REPUBLIC OF AZERBAIJAN

On the rights of manuscript

ABSTRACT

of the dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

FORMATION OF MUSLIM POLITICAL THOUGHT IN EUROPE IN THE XX CENTURY - EARLY XXI CENTURY

Speciality:	5502.01 - General History
Field of science:	History
Applicant:	**Rauf Nazim oglu Mamedov**

BAKU – 2023

The work was performed at the Institute of Oriental Studies named after academician Z.M.Bunyadov of the National Academy of Sciences of Azerbaijan.

Scientific Supervisor: Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor, academician
Nargiz Chingiz gizi Akhundova

Official opponents: Doctor of Historical Sciences
Farhad Rafig oglu Jabbarov
Doctor of Philosophy in History, associate professor
Sitara Oruj gizi Mustafayeva
Doctor of Philosophy in History, associate professor
Mehriban Fakhraddin gizi Aliyeva

Dissertation Council ED 2.20 of Supreme Attestation President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at the Baku State University

Chairman of the Dissertation Council: Doctor of Historical Sciences, professor
Ibrahim Khudaverdi oglu Zeynalov

Scientific Secretary of the Dissertation Council: Doctor of Philosophy in History, associate professor
Kamala Telman gizi Najafova

Chairman of the scientific seminar: Doctor of Historical Science Aida Rahim gizi Baghirova

BDİ BAKI DÖVLƏT UNİVERSİTETİ
Ministry of Science and Education of the Republic of Azerbaijan
Baku State University t a.p.i.

ELMİ KATİB
SCIENTIFIC SECRETARY

" 22 " 12 20 25

I. GENERAL CHARACTERİSTİCS OF THE DİSSERTATİON

The relevance and degree of development of the topic. While identifying the main trends characterizing the modern world, it is necessary to take into account the growing role of the Muslim community, its place and importance in shaping the world economy, politics, and culture. If we consider the current situation in the West, we can notice how the Muslim community influences non-Muslim regions, where the Islamic religion is constantly receiving significant interest. The processes of revival in Muslim civilization, which is one of the most striking manifestations in the modern world, directly influence the processes of global development and the future of public policy of each country. Social regulation of society is of great importance in the Islamic religion. Almost all aspects of a Muslim's life are recognized as important from a religious point of view. This creates conditions for Islam to comprehensively influence the processes occurring in society and the world, which requires the consolidation of Muslims in political, economic, cultural and other spheres, as well as the transformation of their religious community into a union with a certain level of institutionalization.

The influence of Islam on the socio-political life of modern society and its worldview sphere, brings to the forefront the relevance of the study of the problems of future development of Muslim society. In this context, Islamic modernism is of particular importance, since it is thanks to this ideological phenomenon that new approaches to reforming a Muslim society in need can be developed. In this regard, the various forms of Islamic modernism that emerged in the West in the early 20th and 21st centuries have shown fundamentally new forms of future development of Muslim society.

The term "Islamic modernism" itself is a new discourse that is intended to return to the main sources of Islam, and to interpret and adapt these sources according to today's conditions. Two important representatives of Islamic modernism, al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh, in this context consider it important to purify religion from bidat and superstition, to refer to the Qur'an and Sunnah, to give

meaning to education, to perform ijtihad, to abandon imitation to revive thoughts contrary to Sufism that are not in accordance with the Qur'an and Sunnah, and finally to take into account the science and technology of the West.

Disclosure of the basic principles of Islamic modernism depends mainly on understanding the fundamental foundations of Islam itself. Since, the modernization processes taking place in the Muslim world are carried out in accordance with the formation of the basis for understanding the dogmatic postulates of Islam. In this regard, it is important to pay attention to the studies of world scholars who have made an important contribution to the study of fundamental problems of Islam, including the problems of modernism in Muslim society. Especially relevant is the study of the works of Western Islamologists and Orientalists, which have significantly expanded the scope of the study of the problems of Islam and formed a practical basis for the analysis of modernist processes in the Islamic world. In this regard, we should note the works of Kurtzman C., Khudbhoy P., Black E., Cooper J., Dalacourt K., Olivier Roy and others. [1] In these works, scholars have thoroughly investigated the history of the emergence and development of Islam and its various currents, the prospects for the development of Muslim teachings in modern conditions, the impact of Islamic modernization on the socio-political and spiritual life of the Muslim, etc.

Scientific works on the topic of Islamic modernism can be divided into two groups. The first group consists of works focusing on the study of the emergence of Islamic modernism and its subsequent

---

[1] Black, A. The History of Islamic Political Thought: from the Prophet to the present / A. Black. – Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd., – 2001. – 380 p.; Cooper, John. The Limits of the Sacred: the Epistemology of 'Abdolkarim Soroush // Islam and Modernity: Muslim Intellectuals Respond / Edited by John Cooper, Ronald L. Nettler, and Mohamed Mahmoud. – London and New York: I. B. Tauris, – 1998. – p.38-56; Dalacoura, K. Islam, Liberalism and Human Rights / K. Dalacoura. – London and New York: I.B.Tauris, – 2007. – 238 p.; Hoodbhoy, P. Islam and Science: Religious Orthodoxy and the Battle for Rationality / P. Hoodbhoy. – London: Zed Books, – 1991. – 172 p.; Roy, Olivier. Globalized Islam: The Search for a New Ummah / O. Roy. – New York: Columbia University Press, – 2004. – 349 p.

development, not only in Egypt, but throughout the Muslim East. Accordingly, the period of study covers mainly the second half of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth century. The second group consists of studies devoted to the issues of modern Muslim diasporas in the West and the ideology of Islamic modernism in the context of the Muslim Ummah in the European cultural space. The period of research of this group of sources covers the second half of the 20th century to the present day. The first group of sources consists of the works of the ideologists of the first wave of Islamic modernism, such as Jamaluddin al-Afghani, Muhammad Abduh, etc., as well as works devoted to the life and views of these ideologists. This group of sources includes such biographical works as "Sayyid Jamaluddin Al-Afghani. Political Biography" by Nikki K., published in 1972 in Los Angeles, primary sources "The New Woman" by Amin K., "Theology of Unity" by Muhammad Abduh (London, 1966), "Urwat-ul-Wusga" (Kabul, 1977) by Jamaluddin Al-Afghani, etc., and others.[2]

The next group of sources consists of monographs, articles and interviews of contemporary European Muslim ideologues such as Tariq Ramadan, Taha Jabir Al-Alwani, Abdulkarim Sorush, Bassam Tibbi, Tariq Ubru, Amina Wadud and others. This group of sources also includes mainly the scholarly works of Tariq Ramadan "In the Footsteps of the Prophet", "Islam and the Arab Renaissance", "Being a European Muslim", "Western Muslims and the Future of Islam", the works of other ideologues such as "The Disease of Islam" (Paris, 2002) by Abdelwahhab Meddeb, the influential works "Towards Minority Fiqh" by Al-Alwani, Bassam Tibbi's articles "Europeanization, Not Islamization", "Europeans Stop Defending Their Future Islam", and the works of other ideologues such as "The Disease of Islam" (Paris, 2002) by Abdelwahhab Meddeb.) by Abdelwahhab Meddeb, the influential works "Towards Minority Fiqh" by Al-Alwani, Bassam

[2] Амин, К. Новая женщина / К. Амин. – Санкт-Петербург: Тип. В. Ф. Киршбаума, – 1912. – [2], XVIII, 119, [2] с.; Keddie, Nikki R. Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'Al-Afghani'. A Political Biography / N.R. Keddie. – Los Angeles: ACLS Humanities E-Book, – 1972. – 500 p.; Abduh, M. The Theology of Unity / M. Abduh. – London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, – 1966. – 164 p.; Afghani, J. Urvat-ul-Vusqa, Asare –Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani (in persian) / J. Afghani. Kabul: Beyhaqi, – 1977. – 248 p.

Tibbi's articles "Europeanization, Not Islamization," "Europeans No Longer Defend Their Values," Udo Steinbach's article "Euro-Islam: One Word, Two Concepts, Many Problems" (2005), Abdulkarim Soroush's "The Confused Dream of a Return to Tradition" (interview - 2006), and other works. [3]

In addition, it is also worth noting scientific works in periodicals that explore the topic of the history of the development of Islamic modernism. This group of sources includes such works as "Pan-Islamism. Origins and Modernity" (2010) by Sikoyev R.R, Byrd's work edited by Jawad Miri, "Ali Shariati and the Future of Social Theory: Religion, Revolution and the Role of Intellectuals" (Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018), Dalakur K. "Islam, Liberalism and Human Rights" (London, I. B. Tauris, 2007), Adis Duderia's "Islam and Muslims in the West: major issues and debates," author Linyakumpu Aini's "Political Islam in a globalized world," and other sources that explore the history of the development of modernist trends in Islam in

---

[3] Al-Alwani, Taha Jabir. Towards a Fiqh for Minorities / T.J. Al-Alwani. – London-Washington: The International Institute of Islamic Thouth, – 2013. –59 p.; Bassam, Tibi. Europeans Have Stopped Defending Their Values (interview): [Electronic resource] / – October 10, 2006. URL: https://www.subsim.com/radioroom/showthread.php?t=98935; Ramadan, T. To be a European Muslim / T. Ramadan. – Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, – 2015. – 289 p. Ramadan, T. Western Muslims and the Future of Islam / T. Ramadan. – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004 –272 p.; The Muddled Dream of Returning to Tradition. An interview with Abdulkarim Soroush. November 2006: [Electronic resource] / – December, 2020. URL: http://www.drsoroush.com/English/Interviews/E-INT-The%20Muddled%20Dream%20of%20Returning%20to%20Tradition.html;
Wadud, A. Inside The Gender Jihad: Women's Reform in Islam (Islam in the Twenty-First Century) / A. Wadud. – London: Publisher One World Publications, – 2006. – 325 p.; Oubrou, Tareq. Les musulmans doivent s'adapter à la société française: [Ressource électronique] / L'Express, interview 2012. – September, 2022. URL: https://www.lexpress.fr/societe/religion/les-musulmans-doivent-s-adapter-a-la-societe-francaise_1184813.html
https://www.lexpress.fr/actualite/societe/religion/; The Muddled Dream of Returning to Tradition. An interview with Abdulkarim Soroush. November 2006: [Electronic resource] / – December, 2020. URL: http://www.drsoroush.com/English/Interviews/E-INT-The%20Muddled%20Dream%20of%20Returning%20to%20Tradition.html

general.[4]

Azerbaijani scholars have also conducted important studies on various aspects of the Muslim community, Islamic modernism, and contemporary intra-Islamic processes. Among them are the monographs by A. Farhadov "Islamic enlightenment movement in Northern Azerbaijan (XIX - early XX centuries)", R. Mursalov "Modern intra-Islamic processes: based on the analysis of Egyptian thinkers", M. Sattarov "Modernization in Islam", I. Khalilov "World religions. Religion in the history of the peoples of the world: Encyclopedic Guide", as well as articles by M. Gamidova "Gender aspects of Islamic and modernist relations in Azerbaijan", S. Hasanova "XIX-XXI centuries. Islamic philosophy and modernism", G. Mustafayev "Modernization of Islam", M. Shakikhanova "Islamic modernism: historical and philosophical view on the genesis of jadidism", as well as a collective monograph among the authors, which I. Baghirov and Sh. Rahmanzade "History of social and cultural reformism in Central Asia and the Caucasus (XIX - early XX centuries)", etc.[5]

[4] Сикоев, Р.Р. Панисламизм: истоки и современность: Джамалуддин Афгани и его религиозно-политические последователи XX-начала XXI века / Р.Р. Сикоев. – Москва: Аспект Пресс, – 2010. – 286 с.; Ali Shariati and the Future of Social Theory: Religion, Revolution, and the Role of the Intellectual / D.J. Byrd, Javad Miri S. (ed.). – Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2018. – 300 p.; Duderija, A. Islam and Muslims in the West: Major Issues and Debates / A. Duderija, H. Rane. – London: Palgrave Macmillan, – 2019. – 267 p.; Linjakumpu, A. Political islam in the Globalized World / A. Linjakumpu. – Reading, UK: Ithaca Press, – 2008. – 222 p.

[5] Fərhadov, Ə. Şimali Azərbaycanda islam maarifçiliyi hərəkatı (XIX - XX əsrin əvvəlləri) / Ə. Fərhadov. – Bakı: [n.y.], – 2017. – 304 s.; Həmidova, M. Azərbaycanda islam və modernizm münasibətlərinin gender aspektləri // Bakı: Geostrategiya: aylıq ictimai-siyasi, elmi-populyar jurnal, – 2014, № 03 (21), May-İyun. – s. 43-47; Həsənova, S. XIX-XXI əsrlər İslam fəlsəfəsi və modernizm // Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyasının Xəbərləri, Tarix, fəlsəfə və hüquq seriyası, – 2012, № 1, – s. 253-263; Dünya dinləri. Dünya xalqlarının tarixində din: Ensiklopedik məlumat kitabı / Baş red.: İ. Xəlilov. – Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Ensiklopediyası NPB, – 2003. – 548 s.; Mustafayev, Q. İslamın modernizasiyası // Bakı: S.M.Kirov ad. Azərbaycan Dövlət Universitetinin Elmi Əsərləri, Tarix və fəlsəfə seriyası, – 1976, № 4, – s. 58-66; Mürsəlov, R. Müasir islamdaxili proseslər: Misir mütəfəkkirlərinin düşüncələrinin təhlili əsasında / R. Mürsəlov. – Bakı: Bakı Çap Evi, – 2010. – 272 s.; Səttarov, M. İslam dinində modernizasiya / M.Səttarov. –

It is characteristic of contemporary Muslim communities in the West that since about the 1990s, among a significant part of the younger generation of European Muslims, Islam has come to the fore as a means of self-identification, whereas in the 1950s and 1960s, i.e. during the first waves of mass migration, national rather than religious identity prevailed in Muslim societies. This point certainly influences the agenda of Islamic modernism today, where the issue of self-identity is widely discussed. The study of these problems, once again, determines the relevance of this topic.

The development of Islamic modernism can be divided into several periods:

1) the period from the first half of the 19th century to the first half of the 20th century, also called the Arab Renaissance. This era was marked by the emergence in the Muslim world of such Islamic religious figures as Muhammad Abduh and others who advocated parliamentary democracy and, as a consequence, the victory of constitutionalist movements in some Muslim countries;

2) modern revivalism, which became active in the 1980s among second-generation Muslim immigrants in Europe, who faced the problem of identity, while global Islam had already clearly divided into two branches - moderate and radical;

3) the period from the 2000s to the present - the period of formation of the third generation of European Muslims in Europe, when the Muslim diaspora has already become a politically significant group in some leading European countries..

Against the background of the processes of mass migration that have engulfed the modern world, the problem of Muslim communities outside Muslim countries occupies an increasingly significant place in the issue of intercultural and interreligious relations. The mass influx and the problem of integration of a huge number of people with their own values, their own worldview, different from the European one,

---

Bakı: Azərnəşr, – 1971. – 39 s.; Şəkixanova, M. İslam modernizmi: cədidizmin genezisinə tarixi-fəlsəfi baxış // Bakı: Dövlət və din, – 2016, № 3 (44), – s. 61-68; История общественно-культурного реформаторства в Центральной Азии и на Кавказе (XIX – начало XX века) / Абдуллаев Р., Алимова Д., Багирова И. [и др.] – Самарканд: МИЦАИ, – 2012. – 335 с.

have become a real challenge for the majority of developed democratic countries and led to the recognition by a number of leading countries, such as Great Britain, France, Germany, of the crisis of the multicultural model of society development, marked by the emergence in these countries of large ethnic and religious communities that are difficult to integrate or do not integrate at all.

Many Muslim scholars, both in Muslim and Western countries, see the solution to the crisis of the multicultural model and other problems facing contemporary Muslim communities through modernist reformism. In Muslim countries today, the relevance of the topic of modernism and the associated reformist movement is seen within the broad framework of the problem of the Muslim world's lagging behind the West and how to address this problem. And among Western Muslims, who face the most urgent and acute issue of integration, the prevailing agenda is mainly that of integrating Muslims into non-Muslim Western society in a way that preserves Muslim identity.

The object of the research is Muslim communities and Muslim scholars in the West, as well as Muslim scholars with modernist views.

The subject of the research is to find a solution to the crisis of European multiculturalism from the perspective of Islamic reformism.

Goals and objectives of the research. The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the main trends of modern Islamic modernism in the West in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, identifying its most relevant themes, while establishing historical links between modern Western Islamic modernism and nineteenth-century Islamic modernism.

The main objectives derived from the aim of the study are as follows:

- To study the historical background of the origin and formation of Islamic modernism in both Sunni and Shiite traditions in the early historical stages;

- Identify the main points of 19th century Islamic modernism and its relationship to contemporary modernist ideas;

- Identify the differences between the traditions of modernism and traditionalism of reformism in Islam;

9

- To study the process of formation of Muslim communities in the largest European countries with the identification of the specifics of each of them;

- To review Muslim organizations in European countries, as well as the ideas of the most influential contemporary Western Muslim modernists;

- To explore the issue of women in Islam from a historical perspective and from the perspective of Islamic modernism;

- Examine the historical process of dividing global political Islam into moderate and radical directions;

- To investigate the objective historical reasons for the lagging of the Muslim East behind the West and the search for a solution to the crisis of the multicultural model of development of democratic societies.

Methods of research. While examining the problems which have been put forward in the thesis, comparative-historical and historical-genetic methods were used to examine the impact of the historical process of the formation of Muslim diasporas in the West on contemporary Islamic modernism. The thesis also made a comparative comparison of Muslim communities and policies towards them in leading Western European countries. The methodological basis of the study is the principle of historicism and scientific objectivity, which allow us to consider the process of emergence, development and the current state of Muslim modernism within the framework of an interdisciplinary approach of modern historical science.

The main provisions submitted for defense:

1. It is necessary to comprehensively investigate the problem of Muslim modernism in order to identify its main concepts;

2. The views of modern Muslim modernists are insufficiently classified and, as a consequence of superficial generalization, often completely different ideological currents fall under the same classification of "Euro-Islam", creating confusion;

3. Taking into account the fundamental values of Islam and religious universalism, it is necessary to identify the main features and trends in the evolution of modernist processes in Islam in the XIX and XX centuries;

4. The study of social, economic, political, cultural and ideological features of the main activities of Islamic modernism, which became widespread in Western society in the XIX and early XX centuries helps to analyze the ideas of the leading representatives of Islamic intellectual thought in Europe and America.

The scientific novelty of the dissertation work consists in the following:

- an attempt has been made to comprehensively study the concept of Islamic modernism in foreign literature, since there is still confusion in academic circles between such concepts as "liberal Islam", "Euro-Islam" and "Islamic modernism";

- The period of the birth of Islamic modernism in the West in the 19th century, as well as the period that influenced many modern ideas of the Muslim society in the 20th and 21st centuries was studied;

- The place and role of Islamic modernism in modern Western society were determined;

- Analysis of the current state of Muslim society and formulation of principles for maintaining self-identification of a person as a spiritual being in the conditions of globalization were made.

The theoretical and practical significance of the research is closely related to its novelty. The conclusions and provisions obtained in the dissertation research contain theoretical comprehension of the problems of Muslim society. The practical significance of the work consists in the fact that it can be addressed not only to the scientists specialists in socio-cultural and ethno-religious problems of modern society, but also to a wide range of readers interested in the recent history of Muslim thought. In addition, this study may also be useful for workers in practical fields dealing directly with the problems of inter-ethnic and inter-religious conflicts.

In addition, the provisions of the thesis can provide substantial assistance to university students in the study of humanitarian disciplines and courses, they can be used in the development and reading of special courses in philosophy, religious studies, theory and history of culture, etc.

Organization in which the dissertation was carried out. The dissertation was carried out in the department "East-West" of the

Institute of Oriental Studies named after Academician Z.M. Buniyatov of ANAS.

Approbation and application of the research results. The main provisions of the research were reflected in scientific articles published in a number of scientific journals in Azerbaijan and abroad, in reports and theses of national and international scientific-theoretical conferences. The author has published 12 scientific papers on the subject of the thesis, 6 of them - in foreign scientific journals**.**

The name of the organization where the dissertation work was performed. The dissertation was carried out at the Institute of Oriental Studies named after Academician Z.M.Buniyatov of ANAS.

The total volume of the dissertation. The structure of the dissertation consists of an introduction, 3 chapters divided into 7 paragraphs, conclusion and a list of used literature. The introduction - 14203 characters, the first chapter - 49994 characters, the second chapter - 90329 characters, the third chapter - 73862 characters, the conclusion - 9047 characters. The total volume of the dissertation is 237435 characters.

MAIN CONTENT OF THE DISSERTATION

The "**Introduction**" of the dissertation work substantiates the relevance of the research topic, analyzes the degree of scientific development of the problem, defines the subject, goals and objectives, as well as research methods, shows the scientific novelty of the research, theoretical and practical significance, the main provisions put forward for public defense, as well as the approbation of the work.

Chapter I, titled "**Historical Preconditions of Islamic Modernism**," consists of two paragraphs. The first paragraph, "**The origin and formation of Muslim modernism in the XIX-XX centuries**," reveals the concept of Islamic modernism and analyzes the historical prerequisites that led to the emergence of modernist movements**..**

The emergence of Islamic modernism, the origins of which can be traced back to the reforms of Muhammad Ali in the 1820s in Egypt, is nothing but a reaction to this historical necessity.

Thanks to the modernist movement, which began in the first half

of the 19th century, in the late 19th and early 20th centuries a number of Muslim countries carried out European-style constitutional reforms, but in most of these countries they were not followed up properly and logically for a number of reasons. The fall of a significant part of the territories inhabited by Muslims into a colonial situation as a result of the First World War and the subsequent long stay as a field where there is an acute struggle for influence between the socialist and the Western, did not contribute to the establishment of a stable political system in these regions.

The main Muslim reformers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are considered to be Jamal al-Din al-Afghani[6] and his disciple Muhammad Abduh[7]. D. Afghani and M. Abdu were moderate reformers who advocated a harmonious combination of spiritual and moral values of traditional society with progressive achievements of the West, which was the strongest aspect of their views. They advocated the modernization of all spheres of social and cultural life of Muslim peoples, who were lagging far behind the advanced countries of the West, but at the same time relying on their own civilizational identity. First of all, certain spheres of society were to be reformed - the system of traditional education and science, the development of industry, including military industry, and the modernization of the state administrative apparatus.

In the second paragraph "**The main prerequisites and historical conditions for the formation of Muslim communities in Western European countries**" the prerequisites and historical stages of the formation of Muslim communities in Western countries are studied. The industrial leap of Europe in the twentieth century served as an impetus to the mass migration of cheap labor from the so-called third world countries, as a result of which diasporas began to form in the developed European countries. It is these diasporas, consisting of people from the traditional Muslim area, that serve as the driving force behind the globalization of Islam.

---

[6] Keddie, Nikki R. Sayyid Jamal ad-Din 'Al-Afghani'. A Political Biography / N.R. Keddie. – Los Angeles: ACLS Humanities E-Book, – 1972. – 500 p.
[7] Abduh, M. The Theology of Unity / M. Abduh. – London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd, – 1966. – 164 p.

The main flow of Muslim migrants to Britain began in the mid-twentieth century after World War II, when migrant workers began to arrive in Britain en masse. Under the British Nationality Act of 1948, residents of Commonwealth countries were free to come to Britain. Since then, the number of Muslims in Britain has increased dramatically. As for Germany, the postwar boom of the German economy and labor shortages in the late 1950s and early 1960s led to an invitation to the labor market, and the subsequent immigration of unskilled labor from southern European countries, including Turkey, which was in a difficult socioeconomic situation at the time.[8]

The beginning of labor relations between Germany and Turkey dates back to the reign of Germany's first Federal Chancellor K. Adenauer (1949-1963). The signing of an agreement between the Ministry of Labor of the province of Schleswig-Holstein (Schleswig-Holstein) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey marked the beginning of the arrival of dozens of Turkish workers in the city of Kiel in April 1957. France, on the other hand, is now home to the largest Muslim diaspora in Europe, about 82% of which is made up of people from the Maghreb. It is necessary to realize that from a historical point of view, the direct cause of migration waves from Africa and Asia to Europe was two factors. These are the historically established ties between metropolitan countries and their former colonies, and crisis phenomena in the socio-economic and political spheres, such as total unemployment and armed conflicts, accompanying the recent history of the latter.

The thesis also notes that it is in Europe that a new current in Muslim law is emerging - the so-called "minority law" jurisprudence. This is a religious legal system and ideology developed specifically for Muslims living as a minority in a non-Muslim environment.

In the second chapter "The Genesis of Islamic Modernism in the West", the author of the dissertation studied the historical stage of Muslim migration to European countries, synthesized the concepts of "liberal Islam" and "Euro-Islam", and analyzed the ideas of the main

---

[8] Садыкова, Л.Р. Мусульманские сообщества в Великобритании, Германии и Франции: проблема адаптации в принимающих странах: / дис. канд. ист. наук / – Москва, 2015. – с.64

representatives of Islamic intellectual thought in Europe and America.

In the first paragraph "**The growth of Muslim migration to European countries since the early 1950s and the problem of their integration into the European community**" the author investigates the main provisions of the flow of Muslim immigration to Europe, which began in the 50s of the twentieth century. In it, the author emphasizes the study of the problems of increasing Muslim migration to European countries and their integration into the European Union since the early 1950s. It is noted that the total population of Europe was projected to increase from 548 million in 1950 to 750 million by 2022, in turn, the percentage of Muslim population in Europe according to the same estimates increased from 2% in 1950 to 7% by 2022.[9]

The discriminatory policy of the Bulgarian authorities designed to promote the forced assimilation or migration of the country's Turkish population is examined in detail. It is noted that during the campaign Turks were prohibited from speaking their native language in public places, wearing national dress, celebrating religious holidays, etc.[10] The assimilation campaign called the "revival process" was based on the doctrine in Bulgaria at that time that all Bulgarian Turks were Bulgarians who had once been forcibly converted to Islam during the Ottoman yoke. It is also emphasized that the indigenous Muslims of the Balkans are in one way or another linked to both the Ottoman Empire in the past and modern Turkey in the present, which contributes to the perception of the Muslim population of these countries as a kind of foreign element.

Since World War II, the countries of Western, Central, and Northern Europe have experienced a tremendous increase in the percentage of Muslim population due to the influx of immigrants to these countries due to economic and political instability in their homelands. Even today, the bulk of Europe's Muslim population is

---

[9] Счетчик населения Европы: [Электронный ресурс] / – Январь, 2023 г. URL: https://countrymeters.info/ru/Europe

[10] Баева, И. Истината за «възродителния процес». Документи от архива на Политбюро и ЦК на БКП / И. Баева, Е. Калинова. – София: Институт за изследване на интеграцията, – 2003. – с. 5

made up of immigrants who arrived there beginning in the 1950s and their descendants. Many former colonial empires have also undergone post-colonial immigration. In most countries, Muslim communities are multi-generational and the use of the term "immigrant" has become increasingly controversial. In Britain in particular, the term "immigrant" is no longer used, instead the term "ethnic minority" is used.

In many cases, national identity prevails over Muslim identity, which is only a part of the former. This is evidenced by the fact that even the second or third generation of Muslims in Europe has not formed any transnational society with a Muslim identity (European Muslim nation).

In the second paragraph of this chapter, "The emergence of the concepts of "**liberal Islam" and "Euro-Islam" and their historical connection with modernism in Islam**", the author emphasized the significant features of these phenomena and investigated them in detail.

Within the Islamic European society there is a search for a solution to the problems of adaptation, one of the most relevant directions of which is Euro-Islam. Muslim law, according to the supporters of Euro-Islam, should be combined with European values. It is in Europe that a new trend in Muslim law emerges - the so-called fiqh al-akalliyyat, "minority law". This is a religious legal system and ideology that is specifically designed for Muslims living as minorities in non-Muslim environments. The mass migration of people from Muslim countries to Europe in the mid-twentieth century created new realities not only for Europeans, but primarily for Muslims themselves. And while in some countries, such as Great Britain, the authorities were quite loyal to traditionalism, in others, such as France, migrants were required to adapt to liberal values.

It was this need for compromise and adaptation that created the ground for terms such as "liberal Islam" and "European Islam" (Al-Islam- ul-Urubiyya) that later emerged in the circles of European Muslim intellectuals. No distinction is usually made between these two terms, but it should be noted that "Euro-Islam" is just a collective name for the different views and ideas of "moderate" Muslim

ideologists of European origin or dealing with the issue of European Muslimism, and not every trend attributed today to "Euro-Islam" can be called liberal. Even from the outside there are completely different assessments of Euro-Islam, including those who claim that Euro-Islam is not Europeanized Islam, but radical Islam, with the only difference that, calling Muslims not to close themselves in ghettos, but to receive European education, is a direction, the task of using "the opportunities and achievements of Western civilization" for their own purposes, contrary to the values of this civilization.[11]

As a rule, the object of such criticism is the views of Tariq Ramadan. In contrast to secularist trends, Tariq Ramadan's European Islam is a theological rationalist trend that continues the traditions of nineteenth-century Islamic modernism of Jemaladdin Afghani and Muhammad al-Abdu and twentieth-century Nasr Hamid Abu Zaydah.

It is noteworthy that the author of the term "Euro-Islam" (introduced in the 1990s) Bassam Tibi criticizes Tariq Ramadan's views in approximately the same manner, which characterizes the confusion that has developed in the concepts of "liberal Islam" and "Euro-Islam". Since liberalism itself often considers secularism to be a guarantee of human rights protection, the true liberal wing of European Islam should include the ideas of European Muslims with a secular orientation, or at least those that are so "Europeanized" that, as in the case of Bassam Tibi, they put European laws, rather than Sharia law, at the head of the line.

Typical representatives of modern liberal Muslims, along with their largest representative Bassam Tibi, include Khader Nasser (1963), a European politician of Syrian origin and a member of the Danish parliament. From 2001 to 2007. Khader Nasser was a member of the Danish Social Liberal Party. In 2006, Khader Nasser was awarded the Freedom of Expression Award of the newspaper Jyllands-Posten, known for publishing cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad. Khader Nasser is the founder of the Moderate Muslims party, later renamed Democratic Muslims, and co-founder of Critics of Islamism, an association established in 2008 to inspire moderate Muslims. Hadar

---

[11] Лаумулин, М. Закат мультикультурализма. Наступает эра европейского ислама // – Алматы: Континент. – 2006, №5, – с. 14-17

Nasser has advocated a complete ban on the burqa as part of an integration initiative by the Conservatives' parliamentary group, calling it "un-Dathi" and "oppression of women".[12]

The most important engine contributing to the formation of Western Islam is the institutionalization of Islam in the West. The process of institutionalization has taken place over the last two to three decades, and began when Western Muslims began to perceive the status of their presence in the West as permanent instead of temporary. Institutionalization includes the construction of Muslim places of worship, the growth of numerous Muslim schools (madrasas), growing halal food chains, thriving Western Islamic media, growing political representation of Muslims at various levels of government, both in mainstream political parties and in so-called "Islamic" parties, and the active participation of Muslim communities in the social and cultural affairs of Western society.

Another important factor in the formation of Western Islam is the role, activities and ideas of Western Muslim converts. It has been noted that neophytes raised according to a Western mentality do not have a born Muslim identity; by assuming the role of cultural mediators between immigrant Western Muslims and European non-Muslims, these Western Muslim converts often contribute to the acceptance of the very idea of Western Islam in the minds of both non-Muslims in the West and Western Muslims of immigrant origin.

In the third paragraph of the second chapter "**Review analysis of the ideas of the main representatives of Islamic intellectual thought in Europe and America in their historical context**" we analyze in detail the reform activities of the most famous representatives of Islamic reformism in the West. We proceed from the premise that if the main driving cause of reformist activity in the past was the desire to eliminate the factors inhibiting the development of the East in relation to the West, then today, in the conditions of post-industrial information society, accompanying globalization and the ever-increasing migration of Muslims to the West, the very notion of the West-East confrontation is gradually leveling out.

---

[12] Khader, Naser. Modsætninger mødes. Discussions with the former Jewish rabbi Bent Melchior / N. Khader. – København: Forlaget Forum, – 2003. – 246 p.

This paragraph elaborates on such socio-cultural phenomena of the Muslim world as traditionalism, fundamentalism and modernism. Traditionalists emphasize the binarity of the ontological scheme of the world, which consists of two "spaces" - "Dar ul-Islam" (Islamic space) and "Dar ul-Harb" (military space), in which only the Islamic world is recognized as the truth. At the same time, the "non-Muslim" space should gradually shift to the "Islamic" space in the course of the ongoing struggle. The fundamentalist doctrines were aimed at critical rethinking and complete revision of all historically established religious traditions in order to identify and establish the original foundations of religion. In the second half of the 19th century, a trend emerged - pan-Islamism, which implies the formation of an integrated community - a state of all Muslims.[13]

Representatives of modernism (modernists) combine Sharia law with the demands of the modern age and with secular laws. The growing presence of Muslims in non-Muslim countries has led a group of Muslim scholars to conclude that innovation and compromise are key concepts for Muslims trying to live an Islamic life in the context of a Judeo-Christian or secular country. In the 1990s, a modernist legal doctrine for Muslim minorities, called minority fiqh, was introduced by Egyptian-American jurist Taha Jabir Al-Alwani and Egyptian theologian Yusuf Al-Qaradawi. It is based on the claim that Muslim minorities, especially those living in the West, "*deserve a special new legal discipline to meet their unique religious needs, which are different from those of Muslims living in Islamic countries*".[14] Al-Alwani, known as the main founder of "minority fiqh", proposes to recognize the principle of tolerance and justice in relations with non-Muslims behind the Quran, while he proposes to consider the Sunnah as an independent structure from the Quran, which is a further

[13] Левин, З.И. Современный Ислам: реформаторы, обновленцы и охранители // Ближний Восток и Современность. Сборник научных статей, выпуск 17-й. – Москва: Институт изучения Израиля и Ближнего Востока, – 2003. – с. 35-42

[14] DinaTaha. Muslim Minorities in The West: Between Fiqh and Integration: [Electronic resource] / EJIMEL (Electronic Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law). Vol. 1 (2013), 36 p. – November, 2021. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281757741_Muslim_Minorities_in_the_West_Between_Fiqh_of_Minorities_and_Integration

development of the Quran for private situations, but he proposes to recognize the Quran, which has the above-mentioned humanistic principle as its priority as a court of justice.[15]

The eminent Egyptian theologian Al-Qaradawi and his followers believe that Muslims should not base themselves on a concept of law (fiqh) formed in the Middle Ages and apply it to societies and situations that are not at all contemplative. With regard to European Muslims and Muslims living in non-Muslim and minority countries, Qardawi emphasizes the need for balance between the identity of a Muslim as part of the Ummah and the identity of a citizen of the society to which he or she belongs, and does not consider belonging to the Muslim Ummah to be a concept that excludes belonging to other identities at the same time.[16]

The Swiss Muslim theologian Tariq Ramadan complemented al-Qaradawi's concepts with the socio-political discourse that a Muslim does not have to be Arab, but can be European without compromising on fundamental issues of faith.[17]

This paragraph also analyzes the views of the Tunisian scholar Abd al-Majid al-Najjar, who sees the task of minority fiqh as facilitating Islamic life in the context of non-Islamic rule and interaction with non-Muslim society, the Mauritanian theologian Abdullah bin Bayyah, who advocates laying the groundwork for healthy interaction between Muslims and non-Muslim society, the Iranian philosopher and modernist reformer Abdulkarim Soroush, and others. It is noted that modernists not only consider it acceptable for Muslim minorities to live in Western countries with liberal democratic regimes, but also encourage them to be active citizens of the countries in which they live, "*strengthening their Islamic identity and religious*

---

[15] Al-Alwani, Taha Jabir. Towards a Fiqh for Minorities / T.J. Al-Alwani. – London-Washington: The International Institute of Islamic Thouth, – 2013. –59 p.

[16] DinaTaha. Muslim Minorities in The West: Between Fiqh and Integration: [Electronic resource] / EJIMEL (Electronic Journal of Islamic and Middle Eastern Law). Vol. 1 (2013), 36 p. – November, 2021. URL: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/281757741_Muslim_Minorities_in_the_West_Between_Fiqh_of_Minorities_and_Integration

[17] Ramadan, T. To be a European Muslim / T. Ramadan. – Leicester: The Islamic Foundation, – 2015. – 289 p.

community ties," and converting others through the example of their good, moral behavior.

In the third chapter "**Models of adaptation of the Muslim population in Europe at the present stage**", consisting of two paragraphs, the author mainly studies integration processes in the "Muslim world" in the XX century and identifies the characteristic features of Islamic modernism in the West in the context of the search for a solution to the problem of "East-West".

In the first paragraph "The concept of "Islamic unity" and integration processes in the "**Muslim world" in the XX century in the era of globalization**", the term "globalization of Islam" has become increasingly widespread in Western discourse in recent decades. As a result of the intensification of migration processes in the 21st century, Islam is moving further and further outside its centuries-old established area of distribution. If we consider the history of the globalization of Islam, we should note two directions of "globalized Islam" - radical and moderate currents in Islam (from the Muslim Brotherhood to Euro-Islam). The reason that prevented the success of the first wave of moderate Islamic modernism was the radicalization of modern Islam, which began during the end of World War I, with the violent redistribution of Muslim territories between the Entente countries (the British Mandate in Mesopotamia, Palestine and Transjordan, the French Mandate in Syria and Lebanon). It was with the collapse of the Ottoman Empire that the vacuum created in the world of Islam began to be rapidly filled by Salafi ideology, with the Muslim Brotherhood at its spearhead. Over time, in the 1950s-60s, a separate radical group emerged within the Muslim Brotherhood, whose spokesman was Sayyid Qutb, who was executed on August 29, 1966 by an Egyptian court. The concept of "takfirism" (accusing Muslims of disbelief), developed in Qutb's later writings, which ideologically justified the war between some Muslims and others, caused a negative reaction among the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood, in particular Mamun al-Hudaibi, Umar al-Tilmisani, Mustafa Mashhour, Mohammed Mahdi Akif and others, which served as the starting point of the confrontation between the moderate and armed wings of the organization. Soon, as a result of serious

ideological differences, the Takfiris spun off into an independent organization, the Society of Muslims, which is better known as al-Taqfir wa-l-Hijrah. Thus, it can be argued that the split in the Muslim Brotherhood society was the beginning of a new split in globalist international Islam itself, as a result of which globalist Islam went in two different directions, namely "Islamic modernism" on the one hand, and "jihadism" on the other. The attitude of the Western powers towards the radical wing of Islam has been twofold. The West, especially the U.S. and Britain, acted according to its enduring British principle of no permanent allies, but permanent interests.

In this dissertation, is revealed the metamorphosis with some Muslim activists who acted first as agents of US and British influence and later turned into radical opponents of the West based on the sample biography of the Pakistani religious preacher and figure Khurshid Ahmad [18].

The analysis of the actions of the governments of some European countries, especially France, allows us to conclude that the obstacles created to the official, moderate political Islam may well weaken the positions of the moderate Islam and strengthen the positions of the radical Islam, which is underground.

It was noted that the problem of Muslim diasporas both in Europe in general and in Germany in particular is the lack of a unified organization that would mediate between individual diasporas and the government on issues covering the interests of the entire Muslim population, regardless of country of origin and ethnicity. One reason is the inter-ethnic relations between diasporas, such as in the case of the Turkish and Kurdish communities.

In the second paragraph of this chapter, "**Modernism as a characteristic feature of Islam in the West in the context of the search for a solution to the East-West problem at the present stage**," the problems of Muslims in the West were studied in detail. It was pointed out two factors that are largely responsible for the current problems of Muslim communities. The first of them lies in the backwardness in the field of education, and the second - in the extreme

---

[18] Khurshid, Ahmad. America and Unrest in the Muslim World / A. Khurshid. – Islamabad: Institute of Policy Studies, – 2002. – 308 p.

political instability of Muslim countries.

With the end of World War II, the era of decolonization began in the Muslim East and new Muslim states were formed that did not play an important role on the world stage. Even the territorial boundaries of many Muslim states were still drawn according to the needs and desires of their former colonial masters. National socialist governments such as Mossadeq in Iran, Nasser in Egypt, Sukarno in Indonesia and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto in Pakistan attempted independent policies that failed not without Western help. The power of military-bureaucratic and tribal-feudal elites became dominant in these countries, which created a fertile ground for the rise of neo-fundamentalist movements.

It can be confidently said that in many traditionally Muslim countries Islamist movements became widespread after the rejection of socialist ideology, the so-called democratization process and the ideological vacuum that emerged in the process. A good example is Algeria, which at the end of the 1980s abandoned the previously implemented doctrine of "socialist orientation" and adopted a number of laws, including the introduction of multiparty system. A similar picture is observed in many post-Soviet countries and Russian regions with traditionally Muslim populations.

A detailed study of the relationship between European governments and Muslim communities on the example of France allowed us to conclude that attempts to "liberalize" the Muslim community on the part of the official authorities, even with the involvement of its representatives, face opposition from the majority.

The paragraph also considers Muslim feminism. Among contemporary Muslim feminists are Moroccan writer and sociologist Fatima Mernisi (1940-2015), widely recognized as the founder of modern Islamic feminism and author of the famous feminist work Beyond the Veil; Margot Badran of Georgetown University's Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding (now the Prince Alwaleed bin Talal Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding); Asma Barlas, a Pakistani American, formerly assistant editor of the opposition Pakistani newspaper, and the author of the book Beyond the Veil.

In conclusion, summing up the results of the study, we have

made the following findings:

1. Stages of the development of Islamic modernism. The history of the development of Islamic modernism should be divided into two stages. The first stage covers the end of the 19th and the first half of the 20th century, that is, before the mass migration of Muslims to Europe. Despite the fact that modern Islamic modernism originally arose and developed under the influence and pressure of the factor of Western European progress, at the initial stages of its emergence, Muslim modernist ideologists such as Al-Afghani implied a certain model of a progressive pan-Islamic society within the territories geographically covering the historical Muslim East, under the protectorate of the then-existing Ottoman Empire.

The second stage covers the second half of the 20th century to the present day. Since the 50s of the twentieth century, the number of Muslims living in Europe has increased approximately fifty times in some Western European countries. As a result, today European Muslims in developed countries of Europe represent a separate political force, and the territorial boundaries of relations between the West and the East have moved from the territory of the historical Muslim East directly to the territory of Europe. Thus, Western and, in particular, European liberalism, of which the multicultural model of European development is part, has faced questions related to the new reality. The issues related to the multicultural model also arose for Muslims, who were faced with such problems as the preservation of religious traditions by a Muslim minority surrounded by a non-Muslim majority, as well as the protection of religious rights and traditions in countries leading anti-religious, pro-secular policies, as discussed in the example of France.

2. Classification of Islamic modernist ideologists. Until now, little attention has been paid to the classification of Islamic modernist thinkers, which is why there has been confusion about the essence of the currents to which they are traditionally attributed. This is clearly seen in the example of the concept of "Euro-Islam", also often referred to as liberal Islam. In fact, absolutely not all Islamic ideologists are modernists; a quite significant proportion of them are traditionalists, as well as fundamentalists.

Very often, the only criterion for classifying Muslim modernists is their religious affiliation. It seems to be preferable to divide the Islamic reformers into traditionalists and modernists, and modernists into Sharia, such as Tariq Ramadan, and secularists, such as Bassam Tibi.

At the same time, we believe that modern Sharia modernists are considered direct successors of the ideas of Islamic modernism, and already in this context, "liberal Islam" is proposed to be considered as a secular branch of "Euro-Islam", and not as its synonym. By "Euro-Islam" itself it is proposed to understand the teachings of Islamic ideologists who consider the issues of Islam as a minority religion in Western countries.

3. A historical overview of the division of Islam into moderate and radical. In the twentieth century, globalizing political Islam was divided into two directions: militarized-radical and moderate. Radical Islam, in turn, is proposed to be divided into two categories – real and virtual. The historical process of the formation of modern radical Islam around the "Palestinian question", the division of the Muslim Brotherhood organization itself into moderate and radical wings of Takfirists, and finally, the active financing of the idea of Islamic jihad by Western financial institutions against the Soviet military campaign in Afghanistan, which was the final stage of the formation of real radical Islam in the face of certain organizations, are considered.

The second category, virtual radical Islam, is a consequence of the excessive politicization of the Muslim religion, and the demonized and dehumanized image of Islam and Muslims in general, formed in the consciousness of Western society by Western media and print publications.

4. European domestic policy towards Islam. Attention is also paid to the state policies of major European countries towards the Muslim minority and the struggle of the Muslim minority for religious rights. Particular attention is paid to France as the country with the largest Muslim diaspora in Europe, where since the late 80s successive governments have not stopped trying to put the Muslim diaspora under state control. In addition, the dissertation shows how the Muslim community, through Muslim organizations, is involved in the internal

political struggle in France.

5. The end of the "clash of civilizations" and the beginning of the "clash of civilization and anti-civilization", traditional religion with a syncretic surrogate. In this apocalyptic confrontation, all traditional religions find themselves in a single camp. Today, when globalization processes are erasing the boundaries of states and traditional ethno-religious autonomies, the theory of the "clash of civilizations" is moving into the background and the question of the place of traditional ethno-religious subjects within the framework of a "single global civilization" becomes relevant. Anti-traditionalist, also often called countercultural, trends such as "New Age", focused on the formation of a new global, unified quasi-culture, aimed at personality-oriented values, in fact, are a challenge not only to the Muslim religion, but also to Christian traditionalism. Therefore, in this study the attention is paid not only to individual modernist movements in Islam and the issue of Muslim identity in the West, but also to the history of the confrontation between modernism and traditionalism, both in the Muslim world and in general. This is the most relevant basis for understanding the global processes in which not only the Muslim religion, but all traditional religions in general are involved today.

The author has published the following works on the subject of the dissertation research:

Исламские ценности и европейское культурное пространство // – Bakı: Tarix və onun problemləri, – 2017, №1, – c. 180-186

Общественно политические взгляды исламских модернистов на Западе (вторая половина XX века – XXI век) // – Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyasının Fəlsəfə İnstitutunun Elmi əsərləri, – 2018, № 2(31), – c. 242-250

Рост миграции мусульман в европейские государства // – Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası, Sosial Elmlər, – 2019, № 2, – c. 133-140

История феминизма и мусульманский мир // Материалы международной научно-практической конференции «Диалог культур в глобализирующемся мире», – Кизляр: ДГУ, Махачкала: АЛЕФ, – 2020. – c. 171-175

Формирование мусульманских общин в Западной Европе и модели адаптации // Ümummilli lider H.Ə. Əliyevin anadan olmasının 98-ci ildönümünə həsr olunmuş "Azərbaycanın inkişaf strategiyasında Heydər Əliyev irsi" mövzusunda multidissiplinar respublika elmi-praktik konfransı, – Bakı: Qərbi Kaspi Universiteti, – 1 may, – 2021, – s. 52-56

Модернистские движения в исламе. Исторический обзор. XIX век // – Одесса: Політикус. Науковий журнал, – 2022, Випуск 1, – c. 152-157

Islamophobic trends in the modern liberal world (example of France) // – Bakı: Azərbaycan Milli Elmlər Akademiyası, Sosial Elmlər, – 2023, № 1, – p. 131-137

Islamophobic trends in the modern liberal world (example of France) // The International Conference on islamophobia as a specific form of racism and discrimination: new global and transnational challenges, – Baku: – 15-16 March, – 2023, – p. 99-106

Обзор истории исламской политической мысли // "Ziya Bünyadov: müharibə və elm cəbhəsinin qəhrəmanı" adlı Respublika Elmi Konfransının tezisləri, – Bakı: 13 dekabr – 2023, – s. 4

The defense will be held on _21_ _february_ 2024 at _11:00_ at the meeting of the Dissertation council ED 2.20 of Supreme Attestation President of the Republic of Azerbaijan operating at Baku State University.

Address: AZ-1148, Baku, st. Zahida Khalilova, 23

Dissertation is accessible at the library of Baku State University.

Electronic versions of dissertation and its abstract are available on the official website of the Baku State University.

Abstract was sent to the required addresses on _18_ _08_ _2024_

Signed for printing:
Paper format: A5
Volume:
Number of hard copies: 20 copies