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Criticism of Islamic Political Thought, Adel Dhahir as a Sample

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Abstract

During the period of what is known as the "Arab Spring", the Islamic (jihadist) movements played a prominent role in igniting the events that led to the collapse and change of many regimes in the Arab world. The rise of these movements in all their names had an active and more extremist role in the Arab political scene, which negatively affected the attempts at change that were planned by the regimes of those countries that were supposed to adopt a secular civil ideology. These well-funded organizations and movements have contributed to the assumption of power as in Egypt or in many areas controlled by these movements as in Syria, which resulted in models of political, social and cultural tyranny and arbitrariness and a general disruption of all possibilities of democratic transformation that the peoples of the region have been seeking for ages, knowing that these movements and organizations that adopted an investigative takfirist ideology were not born today, but were the product of political, social and cultural changes that occurred in the 1920s in Egypt and spread in the rest of the countries, which led to a significant decline in secular thought to the detriment of religious political thought in the Arab world, which in turn led to the spread of many Political ideas with a religious dimension have many social classes in different Arab countries. According to this view, we present a fair and apparent criticism of the fundamentalist thought of Islam as a model of an Arab thought characterized by its criticism of the theses of political Islam according to secular philosophical foundations in which the primacy and primacy of the unlimited mind was adopted. It is the self-reliant tool that does not recognize the reference of the religious heritage, which is no longer able to solve new developments and facts.

Keywords: Criticism- Theses- Islam- Politics- state- Secularism- Democracy-Religion- Mind- Diligence.

Introduction

Adel Zahir (*) presents his criticism of Islamic political thought and the theses they adopted in a distinguished scientific and philosophical manner, through which he demonstrated the possession of a critical approach through which he presented a philosophical criticism of the most important political theses and the concepts and perceptions that dominated the political, social and cultural discourse in the Arab world today.

Apparently, his criticism of the Islamists' political theses starts from a purely secular ground, especially after the latter has significantly declined and its role and effective influence on successive political and social events have been reduced and marginalized due to the large and widespread spread of (jihadist) thought in various classes and social strata.

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Zahir believes in the primacy of reason and its precedence over transmission, as reason has it in the first place⁽¹⁾, and therefore we find it criticizing the most basic theses of Islamic thinkers related to their position on the relationship of Islam to politics, which raised many philosophical questions.

The research was divided into four topics that formed the most important criticisms of Adel Zahir of Islamic thought represented by four basic theses, where each thesis represented the title of a topic, dealt with in the first topic (Islam is a religion and a state), while the second topic dealt with an apparent criticism of the idea of (the inability of man to manage his affairs without divine guidance), while the third topic dealt with: an apparent fair criticism of the idea of (lack of diligence in the place of the text), while the fourth and final topic was an apparent criticism of the thesis (the lack of conflict between democracy and political Islam).

Reasons for Choosing this Topic

- 1- Adel Zahir is one of the important names in the critical direction. His philosophical proposals have inspired many Arab researchers.
- 2- The topic of criticism of Islamic political thought is one of the current topics that occupied a prominent place in modern contemporary Arab thought.
- 3- Viewing Adel Zahir's critical thought as one of the most important names that characterized the critical approach.

Research Problem

The problem of the research relates to the reading of Adel Zahir and the extent of its success in criticizing and interpreting the theses of modern and contemporary Islamic political thought.

Research Hypotheses

- 1- Islamic political thought is a widespread presence in the contemporary Arab arena.
- 2- Critical thought is one of the most important contemporary philosophical trends for many Arab thinkers and researchers today.
- 3- Adel Zahir's critical experience is one of the most important philosophical experiences that contributed significantly to the analysis of many current political proposals in our Arab and Islamic world.

Keywords

Criticism – Theses – Islam - Politics - State – Secularism – Democracy - Religion - Reason - Ijtihad.

Research Methodology

The researcher adopted the analytical approach and the descriptive approach, taking into account the objective time precedence, in order to verify the basic hypotheses of the research and reach the objectives of the research. Finally, the research was concluded with a set of results

The First Topic: Criticism of the Thesis (Islam is a Religion and a State)

The project of political Islam is based on the rejection of the idea of (separating religion from politics), as the owners of this project are based on a firm vision that believes in the universality of Islam for all matters of life. Islam in these people (religion and state)⁽²⁾, an idea put forward by many Islamic scholars and thinkers and promoted in the modern era by Hassan Al-Banna

(1906-1949AD), the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood. Islam in the latter (doctrine and worship, homeland and nationality, religion, state, spirituality and work, Quran and sword)⁽³⁾, and this saying (Islam has become a religion and a state) A common slogan for all Islamic movements and parties with their various political and ideological ideologies later after the Brotherhood adopted them in the first half of the last century. Although Adel⁴ Zahir does not deny the existence of a political dimension between Islam and politics, which is a historical relationship between the two, his criticism focuses on those who adopt the idea of non-separation of religion and the state, considering that the integration of the two is a religious duty for most Islamists, an idea that imposes (the integration of economy, society and politics with religion), which in turn leads to making the religious duties of the Muslim individual include the duty to establish an Islamic state, and violating this is considered by Muslims to be contrary to the divine order. The relationship between Islam as a religion, economy, society and politics is not a historical relationship, but rather a necessary and logical one ⁽⁵⁾. Despite the importance of the gradual emergence of Islam through the stages of history and the establishment of Islamic countries that have ruled for many centuries, however, a phenomenon that does not rely on such a proposal by relying on certain religious texts in the Qur 'an and Sunnah to prove the view that there is or is no relationship between Islam and politics , it is easy to adapt and interpret many religious texts in a way that suits our understanding of them in a way that supports the secular view or the opposite view ⁽⁶⁾.

Therefore, it is apparent that the correct position on the nature of religion, man and values stems from a central question: How should you understand the relationship at the epistemological level between religion and values? The separation between temporal authority and religious authority should be based on a deeper type of separation that is epistemological - logical between religion and politics, which completely clashes with the allegations of the Muslims carrying the brigade of what is known as the (Islamic Awakening) in addition to the theorists who see the need for the correlation between Islam as a historical matter and what is logical. Islam in these people is a coherent whole or, as Rashid Ghannouchi (born 1941AD) says: (((Each part of it is related to others , faith, Sharia and worship is an integrated whole and therefore there is no room for differentiation between religion, politics, religion and the state⁷⁾) Which is fully applicable and the saying of Hassan al-Banna, who believes that ⁽⁸⁾(Islam is worship, leadership, religion and state)) (Youssef al-Qaradawi ^(1926-2022 AD), who goes to what the Jihad group goes to (* *) of the existence of certain religious texts that call Muslims to seek to impose a relationship between Islam and the state ⁽⁹⁾, and those who disagree with some thinkers such as Ali Abdul Razzaq (1888-1969) and Muhammad Khalaf Allah (19161-1991) and others who affirm the idea of separation of religion and state reject the existence of such religious texts as not binding religion¹⁰⁾.

Adel Zahir does not attach importance to the views of the two conflicting parties on the existence or absence of definitive or hermeneutic religious texts, ((Even if we assume the existence of a definitive religious text from the Qur 'an and Sunnah that supports the belief in its existence , it is no more than a historical or objective relationship, which is an issue that can only be resolved through our philosophical treatments of issues of an epistemological, logical and conceptual nature¹¹⁾), In both cases, we need conceptual logical considerations to see whether it is possible to link (necessarily) between religion and the state , This linkage is only discovered through understanding and analyzing the logical nature of religion and not through resorting to another religious text ⁽¹²⁾ and talking about the existence of a historical or objective relationship between Islam and politics means that the direction of Islam in the formation of a state finds its basis in the historical-objective conditions under which Islam arose, which

required the establishment of a state as a prerequisite for the purpose of establishing the foundations of Islam as a religion and the nature of these objective conditions, not the nature of Islam as a faith and worship, which made politics a medium for the establishment of religion⁽¹³⁾, and the relationship as such () presupposes that without these objective conditions that surrounded the emergence of Islam When Islam turned its face politically and there was a need to establish an Islamic state and the conditions concerned here are changing conditions,...The need to establish an Islamic state is linked to these conditions alone or similar to them. There is no justification today for calling for the establishment of an Islamic state⁽¹⁴⁾, as the conditions surrounding the emergence of Islam are other than the circumstances and conditions in which we are currently living. On the other hand, the practical part of Islam as a religion is the Sharia rules, which are represented by worship, transactions, the determination of penalties, etc., which are historically relative rules that represent the link between Islam and politics, since faith is the unchanging fixed part of Islam, and therefore we find that the Sharia rules in general are subject to many variables (relatively) compared to the doctrinal constants of Islam⁽¹⁵⁾.

The historical circumstances surrounding the establishment of Islam and the environment and the needs of the people of this environment are completely different from the conditions of Muslims today and the rules required to regulate the affairs of our world today are different and different from those of their world. Accordingly, an important condition for the establishment of an Islamic state is not available today, which is the validity of Sharia in light of the current circumstances that require resorting to (new¹⁶) rules from outside Islam (). In a related context, Fouad Zakaria (1927-2010) goes to the same saying that this problem can be solved and sufficiency with the general principles of religion and filling partial details from a source other than religion, which are the requirements of the times and the requirements of society at a certain time, its experience and expertise, in addition to the experiences of other societies and peoples⁽¹⁷⁾. Despite the apparent diversity of the political Islamists' project and the differences and differences in some legislative details, all their visions agree on a consistent perception (Islam is a religion and a state), because Islam is not limited to spiritual issues and affairs of worship only, but includes all aspects of life and affairs of people.

According to this vision, Adel Zahir addresses the idea of the logical (conceptual) correlation between Islam as a doctrine and Sharia and politics , that relationship is not subject to the vicissitudes of time, changing conditions and changing circumstances, as the issue of establishing an Islamic state is a matter of doctrine and a religious duty, as many of Islam see the contemporaries⁽¹⁸⁾, and the conclusion of this correlation is that God Almighty singled out Islam without other Abrahamic religions (Judaism , Christianity, Islam) with a political dimension, which is related to the emergence and nature of Islam as a religion and the circumstances of its emergence, and it is easy to refute this correlation because the rest of the religions (Judaism and Christianity) There is also an internal contradiction related to the common understanding of most Islamists and their claim that Islam (alone is a religion and a state¹⁹), which is a matter related to their general position on secularism and the attempt to link it to the idea of (religious absence), which is a prerequisite for secularism, which is a link between secularism and materialist philosophies. The appearance of this claim is refuted because it is logically contradictory to their claim that Islam (alone is a religion and a state). If Islam alone, according to their claim, is a religion and a state, than all other religions Other religions (Judaism and Christianity), this means that Islam alone without monotheistic religions is incompatible with secularism, which requires the separation of religion and politics. If this is the case, then this means that there is no place for secularism in the rest of the monotheistic religions. As

such, it is logically incoherent to say that Islam alone is a religion and its states, because this last statement logically includes that Islam alone is a negation of secularism, while the way these people understand it makes it necessary to consider the rest of the monotheistic religions as a negation of secularism, which is what we do not find among the owners of these religions⁽²⁰⁾, in addition to the contradiction of (the universality of Islam) with its alleged political nature. If Islam in terms of the practical and applied aspect (Sharia) is directed to all nations and peoples and for all ages, the meaning of this is that such an invitation is an invitation to organize the political, social and civil bases of mankind... Etc., but this call is invalid because the legislation is relative legislation according to the nature of the political, social and economic changes and circumstances in addition to the specificity of each people and country and its difference from the other. Therefore, such a call is only commensurate with those whose social, economic and historical conditions allow the application of these rules, which are supposed to be general rules suitable for all peoples, all nations and every age, and this is impossible rationally, and this undermines the thesis of Islamists to link Islam and politics in a necessary manner⁽²¹⁾.

The Second Topic: Criticism of the Thesis (Man's Inability to Manage his Affairs Without Divine Guidance)

It may be needless to say that most of the thinkers of political and non-political Islam go to say that man's inability to manage his worldly affairs. The inability of man to develop systems suitable for his life is a permanent inability, or in other words that God is the only one able to know the good from the invalid from the systems of human life⁽²²⁾, and the inability of man to know what systems he chooses for his life is a natural inability imposed by human nature and not his changing life conditions, in other words, man cannot choose systems for his life because of (deficiency) related to human nature, which leads to his inability to know the ends that he has to choose⁽²³⁾, and since the ends are moral goals from the point of Islamic and religious jokes in general, man is unable to obtain moral knowledge without divine guidance⁽²⁴⁾.

It is apparent to this thesis about the idea of man's inability to choose the type of moral systems that suit his life through the epistemological precedence of morality over religion by relying on many principles and moral standards independent of religious knowledge. Our knowledge of what is good or evil is right or wrong is just or unjust ...Etc., is a moral knowledge of mental instinct, which is a common denominator between people and in different eras⁽²⁵⁾, ((Morality as rules regulating behavior and relations between humans and as criteria for evaluating actions Since human beings have existed and no one claims otherwise))⁽²⁶⁾ Morality has a leadership and a chronological and historical precedent over religion found with the first human gatherings with the first human civilizations that preceded monotheistic religions, and we find what supports this view in ancient civilizations such as the civilization of the Mesopotamian valley and the Persian, Pharaonic, Indian and Chinese civilization that preceded monotheistic religions, for example, in the civilization of the Mesopotamian valley, we find a lot of clay figure full of ideals and lofty spiritual values that include a lot of parables and judgment, where the Sumerian and Akkadian wisdom is filled with moral advice in addition to the religious hymns of the gods of justice, whose most precious endorsements were manifested in the Epic of Gilgamesh (about 2100 BC) It was able to reach the peak of mature moral thought at the time, in addition to many legal texts that represent a legislative source of ethics, such as the Hammurabi Obelisk (1792-1750BC), which includes (282) legal articles that were characterized by the accurate legislation of human duties and rights, and dealt with various social, political and economic affairs⁽²⁷⁾.

The phenomenon of contradiction also reveals the Islamists who say that man knew God by reason, but he is unable to organize his life affairs except through the application of

Sharia and religion, that is, by resorting to the rulership of God))⁽²⁸⁾, and what follows from this statement is that assuming that man is able to know the existence of God is like being able (independently of his knowledge of the existence of God) to obtain moral knowledge, and if the latter is in addition to what the practical mind provides us with in the basis of our knowledge, which systems we choose for our lives , Therefore, man is able, without divine guidance, to know any systems he chooses for his life⁽²⁹⁾, and relying on the transfer, which is represented by resorting to sacred religious texts of a certain religion on the basis of faith in the texts of this particular religion and not others, is contrary to reason because a heavenly religion such as Christianity also has its own sacred texts that claim the same as those claimed by Islamists who demand the application of Islamic law as a basis for governance , and thus we will fall into a conflict between two laws and two religions issued by one God, so we have no salvation except by abandoning the attempt to establish practical knowledge on Knowledge of divine commands and we only resort to the practical human mind alone⁽³⁰⁾, ((Muslim and Christian, for example , agree on what should be targeted for otherworldly purposes, but while the Christian faith is the right way to achieve them, in the belief of the Christian, this, of course, cannot be the right way to achieve them in the belief of the Muslim))⁽³¹⁾, Divine commands are directed to people on earth , and people have a system of moral values (pre-religious) that has developed over thousands of years , and thus it can be said that the divine teachings and commands go in the direction of consolidating human morality, ((This confirms that man is the one who sets the virtues and standards of morality , in accordance with his life on earth ... Hence, God's decision to create this particular world is at the same time his decision that his actions in dealing with this world are consistent with these standards))⁽³²⁾.

There is no doubt that the difficulties facing the mind to try to solve human issues (mundane), but it is less than the difficulties facing the mind in knowing the unseen (knowing the existence of God and His names and attributes)⁽³³⁾, and thus it can be said that it is not possible to succeed and progress any step in the field of building stable political and legal institutions that are trusted by everyone without an agreement on the purpose or basic purposes that should be achieved from behind the political and legal organization, once such an agreement is reached, the role of the practical mind becomes limited to deciding the methods of political and legal organization to achieve These purposes are in the best way, and it is clear here that the practical mind can play this role only if the agreed purposes are mundane and not other purposes. Where the agreed purposes are other purposes, no one is in a position to know what are the terrestrial means required to achieve them ⁽³⁴⁾. In summary, what it means is the apparent dependence of man on the mind in managing his affairs and not to seek refuge in religion (Sharia) under the guise of compensation for the alleged disability of the human mind. The human mind (which suffers from disability) is in a state of continuous and bitter growth With enormous evolutionary stages throughout history, who would have thought that one day this mind would discover deep galaxies and reach the moon with its companion and may later reach Mars and other planets⁽³⁵⁾.

The Third Topic: Criticism of the Thesis (Lack of Diligence in the Place of the Text)

Before delving into a fair and apparent criticism of the subject of (lack of diligence in the place of the text), we must rush to the subject of diligence language and terminology to shed more light on the place of diligence where it is and in which it is not possible to diligence, as the subject of diligence is one of the most discussed topics between ancient and contemporary Islamic scholars and thinkers so that research that deals with the life part of the Sharia is almost

devoid of dealing with the subject of diligence and the standards that must be met in the diligent and that must be adhered to⁽³⁶⁾.

- أ- **Diligence in language :** From the effort of any)): He worked hard and asked for it until he reached hardship⁽³⁷⁾ ٥, which is on the weight of fabrication and means exerting the utmost effort, energy and hardship , and is used only in what is critical and hardship and requires cost and effort⁽³⁸⁾ This word in the custom of scholars has become specific to the diligent jurist and his ability to seek knowledge of the provisions of the Sharia⁽³⁹⁾, knowing that most fundamentalists have differed in developing an inclusive definition of the meaning of diligence idiomatically because of the divergence of views and the affiliation of each jurist to a fundamentalist school that differs from its counterparts⁽⁴⁰⁾.
- ب- ٥), which is the development of new provisions of the fundamentals of religion, it is⁽⁴¹⁾(the diligent person who collects the conditions of diligence, capacity and ejection of his effort in the request of the intended from the point of inference to obtain a belief by virtue of Sharia and the field of this diligence is the branches of Sharia deduced by the diligent from its origins, which are completed in the sacred texts, the principles and rules of our pillars, including the Holy Quran and the fixed and detailed Sunnah of the entire Quran, which has a meaning or building)⁽⁴²⁾, Renewal occurs in the origins of religion, but ijthad is the field of its occurrence because the origins of religion are the foundations and fixed rules that there is no room for diligence or change in them, knowing that each Islamic doctrine has its own origins. As for the branches of religion, they are the subject of the ijthad of these origins, ijthad is part of renewal and every diligent is renewed, but not every diligent is renewed, and renewal expands to include everything that falls under the name of religion, including doctrine, jurisprudence, interpretation, worship, ethics, etc., by reviving its features and correcting the deviation that occurs to it. As for ijthad, its field is the practical provisions that fall under the name of jurisprudence only⁽⁴³⁾, so the field of ijthad lies in each A Sharia ruling that includes conclusive evidence fixed in the texts and in which the consensus of the Ummah (Ahl al-Madhab) was achieved, there is no way to ijthad in it because it has become one of the previously known rulings. As for the Sharia ruling, which does not include conclusive evidence, it is an object of ijthad and the implementation of reason in it⁽⁴⁴⁾, and the rule of (no ijthad with the text) is almost a fundamental rule that combines all issues of ijthad. Most Islamic doctrines agreed that there is no ijthad with the text, especially among the frontline jurists who, according to their imams (peace be upon them), agreed on the sanctity of working with (ijthad against the text), which is one of the necessities of the jurisprudence of the doctrine⁽⁴⁵⁾.

Adel appears to all Islamists and their various sects that they do not do more than revive old ideas on the subject of ijthad, which are summarized in one doctrine, which is that there is no ijthad in the place of the text, which is a seemingly unreasonable situation. It is an idea that is repeated in different formats in most of the books of modern and ancient Islamic theorists⁽⁴⁶⁾. What (traditional Islamists) do is that there is no need to ijthad by the existence of a definitive text. The proof is from their point of view, because the process of understanding and interpreting texts is subject to understanding, interpretation, language and culture from living and appearing These texts at the time, especially the texts that refer to the divine aspect (the divine essence and its attributes). These texts usually involve historical interpretations and concepts belonging to the Abrahamic religions prior to the emergence of Islam. Familiarity with such texts needs to be familiar with the previous Abrahamic tradition or interpretation to which these concepts belong. Here is the weakness in the rule that goes to lack of diligence in this place of the text on the one hand⁽⁴⁷⁾, on the other hand, the legal rules and provisions of the limits and penalties deduced from the texts that concern the

family, inheritance, money and exchanges, such as the rule of cutting the hand of the thief, the whipping of the adulterer and the whipping of the moustache Alcohol and for the male, such as the luck of the females and other provisions that represent a model for a definitive text, the significance is doubtful - according to the appearance - because the significance of any of the texts concerned is one for all, and this significance constitutes an absolute fixed base that does not change with the change in the historical, social, economic and cultural conditions of humans⁽⁴⁸⁾, although most of the Sharia provisions are derived from general principles (sent interests) and the principle of (do no harm) or the principle of justice ...Etc., which are conditional principles and are not absolute. However, we find that these Islamists do not allow diligence in such provisions as they are fixed and absolute⁽⁴⁹⁾, and therefore it can be said with fairness that the legal provisions are usually fixed, absolute and final and do not appeal to relativism, while these provisions came to serve a higher purpose than being fixed, absolute and unchangeable. The rule of cutting the hand of the thief, for example, is supposed not to remain the same, but to change in a way that suits the requirements of the times , a rule that suits the spirit of the pensioner, a rule that serves the highest purpose, which is to cut the backs of theft, and the last goal is not final, but rather acquires its value from a higher purpose, which is the achievement of the public good and public benefit⁽⁵⁰⁾.

The Fourth Topic: Criticism of the Thesis (The Incompatibility Between Democracy and Political Islam)

With regard to political Islam from democracy, Adel Zahir criticizes the theses of the Islamists and their divergent political position as a guaranteed form of democracy, which is the possibility of reconciling political Islam and democracy. Zahir believes that the democratic political system can not find a good soil in the religious (non-secular) state, whether Christian or Islamic , because the religious state tends by nature to be a totalitarian state, which is the opposite of the democratic state⁽⁵¹⁾, so the clergy intervened (the clergy class) in political affairs and made religious texts and their interpretations a political reference on the pretext that the divine laws surround worldly affairs is something that has nothing to do with democracy and the laws of the system of participation based on the opinion of the majority. Clergy often presents themselves as experts in political, social and economic affairs only⁽⁵²⁾

The phenomenon of three interrelated principles of the nature of the religious state (the principle of the universality of religious belief - the totalitarian principle, which is the subjection of all human laws to divine laws - the principle of governance, which represents the principle of the centrality of the authority of the elite)⁽⁵³⁾, where it is seen that all the perceptions of the religious state are determined by these three principles, the owners of the idea of Islam as a religion and a state , the relationship of Islam to politics is not just a historical relationship dictated by the circumstances of the emergence of Islam and the conflicts it has fought, but as we have shown in an apparent criticism of the thesis of criticism (Islam as a religion and a state) is a necessary relationship in the logical and conceptual sense, that is to say, the sense of seeking To establish a state based on the teachings of Islam , because this is one of the duties of religious obligation, a principle that stems from their commitment to the second principle(Hakimiyah to God), which is summarized by the rule of the caliph or any other religious man. He is the only one who represents the will and legitimacy of God. Man is not obligated to obey the temporal ruler unless this ruler represents the will of God. His obedience to the temporal ruler derives from his obligation to obey God. Therefore, man's obedience to God in the absolute religious state comes from the obedience of the individual to the legitimate ruler who rules on behalf of God⁽⁵⁴⁾, which leads to the third principle (principle of centrality The authority of the elite), a select group of human beings who have fulfilled the conditions required for the completion of their Islamic

personality with all its meanings of understanding and devotion to the teachings of their religion , individuals who assume in themselves the capacity and ability to understand the content of the divine law and apply it faithfully and impartially, this elite may be represented by one person or a group of senior jurists and judges who legislate laws and formulate state policy ⁽⁵⁵⁾This is evidenced by the Brotherhood ideology, which represents the source of all other Islamic ideologies, regardless of their sects and names, Sayyid Qutb describes the message of the brothers as ((the same as the message of God, which presented the image of Islam in its final form...To be the religion of all humanity and to be its law is the law of all people and to dominate all that was before it to be the final reference and to establish the human way of life)⁵⁶⁾ 0, and this is contrary to what is adopted by the ideology of fundamentalism that believes in the principle of the authority of the only elite capable of possessing the absolute and complete truth, they are the chosen group that claims the right to represent the will of God and not others, which destroys the idea of political opposition altogether , and according to this holistic view The political monopoly of these groups is to transform the divine authority into a political authority that does not escape the domination of any aspect of economic, social, educational, cultural and other life, and thus a comprehensive ideology of all affairs of life and the dissolution of all that is private for the sake of the public⁽⁵⁷⁾. Democracy, which is based on the idea of believing in the ability of the human mind to find solutions to the problems and crises facing them through collective action, by employing the mind that believes in equal opportunities for political action and giving any citizen the upper limit of freedom that is consistent with giving similar freedom to every other citizen and activating the abilities and capabilities of everyone and their cooperation with each other in order to gradually reach the knowledge necessary to manage their common interest, is what It is completely contrary to the principle of the monopoly of authority by an individual or group ⁽⁵⁸⁾.

Research Findings

- 1- Adel Zaher does not rely on religious texts for the purpose of proving the existence of a relationship between Islam and politics because it is easy to adapt and interpret religious texts to support the secular viewpoint or the opposite viewpoint. Therefore, Zaher believes that we need conceptual logical considerations to understand and analyze the logical nature of religion away from resorting to religious text.
- 2- The most important condition for the establishment of an Islamic state is not available today, which is the validity of Sharia (relative) today, due to the different historical circumstances surrounding the emergence of Islam and the needs of the ancient Islamic environment, which are completely different from the circumstances of Muslims today, in addition to the specificity of each people and country and its difference from the other. Therefore, we need new laws and rules from outside Sharia to regulate our lives.
- 3- Although divine commands are directed to man, these commands are complementary to the moral and legislative values (prior to religions). Man has, since the earliest civilizations, a system of moral values that he developed thousands of years ago. A man is able, without divine guidance, to know any systems he chooses for his life by relying on reason in managing his affairs and not resorting to religion (Sharia) under the guise of compensation for the alleged incapacity of the human mind, which has gone through tremendous evolutionary stages throughout history.
- 4- Adel Zahir supports the idea of ijtihad in the position of the text, which is rejected by most Islamic doctrines that believe in the stability and release of Sharia rulings that do not recognize relativity, while these rulings, according to Zahir, came to serve a higher purpose than being fixed, absolute and immutable.

- 5- It is impossible to reconcile political Islam with democracy, which is a basic principle of the secular political system. Democracy based on pluralism, majority rule, and the participation of all members of society in determining their destiny cannot find a valid soil in a state that believes in the universality of religion and that the rule of God is based on the authority of a certain elite.

References

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- (*) A Lebanese thinker born in the town of Nabatieh in 1939, he graduated from the American University of Lebanon and completed his studies at the University of Frankfurt and received his doctorate from the University of New York in philosophy in 1967. He taught at the American University and the University of Jordan. He headed the editing of the Arab Philosophical Journal (1987-1992), founded the Journal of Attitudes. He has several publications in Arabic and English, the most important of which are: (Man and Society 1980, Criticism of Western Philosophy – Ethics and Mind 1990, Philosophy and Politics 1991, Philosophical Foundations of Secularism 1993, The Unbelievable in Contemporary Islamic Movements 2008, The Primacy of Reason - Criticism of Political Islam Theses 2001).
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- (6) Ibid., p. 10
- (7) Ibid., p. 11, aAlso: Zahir: The Priority of Reason – Criticism of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 207.
- (*) *A Salafi group that adopted a takfiri approach, originated in Egypt in 1964 by three militants, spread in Cairo and Alexandria, and expanded their activities in many military and civilian institutions in Egypt and abroad and carried out many armed actions, most notably the assassination of Sadat in 1981 and the bombing of the Egyptian embassy in Pakistan in 1995 and others. See: Al-Mousli, Ahmed: Encyclopedia of Islamic Movements in the Arab World, Iran and Turkey, Center for Arab Unity Studies, Beirut 0200, p. 67.
- (8) See: Zahir, Adel: The Primacy of Reason – Criticism of the Treatises of Political Islam, pp. 207-212, comparing: Abdul Razek, Ali: Islam and the Origins of Governance, Dar al-Hayat Library, Beirut, 1978, pp. 10-17.
- (9) Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 11.
- (10) See: Zahir: The Philosophical Foundations of Secularism, p. 11.
- (11) See: Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 15.
- 12 Ibid., p. 15.
- (13) Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 15.
- (14) Se: Zahir: The Primacy of Reason – A Critique of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 214.
- (15) See: Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 17.
- (16) Considered: Zakaria, Fouad: Truth and Illusion in Contemporary Islamic Movements, Dar Al-Fikr for Studies, Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 1st Edition, 1986, p. 30, also: Zakaria, Fouad: Islamic Awakening in the Balance of Mind, Dar Al-Fikr Contemporary, Cairo, 2nd Edition, 1987, p. 31.
- (17) See: Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - A Critique of the Theses of Political Islam, p. 214
- 18 Ibid., p. 219.
- (19) See: Zahir: The Philosophical Foundations of Secularism, p. 27. Also: Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - Criticism of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 221.
- (20) See: Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 37, also: Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - Criticism of the Theses of Political Islam, p. 221.
- (21) See: Qutb, Sayyid: Islam and the Problems of Civilization, Wahba Library Publications, Cairo, 1967, p. 41 Also: Al-Jubran, Abdul Razzaq: The Existential Solution to the Religion of the Temple Coup, Dar Al-Tashir Al-Arabi, 1st Edition 2007, p. 53
- (22) See: Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - A Critique of the Theses of Political Islam, pp.247-248.
- 23 Ibid., p. 249.
- (24) See: Zahir, Adel: Criticism of Western Philosophy – Ethics and Reason, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Shorouk Publishing and Distribution, Jordan 1990, 366.
- (25) Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 53.
- (26) See: Al-Majidi, Khaz 'al: The Body of Sumer - Book I - (History, Mythology, Theology, and Rituals) Al-Ahlia Hashemite House, Jordan, 1988, p. 57, also: Al-Majidi, Khaz 'al: Prehistoric Religions and Beliefs, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Shorouk Publishing and Distribution, Cairo, 1997, p. 163.
- (27) Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - A Critique of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 268.
- (28) See: Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 80.
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- (30) Zahir, Adel: The Primacy of Reason - A Critique of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 284.
- (31) Zahir: The Unreasonable in Contemporary Islamic Movements, p. 82.
- (32) See: Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - Criticism of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 278, comparing: Zahir, Adel :Philosophy of Religion , Arab Philosophical Encyclopedia, edited by: Ma 'an Ziada, 1st Edition, Arab Development Institute, Beirut, 1986, p. 1000.
- (33) Ibid., pp. 280-281.
- (34) See : Zahir: The Primacy of Reason - Criticism of the Treatises of Political Islam, p. 292.
- (35) See : Zahir : The Primacy of Reason - A Critique of the Theses of Political Islam, p. 301.
- (36) Al-Jurjani, Ali bin Muhammad Al-Sayyid Al-Sharif (400-471 AH) : Dictionary of Definitions, Investigation : Muhammad Siddiq Al-Manshawi, Dar Al-Fadila, Cairo, 1983, p. 10, also : Al-Fayrouz Abadi, Majd Al-Din Muhammad bin Yaqoub(729-817 AH) : Al-Muheet Dictionary, 2nd Edition, Al-Resala Foundation, Beirut, 1986, p. 351.
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- (38) Al-Ghazali, Abu Hamid Muhammad: *Al-Mustasafa in the Science of Origins*, 1st Edition, Dar Al-Kutub Al-Ilmiyyah Beirut, 2000, p. 342, and for more on the subject of ijihad, Bashar can be reviewed, Saeed: *Brief Ijihad and Renewal in Contemporary Islamic Thought*, 1st Edition, Virginia – United States, 2016.
- (39) See: Al-Tufi, Najm al-Din Ibn al-Rabi '(d. 716 AH): *Sharh Mukhtaşar al-Rawdah*, Part 1, Investigation: Dr. Abdullah Al-Turki, Publications of the Ministries of Awqaf, Riyadh, undated, p. 321.
- (40) Al-Hali, Abu Mansour Al-Hassan bin Yusuf bin Mutahar (648-726 AH): *Principles of Access to Fundamental Science*, Investigation of Abdul Hussein Al-Baqal, 2nd Edition, Dar Al-Adwaa, Beirut, 1986, p. 240-241 Also: Amara, Muhammad: *Crisis of Contemporary Islamic Thought*, Dar Al-Sharq Al-Awsat Publishing House, Cairo, without date, p. 25.
- (41) Amara, Muhammad: *Milestones of the Islamic Method*, Dar es Salaam, 1st Edition, Egypt, 2008, p. 62.
- (42) See: *Before him, Adnan Muhammad: Renewal in Islamic Thought*, Dar Ibn Al-Jawzi, 1st Edition, Nowhere, 2001, p. 42.
- (43) See: Al-Ghazali: *Al-Mustasafi fi 'Ilm al-Uşul*, p. 345.
- (44) Al-Hur Al-Ameli, Sheikh Muhammad Ibn Al-Hassan (d. 1104AH): *Detailing the Means of Shiism to Collect the Means of Sharia*, Part 1, Investigation and Publishing: Ahl Al-Bayt Foundation, Islam Them for Heritage Neighborhoods, Beirut, undated, p. 89.
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