

## The investigation of political aspects of Hajj

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**Abstract:** Islam is a religion with political and international characteristics in its nature. Beside all these rules, Islam religion in its religious rules kept its political and international nature. This is manifested in Friday prayer and Hajj rituals. Holding Hajj each year is like a congress of the people of various countries and regions in the world with important functions on international relations. One of the functions is preparing the collaboration and international cultural relations and interactions in removing the regional and global problems. The current study aimed to investigate the effect of political aspects of Hajj at international system by Islamic approach.

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### 1. Introduction

In the globalized world and the existing international system directing the relations of the countries to the organizations and regional and transregional conferences and these institutions are effective in forming international collaborations, international relations scientists ignored intentionally the important event as Hajj gathering all people annually. However, due to the lack of awareness of political aspects and its international nature, ignored it in their analyses. The current researcher with his local and Islamic challenges and awareness of international characteristics of Hajj Tamato rituals attempt to take a small step of this part ignored by international and transregional ability of Islam religion. Indeed, from the view of the current researcher, one of the important symbols showing the effective peaceful and justice-based nature of Islam religion in international relations is Religious-political ritual of Hajj. The most important challenge of the author is identification of Hajj issue and its influence in international relations and creating an opportunity at theoretical and academic texts level. In the current study, analysis and description method of information collected from the library and documents is applied.

### The investigation of political aspects of Hajj

Any nation adopted various methods in this ritual about Hajj along with the regional thinking and attitudes and founded some centers that gradually by creation of some civil and political communities; Hajj had a special position of power. After the declaration of the prophet hood of the Prophet and from the beginning of Islam propagation to the foundation of Islamic government by the Prophet and even some years after that in Islam history, when infallible Imam were put aside of the power, applied this ritual to influence political aspect of the society

and the participation in political destiny of the society.

### A review of political aspects of Hajj at the beginning of Islam

From the beginning of the formation of Islamic government by the Prophet, he used the capacities and potentials of Hajj ritual. Some of the cases with political influence in Islam history and political relations of Islamic society and political interactions of Muslims and Non-Muslims are mentioned as following:

a. Participating in Tawaf as a demonstration of power of Tawhid society/ to maintain and keep the power:

According to some of the theorists, politics means power science (Alam, 2011:34). On the other hand, we can say that one of the dimensions of political interaction means participating in power (Basharieh, 2003:14) to attempt to attain and display power. It means that after volunteer group of participation in power start political action and reaction in the society, they follow some aims. At first, for all members of the group achieving power is of importance and then its increase is on the second priority (Ayver, 1957: 23).

In the prophethood declaration (Be'sat) of the Prophet and explicit propagation of Islam by him in the Arab community, the Muslim group participated in power. One of the extensive examples of the attempt of the Muslims for participation in power and its display is presence in Hajj rituals. The Prophet (pbuh) in year 7<sup>th</sup> of Hijra (one year before the conquer of Mecca) based on resolution "Hodaybie peach" was permitted to go to Mecca for Hajj and stay there for three days.

In this important condition that was important politically, the Prophet (pbuh) said to the followers that:

Make your shoulders nude and do the rituals as magnificently, that those pagans see your powerful arms”.

We can see that Kaaba Tawaf for the Prophet and his followers was as a power maneuver against the pagans and it was a worship and manifestation of Islamic politics (Leader, 2002:23).

After infallible Imams were put aside from power due to their enemies, they used the annual gathering of HJ as an instrumental tool to state their disagreement and attempted to make the mind of other Muslims prepared.

In year 85 of Hijra, 2 years before the death of Moavieh, Moavieh proudly killed Alavian and Shiie people (followers of Imam Ali (pbuh) and faced them with cruelty.

Imam Hossein (pbuh) in that year participated in Hajj ritual. Beside Hajj rituals, he invited all Bani-Hashem and Shiie people and Ansar for gathering in Mena, more than 1000 people came and some of the followers and children of the Prophet (pbuh) were present. Imam Hossein rose and made a big speech. By expressing the Holy Quran verses and tradition of the Prophet (pbuh) about the superiority of Imam Ali and his qualification and his children for Emamt, each letter he was mentioning, the audience shouted: «اللَّهُمَّ نَعَمْ، قَدْ سَمِعْنَاهُ وَ شَهِدْنَاهُ»: I take Allah witness that I heard this speech from the Prophet and I am sure it is true”, the confirmed Imam Hossein (pbuh) words. At the end, Imam Hossein (pbuh) said to them:” I take oath to transfer my speech to reliable people in your land and make them informed of my invitation”.

### **Hajj and politics**

Hajj performers by religious reasons after returning from Hajj ritual create a new group of society with social identity, and position. This social identity creates a transnational group at all the groups including in Dar El Salam classification. This new identity can interfere in political directions of their countries and lead into the coordinated results with their new classification position. This coordination of the group benefits with the origin of common group lead into the convergence of policies and interactions.

### **Political economy of Hajj**

For a long time, economy and politics in international relations were separated and as all the activities being different qualitatively, were studied by the approaches being different qualitatively (Jackson, Sorenson, 2004:227). Since decade 70, some trends were created showing the complex relation between politics and economy and between the governments and market and international relations should consider them. This relation is the subject of international political economy (Jackson,

Sorenson, 2004:228). Robert Gilpin considered international political economy as the interaction of wealth and power (Hajji Yusefi 2007:103). We can say that international political economy is a political-economical method of the analysis denying the separation of the economy, politics and society and don't remove no form of analysis, political or economical from the beginning (Palan 2007:23).

Thus, international political economy is a structure of international politics economy investigating the role of economical interactions of Hajj between the Hajj performers and their government- host country between the Hajj performers of various countries with each other and economical obligation of Hajj performers against their society and country and the related issues in international relations. The issues of this section are considered from merely economical aspect: Income and costs, merely political: Vulnerability and opportunity and from power and affecting the decisions of other actors as a field of international political economy structure.

Some of the features of political economy of Hajj in Dar El Salam are as following: an economical source in global congress of Hajj is provided via personal costs of one by one of the members. This economical providing is similar to a type of collaboration system in running the affairs. One the other hand, some part of Hajj ritual is paying the religious money and dividing the economical resources among the poor. This method leads into the near relation of social and political groups in the society. Finally, buying and selling souvenirs from the Hajj performers and the host country was common beside this ritual.

### **The characteristics of Hajj as a transnational parliament in Islam World**

Holding Hajj ritual in Islam world is like the parliament of Islam world. The reason of this interpretation is due to the political and sociological features that are observed among the population participating in Hajj rituals. Some of the features are as following:

1- In Hajj gathering, there are some people with special conditions as maturity, wisdom, obedience and power and capability. In this congress, due to the method of holding the ritual and equal level of the participants, social tensions and habits are not appeared.

2- Hajj creates a transnational society that all Muslims from all over the world without considering the geographical features and ethnical traditions and cloth and color participate and they have an integrated appearance.

3- Due to the repetitiveness of this ritual annually, it can provide the basis of a global government based on the values of the Islamic world.

4- The participation of both women and men in Hajj ritual shows the Islam attitude to women as a major part of the society.

This issue can lead to the result that anti-Islam propaganda at global level are faced with a great doubt.

The effect of Hajj and stoning the Devil on taking active foreign policy in Dar El Salam:

The foreign policy of the countries is the set of positions, measurements and decisions that national countries take for each other or to the international organizations and its aim is providing the national benefits of national government as a united group. Foreign policy guarantees the action and reaction at international arena (Basharie, 2003:219). The countries take two types of interaction at international arena based on their abilities, capacities and attitudes of foreign policy system. These approaches can include active foreign policy or internal and passive foreign policy or internal (Boshrie 2003:219).

Hajj pilgrimage is effective in taking active foreign policy from Muslim countries with some reasons. Some of the reasons are as:

1- Hajj congress due to the presence of the people of various countries had close potential of decision makers' view of foreign policy of Dar El Salam countries.

2- In case of taking active foreign policy from Dar El Salam countries to cope with the existing order and using this potential, the time of holding Hajj pilgrimage by political and geostrategic importance can be a good time to state the active positions of foreign policy system of the countries.

3- Stoning the devil ritual has an important role in informing the public opinion of Dar El Salam people against the colonial system of the existing international system and creating public demand from the governments to take active foreign policy against the existing order.

Based on the various population of the Islamic nation in various countries, if they can take unit political positions with focus on active foreign policy and the existing capacities in Hajj political aspects, how it can influence the international policy.

#### **The investigation of Islamic convergence grounds with focus on Hajj pilgrimage**

Political sciences and international relations scientists considered special conditions for creating convergence among various countries.

According to them, the communities can take a step to create convergence between themselves and others that historically there is a convergence

history between them (Seifzade 2002, 201). In the theories of political sciences and international relations, there are various kinds of convergence as political, social, and economical and status convergence.

Some of the capacities and political aspects of Hajj:

1- The common ritual between various Islamic religions that is observed well in Hajj pilgrimage shows that all Muslim nations have similar cultural status. These statuses that are observed in personal ritual as Arafe, social ritual as Saei and Tawaf and some rituals with political nature as aversion of cruelty and the existing order can prepare the unity between the Muslims in the world.

2- Hajj pilgrimage due to the possibility of exchanging the beliefs and eliminating cultural and social misunderstandings can prepare the way to make the religions close among the Islamic nations and develop the common identity and increasing the mutual commitment and renovation of convergence between various Islamic countries.

We can say that in encountering with globalization, the Muslim nation inspired by Hajj ritual have two following issues:

1- Sub-national actors in Hajj pilgrimage as pilgrimage performers by creating transnational group of Hajj pilgrims can provide the grounds of Islamic convergence.

3- In Hajj pilgrimage, exchanging the ideas and removing the cultural and social misunderstandings, creating approximate grounds between the religions and various orders between the Islamic nations develop the common identity and increasing the mutual commitment and renovation of convergence between various Islamic countries. By the capacities of globalization for Islamic nation, it makes the Islamic values prevalent and convergence of Islamic nations. It seems that based on the multiple resources of Islamic theory validity, the international relations provide the Muslim theorists and other theorists to use this approach and applying all the existing instruments including globalization to analyze the new reactions in this field and besides analyzing the events, increases the ability of Muslim influence at international level.

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#### **Hajj and Islamic global government indices**

Thus, the investigation of the global government in western thinking and political attitude of Islam can achieve some indices in terms of Islamic approach of international relations and political sciences and then investigate the indices in consistency with political aspects of Hajj as political aspect of Hajj encountering with international system and some of their ideals.

**Active diplomacy**

In Islamic global government, active diplomacy instrument is used. Hajj due to the presence of various people and groups of the societies has the capability to behave as diplomacy instrument. As the social class of Hajj pilgrims as defined in other classes' classification, it is possible to be responsible in various national and international organizations and countries. These people after being the member of global class of Hajj pilgrims play the role of non-state diplomats of Islam world regarding the international organizations. According to Islamic sharia, after doing Hajj pilgrimage, it has many common features and these features are reflected in their external behaviors.

On the other hand, the messages in Hajj congress can act as the new and general diplomacy instrument with other nations in the world. If the global structures are changed, the diplomacy is also changed. Underestimation of the sovereignty of the governments, IT, the growth of non-state actors and increasing awareness of people at global level are the main factors playing important role in diplomacy change. It is emphasized that the new diplomacy is a phenomenon in a global civil society in which the new IT and communication, new state and non-state organizations, people, pressure groups, specialized associations and the like play more roles in the global issues. They believe that environmental issues, the crisis of international economical inequalities, avoiding the disputes, human rights and humanitarian aids, AIDS, population pressure, avoiding the local and ethnical disputes, migration, globalization paradoxes and other crises and challenges of international society are complex that nations, countries and traditional diplomacy can not alone cope with them. In new diplomacy, a new movement is formed in which it is attempted that with a new movement we can move toward solving the global problems and crises (Symber, 2009:24). By a review of the definition of new and general diplomacy we can define the capacities of Hajj pilgrimage in applying such diplomacy. These capacities are aroused of the fact that most of the issues in the range of this new type of diplomacy are the issues of Islam world and gathering of people in this pilgrimage as a big NGO and ability of putting pressure by diplomacy and democratic capacities of Hajj, Islam world can use the new diplomacy.

**Peaceful action**

Another feature of Islamic world government is emphasis on peaceful actions. In the current condition and the current international system that Islam didn't reach a global government, we can mention Hajj as the greatest gathering of various Islamic nations with different national and sub

national basis to show the capability of transnational society based on Islamic principles in peaceful action in interaction with each other and interacting with outside. Indeed, Hajj test showed the capacity of Islam world for peaceful interactions with international system.

Another discussion in this paper is the method of challenging the structure of the current international power by Hajj pilgrimage. Indeed, we can say that by emphasis on the definition of politics from the view of politics and Islamic theory of international relations as a normative and critical theory, one of the functions of this approach is challenging the structure of the existing power and this issue is political. The political aspects of Hajj pilgrimage are considered from this view in the rest of the paper.

**Challenging the existing order by holding Hajj ritual**

As it was mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, one of the affairs that can turn a phenomenon to a political affair, the interaction of the phenomenon is with the issues related to power. As it is shown in theoretical section of this study and in some parts of this chapter, world knowledge and the study of knowledge of Islamic approach to international relations are different from other theoretical approaches of this discipline. Although there are some similarities between some of the theories as reflective and cultural theories. One of the similarities is challenging the existing international system. The existing international system is originated from the capitalism society theories and needs. According to neo- Gramscian theorists in international relations, we are faced with a kind of capital international sovereignty and the market. By accepting this theory, Hajj ritual challenges this system from some aspects:

**The challenge with capitalism order via power maneuver**

One of the most important features of the existing international order is coping with the structure of capitalism system power. Islamic theory challenged international theory based on normative and critical nature and based on trans-theoretical principles. One of the most important grounds of providing the possibility of showing such approach is the power demonstration of the Muslims during Hajj pilgrimage.

As it was said in the history, Hajj pilgrimage due to the focus of a part of Islam world population at a definite time and place can be a power maneuver and an instrument to put the existing international system on pressure at appropriate time.

### Rejecting the dominant interpretation in the existing order from globalization

As the current international system is pursuing the development of such special type of globalization, various rituals as stoning the Devil can reject such similar global types. On the other hand, Hajj ritual gives the opportunity to the Muslim to state their special interpretation of globalization to the world. It seems that this opportunity means challenging the dominant international interpretation of globalization and challenging the existing order.

### The combat on Islam phobia

The existing international system with hegemonic attribute and after USSR collapse, it searched for another definition for itself to continue his life. After the September 11, 2001 this is defined in the combat on Islam world and the order based on Islamic values. Thus, the existing order by some concepts as fundamentalism attempted to create some crises as propagation of Islam phobia in the world. It seems that Hajj by some aspects can be effective in overcoming this thinking.

- 1- Peaceful action of the millions of Muslims of various race, culture and ethnicity in the greatest gathering of the followers of a thinking system in the world showed the peaceful attribute of Islam religion.
- 2- The participation of both men and women in the manner of holding Hajj pilgrimage can show the equality attitude of Islam sharia.
- 3- Hajj by creating some opportunities for the various orders of Islamic nations can provide an opportunity for Islamic attitudes gathering to fight against anti-Islamism.

Thus, religious- political pilgrimage of Hajj can be a good ground for peaceful actions between the Muslim nations under the supervision of a unique actor in international system. On the other hand, besides showing peaceful biases of Islamic theories of international relations show the international relations that despite the existing international structures in making Islam and Islamic nation Muslims as threatful, identify the peaceful nature of international actions and emphasize on it.

### Conclusion

The most important examples of political aspects of Hajj are as:

- 1- Participating in Tawaf as the demonstration of power of Tawhid to attain and increase the power
- 2- Applying Hajj as the demonstration of disagreeing with the existing order
- 3- Islamic consciousness in Hajj pilgrimage
- 4- Creating legal concept of Islamic citizen
- 5- Creating new social class with the title Hajj pilgrims
- 6- Consul interactions between Islamic countries with focus on Hajj time
- 7- Political economy of Hajj
- 8- The effect of the definition of common identity on solving the Islamic nations problems and close relation of the religions
- 9- Islamic unity
- 10- Hajj and Islamic global government
- 11- The capacities of Hajj in combat on Islam phobia

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