London and Basingstoke

Esposito, J. L. (Ed.) (1999). The Oxford history of Islam, Oxford University Press, Inc., New York

Etheredege, L. (Ed.) (2010). Islamic History, Britannica Educational Publishing, New York.

Hamidullah, M. (1941). The First Written Constitution, an important document of the prophet's time, accessed from; https://fliphtml5.com/ptmd/vrqj/basic (last visited, 20.01.2020)

Held, D. (1989). Political Theory and the Modern State Essays on State, power and democracy, Polity Press, UK

Hirano, J. (2008). Historical formation of Pan Islamism; Modern Islamists reformation project for Intra-Umma alliance and Intra-Magrib rapprochement, Kyoto working papers area studies no; 12 available at; https://repository.kulib.kyoto-u.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2433/155788/1/ssh_010.pdf (last accessed; 20.01.2020)

Al-Qaradawi, Y. (2004). State in Islam, Al Falah Foundation, Cairo

Qutb, S. (2013). Social Justice in Islam, Translated by Mohammad Ali Gerami and Seyed Hadi Khosrowshahi. Qom: Institute of Boostane-e-Ketab (Center for Islamic Propagation Office of Qom Seminary)

Ghannouchi, R. (2015). İslam Devletine Kamusal Özgürlük (Public Freedom in İslamic State), Mana Yayınları, İstanbul

Tamimi, A. S. (1997). Democracy in Islamic Political Thought, lecture at the Belfast Mosque, available at; http://ireland.iol.ie/~afifi/Articles/democracy.htm (last accessed; 20.01.2020)

Turabi, H. (1983) 'The Islamic State', In John Esposito (ed.) Voices of Resurgent Islam (pp. 241-51). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Vanauker, M. L. (2016). The Aqaba Pledge: A Reconsideration of the Ansar's Subscription to the pledge, Master Thesis, University of Georgia.

Zoubir. Y. H. (1998). Democracy and Islam in Malek Bennabi's Thought, The American Journal of Islamic Social Sciences 15; 1