Edwin I. J. Rosenthal, ISLAM IN THE MODERN NATIONAL STATE,
Cambridge, at the University Press, 1965; pp. xx, 416; price. 55 sh. or $10.50.

Since the appearance of Professor Gibb's Modern Trends in Islam, which has already become a classic on the subject, a number of Western scholars have attempted to study the nature of the existing crisis in the Muslim world. Of these Smith's Islam in Modern History, Adams' Islam and Modernism in Egypt, and Grunebaum's Unity and Variety in Islam have focused attention on the same problem but with different methodological approaches. To all these works, Professor Rosenthal's latest volume entitled Islam in Modern National State, is a most valuable addition. As the very title suggests, the real crux of the problem for the Muslim states today is how to integrate Islam within the framework of a modern national state. Professor Rosenthal does not confine himself in this book to merely reproducing the genesis of the crisis but also attempts to present its pathological analysis. This he proposes to do, firstly, by examining the literary evidences of "the clash of minds" presently agitating the Muslim world; and secondly, by empirical observations of the existing situations in the Muslim lands. Following this scheme of thought, he divides the book into two major parts, namely, "Contemporary Islam in Crisis and Transition", and "Islam in the Modern National State."

Professor Rosenthal has established himself already as a mature scholar of Islamics by his earlier contributions particularly his work entitled Political Thought in Medieval Islam. There is a logical connection between this earlier work and the present one in so far as the former aims at analysing the political theories of the medieval Muslim thinkers, and the present proposes to examine the validity of these medieval concepts in the present-day modern national states of the Muslim world. Islam, as a political ideal aiming at achieving the total integration of the Muslim world under a Khalifah, cannot be reconciled with the idea of nationalism, although it was with the aid of the latter that the Muslim peoples have been able to redeem themselves from the political control of the alien powers, and are able to achieve a fair degree of internal regeneration. However, the Muslims are even today emotionally attached to the world-view of Islam. This creates in them a conflict—how to reconcile the two irreconcilable ideas. In grappling with this study, Professor Rosenthal poses a very pertinent question, perhaps, in the same vein as that raised by Professor Smith in his Islam in Modern History—what is Islam? (page 7) before deciding as to what part Islam is destined to play in the modern national state. Both Rosenthal and Smith give different answers to this question. Unlike Professor Smith, Rosenthal confines himself to merely posing the question: "Is it personal faith, piety, and devotion, or is it a religious and political unity for the community of believers?" (p. xi, Introduction). Or on the same page, in the following paragraph he puts the matter in a more forthright manner when he says, "The crucial question is whether Islam should serve as a guide and inspiring ideal, or as the rule of life—the constitution of the state whose law is to be the Shari'a." This is to be viewed in contrast with Smith's remark, "To begin with, Islam is a religion."

In view of the present reviewer, the problem today is not very much simply of defining Islam either as a religion in the Western Christian sense or of an ideology, but it is much deeper than this. The real challenge to a Muslim today
arises from a dilemma in which he finds himself—how to sustain his faith in God, and at the same time seek his material well-being in this world. Professor Rosenthal, is, perhaps, correct in saying that the Muslims are prone to identify all that is Western as Christian, nevertheless, it is also hard to accept the view that Westernism and Modernism are synonymous. Much of the confusion in this connection is, perhaps, due to the view that modern science, rationalism and technology are the exclusive by-products of the Western civilization and they can flourish only in a Western environment. The correct view, perhaps, would be that the process of modernism is the logical consequence of the forces of world history, and Europe was only its historical locus, rather than its permanent abode. From the viewpoint of the emerging Muslim states of Afro-Asia, the crux of the problem is how to achieve modernization without giving up the Islamic attitude. Their problem is not so much one of accepting the wholesale uncritical Westernization as a prerequisite for rapid modernization, it is in fact one of harnessing knowledge of science, and technology for the effective implementation of Islamic ideals. As far as the modern concepts of nationalism and democracy are concerned, these are both methods as well as ideals; and there is no harm if Muslims confronted with European imperialism use them as means to achieve emancipation and internal political cohesion and stability; however, for them neither democracy nor nationalism can be the ultimate ideals—the ideals will remain Islamic. There is no inherent contradiction between Islamic goals and nationalism and democracy in this sense and if we maintain that we aim to adopt "democracy" only as a method of government for the realization of Islamic ideals, there is nothing wrong or un-Islamic about it.

In chapter 2, the Professor discusses the "Classical Foundations" in so far these are relevant to contemporary thought in Muslim countries. In this regard, it may be observed that the learned author does not build up any philosophical hypothesis like Smith and Binder in order to interpret the movements of Islamic history; he confines himself to focusing his study on al-Mawardi’s theory of the classical Khilafah, Ibn Taymiyah’s conception of the Shariah state, and Ibn Khaldun’s distinction between Khilafah and Mulk. These provide Muslims of today with three possible approaches—(i) Islamic states on the Khilafah model; (ii) Muslim state with Islam as state religion; (iii) secular Muslim state on the model of Ibn Khaldun’s Mulk. In the following chapters, he reviews the development of Muslim thought in the light of the above categorization as represented by Muslim thinkers of modern Muslim states. Under the title Islam and Turkish Nationalism, he examines the views of the early Turkish reformist thinkers, e.g. Namik Kemal, and Ziya Paga. Their thinking was characterised by their religious conservatism and 'political liberalism' (p. 29). In their view, nothing short of restoring the Sharelah could regenerate Islamic society. For this reason they criticised the Tanzimat. However, the political philosophy of modern Turkey was formulated by Ziya Gokalp in sociological terminology of Durkheim (p. 51). According to him, organic society, in contrast with the primitive society controlled by religion alone, is a complex of three different social units—namely, ummet bound by religion, state under political authority; and a nation bound by cultural mores. In this manner, he rationalises separation of ummet from the idea of nation-state (p. 52). Ziya Gokalp's
sociological interpretations of the Shari'ah with his emphasis on 'urf, in the words of Professor Rosenthal "could indeed lead to far-reaching reforms of Islamic law. though Atatürk's action closed the door in Turkey to an experiment with Gökalp's ideas and intentions" (p. 52). But the modern Turkish reformists seem to have misconstrued the concept of secularism, in so far as they aimed to eliminate Islam and Islamic law as a force in the society; whereas in the West secularism implied merely separation of religion and politics. In the West at the advent of the modern age, the Church's jurisdiction was confined to the spiritual sphere alone; it played a vital role in sustaining the religious life of the people. On the other hand, since there had never been anything analogous to the Church in Islam, introduction of secularism in the Muslim lands tends to disorganise their religious solidarity, leaving them in a state of ideological vacuum. Very often this very important point is missed by the advocates of secularism in the Muslim world.

This is very well borne out by what was to happen after the abolition of the Khilafah in Turkey. The Muslim opinion was divided 'for and against the khilafah'. Professor Rosenthal examines in details the views of two modern Arab scholars representing these two trends of thought—namely, Rashid Rida, the editor of al-Manar, and 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq. Rashid Rida being a disciple of Muhammad 'Abduh, the founder of the Salafiyah movement, came forward with a forceful defence of the institution of Khilafah re-interpreting it in modern political science vocabulary. 'Abd al-Raziq, on the other hand, defended Atatürk's abolition of the Khilafah. However, very soon, the Arabs themselves were confronted with the problem of reconciling Islam with the emerging Arab nationalism. In chapter 5 Professor Rosenthal examines the views of Muhammad al-Ghazali and Khālid Muḥammad Kālid. Both of these contemporary thinkers are contending with each other more or less on the same grounds as already covered by the earlier controversies between Rashid Rida and 'Abd al-Raziq. Professor Rosenthal also discusses Muḥammad 'Abdullah Asāmmān's theory of double allegiance of a Muslim, firstly to his nation-state, and secondly, to his greater fatherland—a union of Islamic peoples. In this connection, the present reviewer eagerly but vainly looked for the name of another very important Arab scholar and jurist who has contributed a good deal towards the modernization of Islam in Egypt, i.e. 'Abd al-Razzāq al-Sanhūrī, who wrote his magnum opus on Khilafah in French as early as 1926 in which he supported the idea of setting up a League of Muslim states. Professor Rosenthal ably discusses the views of the Ikhwan thinkers and the pan-Islamists. But here again, one misses the relatively recent Islamist group of thinkers in the Arab world led by Taqīy al-Dīn al-Nabhānī, the founder of the Hizb al-Tahrīr. He has written a number of scholarly tracts on Islamic state in addition to numerous propagandistic pamphlets.

In Pakistan, the question of Islamic state was much more closely involved in the process of constitution-making. For the discussion of Islamic constitution-making in Pakistan, Professor Rosenthal has selected Muḥammad Asad and Mawlānā Mawdūdī as representing two different solutions for integrating Islam within the Constitution of Pakistan. About Mawlānā Mawdūdī, Professor Rosenthal observes, "The general outline of an Islamic state has been drawn by
Rashid Rida and the *Ikhwan al-Muslimun* with whose strategy and propaganda Maulana Maududi has much in common" (page 137). We feel that it would have been useful to compare also the views of Muhammad Asad and Mawlana Mawdudi with those of orthodox scholars like Mawlana Mufti Muhammad Shafi' who was also the chairman of the Board of Ta'limat-i-Islamiyah, an advisory body to assist the first Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. His brief pamphlet entitled, *Qur'ani Dasturi-Mamlakat ke Bunyadi Usul* (The Basic Principles of the Qur'anic Constitution of the State) is an interesting exposition of the subject, and deserves attention.

From Morocco, Professor Rosenthal picks up 'Allal Al-Fasih as an example of a contemporary Muslim thinker who is successful to a great extent in achieving what he prefers to call "A Blend of Islam and Arab Nationalism". Rosenthal discusses al-Fasih's views in chapter 7 which this reviewer found to be the best chapter in the first part of the book. In the words of Rosenthal, "His general position is that of the Salafiya—or should we say Neo-Salafiya?—yet more open to the West, free from polemical and apologetic preoccupations and prejudices" (p. 154). Professor Rosenthal holds al-Fasih in highest esteem, and in concluding the chapter remarks, "Written in exile, Self-Criticism is not only a vivid testimony to a gallant fighter for human and national freedom and for things of the spirit. It is also a challenge to all those who want to build Islam into a modern national state as a central force and factor" (p. 178).

In Part II, Professor Rosenthal gives his personal observations concerning Islam as it is in Pakistan, Malaya, Iran, Turkey, Tunisia, and Morocco. These observations are based on his study tours of these countries. One thing that strikes is the fact that he has excluded Arab countries from his itinerary, although in the earlier Part there is enough material on the Arab thinking on the subject. This appears to be a serious lacuna left in the scheme of the book. Another thing to be noted is the relatively disproportionate treatment of countries except Pakistan. Professor Rosenthal's discussion of the Islamic aspects of the constitution-making in Pakistan is thought-provoking. He has been able to understand the logical and historical connections between Islam and the Pakistan movement. Tracing the evolution of the idea of Pakistan in the perspective of the ideas of Sayyid Ahmad Khan, Shah Waliy Allah, and Shaykh Ahmad of Sirhind, he rightly concludes, "It is, indeed, difficult to see how Islam can be kept out of politics in Pakistan, however much the quietists among the religious and the advocates of a lay state may wish it" (p. 188). Discussing the change-over from Parliamentary experiment to that of the Presidential system after the bloodless October revolution, Professor Rosenthal observes, "That the President of Pakistan has acted from patriotic reasons throughout is beyond doubt; that he conceived of guiding and administering a state and ruling the people as a military operation is equally certain. He said, as reported in *Dawn*, that: 'It was his desire to see the country as organized as her army'" (p. 236).

In Malaya, according to Professor Rosenthal, "The separation of state and religion is anchored in the Constitution of the Federation of Malaya" (p. 288). At the end of this chapter (9) Professor Rosenthal makes an interesting observation: "In Malaya, as in other newly independent, sovereign Muslim states, there is no barrier against Communism other than a live, dynamic Islam as far as the
Muslim part of the population is concerned" (p. 306). This is a tantalizing chapter, for, one expects the same masterly treatment of the subject in the context of the largest Muslim country of (not only) the Malaya world, i.e. Indonesia, but in vain. However, Professor Rosenthal is neither the first nor the only Islamicist at whose hands this great and potentially powerful Muslim country has suffered cold indifference.

In chapter 10, Professor Rosenthal discusses the Islamic aspects of the Iranian Constitution, and the attitude of the modern Turks towards Islam. The Iranian Constitution, as set up after the Revolution of 1906, declares Islam (that is, Islam according to the tenets of the Shi'i sect of the Jafarite Ithnā ‘Ashārī) as the official religion of Iran. It further provides that the Legislative Assembly (majlis) can at no time contradict the Holy Islamic prescriptions nor the laws made by the Prophet (p. 307). There was made a provision for a Committee of learned ‘ulamā' to act as the guardians of the Islamic laws. However, this latter provision has remained inoperative. As observed by Professor Rosenthal, "the question of Islam is closely linked with the economic and social development of modern Iran, but the strength of religious feeling and of traditional observance in a majority of the people suggests that Islam will find its place in a new society in which wealth and skills are more evenly and justly distributed" (p. 310).

Professor Rosenthal’s discussions concerning the place of Islam in Turkey today is rather sketchy, although, as it is well-known, in recent times there have been attempts to rehabilitate Islam in Turkey and there appears to be a growing awareness, there, of the existing ideological vacuum.

Speaking of Islam in North Africa, and particularly of Tunisia and Morocco, Professor Rosenthal observes, "It appears that nationalism, Maghrabi Arab nationalism, has discovered a new relationship to Islam which has preserved its purity despite Marboutism—the religious orders with their cult of saints and their fanaticism and stagnation. It has crushed Marboutism and tries to build Islam into its new national character as an important constituent. It is naturally not medieval Islam with its claim to determine policy and to provide the law of the land. It is rather Islam as faith and/or culture and civilization" (p. 316). In both Tunisia and Morocco, Islam has been declared state religion, however, in Morocco, according to Professor Rosenthal, "the religious groupings are sharper than in Tunisia; rigid orthodoxy is strongly entrenched, especially in the famous Qarawiyyin in Fez, and the influence of the ‘ulamā' is by no means negligible" (p. 324). As a result, Islam has been closely involved in the process of constitution-making with Idrīs al-Kattānī opposed to the idea of secularism. In spite of all this, Professor Rosenthal observes, "Morocco is a Muslim country, but it is not an Islamic state" (p. 331).

In the last four chapters, Professor Rosenthal examines problems of modernization of law, emancipation of women, place of Islam in the educational schemes of Pakistan, Malaya, Tunisia, and Morocco. In connection with the changes in law, Professor Rosenthal examines how some of the Muslim states are trying to bring about changes in the personal status law traditionally based on the Shari'ah for a long time. He takes the example of Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961 of Pakistan which has been object of denunciation by the ‘ulamā' of the country as clearly repugnant to the Shari'ah law. Professor Rosenthal very ably
compares the provisions of this law with those of the laws in Tunisia, Morocco, and Turkey.

In discussing the emancipation of women in some of these countries, Professor Rosenthal describes the activities of the various organizations of the women, such as All-Pakistan Women's Association (APWA) of Pakistan, and Union Nationale des Femmes de Tunisie. Whereas, in Tunisia, the movement is strongly on radical lines, movements in Pakistan and Morocco are relatively slow and gradual.

In chapters 14 and 15, Professor Rosenthal surveys the educational systems of the above countries in order to discover the place Islam has been assigned in moulding the national character of the respective peoples. Examining the content of the Report of the Commission on National Education, in Pakistan, Professor Rosenthal observes, "It is a statesmanlike document that shows the determination of the government to implement with a sense of urgency and responsibility the recommendations of the commission as far as practicable" (p. 347). He also describes some of the educational institutions which have been set up to achieve certain specific objectives, such as the APWA College and the Jami'ah Ta'lim-i-Milli, Karachi. In Malaya, religious instruction for Muslims is under the authority of the Department of Religious Affairs (p. 359). Discussing the education in Tunisia and Morocco the Professor observes, "Both countries profess in their constitutions their attachment to Islamic teachings, and it may very well be that Islam will be the principal, or at least an important, element in the cultural nationalism which must replace the political nationalism which culminated and was fulfilled in the attainment of sovereign independence" (p. 362).

In conclusion, it may be observed that the volume under review is, no doubt, a definite contribution to a fair and sympathetic understanding of Islam by Western scholarship, which is all the more valuable in view of the Western involvement in the process of economic, social, and educational development of the emerging Muslim states. To the Muslims, the book must provide food for thought.

At the end, Professor Rosenthal has included a valuable Select Bibliography both in Arabic and European languages.

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