NATIONALISM AND FUNDAMENTALISM IN WEST ASIA

[a]FARIBA RAHIMI TAGHANAKI, [b]BAHRAM YOUSEFI

[a] *M.A. Student of Politic Science, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran*
[b]*Asistant Professor, Faculty Member, PhD of International relations, Ahvaz Branch, Islamic Azad University, Ahvaz, Iran*

Email: [a]*frahimitaghanaki@gmail.com,*
[b]*bahram.yousefi.by@gmail.com*

Abstract. Arabic nationalism was affected by Islamic reformism raised by ideologists like Jamaluddin Afghani, Mohammad Abduh and Rashid Reza was another branch of Islamic reformism and fundamentalism and Hassan al-Banna and Seyyed Qotb were raised as spokesman of that. Islamic fundamentalism was raised for the first time against created challenges of nationalism at 1960. Meanwhile these countries failed in their modernization and they had suffered of threats and challenges such as Islamic opposition and the crisis of legitimacy and political authority. Threat is widely regarded today to international security. This threat is from non-state actors such as terrorist actors. One question is raised here what is the risk of this group for the region, especially Asia? And also it has been tried to noting the dimensions of the crisis.

Keywords: nationalism, fundamentalism, Islamic government, terrorism

1. Introduction

Nationalism as mainstream of ideology in most Muslim countries was in order to expedite the formation of modern national state in the region and this nationalism to traditional ideology of Islam in secularization policy has been created as an important file of renovation in countries of the region. According to these changes countries of the region are placed in various situations. Countries with the separation of religion and state, countries that have integrated religion and state and they have been governed as the Kingdom that has been led to the downfall of Islam in policy. And countries that have gone to secularization in relation with developing ideology of politic system, party organizations, institutes like department and… by reduction of Islam traditional position. In these countries legal system and the education system have been stabilized. Done reformations of economic renovation and reformation of national economy bring deep changes in structures and relations and life style in Islam world and traditional norms of Islamic economy and ethic have been affected by secularization. Development of nationalism and reduction of Islamic viewpoints are seen in this region. Production of the Arab League and dealing with Israel and the policies of Gamal Abdel Nasser in Egypt and the presented pan-Islamism by Saudi Arabia can be named as some of made changes in nationalisms which all of them have been finished to detriment for all Islamic countries. During the struggle of Arabs and Israel the Arabic nationalism was applied as an ideological weapon against Israel (Zionists) and western imperialism by Arabic countries.

In politic evolution of west Asia it can be said that relations between Islam and modern nationalism can be considered from the date of Islamic reformism which the source of that is nationalism and Islamic politic thoughts. Influence of Islamic reformism to nationalism and Islamic politic thoughts to is obvious that its result is promoting rational revision and reformation of Islamic society and opposition to foreign invasion and modern secular nationalism with an emphasis on tradition. Jamaluddin Afghani is one of the first people who was active in this field that this thoughts were going on among Islamic nationalism and reformism. Muhammad Abduh and Rashid are other people who did some politic reformations and thought on the field of relation between religious identity and national identity that they promoted Islamic fundamental ideology and politic theory differ from secular nationalism which has been led to production of Islamic fundamentalism (shuzhi, 1992). Nationalism in Islamic countries of the region was begun after attach of colonialism and downfall of the Ottoman Empire. John Esposito the famous researcher believes that appearance of

Islamic nationalism in the region is the result of interaction of following forces.

- Destruction of the Ottoman Empire after the First World War and the appearance of the modern nation and state.
- Development of independence movements with the aim of silent development to political and religious goals of western imperialism.
- Started movements by Jamaluddin Afghani and his followers Muhammad Abduh and Rashid Rida (Esposito, 1984, p59).

Certainly internal crisis as a result of the collapse of the Ottoman Empire and the imposed economic, military, political and cultural pressures of western countries can be named in the creation of sense of legitimacy and survival and identity crisis to the Arab world. In this meaning it can be said that nationalism had been in the response to western imperialism and European colonialists' government. We observe in these countries that many national liberator leaders have received modern western training assistances and affected by modern western nationalism and they had been emanated from French Revolution, equality and brotherhood freedom and modern western ideologies especially in political and democracy fields, constitutional government, the parliamentary system and individual rights. These are against the ideologies of politic Islamic society (nation) and common beliefs. The concepts of state and nation which are advocated by modern nationalism, are not based on religious beliefs and also they are different in language, ethnicity and history (Esposito, 1999).

As a result it can be said that secret war between national and religious loyalty exists in political arena of the region as the relations between nationalism and Islam. Arabic nationalism, Turkish nationalism and Iranian nationalism are existing nationalisms in the region which have similar but different attitudes to Islam. Arabic nationalism tried to introduce Islam as a cultural and functional resource from Arab nation in the first half of the 20th century which creates consistency between Islam and nationalism. But Arabic nationalism of dominant region on Egypt and Syria; sees itself close to national culture and Islam is not considered so much and yet by showing some of Islamic works different from Islamic ideology and culture (Lius , 2001).

After 1960 and following the created problems the Islamic resurgence nationalism is as a form of political discourse competing with counterparts in liberalism secular, socialism and nationalism (Ibrahim, 1980). Among this Egypt can be mentioned as the main center of Arabic nationalism which has been threatened by Muslim Brotherhood and following the assassination of President Anwar Sadat in 1981. After that we face a regime in Iran which implement the national reformations and it is known as Reza Khan Reformations. After Iran we face Baath party formation in Iraq and Syria. Also after the cold war, the Islamic Renaissance culminate in some countries in the west Asia, north Africa even in some areas of Asia especially Algeria, Sudan, Egypt, Morocco, Tunisia. Also we face revival of Islamic forces in moderate countries such as Saudi Arabia and secular countries like Turkey. We face ending the Islamic Renaissance after Mid-1990. So in ideological future in west Asia struggle between nationalism, modern ideology and Islam, traditional political culture is considered as key factor as renovation.

2. Islamic fundamentalism challenges against nationalism (Liu, 2001)

2.1 The conflict between national and religious identity

Nationalism consistent with national identity includes national culture and political identity which creates formation of modern state and nation. Nation is propounded as its main body and national identity is propounded as main underlying in creation of political and social necessaries. However the religious identity

emphasis on nation which pay attention to universal religious community.

2.2 state domination and god domination

The modern nationalism believes that domination is people and in this among this domination is as illustration movement favorer of state domination but oppositely Islamists believe to god domination which argue that god is independent and each type of domination against god is an illegal domination. Dealing with secular nationalism in the region is one of the purposes of believer to Islamic domination. This fundamentalism believes to form an Islamic state and its combination in policy and religious in this meaning the Islamic state is a state in accordance with the religious law.

2.3 opposition of secularization and Islamists

In this among secularization believes to separation of state, law, education and religion. While Islamists are integrating the religion and state with integration of policy, religion and the combination of law and religious education and they insist on integration of policy and religion. Oppositely these nationalists in favor of secularization believe that social and political frameworks should be coincident to secularization. Appositely Islamists believe that this is a type of westernize and creation of chaos and disorder in society. Islamic renovation is the only unique way to the Islamic world and different from modern nationalism. However it seems that the foundations of Islamic social movements for Islamic revival have made impedimenta in development due to lack of national development theory, bafflement in the type of development, identity crisis of political legitimacy and social cultural identity. In relation to political legitimacy and creation of the national unity ideology it seems that some states of Muslim countries are not interested in this work and also they aren't successful in their works in return great enthusiasm can be observed for despotism in this type of countries. This is dominant yet especially in some countries with kingdom state, military and semi-military autarchies in the Islam world (Esposito, 1999). In fact Islamists emphasis on god domination as the tradition and religious politic culture of Islam is considered as political power. This cultural system of religion and policy exists as a historical tradition in social mentality (Shuzhi, 1997). This type of ideal domination is known as the return to religion and cleans up corruption which this is considered as religious policy. Islamic theories are considered different from nationalism and through evaluation of rich sources of Islamic political culture (Liu, 2000).

3. Opposition of national nationalism and Islam

3.1 structure of state and nation

The struggle is between national identity and religious identity. Struggle is between creation of Islamic and ethical culture and native culture and struggle between national ideologies and Islamic native politic culture.

3.2 modern legitimacy and traditional legitimacy

Straggle has been existed between modern and traditional legitimacy. We face identities, ethnic-racial groups, religions and religious sects in the region that these are in relation with deep Islamic politic culture. Immaturity of nationalism can be considered in creation of ideological space to revive Islam.

3.3 opposition between traditional and modern political system

Nationalism of the region can be known as a sample of western political reformations in creation of political systems which this is effective on Islam in its turn. Apart from this, some despotisms can be observed in the form of military and another form of autocracy which face many challenges.

3.4 political association and democracy

It can be said that lack of opposition between political association and Islamism has led to creation of social anarchies by observation of amount of political association and democracy in the region especially Arabic countries. Nationalism of the region is in opposition with opponents of its Islamism because they criticize the legitimacy and authority of state. Generally it can be said that struggle between nationalism and Islam has been increased and this causes that the made renovation prevents the historical development and political development. This is consulted as a long work to solve the problems. This means that how nationalism of west region of Asia can adjust to Islamic integration. So countries of the region should clear the root of Islamic fundamentalism to can observe a prospects for peace in the region.

4. Appearance of terrorist groups in west Asia

4.1 Taliban

Appearance of Taliban in 1994 is one of important phenomenon in contemporary political history of Afghanistan, southwest Asia, Middle East and Islam world. At first Taliban had wanted unity, and clean up the country from autocratic local rulers, removing forward groups and making regularity and stability in Afghanistan. They created a system based on religious law and Sunna after achieving some victories. This group could surround some regions of Pakistan and Afghanistan in a short time even it could also seized Kabul. After capture of Kandahar in 1994 they asked people to do some behaviors. Such as not shaving beard, the absence of women in the streets without their confidant, closing cinemas and paintings. They changed cinema of Kandahar to mosque and stadium of Kandahar to the center of enforcing the rulings of their courts (Mahdavi, 2006). They prevented girls and women from education and they know radio and television inconsistent with Islamic rites. After long times the condition became difficult and men who shaved their beard were incarcerated from one day to one month (Hashemi, 2001: 23). Including some important factors of get into power of Taliban can be mentioned disability of Clerics leaders to form an inclusive and national state with presence of ethnic minorities, existing struggles between Clerics and Taliban continued until 1996 which leaded to occupation of Kabul. And supports of Rabbani from Taliban became a reason for creation of Taliban,

Rabbani was willing to ally with Taliban he was not willing to compromise with Pakistan in no way which was trying to take power from him. Unaware that this soon Taliban become a power that Kabul take his power that in this case Laurel Qurna believes that although state of Rabbani was grateful from Taliban for expelling Hekmatyar, but soon he found that Taliban is considered a serious threat for himself too. The influence of Islamic countries neighboring Afghanistan in jihadist forces can be named as external factors in get into power of Taliban. As a result these intervention led to movement of these groups and Taliban increased its power. Pakistan and Arabia are including these countries. After independence of Afghanistan many numbers of jihadist forces have been deployed in Pakistan. State of Pakistan was not satisfied to decision of power in Afghanistan by Rabbani's forces and without any consideration and hesitation they interfered in the affairs of the Mujahidin's state and used their own forces to interfere in internal affairs of Afghanistan and destroy Mujahidin's state (Andishmand, 2007). Support of Pakistan's military intelligence from Hekmatyar by using financial and armaments methods in order to attack on Kabul is one of supports of Pakistan. Hekmatyar could destroy a part of Kabul and kill a lot of people (Seighal, 1998). Saudi Arabia was a supporter of the Afghan mujahidin since the Soviet attacks on Afghanistan. Arabia was involved on the get to power of the Taliban by financial assistance for the establishment of thousands religious schools and help to extremism and fundamentalism (Rashid, 2004).

4.2 other terrorist groups

The roots of this group can be attributed to early 2000. Especially by attach of United States to Iraq and downfall of Saddam Hussein in 2003 while coalition forces were trying to control Iraq Led by the United States, a group was formed named Al Qaeda (AQI) in 2004 with the launch of guerrilla war against coalition forces . Meanwhile, Abu Musab al-Zarqawi who has been announced as a terrorist by Foreign Affairs Ministry of America, he announced creation of Al Qaeda. He was making a dangerous campaign against Shiites in Iraq. But Abu Musab al-Zarqawi was killed in Air Attack of America. Abu Ayyub al-Masri was replaced in October 2005 who changed the name of group from Al Qaeda to Islamic state of Iraq (ISI) and determined Abu Omar al-Baghdadi as its leader. ISI name was selected with the aim of attracting support and patronage of Iraq's people. Finally Abu Ayyub al-Masri and Abu Omar al-Baghdadi were involved to the fate of Al-Zarqawi and killed in operations of American forces in 2010. Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi became the leader of this group and he changed the group name again to Islamic state in Iraq and Syria (ISIS). Al-Nusra Front was another involved group in Syria which was fighting against Bashar Asad in Syria and achieved some successes. Announcement of unity of ISIS group and Al Qaeda in early 2013 by Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi (Stanford, 2014) made a gap between ISIS group and Al-Nusra. Abu Muhammad Julani announced that we are not alliance with ISIS group and competition between two groups was made in order to dominance on the region. After doing some affairs in order to alliance between Al Qaeda and ISIS and Al-Nusra Front in February 3 2014 Al Qaeda announced that it has separated itself from dependence of Takfiri groups in Iraq and Syria and they believe that ISIS is not a part of al Qaeda and this was a beginning of struggle between these groups (, 2014 Sly). One of purposes of al Qaeda is to unite all Muslims throughout the region, but actions of Militant groups such as targeting civilians and the local people were against the mission of al Qaeda. But ISIS commit themselves to do behavior of strict norms which this strategy is completely different from other militant organizations in the region. ISIS in early actions killed its competitors and thousands Iraqi soldiers and 100 Syrian forces in order to attract the universal attention. And it massacred foreign nationals, including aid workers and journalists in the middle of 2014 and claimed that it has implemented Islamic punishments. Some of its actions are thong, impose ban on smoking and ban on music which are very stronger than other terrorist groups such as Al Qaeda.

4.3 Islamic state in Iraq and Syria

One of the most important threats which have covered a large part of west Asia is extremist Takfiri groups. This group changed its name to Islamic state (IS) after occupation of considerable lands in Iraq and Syria. One of its main purposes is making a Caliphate or Islamic state based on religious law around the world. In 29 June 2014 the leader of this group Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi introduced himself as the leader of believers and introduced Awwad Ibrahim Ali al-Badri Alsamraty as the alternate. This shows the culmination of ambition of this person. So that the last Caliphate or the downfall of the Ottoman Empire have been destroyed in the First World War. Analysts believe about potential of terrorist group and a danger that these groups can make for Asia it should be referred to history of these groups and presented an accurate analysis (Chinyong Liow, 2014). How are amount of threat and underestimate the threat of Islamic State? We should evaluate the threat realistically about reason of concerns of terrorist groups especially ISIS on the rest of Asia, because rowdies should be avoided to evaluate threat. So that in 11 September 2014 president of United States of America Barak Obama promised for strong military and political coping with terrorist groups but this issue should be analyzed in the fact of affair, because it should be referred to roots of formation of these terrorist groups which who created them?

A treat that these terrorist group has is distribution of these groups in the whole world and if United States and its allies do their task as well about this the results will be this military and political abilities of terrorist groups will be reduced in important regions such as Syria and Iraq. But this issue remains yet as a universal threat for many regions of the world such as Africa, Asia and especially the sensitive region of the Middle East. By cooperation of United States and some of powers of the regions it can be said that in some periods remains of these terrorist groups are destroyed in regions like Syria and Iraq but these groups comeback to their regions by failure and wreak for this failure and this is a reason for lack of required effort of United States and its allies for a serious fight with terrorist groups.

5. Conclusion

Destroying the current political system in Middle East may lead to a strategic transformation. In the present time the made Interactions between Syria and crisis of Iraq are the most important challenge of the Middle East. Both states face their legitimacy following the strong challenges and controlling these interactions such as war of Takfiri groups with Bashar Asad and their refusal to accept the new condition in Iraq and contiguity of these two groups in the two country have make the region a gunpowder warehouse. The happened events from Islamic Awakening in Muslim countries of the region in 2010-2011 through opponent religious groups of western interference in countries have been caused to some groups to comply with this opportunity target Syria and Iraq. In this among it can be mentioned to the role of Islamic republic of Iran to end the crisis. Foreign policy of Iran is in a form that it is trying to maintain its regional role and applying leadership of resistance front.   The purpose of Iran is destroying ISIS in the region (Zarif, 2014). Iran is willing to maintain territorial integrity and national unity in Iraq. Some states announce that this country (Iraq) should be divided into three states of Sunni, Shiite and Kurdish. The crisis that ISIS has created is the predicted and planned crisis by studying factors of entering people to this terrorist group it can be said that there are three main reasons for this matter: The first reason is fear of people and groups in the region which lead to cooperation of them. The second reason is ideological and religious support of regional ethnic groups and tribes from this group and the third reason is mental operation and advertisement of this group in order to enrichment of its supporters to form an Islamic State. One of issues that can be propounded in copying with this group is the serious consideration on unity among different religious and ethnic groups in the region, particularly Shiites and Sunnis. Unity of interfering countries in the region especially on this issue that ISIS is considered a danger for its supporter.it seems that the United States and western countries that support terrorism become close to this result that it is possible that this group gets out of the control and acts against reactionary countries of the region and especially West. For example the created crisis can be mentioned in Turkey and Kurdish groups. The informational and operational actions should be done by countries of the region to prevent the influence of this group. So that the United States is trying to divide terrorist groups and it has divided them to the good and bad terrorist. It seems that western countries are trying to use bascule of these terrorist groups along with their benefits and particularly Zionist entity.

References

1. Liz, S.: "*Al-Qaeda disavows any ties with radical Islamist ISIS group in Syria, Iraq*", The Washington Post, 3 February 2014.
2. Peng, S.: *Islam and the Process of Modernization in the Middle East* (Xi'an: Northwest University Press, 1997, pp. 3-4.
3. John, L.: *The Islamic Threat: Myth or Reality*, translated into Chinese by Dongfang Xiao, (Peking: Social Science Literature Press, 1999, p.16.

4.   Zhongmin L.: "*Islamic Fundamentalism*: An Ideological
       Challenge to Nationalism," World Ethno-National Studies,
       2001. Vol. 6, p. 87-94.
5.   John L.: Esposito, *Islam and Politics (New York: Syracuse
       University Press*, 1984, p.59.
6.   Liow, J.: "*ISIS Goes to Asia*." Foreign Affairs. 2014.
7.   Laub, Z., Jonathan, M.: '*Al-Qaeda in Iraq (a.k.a. Islamic
       State in Iraq and Greater Syria).*' 2014.