

POLITICAL ISLAM AND THE ARAB SPRING

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ABSTRACT: *“Religion to God and homeland to all” such a phrase illustrates the fundamental thought of religion as a one side and the state as another, an idea that was restricted during history in the monotheistic religions; Judaism, Christianity and Islam. For the powerful dimension of religion as God’s orders and rules. The ultimate end with heaven or fire, made people in general subjected to such authority in which as the highest power that tempted groups to adopt and use, as their way to control people’s minds, thoughts, visions and life. Islam as the last monotheistic religion on earth and a dominant one in all Arab countries, part of Asia and Europe, had become one of the most popular and controversial issue as a religion that function powerfully in communities through social and political meanings. Therefore, politicizing Islam and the emergence of political Islam came as a result to several processes that started and developed since the death of Prophet Muhammad. Political Islam conceptualized for many purposes that agreed on the same goal; to brace political power in order to dominate the Arab nations. Recently, the concept of political Islam has rose strongly during the Arab spring that spread significantly in the Arab regions, due to revolutions led by Arab youths against their rulers, which gave political Islam the chance to revive as a Islamic political entities; Libya, Egypt and Tunisia went through the Arab Spring, some witnessed the rise of Islamist entities and some did not. The Islamists movements adopted new ideologies, visions and attitudes, in order to empower their influences on people’s, and persuades them that they form their saver and they are their only way to a stable and equal life. Hence it is worthy to examine the bound of political Islam and Arab spring, as Arab states ongoing their revolution and experiences a new political era that will define their upcoming sociopolitical roles, and will specify the new Arab’s representatives to the world.*

KEYWORDS: political Islam, Arab spring, Islamist movements.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The aim of this paper is to discuss the rise of political Islam as a concept emerged through sociopolitical processes during Arab’s history. To embrace an important impact on the latest political development in the Arab world related to Arab Spring. The paper will argue what political Islam means, the role of political Islam through the Islamists movements prior to Arab Spring, and the transitions of Islamists movements during the Arab Spring. Through Libya, Tunisia and Egypt as case studies, in order to illustrate the functions and ideologies of Islamist political entities within these states.

Research problem:

The revolutions across most of the Arab countries against their dictatorships revived waves of political parties, which started to promote and establish for new policies and ideologies. Political Islam is one of the dominant political movements and parties during the post-Arab spring. A new turn of policies and political era will emerge. The political instability and chaos in the post-revolution countries indicated serious issues in respect to the role of political Islam.

Research questions:

- 1- What is Political Islam?
- 2- What is the role of political Islam in Arab region?
- 3- What are the causes of Arab Spring?
- 4- Do Islamists movements transited to become influential ones?

Theoretical framework:

According to the liberal view, the democratic self-determination of citizens can be realized only through the medium of such a law, and the structural properties of which ensure liberty. Jürgen Habermas, discussed the idea of combining democracy and law, in a way that guarantee people's autonomies within the boundaries of law. He went through the classical and modern conception of democracy, in relation to the law. The classical conception of democracy; its law express unrestricted will of the united citizens, it represent no limitation as these laws achieve its validity through the citizen's own process of will-information. But the exercise of power set limit on people's sovereign and self-determination. While the modern conception of democracy in its law; it is individualistic, positive and required. It consists norms produced by law giver and sanctioned by the state to guarantee individual liberties (Constitutional Democracy A Paradoxical Union of Contradictory Principles? 2001)

People rise and revolt mainly for democracy and freedom of oppression and the repression exercised by the state. Legitimate institutions should function independently, in order to structure the role of state and people by laws that guarantee people's sovereignty and order. On the other hand, when the state interfere in the legislative power the democracy will be hindered, and the society will express series consequences that will led to social movements, represents by revolution and civil war.

METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

This paper will utilize the methodology of discourse and content analysis. This includes collecting data, reports and press releases that illustrate the historical discourse of the Islamists movements. It tackles their historical background and political role in the post Arab Spring. And the sociopolitical factors of Arab Spring that led to democratic political process.

LITERATURE REVIEW

The idea of politicizing religion is not new; it existed and practiced with every religion sent to people in order to empower the political domination in God's name. However political Islam

brought new era of politicizing religion, but with different concepts, methods and schools that produced dynasties ruled for decades and empires spread in large parts of the reigns.

Politicizing the religion of Islam has started since Prophet Muhammad's death. The death of the prophet marked the ending of spreading the Islam as religion and spiritual messages sent from God through his angel to his messenger, who his job was to deliver, spread, explain and interpret God's messages to people. Though, Islam took political form starting roughly 1400 years ago with the companion's ruling. Many scholars argued and explained the relation between Islam and politics, and the concept of political Islam, its role in state.

Ali Abd al-Raziq, in his book "Al-Islam Wa Usul al-Hukum" (1925) discussed the emerging of (al-khelafa) as a concept that developed to become (al-Sultan) who own the ultimate power to rule by the name of religion and state, he discussed the idea of the state deeply, and also explained the emergence of State as a concept in Arab World, through the Islamic history. He believed that the Caliphate was harmful to the Umma, and argued that state has to be separated from religion, because religion is a spiritual message sent to people in order to realize the existence of God, through his messenger Muhammad. While the state is a political dimension for power and domination over people, rulers employed religion as a vest to protect their interests and easier their political control.

Ali agreed that this combination between religion and state, helped to spread Islam over the world, but spreading the religion does not need power and politics. Prophet Muhammad delivered the religion with tolerance and logic, and the wars he entered at that time were to protect and empower the religion, not to establish political Islamic state. Abd al-Raziq thought that history is full with ambiguous points, and what was transferred through it, was only to serve certain interests of powerful rulers at the time. However religion can be exist and practice under any kind of state's authority that people agrees on; he believed that Muslim should follows and adopt any system of governance reason with the other nations experiences, which is the suitable for them (Al-Islam Wa Usul al-Hukum, 1925). While, Mohammad Abed al-Jabri, theorized Islamic on politics, through emphasizing the importance of establishing an authority that is more advanced and credible than the sectarian authorities, he believed that the (Rashidun) Caliphs represented the most advanced and original of all authorities in historical Arab-Islamic experience, as they didn't legislate Qur'an and Sunnah for the concerns of politics, but they applied Islamic Shari'ah on the basis of genuine understanding of the spirit of Islam.

Al-Jabri argued that (marja'iyah) and (Mujtahidun) enjoyed high knowledge and objectivity to establish certain authoritative referent to fit the development of their age. Hence people should consider that the present time went through a huge development that includes new problems, sects and creeds. He referred to some terms that used during the Abbasid era, such as the term (al-am) not on particular, and (al-khas) of the cause, such rule was not known before the Abbasid time, and the only principle used since (Rashidun) era was the public good (al-maslahah), which shows that circumstances and situations demand a delay of the text to search for applicable rules. He believes that the decision to rule after Prophet Muhammad's death based on discussions and consultations, it was politics not religion, in order to balance the power, and the term (Amr) that

represent orders, commands and political entity of Islam (Human Rights and Law in Islamic Thought)

But before proceeding on the arguments and debating of the scholars who discussed political Islam as an influential political entity. The emergence of political Islam as an idea and concept through history is essential to put in discuss and go through it, in order to clarify its process and development during the Islamic history.

The history of politicizing religion is way old before the coming of Islam, but at this point the history of this idea will address its beginning through the Islamic history till present time. As mentioned the death of Prophet Muhammad marked the start of establishing a political state, and significantly when Abu Bakr the first Caliph in al-Rashidon's era, launched a war against the Muslims tribes for some of them apostasy from Islam, and others refrained from paying (Zakat). These wars were called (al-Rada Wars) wars of apostasy. Ali Abd al-Raziq, believed that those wars were also because some Arabic tribes refused to agree on Abu Bakr as their leader, and he indicated that these wars should be labeled as political wars launched under the religion name. Ali did not deny that there was an apostasy after Muhammad's death, and that Abu Bakr wanted to maintain the religion, but there was also disapproval on him as a ruler (Al-Islam Wa Usul al-Hukum, 1925).

But the murder of Uthman ibn Affan the third Caliph, indicated the struggle for the Caliphate as the first Muslim civil war (Fitnah 656-661) it was between Mu'awiyah the governor of Syria and Ali bin Abi Talib, Muhammad's companion, cousin, son of law and the fourth Rashidon Caliph, which end with killing Ali and his two sons. However the Umayyad dynasty (661-750 CE) ruled by the Abu Sufyan's family as they were from one of the famous Quraysh tribes and prominent demonstrators under Muhammad's Islam. They ruled and expanded their political domination in the name of religion Islam, by wars that named the Islamic conquests; their pretext was that their wars were to spread Islam as religion. (Umayyad Dynasty)

Yet, the Abbasid era witnessed the emergence of the most famous Muslims scholars and Islamic schools, in which these schools contributed to add new interpretations and rules to Islam, and to support some political rulers, or oppressed by some. The Hanafism school was the first jurisprudence school in the four orthodox Sunni schools of law; it was founded by Nu'man Abu Hanifah (d.767) in Kufa in Iraq, and belonged to the period of the successors (tabi'in of the Sahabah) the companions of the Prophet; he was a (Tabi'i) since he had the good fortune to have lived during the period when some of the (Sahabah) were still alive. It also established the principle that the universal concurrence of the (Ummah) community of Islam on a point of law, as represented by legal and religious scholars, constituted evidence of the will of God, This process was called (ijma'), which means the consensus of the scholars. The school was favored by first Abbasid Caliphate in spite of its opposition to the power of caliphs, but the Hanafi's school lost its privilege position with the decline of the Abbasid caliphate. It revived under the Ottoman Empire to become the only authoritative code of law in the public life. and official administration of justice in all the provinces of the Ottoman Empire.

Then Malikiyyah School was the second school in jurisprudence, The Malikis' concept of (ijma') differed from that of the Hanafis in that they understood it to mean the consensus of the community represented by the people of Medina. Its major contribution to Islamic law is (al-Muwatta) book, The Beaten Path, the book is a code of law based on the legal practices that were operating in Medina, it covers various areas ranging from prescribed rituals of prayer and fasting to the correct conduct of business relations. Malikiyyah was founded by Malik ibn Anas who was a legal expert in the city of Medina, and his school was regained its position after the fall of the Ottoman Empire.

Shaf'i School was the third law school, it gave less authority to (Ijma') of the community and the thoughts of scholars (Ijtihad) exercised through (qiyas). The school believes that scholar must interpret the ambiguous passages of the Qur'an according to the consensus of the Muslims. In the centuries preceding the emergence of the Ottoman Empire the Shafi'is had acquired supremacy in the central lands of Islam, but under the Ottoman sultans at the beginning of the sixteenth century the Shafi'i were replaced by the Hanafites, who were given judicial authority in Constantinople. In spite of this development, this school was still followed by people in Syria, Hidjaz and Egypt.

The fourth school is the Hanbaliyyah School; it established by Ahmad ibn Hanbal who studied law under different masters, including Imam Shafi'i. Ibn Hanbal was regarded as more learned in the traditions than in jurisprudence. His major contribution to Islamic scholarship is a collection of fifty-thousand traditions known as (Musnadul-Imam Hanbal). The school did not enjoy the popularity of the three preceding Sunni schools of law, as its followers were regarded as reactionary and troublesome on account of their reluctance to give personal opinion on matters of law, their rejection of analogy, their fanatic intolerance of views other than their own, and their exclusion of opponents from power and judicial office, hence their unpopularity led to periodic bouts of persecution against them. From time to time Hanbaliyyah became an active and numerically strong school in certain areas under the jurisdiction of the Abbasid Caliphate, but its importance gradually declined under the Ottoman Turks (The Significance of the Sunni Schools of Law in Islamic Religious History, 1979)

Taqi ad-Din Ahmad ibn Taymiyyah, was one of the prominent scholar of this school, he studied jurisprudence from his father and became a representative of the Hanbali school of thought. He remained faithful throughout his life to that school, whose doctrines he had mastered, he also acquired knowledge of the Islamic disciplines of the Qur'an and the Hadith, and studied theology (kalam), philosophy, and Sufism, he was known for his refutations of the excesses of many Sufis, and the Christians.

Ibn Taymiyyah came into conflict with local authorities for protesting a sentence, pronounced under religious law, against a Christian accused of having insulted the Prophet. During the great Mongol crisis of the years (1299 to 1303) especially during the occupation of Damascus, he led the resistance party and denounced the suspect faith of the invaders and their accomplices. Through the following years Ibn Taymiyyah was engaged in intensive polemic activity: either against the Kasrawān Shī'ah in the Lebanon, and the (Rifā'iyah); a Šūfī religious brotherhood; or the (ittiḥādīyah) school, which taught that the Creator and the created become one, a school that grew out of the teaching of Ibn al-'Arabī (Ibn Taymiyyah)

Moreover there were other schools of Islamic thoughts came out during the Abbasid era, the Mu'tazila who considered as the free thinkers in Islam, they were a religious movement founded in Iraq during the second half of 8th century, by Wasil b. Ata. Their school adherents are best known for their having asserted that, because of the perfect unity and eternal nature of Allah, the Qur'an must therefore have been created, as it could not be co-eternal with God, from this premise, the Mu'tazili school of (Kalam) proceeded to hypothesize that the injunctions of God are accessible to rational thought and inquiry, because knowledge is derived from reason; reason is the final arbiter in distinguishing right from wrong.

This movement had its political doctrine, as it was flourished for at least century during the Abbasid time. Nyberg believed that they denoted a position of political nature, as they declared hostility towards Umayyad and cautious attitude towards Shii'a, he claimed that Mu'tazila corresponded with the Abbasid ruling, to the extent that their doctrine was theoretical encapsulation of the political program of the Abbasid, and remained the official doctrine for the Abbasid court (Muslim philosophy)

However, there was another school of thoughts that emerged as a reaction to some principles to the Mu'tazila school; Ash'arites school 10th century was established by Abu al-hasan al-Ash'ari, who used to be one of the Mu'tazila. He held that God had eternal attributes such as knowledge, sight, speech, and that it was by these that he knowing, seeing, speaking. Whereas the Mu'tazila said that God had no attributes distinct from His essence. The Mu'tazila said that qur'anic expressions, such as God's hand and face must be interpreted to mean 'grace', 'essence' and so on, and al-Ash'ari, agreeing that nothing corporeal was meant, held that they were real attributes whose precise nature was unknown; he took God's sitting on the throne in a similar way. He was against the view of the Mu'tazila that the qur'an was created, al-Ash'ari maintained that it was God's speech, an eternal attribute, and therefore uncreated. In opposition to the view of the Mu'tazila that God could not literally be seen, since that would imply that He is corporeal and limited. Al-Ash'ari held that the vision of God in the world to come is a reality, though we cannot understand the manner of it.

Al-Ash'ari in contrast to the emphasis of the Mu'tazila on the reality of choice in human activity, he insisted on God's supremacy; good and evil, is willed by God, and that God creates the acts of men by creating in men the power to do each act, while the Mu'tazila with their doctrine of al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn held that any Muslim guilty of a serious sin was neither believer nor unbeliever, al-Ash'ari insisted that he remained a believer, but was liable to punishment in the Fire. Al-Ash'ari maintained the reality of various eschatological features, the Basin, the Bridge, the Balance and intercession by Muhammad, which were denied or rationally interpreted by the Mu'tazila. His school isolated the Mu'tazila, and it became popular one who supported by the Abbasid caliphs, to replace the doctrine of Mu'tazila in the Abbasid court (Abu al-Hasan al-Ash'ari)

While Sufism; defined by its adherents as the inner, mystical dimension of Islam, this tradition is generally known as a *ṣūfī*. They belonged to different (Turuq) and orders congregations formed around a master, which meet for spiritual sessions (majalis), Sufis believes "worship and

serve Allah as you are seeing Him and while you see Him not yet truly He sees you." they considered themselves as the original true proponents of this pure original form of Islam; as strong adherents to the principle of tolerance, peace and against any form of violence. Sufism suffered severe persecutions by their coreligionist brothers the Wahhabi and the Salafist, who known to be extremist in their methods and in applying it, they combined their religious principles with political goals by producing extreme religious movement.

One of the most important scholars of Sufism is Al-Ghazali, he was an influential philosopher, jurist, theologians and mystics of Sunni Islam. He was in a close contact with the court of the Grand-Seljuq Sultan Malikshah, and his grand-vizier Nizam al-Mulk who appointed al-Ghazali to the prestigious (Nizamiyya Madrasa) Regular School in Baghdad, and being a confidante of the Seljuq Sultan and his court in Isfahan. He became closely connected to the Caliph Court in Baghdad, and realized that the high ethical standards of a worthy religious life are not compatible with being in the service of sultans and caliphs. Benefiting from the riches of the military and political elite implies involvement in their corrupt and oppressive rule and will risk one's view of salvation in the afterlife (Al-Ghazali, 2007). On the other hand there was the Shi'a school that was rooted over the proper succession of leadership after the death of the Prophet Muhammad in (632 C.E) The Shi'a maintains that the rightful successor of the Prophet was his cousin and son-in-law, Ali, they especially reveres a succession of scholars called Imams. They put a particular emphasis on the death of Ali, who was assassinated in Iraq, and also they have another significant figure Husain; Muhammad's grandson, who was murdered in Iraq. Shi'a commemorate this event each year on Ashura, a day of mourning recognized throughout the Shi'a world, and, particularly, by pilgrimages to Karbala.

They believes that The Imam is regarded to be both a political and a spiritual leader, although Shi'a has a great division with Sunni, rooted on Islamic historical events, the differences between the Sunnis and the Shi'a at the very beginning was a political dispute over political succession to the Prophet Muhammad, which had no religious overtones, it was framed in terms of what constituted legitimate leadership (The Influence of the Shi'a on Islam, 2012). The Salafism movement (the fundamentalism), emerged in the second half of nineteenth century, the word al-salaf refers to Prophet's companions. This term usually used as an expression for (al-salaf al-Salih) the virtuous forefather, they believed on returning to the perfect, pure and neat form of practicing Islam as Prophet and his companions did. They rejected any practice, belief and behavior of other religious movements and sects, as long it is not supported directly by Qur'an and Hadith.

They didn't develop as monolithic movement, but rather as a broad philosophy and frame of mind. Till today they don't have a single ideology and organization, but they expressed themselves in multiple movements through historical circumstances and conditions. During the last two decades a particular branch of the Salafi's ideology succeeded in Saudi Arabia, known as Wahhabism that became to represent the Salasi's thoughts as known today (Navigating Political Islam, P.60). From such schools, Islamic movements, creeds and new sects spread all over the Islamic world. Muslim and non-Muslim scholars continued to debates and argues the role of Islam and its relation to politics; Jamal al-Din al-Afghani (1838-1897) Muslim political activist and writer; introduced an interpretation of Islam that called for modernization and education while encouraging strict

devotion to Islamic principles, through emphasizing practical aspects of political reform and self-improvement; including technical and scientific education, when necessary, and cooperation with dictatorial rulers. He promoted political activism, urging his students to publish political newspapers, while he himself gave speeches and headed a secret society engaged in reformist activities. Al-Afghani was against British rule in Muslims lands, he believed that nationalism and Pan-Islamism is different but not necessarily contradictory. Both were essentially strategies for Islamic unity and anti-imperialism. He led opposition groups, and supported a plot to assassinate the shah of Iran (Afghani, Jamal al-Din al-)

Muhammad Abduh (1849-1905) an Egyptian reformer taught at al-Azhar, a pioneer of Islamic modernism and nationalism. He was influenced by al-Afghani and called for a return to the spirit of early Islam and a reinterpretation of the Qur'an and the Sunna (precedent) of the Prophet in the light of modern times. Abduh believed that limited borrowing from Western ideas was permissible and that properly used reason could not conflict with religious revelation. He came to believe that political protest was futile without reform from within. This belief led him to limited cooperation in social reform with Lord Cromer, the British consul general and real ruler of Egypt (1883-1907). It also alienated him from the local ruler, Khedive Abbas Hilmi II, and Mustafa Kamil's circle of nationalists, all of whom pushed for immediate independence from the British (Muhammad Abduh, 1998)

Muhammad Rashid Rida (1865-1935) Syrian Islamic revivalist, reformer, and writer, lived in Egypt until his death. He was a close associate and follower of Muhammad Abduh. Rida promoted reformist ideas and preserve the unity of the Muslim nation. He called for the preservation of Muslim identity and culture. He believed that original Islamic sources the Quran, Sunnah, and ijma' (consensus) of Muhammad's companions are the basis for reform, and that matters of worship (ibadat), intended to organize human behavior, were revealed in the Quran and authentic hadith, making them unchangeable. Human relations (muamalat), in the absence of an explicit, authentic, and binding text, can be reinterpreted according to the interest of the community (maslahah). (Ijtihad) independent reasoning is to be exercised to achieve the common good of the Muslim community.

Rashid believed the decline of the Muslim nation was due to the stagnation of scholars and tyranny of rulers. He thought that the European dominance over Muslims as a result of Muslim weakness due to a lack of mastery over the sciences, an inability to form organized political institutions, and a lack of restrictions on the power of government. Rida argued that education is precondition for political reform and independence, and to combine modern education with religious teachings. He supported revival of the caliphate as essential to the unity and coherence of the Muslim community (Muhammad Rida Rashid)

Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi (1903-1979), pioneered a movement (ijtihad) at the level of thought and institution building. He offered an ideological alternative to the modern world, and was aware of the impact of ideological challenges of the Capitalist, Marxist and Fascists ideologies of the 19th century Europe. Maududi encountered the challenge at three different levels; first was at the level of ideology; second the capitalists and Marxist ideologies. He claimed to have ultimate

answer to the man's economic, social and political problems, and third the rise of Europe as a political power was also interpreted as its ideological supremacy on the other systems. His contribution was the articulation of the Islamic vision of a society, economy, and state. Offering a critique of the European ideologies, he also offered at a positive level an alternative Islamic ideological framework.

His exegeses of Qur'an were for the purpose of not to go in academic and historical discussions, but to use historical background and contextual analysis for discovering relevance of the Qur'anic instructions with contemporary situation. Maududi, launched Islah Movement for Islam in Pakistan (1941). Its primary objective was the transformation of the individual through social action program leading to a change in the institutions of society economy and state. His Islah Movement focused on a comprehensive change in society, and political program was not its one and only objective. It was a part of the total social change for which ideological roots were provided through a deep study of the Qur'an and the sunnah. (Sayyid Abul Ala Maududi, 2007)

While Abdelwahab El-Affendi, discussed the relation between the state and democracy within the Muslim's politics, he argue that there is a tension between democracy and secularism in political Islam, and that the early debates in political Muslims states were for constitutions, rules and laws, not on democracy because they aimed to limit the authority of rulers to make sure that they will be governed by system. El-Affendi pointed to the constitutional revolution in Iran (1906). He believes that the reform was from below not above, as it combined grand coalition of indigenous community, modern intellectuals and the Ulama', in which cracked when the liberals had different strategies that didn't fit with some Ulama' conservatives, hence that led to its failure (On the State, Democracy and pluralism, in Islamic thoughts in the Twentieth Century book)

Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, calls for secular state not secular society, because Islamic state will enforce Shari'a to leave the foundational role of Islam in society, and it cannot be enforced by the state as public law and policy. People should live upon their beliefs in their religion within the state, not as an outcome of coercion by the state.

He believed that there should be a normative standards and institutional conditions for free public debates. The position of religion is to be neutral in the state, which doesn't mean the separation between Islam and politics, but a distinction between state and politics; because state is a complex web of organs, process and institutions, in which implement the policies adopted by political process of each society. Hence the state should be settled and self governance, while politics serves as process of making choices among political options. Therefore the connection between politics and state is an interaction between organs of the state and organized political and social actor's visions for the public good (Islam and secular state, Negotiating the Future of Shari'a, 2008)

But Muhammad Arkoun, called to rethinking Islam and liberate the thoughts of the unthinkable that society follows in tradition Islam and culture, through reconstruct the mind and societies in Muslim world, such as individualism and secularism which are unthinkable in the history of Islamic culture. He argues that political Islamists and active Islamists always refer to the golden age of Islam and its history, as the launching point in the Islamic civilization, for him they form the link that filled the emptiness that was produced of the failure of traditional and classical

Islamology, to cope with the burning issues of modernity (Reformation of Islamic Thoughts A Critical Historical Analysis, 2006)

Bilal Sambur, argued that Converting Islam to a political ideology is a modern phenomenon. Ideologize of religion is not a natural part of Islam, but it is an accidental phenomenon, which has been mostly produced by contemporary conditions. The ideologization of Islam has been called as political Islam or Islamism. It is important to highlight that although Islamists always speak in the name of Islam, the irreligionist ideology based on religious and irreligious factors. In other words, it is necessary to understand political Islam not only in religious terms but also no-religious terms as well.

Smbur believed that Islamism is an un-Islamic ideology; it intensely focused on the no-religious issues, such as state, society and politics. Political Islam does not give a central value to human individual; it constructs society, state and politics in a totalitarian manner, then justifies its construction through Islam and finally creates a political and social activism. Islamist ideology rejects status quo and seeks to change politics and society. He thinks that religious traditionalism is not an essential part of the political Islam, because the supporters of Islamism go beyond the boundaries of religious tradition. Islamists emphasizes the primary importance of religion, they do not focus merely on religious problem because they use a secular language, addresses secular problems, give references to Western thought, principles and institutions. By using a no-religious language Islamists get opportunity to relate their ideological Islam to social, cultural, economical and political problems (The great transformation of Political Islam in Turkey: the Case of Justice and Development Party and Erdogan, 2009)

Ahmad H. al-Rahim, argued that The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has recently asserted that they will follow the path and model of the AKP. However, the Turkish model will, in terms of the trajectory of political Islam in the Arab world, likely not prove to be adaptable, even given some of the “deep state” similarities that Egypt and Tunisia share with Turkey; that is, largely because the secularism, of the pan-Arabist and national, republican sort, in terms of its political utility and more importantly economic success nearly, if not completely, failed, or is failing, in, among other countries, Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, Syria, and Iraq prior to the 2003 US invasion. Besides Iran’s adoption to the Shiite sect to be its sociopolitical foundation didn’t raise its popularity among the Islamic world. Iran’s form of Islamic democracy in practice has excluded nearly all forms of political oppositions not toeing the official revolutionary line of its founder. Iran’s strategic alliance and support for the minority Alawite regime in Syria, which recently has attempted to violently extinguish the protests, mainly of the majority Sunnis, has alienated many Sunni’s Islamists, furthering the Islamic sectarian gulf and making the Iranian regime unpopular, if not suspect, in the eyes of Arab publics (Whither Political Islam and the “Arab Spring”?, 2011) Beside Iran political role to play the guardian of the Shiite in the Islamic world is not welcomed.

While for non-Muslim scholars; Ben-Itzhak, believes that Islamic political thoughts has impacted religious, secular and academic communities, he defines the concept of Islamic political thoughts in terms of its etymology, which means the origin of word and meaning, by surveys the classical period of Islamic political thoughts including its origins and religious political schism, within

Islam and its classical Islamic political philosophers contributions (Islamic Political Thoughts, 21st Century Political Sciences A Reference Handbook, 2010)

Angel Rabasa & F. Stephen Larrabee, discussed the idea of Political Islam through the Turkish model. Turkey (1994) realized that returning to Islam would cure economic ills and solve the problems of bureaucratic inefficiencies. The political Islamist movement Justice and Development Part (AKP) defined themselves as not an Islamic party that won the elections for having an Islamic agenda. AKP's basic principles are different from its predecessors; Welfare, National salvation and Virtue parties in terms of its ideology, political goals and economic program. The Turkey government has given priority to economic stabilization, avoiding Islamic pulses in its foreign policy, reform of the legal system over symbolic issues such as Islamic headscarf. And there was no attempt in introducing Islamic legislations such as Islamic legal code. Efforts of the government were made to reduce the political role of military, and they seek to loosen restrictions over the minorities (The Rise of Political Islam in Turkey, 2008) Turkey aimed to establish a secular state by holding a balance in the relation between the state and religion.

Olivier Roy argued that recently Islamic movements were shaped by political, social and religious context. They are conservative not liberal movements and thrilled by the power they reached after being for decades ineffective. They will be motivated by their emotions not by a strategic plan to rule. (The Failure of Political Islam, 1994)

While Hillel Fradkin, disagrees with Olivier and discussed that the dynamic of Islamic movements is revolutionary ones, which will be obvious after some months of moderations and cautiousness. Islamic movements have a planned ideological they seek to implement despite their tactical restraint. (There Will Be No Islamists Revolution, 2013)

DISCUSSION

Political Islam represents political agendas based on religious meanings. It comes to be known worldwide through political entities candidates that hold state's power, and as a religious extremism connects to terrorism, especially after the events of 9/11. Political Islam is a political ideology believed that Islam is a body of faith that essentially has to say how politics and society should be ordered in the Muslims world. Another definition of Islamism shows that it is a form of tactical Islam by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political objective. This provides political responses to today's challenges by referring back to golden age of early Islam (The Many Faces of Political Islam, P.2)

For Islamists the golden age of early Islam, were limited to the time of Prophet Muhammad and his companions, it can be recreated to be applied to modern Islamists societies. According to Olivier Roy, Islamists believe that societies can be Islamized through political and social actions. For them Islam is global and synthesizing system of thoughts, and society should be Islamic by its foundation and structure not by containing Muslims as majority. Their aim is to recreate the original Islamic community (The Failure of Political Islam, P 37)

Guilain Denoeux, an associate professor of government at Colby College, defined political Islam as a term coined during (1970) to refer to the rise of movements and ideologies drawing on Islamic terms, in order to articulate a distinctly political agendas and ideologies. In order to provide a comprehensive analysis of the existing sociopolitical challenges in the Muslim societies. These movements aim to make change and find solutions. They came with different ideologies known in the previous movements; the profile of its leaders, most of them graduates in sciences and engineering, not theology and humanities, and its reliance on Western technology made them a modern phenomenon. These new Islamists movements produced two prominent Islamists thinkers, the Iranian Ali Shariati and the Sudanese Hassan al-Turabi. Both received their Doctorates from the Sorbonne in Paris. (Navigating Political Islam, P.61)

While Mehdi Mozaffari, identified the history of the concept Islamism as the certain manners of Islamism, it was used for the first time by French writers at the end of the seventeenth century ‘Le Petit Robert’ (1697). Robert gave the first reference to the word Islamism. The Enlightenment philosopher Voltaire (1838) is one of the first writers to use the term: ‘this religion is called islamism’. Tocqueville found the ‘root of Islamism in Judaism’. Caussin de Perceval, Comte de Gobineau, Ernest Renan and Baron Bernard Carra de Vaux equally make use of this term. Vaux characterized Islamism as a ‘spent religion’ (Totalitarian Movements and Political Religions, P 17)

However there are inter-alia and factors that introduced in the Muslim’s world, and Arab region, through the Arab history. These events and actions were mostly the kind of sociopolitical effects and changes that shaped political Islam, and gave the chance to form and lifted Islamist political movements.

After the independency from the Ottoman Empire, and the arrival of the British in the twenties of the last century, the Islamists movements in parallel with Arabism and communism thoughts started to emerge. These parties caused political-religious influences, revolutions and military coups, which were controlled by military officers and religious leaders; the banned of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (1948) by King Farouk, for asking the implementation of Islamic law ‘Shari’a’ and removal of Egypt’s secular law. The revolution in Egypt (1952) led by ‘al-Ahrar’ the Liberal Officers against their king. The coup in Iraq led by the communist’s party (1958) and the series of coups that was in Syria until Baath party took over under the rule of Hafiz Al-Assad.

Such actions in the Arab region and mainly their (1948)’s defeat in Palestine, caused disappoint among the defeated Arab armies towards their Arab government’s political stands. The National trend and Baathism started to dominate in most of Arab countries, except in Iraq which was ruled by the communists until (1963) when the Baath party took over. Mean while Islamist political parties were limited by other political entities. The non-Islamic and National political parties were mainly established be army officers. They ruled these influential political parties to be their representatives, in order to support their rules among the Arab people. After the war of (1973) these governmental systems were strong and established their ruling for long period of time until (2010).

Nevertheless during this period, the socioeconomic situations in the Arab district formed factors contributed to solid the Islamists movements and empower the sparkle of Arab Spring. During the last three decades Arab countries went through many phases, which increased their anger, disappointments and depression. As these political regimes came with certain promises that did not fulfill implemented; the socialist power, National trend and Baath party. On aside there was no economic growth in Arab countries, on another there was an increasing number of Arab populations. That led to high unemployment, poverty and a state of despair among people, especially the youth.

Which at the same time of last century, the establishment of the Islamist thoughts had began as movements and entities; Libya, Egypt and Tunisia had witnessed the Arab Spring and the emergence of political movements, which integrated in the new process of practicing democracy.

Egypt

1928 Muslims Brotherhood established by Hassan Al-Banna in Egypt, his family was a follower of the Hanbali School. Al-Banna participated in demonstrations against Britain (1919), he believed in the holy war Jihad. Al-Banna greatly influenced by Ali Abd al-Raziq's study of the government in Islam (1925) and by Dr. Taha Hussein's book pre-Islamic poetry and Qura'n (1926). He was caught in all the political events in his days, and by (1934) there were fifty Egyptian branches of the organization, by (1939) fully staffed branches increased to five hundred, and by (1946) the Muslim Brotherhood were half million. (Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt, 1964)

The movement spread in other Arab countries, such as Syria, Palestine, Jordan and Morocco. It was a religious-political movement embraced an ideology that engaged into political actions; it believed in literal interpretation of Qur'an and Sunnah as the main source of doctrine and law. It believes in jihad as the holy war to defense Islam. The movement repeatedly stated that it will not contemplate the use of force to impose its objectives. In (1940) they created secret apparatus as the military wings of the society of Muslim Brotherhood. (1948) the movement declared its demand to apply the Islamic law (Shari'a) in Egypt instead of the secular law. They were engaged in several assassinations of Egyptians officials; Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi, was one of those who were assassinated. (1950) they combined their efforts with the Liberal Officers to rebel against the royal family and overthrow king Farouk (1952). Then they became the only political Islamic movement in Egypt. Soon they were limited and repressed during Nasser's rule, for insisting applying the Islamic law Shari'a.

Brief History of the Muslim Brotherhood, P.1-2

Hassan al-Banna was assassinated (1949), and Muslim Brotherhood (1950) joined by the Muslim Scholar Sayyid Qutb, Who was anti-West. He became the editor of the Brotherhood's weekly paper, and soon the foremost voice for their cause. (1954) During Nasser's time he was arrested and spent ten years in prison. He believed that all earthly sovereignty belongs to God alone. Qutb was hanged (1966), and considered a martyr by many Muslims because he died at the hands of the same government whose legitimacy he denied. His message of a politicized Islam was influential to Ayatollah Khomeini and the Shiite revolution in Iran. Qutb's political message was so powerful 30 years ago in part, because he voiced a deep philosophical criticism of the two superpowers at

that time, the United States and the Soviet Union, which he referred to as the West (The Thought of Sayyid Qutb, 2004)

However, during the Seventieth the Brotherhood movement's popularity increased among the Arab; the visiting of Anwar Sadat to Israel (1977) to be the first Arab leader to visit Israel officially. And his signing of the peace treaty with Israel, under the auspices of the American government (1979) sparked a huge controversy in the Arab circles, which led to assassin Sadat (1981) by fundamentalist army officer.

Tunisia

Al-Nahda movement in Tunisia established (1981) by Sheikh Rashed al-Ganoushi and others, under the name of 'al-Gama'a al-Islamia' Islamist Community Group. Al-Ganoushi immigrated to Egypt (1964) to study Agriculture College in Cairo University, and then left to Damascus for political reasons. He studied philosophy and joined Nasserist group 'The Social Union' until it became a political Islamic group after the defeat of (1967). The movement was restricted to the ideological and inflexible aspects, and they published their thoughts through social newspapers and magazines, which was faced by oppression. The movement demanded to change its name to Islamic Orientation movement, but the government refused their demand and many of its members were trailed. Until (1987) Ben Ali deposed Habib Bourguiba, and promised to recognize the Islamist movements, but did not achieve his promises.

(Tunisia: Islamist Al-Nahda comes to power with 'modern' outlook, 2011)

(1989) al-Nahda's party got 13% of the seats because the candidates entered the elections as independence, since the party itself was banned at that time. Its leaders stressed that the movement's ideology is different from other Islamists like Sayyid Qutb and Maududi; who offered an ideological alternative to the modern world, and was aware of the impact of ideological challenges of the Capitalist, Marxist and Fascists ideologies of the 19th century Europe.

Libya

Libyan Islamic Fighting Group (LIFG) 'al-Jam'a al-Islamiyyah al-Muqatilah'; was established in eastern Libya (1995) which make it a new movement, its leader is Abd al Rahman al Faqih. The movement formed by Libyan-Afghan who fought in Afghanistan (1980-1990). The group attempted to assassinate Gaddafi three times, but they got defeated (1998) and fled to Sudan, Afghanistan and Iraq, were hundred joined al-Qaida.

Its ideology based on two objectives; to overthrow the Libyan government led by Muammar Gaddafi, as they believe that Gaddafi and his government are un-Islamic. Its second goal is to contribute to international jihadist campaign. By (2005) it was declared as foreign terrorist organization. (2007) the movement declared its accession to al-Qaida organization, and some of its senior leaders maintain positions in al-Qaida senior command structure.

(Terrorist Organization Profile: Libyan Islamic Fighting Group)

The Arab Spring

The Arab Spring started after the death of young Tunisian Muhammad Bu Azizi (2010), who burned himself as a reaction for the humiliation he faced and the poverty that most of Tunisian people lives under. At the first glance the Arab spring will emerge as a result to his death. But this

event was an outcome for long processes of suppressions, which sparked the revolution in Tunisia and spread it all over the Arab region. Tunisia was followed by Egypt and Libya and Syria- which still in the ongoing revolution-.

The regimes were removed through demonstrations led by the people especially the youth as in Tunisia, Egypt. Rebelling and fighting that caused civil wars as in Libya and Syria. Moreover, the communications and media hugely contributed to promote and reinforce the extending of Arab spring. The communications and interactions on the internet helped to organize the demonstrations, and confirmed on the goals of revolting against the rulers; media through broadcasting the news and showing the world the images of brutalities, practiced by the governments against their people. Braced the people to participate and join the rebels in the revolutions. The victories of these Arab brothers broke the rest of Arab's barrier of fears.

The ideological parties became to serve the political systems, which were dictatorships and functioned in marginalizing its people. These entities drove away from their original position; to represents people's well, and to run the country's political system. The inhibition of the security services and intelligences towards people increased their oppressions. Further, the Arab's disappointments in resolving the Palestinian issue, because of their governmental policies; the Palestinian issue represents a solid case among Arab people, who were frustrated for not solving it as they were promised by their representative political parties.

The Egypt's economical situation during Mubarak's regime (1981-2011) did not improve. Egypt depends heavily on agriculture, tourism and the cash remittance from Egyptians working abroad. The rapid population growth and limited amount of arable lands strained the country resources and economy. The political chaos and corruption paralyzed the government efforts to address the problem. Since (1990) Mubarak started a long slow process to improve the economy, he reduced the size of governmental sectors and increased the privet sectors. (1992) Mubarak stated in a PBS news hour:

"At the same time we are making reform to the economy with another two, three years. There will be stabilization. At the same time we are working hard to raise the standard of the people who have been affected, but we can't do it overnight." (2004) Mubarak started to undertake reforms, by reducing taxes, improving the transparency of National budget and implementing economic legislation to promote privet sectors. But 44% Egyptians continue to live in grinding poverty, 20% lived below the poverty line and educated people were underemployed and had to work multiple jobs.(Hosni Mubarak Economic Achievements, 2011)

The Tunisian's political-economical situations during Zine el-Abidine Ben Ali (1987-2011) were not in better place. Ben Ali took over the rule and rise to power by bloodless coup; he ousted President Habib Bourguiba, who was secular nationalist. Ben Ali repressed political opponents, secular activists, independent journalists and imprison to Islamists. He made the parliaments pass a law that criminalized opposition activists, as agents of foreign powers. The country was affected by corruptions, high unemployment, lack of opportunities for young adult, economic measures to

silence voices in the media, majority were in poverty, large numbers were under the line of poverty, and economical institutions controlled by Ben Ali's family (Tunisia, 2012)

While Libya is mostly desert and oil rich country, it was ruled for 42 years by Muammar Gaddafi (1969-2011). He came to power by removing king Idris in a coup. And established (Jamahiria) state of the masses; a new political system as an alternative to communism and capitalism. His foreign and domestic policy, impacted negatively on the Libyan economic conditions; he was implicated in (1988) bombing of a plane over Lockerbie, (1989) bombing a UTA flight over Niger. In (1992) economic sanction was imposed over Libya in UN Security Council resolution 748, as he refused to turn over the terror suspects. Beside division arose over the use of Libya's oil income; 99% of government greedy and over Gaddafi dominance.

Gaddafi consolidated his control, by removing both civilian and military personnel suspected of potential disloyalty, from the country's planning institutes and ministries. Sensitive security and army positions were steadily filled by members of Gaddafi's tribe, the (Qadhadhfa), and allied tribes. Gaddafi also systematically destroyed civil society, political parties, independent trade unions and other civil organizations were prohibited. Opponents were imprisoned and tortured or executed (Libya's Muammar Gaddafi, 2011)

On the other hand, the invasion of Iraq (2003) created further disappointment for the Arab people towards Arab government's political strategies; as an Arab country invaded by the West to replace its regime. There were no preventions to be taken by the Arab governments, which led to increase the gap between the people and their political systems. The sociopolitical processes in Arab countries caused dimensional depressions among Arab people; failure in the political party's ideologies, dictatorships rulers, and almost results of elections in the Arab world produced 99% supporting the ruler. The one party system and the absence of political party's participations, and the regime's crushes of oppositions and violations of human rights (The Arab Spring the West and Political Islam, 2012)

Further the huge increase of poverty. Oppressions caused by government's domestic policies. People's disappointments with their political foreign policies; were measures and strategies accelerated the people's rage and led to the turning point in modern Arab history that triggered the revolutions, which known as the Arab Spring. Yet, the majority of Arab people who demonstrated and revolt against their political systems did not have political agendas or ideologies. They went through the Arab Spring to remove their rulers, in order to regain their dignity, freedom and equality. To end the miseries they lived under for decades.

However the Islamists political movements did not play role in organizing the flow of demonstrations in Arab spring. The Islamic movements were organized and prepared ideologically to participate in the post-revolution period. That helped these Islamic entities to appear publicly in strong way, after the fallen of the previous political systems. "The consistent eruption of political crowds in North Africa has shown that popular, protest in the region is not motivated by Islamist groups in any organized way. The Tunisian and Egyptian revolutions...were not religious in origin and were not associated with any political ideology." (The Political Crowd: Theorizing Popular Revolt in North Africa, 2011)

Olivier Roy argues, that it is their time to function politically, in order to complete the process of democracy that enables several of political parties, including the Islamists movement to participate in the transition;

“The so-called Arab Spring cleared the way for the Islamists. And even if many Islamists do not share the democratic culture of the demonstrators, the Islamists have to take into account the new playing field the demonstrations created”(The New Islamists, 2012). Since there is an ideological and political vacuum in the Arab public sphere, these Islamic parties took the advantages of this political emptiness. Through persuades Arab people that they are their saviors and their appropriate political system, which will improve their situations, by going back to Islam. People believed that Islamic parties are the realistic alternative choice for the political ideologies that failed. They alleged that Islam as their religion and source of religious rules will be their way to remedy and liberation.

In Egypt the Muslim Brotherhood won 72% of the Egyptian Parliaments, and Salafist's party won more than quarter of the voices. Out of total 166 individual seats; the Muslim Brotherhood won 108 seats, the Salafists 33 seats. The Egyptians Islamists offered a coherent worldview ideology; they presented to their followers an explanation of the world itself during the past, present and future. They provided an acceptable moral structure that fits the Egyptians, in which suited the religious and non-religious individuals. The oppression that Brotherhood experienced many years before Arab Spring enabled them to follow their mission in productive way. (Egyptians Elections: Why the Islamists Won, 2012)

Winning the elections for Muslim Brotherhood, may not mean their success. (2012) they showed their approach to dominate the constituent assembly tasked, by writing a new constitution. That pushed the Egypt's court to dissolve the parliament and the constituent assembly, which reacted by the Muslim Brotherhood represented by president Mohamed Morsi, to assign full legislative and executive power. (Arab Democracy or Islamist Revolution? 2013) This created a political destabilize in Egypt towards the wining Islamic party, which produced sociopolitical chaos.

However, the Islamists leaderships were aging, which put them at the point of cultural gap with the new generations of believers. And the neo-fundamentalist declared that strict personal return to the true tenet of religious practice, can serve as the basis of Islamic society. This blind obedience to the leadership was rejected by the young members of these generations, who call for debate, democracy and good governance.

Further, they didn't provide an economic plan; they concentrated on charities in poor neighborhood without supporting landforms in Egypt. The Islamic political parties itself were not concord, they had different political-religious agendas; the Salafists al-Nur party challenged the Muslim Brotherhood by allying with Brotherhood dissidents, they aims to raise the Shari'a issue, in order to make Muslim Brotherhood face a contradictions of its claiming positions, which respect the democratizations and Islamic religious norms. (The Transformation of the Arab World, 2012)

On the other side, Tunisian constituent assembly elections were won by the Islamic party al-Nahda; 90 seats that enabled the Islamists al-Nahda to take control of the assembly (Tunisia: Political

Parties Aim at al-Nahda, 2012) Al-Nahda Islamist after the Arab Spring changed their statements and forms. They applied new terms and statements to their ideology; Kamal al-Huki a former member in al-Nahda movements pointed the ambiguity in the movement's new statements. He thinks it is different from (1981) statements but not clear, the replacements of some words, such as (Shura) to be democracy, looks like a formal change imposed by certain political circumstances. However a conducted study with statistical questionnaires using random samples, by the researcher Mounira Zrgi; was applied on 200 individuals, resulted that 52% have positive perception towards al-Nahda party, 33,5% doubted its agenda, and 9,5% believed that media image is deliberately distorted(The Tunisian Map after the Revolution 'AlNahda and other Groups, 2011).

However al-Nahda's new ideology emphasized the democratic reform, their objectives were to reinforce the principles of sovereignty of the people by building a democratic state with civil institutions, equality between citizens, to achieve public and individual freedoms, and justice as centered values, which embody the meaning of honoring the creation from God to achieve Human Rights and political pluralism(Al-Nahda Party, 2013). Olivier Roy believed that, Al-Nahda along with Egyptians Muslim Brotherhood benefited from the democratization process of the Arab Spring, by coming back to the political field and winning the elections. Hence they have to accept the demands of democracy and function according to the dynamic characteristics of social, religious and political fields in their states. As these Islamists parties enjoy the more power and freedom, they should call for democracy without monopoly claim on power by single ideology or party (The Transformation of the Arab World, 2012).

While, Libya's Arab Spring differs from Egypt and Tunisia; it went through civil war and brutal fighting with Gaddafi's troops to reach its liberation. The state didn't experience the meaning of elections for 42 year; it was the first National Congress free elections to be held after its Arab Spring. Two Islamic political parties were engaged in the elections. Justice and Construction Party; it was the main political arm of Libya's Muslim Brotherhood, but its leaders distanced themselves from the brotherhood name, by saying that the party was established by a group of Islamists and including non-Brotherhood Muslims as high level members. The part led by Mohammed Sawan , who spent eight years in prison during Gaddafi's time for his association with the Brotherhood. He used to be member of Brotherhood's top decision making council in Libya. The party stressed that it is independent from any other Brotherhood group in the region. Its ideology is to apply Islamic Shari'a law as the main source of legislation, and to endure the principles of Islam.

The other Libyan Islamists party is al-Watan party (Homeland) and known as the Nation party; it was established by former rebel jihadist commander Abdel-Hakim Belhaj, and the salafist Ali al-Salab. Belhaj was imprisoned during Gaddafi's rule for being a leader in Libyan Islamic Fighting Group, and released from prison a year before the Libyan revolution. The party believes in the association with Muslim Brotherhood. Its ideology is similar to Justice and Constructive party. (The Major Parties in Libya's First elections since the Arab Spring protests Toppled Gadhafi, 2012)

The chances of winning for the Islamists parties in the Libyan National Congress elections were not like the other Islamic entities in Egypt and Tunisia. The National Force Alliance won 39 seats out of 200 seats in the National Assembly, while Islamists party Justice and Constructive party

won 17 seats only, and al-Watan party won no seats, the rest 120 seats were allocated for candidates running as individuals (Mahmoud Jibril's centrist party dominated Libyan election, 2012).

The National Forces Alliance is a 58 political coalition parties, led by the former Prime Minister Mahmoud Jibril. The party considered being liberal coalition; it is popular in urban and western areas in Libya. Its ideology emphasizes on Shari'a as legal code, it promotes foreign investment in Libya's oil and gas sector, and to open Libya's economy to global sector by creating special economic zone (National Force Alliance, 2013). Jibril stressed that his liberal party is not secularist rather a moderate Islamic movement that recognizes the importance of Islam in Political life. he focused on economy by encouraging foreign investments, as Libya still underdeveloped in almost every sector, it need new opportunities in training young people who forms 70% of its population, and exportation. Besides creating special economic zones for cities along Libya's borders will encourage trade and maximize their economic potential. (Party Profile: The National Forces Alliance, 2013)

CONCLUSION

Arab Spring through its democratic process, created a new political space for new ideologies or revival ones. The huge transition that the Arab region is going through, led to transit Islamic movements to evolve into the political scene, in order to participate in the political transition.

The Islamists went through oppression for long time by the ousted governments, for trying to promote their Islamic ideology that represents an Islamic state with going back to the tenet of Islam. But the transformation of the Arab region that came as a result to political, economical failure of the former political systems. Invigorated the democracy practice and clear the way for the Islamists to revive their ideology, but by modernizing their forms, statements and ideology.

However Olivier Roy answered a question about how he thinks that Neo-fundamentalists strive to create an imaginary Ummah. He stated that:

"There is no endeavor to create a real Islamic state. There is no blue-print for forging a new society. This project of creating an Islamic state using the modern concept of revolution, institutions, constitutions, ideology and so on, doesn't work, not because of Islam, but simply because there is no such thing as a religious state. You can have states using religion. You can have states using religious legitimacy, but you cannot have a state solely based on religion, whatever the religion." (Interview with Olivier Roy, Author of Globalized Islam: the Search for a new Ummah) The results of the elections in the post-Arab spring states; indicated that Islamists entities might not be dominated political parties. Egypt and Tunisia's first democratic elections were won by Islamic political parties, While Libya illustrated different results, which allowed a liberal political party to win.

The Arab youth were responsible of the first wave of the revolution that spread over the entire region. They were unemployed university graduates and oppressed by their regimes. Demonstrations flowed demanding for socio-economic improvements, democracy, and their dignity. The Islamists movement did not have the upper hand in moving these demonstration, they

were brutally repressed for decades and managed to maintain their structure. As a result, the Arab region still undergoing changes and it is still need time to realize the political parties that will continually evolve. The Islamists political parties came to power for their promises to break the mode of dictatorships, recover the economy and to minimize people's problems. They were not elected for religious reasons; Libya is an obvious case of people's desires to elect the party that represent the ideology, which will be able to improve their conditions and preserve their democracy. Therefore political Islam remains in the case of test of exercising power.

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