

## **The Effect of Reform Movement of the Contemporary Political Islamic thought on the Performance of Political Islamic Movements. (The philosophy of state in the thought of Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi as a study case)**

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### ***An Introduction***

The subject of Islamic movements is still take much luck of research and exploration within the Arab-Islamic intellectual circles and foreign intellectual circles alike, and it has been treated from several angles, some of that linked to the fundamental and historical dimension, some of that linked to the théorisation, the others linked to its patterns and mechanisms, its dialectical relationships with the other actors, the interior actors on the intellectual and political Arab-Islamic arena or even the foreign actors like the foreign western states alike and its vision pattern for the other. This study is trying to treats with this growing phenomenon in its relation with the intellectual points of reference which they are based, to measure the limits of impact and vulnerability between the works of the contemporary reformers in political Islamic thought on the one hand and the political performance of these movements on the other hand, in light of the new changes on the Arab and international arenas. This study will focus on the impact of each of thinkers Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi in the performance of some of the most important movements as models for study, and it will be limited to be addressed only the subject of state and style of governance because of the breadth of the subject of this study.

### ***The Theoretical Framework of the Study***

In its theoretical framework the study based on the works that was presented by Professor Tariq Ramadan, Dr Yusuf al-Qaradawi, as well as Dr. Rashid Ghannouchi, explores the vision of both of them to the modern and basical political concepts which are still as a subject of controversy within the community of political Islamic movements in the Islamic world, such as concepts of: National state, democracy, democratic transition, rotation on the authority, political parties, the opposition, the Shura, the Caliphate, El Hakimiya, the legitimate law of Islam, the relationship with the non-Muslim and others... The study attempts a cross of this theoretical template to clarify the impact of reform ideas of those reformers on the political behavior and political revisions of the contemporary political Islamic movements. It will address only one issue here, is the philosophy of the state and style of governance.

### ***The Problematic of Study***

The study asks and examines the limits of the influence of theoretical rooting of these thinkers on the performance of contemporary political Islamic movements, Is it the political behavior of these movements associated with what are provided by those researchers as a theorical academic works and interpretations which address the problematic topics in the intellectual blog on which these movements based in its political acts? Are the political failure and success of these movements associated with the extent of an epistemology association or separation between what are provided by the contemporary Islamic thought as a political diligences and intellectual reforms on the one hand and the political performance of these movements on the other hand?

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### ***The Aim of the Study***

This study seeks and attempts to show the importance of theoretical thinking and intellectual reform at the level of intellectual references of these movements considered as the main factor that controls the success or failure of these movements, based on the faith of the researcher that the world of ideas who controls both of world of persons and things (In the words of the Algerian philosopher Malik Bennabi). The researcher also believes that the political reforms carried out by most of these movements are just cosmetic reforms and these movements will not benefit from its in the long run, until this reforms reach to the intellectual starting points of these movements, this is exactly the aim of the study, to make these movements attaches more importance to the intellectual reform process within their midst more than just focus on the daily practical political side, if they want to achieve a good public acceptance and a political success and a real presence in the future.

### ***The Study Hypothesis***

The success or the failure of Islamic movements depends on what the intellectual renew and reform achieve on the level of intellectual references of these movements, and the extent of direct link between this intellectual renewal and the political behavior of the political leaders of those movements.

### ***The Importance of Study***

The importance of study is coming from the importance of this phenomenon in the present era, we mean the phenomenon of Islamic movements in general, and political ones on a particular, this phenomenon has become a complex phenomenon due to several factors makes it difficult to understand it and know its goals, as well as to attempt rationalizing it and reform it in political and intellectual meaning. The importance of study also show in the evolution that occurred in the political Islamic movements exactly in its political thinking since Hassan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb, It became clear having a new intellectual landmarks trying to keep pace with the developments of the times. Also the importance of study show because of the apparent confusion (sometimes deliberate) by some researchers, The media, the public and even within the community of the Islamic movement itself to the Ontological vision, the epistemology vision and the ethic-aesthetic vision of Islam to the world, and various concepts that has produced by its intellectuals through the ages, for explain and interpret this vision and for find to the good ways to realize this vision on the ground.

### ***Findings***

#### **An Introduction**

##### **i. On Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi.**

1. Professor Tariq Ramadan.
2. Cheikh Rashid Ghannouchi.

##### **ii. The philosophy of state in the political thought of both of Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi from the theocratic heritage to civilian modernity.**

1. The philosophy of state for Muslims in the modern era between the textualists and rationalists.
2. Ramadan and Ghannouchi, the spirit of modernity and the originality of concept. Towards a contemporary centrist vision.

##### **iii. Models from the impact of their thought on the contemporary Islamic movements.**

#### **Conclusion**

##### **i. On Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi:**

###### **1. Professor Tariq Ramadan:**

Professor Tariq Ramadan is a Swiss thinker with Egyptian origin, is the grandson of Sheikh Hassan al-Banna, he was born in Geneva August 26, 1962, and is now a professor of contemporary Islamic studies at Oxford University, Department of Oriental Studies at the Faculty of St. Anthony, and he work too as a Professor of religions and interfaith dialogue in the department of theological studies at the same university. As well as he works as a visiting professor at the Faculty of Islamic Studies in Qatar , and in the Malaysian university "Burleiz", and a researcher at Doshisha University in Japan. Also headed the legislative studies and ethics center in Doha.

Dr. Ramadan obtained a master's degree in philosophy and French literature, and doctoral degree in Arabic and Islamic Studies from the University of Geneva, Switzerland.

He also received an extensive training in traditional Islamic texts and methods of read it on the traditional method from professors and sheikhs at Al-Azhar University in Cairo where he graduated from there with a scientific diploma, he is also the president of the European Center for Research (European Muslim Network EMN) in Brussels, and member of the International Union of Muslims Scholars. These studies and training qualified him to contribute in the ongoing debates on several Islamic issues through his writings and lectures, in particular, Dr. Ramadan contribute in the Muslims minority issues in the West and the Islamic awakening in the Islamic world. So, he is an influential actor on the academic and scientific level and at the level of the widespread popular movement throughout the world with regarding to issues of religion, morality, social justice and dialogue between cultures and religions.

He was ranked many times within the 100 influential intellectual figure in the world by American and European magazines like Foreign Policy and Times.

The most important scientific publications:

- ✓ Sources from Muslim revival: From al-Afghani to Hassan al-Banna, a century of Islamic reformism. (1998).
- ✓ To Be a European Muslim: a Study of Islamic Sources in the European Context.(1999).
- ✓ Radical Reform: Islamic Ethics and Liberation. (2008).
- ✓ The Quest for Meaning: Developing a Philosophy of Pluralism (2010).
- ✓ The Arab Awakening: Islam and the New Middle East (2012).
- ✓ Risking ideas: the great questions of our time (with Edgar Morin) (2014).
- ✓ Of Islam and Muslims: Reflections on human, reform, war and the West (2015).
- ✓ Introduction to Islamic ethics: legal sources, philosophical, mystical and contemporary issues.(2015).<sup>2</sup>

## 2. Cheikh Rashid Ghannouchi

A Tunisian islamist politician and thinker, born in 1941, one of the founders of Al-Nahda movement, it has been tried more than once because of his islamic dawa and political activities at the time the two presidents Habib Bourguiba and Zine El Abidine Ben Ali. Ghannouchi got a certified in the fundamentals of religion from the Tunisian Zaytuna University, as he got too a bachelor in Philosophy from Damascus in 1968. He read the books of Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, Abu Ala Mawdudi, Muhammad Iqbal, Malik bin Nabi, Al-Ghazali and Ibn Taymiyyah, he got to know Al-Dawa and Tabligh group and he was an active member among them in North Africa. He traveled to France and he was active with the students in the Dawa Movement, when he returned to Tunisia at the end of the sixties, he began his dawa among students and pupils of secondary schools who formed after The Islamic Tendency Movement, later renamed Al-Nahda Movement.

He contributed with his sermons, lessons, articles, books and lectures in supporting of the moderate line of the Islamic Movement in Tunisia and in abroad, and contributed to the destabilization of a number of traditional beliefs about religious, intellectual, political issues and corrected it, such as the rights of citizenship and public freedoms, democracy and secularism, and others. Ghannouchi lived nearly two decades in exile in London, and there he became the head of Ennahda Movement in 1991, then returned to Tunisia after the fall of Ben Ali's regime in 2011, and contributed with his movement in overcoming obstacles of the transition phase after its victory in the Constituent Assembly elections, and he is until now an influential part in the political process in Tunisia after the revolution.

His most important books: "The rights of citizenship in the Islamic state," and "The public freedoms in the Islamic state," and "Women between the Koran and the reality of Muslims," and "Approaches in the secularism and civil society," and "The Islamic movement and the issue of change." And some of his books have been translated into many foreign languages, notably English and French. Sheikh Rashid Ghannouchi got with Tunisian President Moncef Marzouki the Chatham House British Royal Prize for freedom of thought and expression in 2012.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup>- السيرة الذاتية، موقع طارق رمضان. <http://tariqramadan.com/arabic/%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B3%D9%8A%D8%B1%D8%A9-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%B0%D8%A7%D8%AA%D9%8A%D8%A9>

<sup>3</sup>- راشد الغنوشي، الجزيرة نت، 2010/12/16.

<http://www.aljazeera.net/encyclopedia/icons/2010/12/16/%D8%B1%D8%A7%D8%B4%D8%AF-%D8%A7%D9%84%D8%BA%D9%86%D9%88%D8%B4%D9%8A>

## ii. The philosophy of state in the political thought of both of Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi from the theocratic heritage to civilian modernity:

This section seeks to explore the innovative political ideas on the subject of state and typical governance according to both of these thinkers, as one of the contemporary political controversial issues like the question of democracy, secularism, the application of Sharia, caliphate, the rotation on power, and the relationship with the other. So, the contemporary Islamic political movements find itself demanding to deal with it and forming attitudes towards it clearly, here we will try to clarify the impact of the both Professor Tariq Ramadan's and Sheikh Rashid Ghannouchi's ideas on current diligence (ijtihad) of these movements.

### 1. The philosophy of state for Muslims in the modern era between the textualists and rationalists:

The divergent readings for the text (Quran and Sunna) has led to varying interpretations and explanations regarding the desired pattern of governance, which in turn gives the form of the state between who see that the desired state is a "religious state" (textualists) and those who theorize for the "civil state" in Islam (rationalists), and other group who seeking with their (Ijtihads) to keep pace with the times and uphold the asset, so, they call for a civil state but with an Islamic reference, a group that both Tariq Ramadan and Rached Ghannouchi seen in their writings and theorizings. The first group is represented by an extremist stream recognizes only the state of traditional caliphate, as long as he saw the regimes of this age as disbelief and clearly blasphemy and are not in line with the spirit of Islam like the concept of :Democracy and the rotation of power, he also rejected the concept of the people, in return he approved the concept of the nation (Umma), this trend granted the ruler of the Islamic State absolute powers even if he was unjust ruler, this authority could prevent him from insulation or the revolution against him unless he shows outright disbelief.

Also awarded to religious scholars exclusive right of interpretation and justification and understanding concerning the affairs of religion and politics, what is remember us of the concept of theocratic state that dominated Europe in the darkness middle ages, where was the ruler had a divine nature (God or the son of God) or he was chosen directly or indirectly from God in a way according to what is known as the theory of divine right, thus it follows that the ruler amounts to a high status does not available for anyone of his people, and anyone can objected to his words and deeds. This understanding and those perceptions has led through the both of Islamic and western history to create an unfair ruling models enslaved humans in the name of religion and wreaked havoc on the earth in the name of God, regimes did not pay attention to the principles of equality between people, but established a distinction between them according to belief. The most dangerous thing here when it's make the ruler speak in the name of God, so, it could not be asked, is not permissible because he has the keys of right and wrong, good and evil, beauty and ugliness, justice and injustice, also has the ability to declare war and held peace, so, such religious scholars became in this style as a representatives of God and his mediators on the earth, who construct the right and monopolized the truth.

So, they stood against any useful change and caused disabling the means of mental and experimental knowledge, and became a reactionary force stand against the development and progress and modernity.<sup>4</sup> Because of a several factors - that we cannot be detailed here- the Islamic nation knew an intellectual awakening in the nineteenth century touched its intellectual and political spheres addressed "the holy" origins of ruling and governance, where a number of reformers sought to eradicate the political tyranny from minds before squares, reformers such as Jamal al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh, such an awakening was just a start point for an active intellectual movement in the Arabic and Islamic arena in generally, dealt by research, exploration and comparison, interpretation and deconstruction the question of authority, state and system of governance in relation to religion and the dilemmas posed by the light of the current challenges posed by era, from the writings of Ali Abdel raziq into the theses of Mohammed arkoun, Abdallah laroui, Nasr Hamid Abu Zaid, Fathi Almiskini and others Who are named the pioneers of Arab modernism.

Their political and philosophical writings and theorizing attempts has a significant impact on the political Arab arena and its new elites due to their challenge to the modern problems posed by the dialectic of sacred and profane, religion and politics, tradition and modernity, authoritarianism and democracy, secularism and other problems, by using a western methods and tools of knowledge in their researches and analysis of Islamic heritage and the challenges of modern nation, so they formed so distinct vision respect to the form of the desired Arab state, what they called the civil state, or the secular state which can accommodate all shades and colors, especially after the changing of Muslim communities structure recently in terms of composition, idea and cultural intermingling.

<sup>4</sup> - عبد الغاني عماد، الإسلاميون بين الثورة والدولة، إشكالية إنتاج النموذج وبناء الخطاب، مركز دراسات الوحدة العربية، الطبعة الأولى 2011، بيروت-لبنان، ص: 56.

Supporters of the civil state argue that the source of power in the state is the people, where no differentiation or discrimination between its people and groups on the basis of sex, religion or class, and they argue too that each state is not civilian it will be in return a police state based on oppression, injustice and tyranny, and because of that composition it is unable of embrace a different religions, ideas and freedoms, the countries that have adopted the idea of a civil state made sure that did not include any religion in its constitutions, but it was considered a civil state is secular in content not in shape, and that the policy is carried out on the basis of interest and the legislation, which is in its conclusion reflects the diversity of the nation laws. Some thinkers distinguish between civil and secular state in the belief that the second is anti-religious, while the civil state recognizes the freedom of religion and respect for different people in their beliefs and provide them everything necessary for the exercise of religious freedoms, and does not divide them on the basis of religion, Reference of this state boils down in having a constitution that reflects the values and the beliefs and customs of people in different religious, cultural and ethnic backgrounds, where the State stand on the separation of legislative, executive and judicial authorities and on the accountability, rotation of power and the acquisition of rights on the basis of citizenship, ensure the human rights, fundamental freedoms, respect for pluralism and the peaceful democratic transfer of power through free elections.<sup>5</sup>

Despite the realistic tone that tries to show the supporters of this trend, but he often somehow drops in the utopian world and transcendentalism, by ignoring the identity and cultural characteristics that characterize the Muslim community to the point of excluding their opponents from Islamists, and stigmatized them of intellectual reactionary and narrow-mindedness, what was contributing in deepen the political and ideological polarization that plagued these communities and push it to think away from the concerns and problems of daily living as the issues of social justice and the sustainable development.

## ***2. Ramadan and Ghannouchi, the spirit of modernity and the originality of concept. Towards a contemporary centrist vision:***

Between those trends a new intellectual (Ijtihad-diligences) has emerged, mediates the intellectual arena, declared war on the political-ideological polarization, led by an important poles of thought like Professor Tariq Ramadan and Sheikh Rashid Ghannouchi, with their ideas they have inspired many of political leaders in the Muslim world as the icons of the Turkish Justice and Development Party, who have been largely able to balance between the authentic Islamic ideas on one hand and the what are imposed by the contemporary challenges on the other hand. In this regard, Professor Tariq Ramadan tried always to show that the spirit of modernity is compatible with the spirit of Islam, trying to theorizing for what he called the spirit of Islamic modernism, as he confirmed in many intellectual speech in the French media that there is a way to reconcile the spirit of democracy and Islam and that there is a suitable way allows the Arab Islamists to develop a suitable democratic ruling models for their states.

Instead of "cloning" a western experiments model including its liberal and secular culture, inviting them to focus on development and social justice challenges, rather than falling into the trap of political polarization that serves the interests of major powers. His writings have inspired a whole generation of neo-Islamists in the forefront of them the Turkish Justice and Development Party leaders as Dr. Ahmed Kourou said in one of his important studies, according to him it is possible of the party in the Arab countries be of a religious reference without needing to seek and establish an Islamic state, he sees that this understanding allows the party to work in comfortably location between exclusionary secular on one hand and Islam on the other hand.

According to this perspective, can Muslims -as a members or Islamic groups - to promote their views in a democratic system through legislative processes and participation in political institutions, judicial and engagement with civil society and the media, for example, the islamic morality can be reflected through the fight against corruption, nepotism or promote justice, the varied Islamic parties can also promote their understanding of the Islamic law (Chariaa) through such a free and democratic processes, in this way there is no need for the formal name of the state as the "Islamic state" -to avoid some of intellectual sensitivities toward their opponents- in order to strengthen the Islamic principles in politics. Above all, there are many so-called "Islamic countries" in fact fail to support what a lot of think to be as desired "Islamic principles" in everyday life, Kuru believes that the success of the Turkish AKP in exercise policies with religious referance without seeking towards the establishment of an Islamic state (State that not mention in its constitution the Chariaa as a reference) make it the only appropriate model for Arab Islamists now.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> - المرجع نفسه، ص: 54-55.

<sup>6</sup> - Ahmet T. Kuru, Muslim politics without an "Islamic" state: Can Turkey's Justice and Development party be a model for Arab islamists?, Brookings Center, Policy Briefing, February 2013, Doha- Qatar, PP: 03-04.

In the other side, secularists can adapt their political speeches in the way that do not scratch the identity and cultural sensitivity that controls the collective consciousness of a broad class of the Arab people who adopt the Islamic idea, avoiding, for example, to use the term of secular state, when they sow their aspirations to establish their own desired state, and compensated it by the term of civil state because is less negative impact on the collective consciousness of the nation. This question may seem formality for someone, but according to us is a very sensitive issue, and because of that we know now a very strong paradigm so-called constructivism paradigm that based on his researches on the identity issues and cultural dimension, also he focuses on the role of speech and language in constructing of realities and ground. In this context, Dr. Mohammed Abed al-Jabri talks about what he calls the problematic of "adaptation of concepts", he argued that not all movable concepts from West are necessary or useful for us, he argues also that the essential concepts should be adopted in order to implanted it in the Arab-Islamic culture, and he distinguishes between the concepts that have the susceptibility for integration like rationalism concept and other that have not the susceptibility to integrate in our culture like the concept of secularism, because this concept shock our Islamic sensitivities and inconsistent with its essence, so, we do not need it, and because there is no priesthood and Church in Islam to accept the absolut separation of religion and state as did the West, this is impossible and indecipherable as Al-jabiri said.<sup>7</sup>

### iii. Models from the impact of their thought on the contemporary Islamic movements:

The theses of Sheikh Ghannouchi seem very affecting on the performance of the Islamic movement in Tunisia on numerous issues, especially the secularism issue and the relationship between religion and state in Tunisia, in the treating of this issue he confirms before all that the secularism have different patterns of several understanding and application in West, according to the privacy of every society, for example the secularism of America differ in its applications than France, which differs in turn from its neighbors Britain and Germany, he believes that secularism in the West generally came as a procedural arrangements to restore the consensus that has been shredded by the religious conflicts. Here we come to this important question: Do we need to secularism as a procedural arrangement? Perhaps the most important idea in the conclusion of these procedures is the idea of a neutral state, meaning that the state should be neutral toward religion and does not interfere in the consciences of people, the state's space is "general sphere," while the religion's space should be "private sphere".

So, the state is the guarantor for each religious and political freedom, and should not interfere in favor of one party or another. So he wonders if Islam need of such a procedure: the neutrality of the state toward religions. For answering, Ghannouchi due to the time of the Prophet Muhammed (Peace upon him), when he created "the state of Medina", he was a religious leader and politician alike, practiced the judiciary among people, and he was leading armies, held the treaties, and doing all procedures, the most important one that concern us in this context was the enacting of constitution for Ummah was named: "Essahifa". "Essahifa" was probably one of the oldest constitutions in the world, It included a series of pacts between immigrants (Elmouhajirin) and supporters (Elanssar) of various tribes, whom considered as nation, also the Jewish tribes of the city's residents who considered them as a nation too, so, here we not talk about the nation of religion, but about politics nation.

Here we stand on the most important term was posed by modern Islamic thinkers like Mohammad Salim Al-Awa and Mohamed Emar, is a "distinction between religious and political" against the concept of separation of religion and politics in the Western context. From biography of Prophet Muhammad (Peace upon him) Ghannouchi deduced a numerous examples where the differentiation between the religion issues and the life subjects was happened.<sup>8</sup>

As we mentioned above Ghannouchi contributed with his sermons, lessons, articles, books and lectures in supporting of the moderate line of the Islamic Movement in Tunisia and in abroad, and contributed to the destabilization of a

<sup>7</sup>- صالح، الفكر العربي ومشكلة المفاهيم، صحيفة الشرق الأوسط اللندنية، 10 يناير 2014.

<http://classic.aawsat.com/leader.asp?section=3&article=757027&issueno=12827#.U3tiv9KSzpo>

<sup>8</sup>- محاضرة الشيخ راشد الغنوشي عن "الدين و الدولة في الأصول الإسلامية و الأجتهد المعاصر"، موقع الشيخ راشد الغنوشي، 2015/04/15.

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number of traditional beliefs about religious, intellectual, political issues and corrected it, such as the rights of citizenship and public freedoms, democracy and secularism, and others. After the Ennahda won the elections in 23 October 2011 with ninety seats in the Constituent Assembly out of 217 seats, he refused to taking for any official post, was nomination Hamadi Jebali to head the new Tunisian government, because he want to put Tunisia far from any political polarization may occur with seculars or nationalists. Through his relations and dialogues with various Tunisian political parties, Ghannouchi has contributed in resolving some of the political and intellectual complex problems that might confuse the transitional period, such as the application of Sharia as a source of legislation while writing the new constitution, etc. Thanks to his moderation, Ennahda was in the second place after the "Enidaa Etunisi" in the legislative elections held in October 2014. Therefore Tunisia survived from the chaos of the "Arab Spring" and remained the most harmonizes and most stable state between others.<sup>9</sup>

Before a few days Ghannouchi has announced that Ennahda movement transformed into a political party specializes in solving the problems of citizens and the advancement the country, while the field of "dawaa" will be from now on the task of civil society organizations, so, he establishes now for a new phase in the path of Islamic movements who convinced many of them eventually that they need to pay more attention to the practical challenges that faced peoples and societies like poverty, unemployment and economic backwardness and so on, rather than drowning on ideological conflicts with others. Professor Tariq Ramadan's ideas were not far from the Islamic scene and the Maghreb scene more particularly, his ideas have a wide acceptance by intellectuals or political elites in the Maghreb region, and contribute to the creation of a continuous revisions of traditional beliefs among the Islamic movements there, in the forefront of them, the Justice and Development Party leaders in Morocco and Tunisian Renaissance Movement "Ennahda", where he was often hosted there to give lectures or in the framework of organizing intellectual seminars. By virtue of the big Maghreb community in Europe that was targeted mainly by Ramadan's ideas, and because of the common problems between the two communities (In Europe and Maghrib), his moderate ideas known a good interesting by the Islamists of the Arab Maghreb.

Who follow his publications or his debates in the French media. As he managed through it to establish a new Islamic discourse and tolerant with other, open to his ideas and culture, and trying to focus on the common humanitarian issues between himself and others. His ideas also played an important role in the face of ideological extremism that takes its legitimacy from religion, also It contributed to the alleviation of political polarization within the community of Islamic movements there and the concentration most of them on development and social justice challenges as it always appears in the writings of man. Also it played a positive role in changing the convictions of many intellectuals and educated people who believe in the sacred authority of the "Elfakih" and imam of the mosque and the sheikhs of fundamentals of Fiqh, often, those people forms the general public opinion through their fatwa, or even their political positions, even they monopolize truths sometimes, which puts the researcher and academic and specialist in politics, economics, psychology and sociology issues in the margin in the time that should reach his ideas to the community and Nourish its awareness. Many of Ramadan's writings is seeking to overthrow this idol which created by Islamic societies for themselves and caused the undermining of its renaissance movement on the level of individuals or Islamic movements and parties alike.

### **Conclusion**

Sure, there are several different factors and the actors controlling the performance of contemporary political Islamic movements. The multiplicity of this movements and the existing differences among themselves in terms of geography, cultural specificity of that geography and the resulting effects of that, the political conditions of that movement in a particular country, The impact of political conditions on the convictions of political leaders of those movement, as well as the different intellectual perspectives among them in some cases, are all factors that contribute in forming their political performance. Therefore, it is difficult to measuring the degree of impact and effect of a particular thinker on the political performance of any political movement due to the multiplicity of the constituent factors of political act of these movements. But nonetheless, we cannot deny the importance of the evolution that occurs on the level of ideas and references and its clear influence which exercised over time in the evolution of the political action of these movements, especially in this age of globalization where ideas moving quickly.

So, we argue - finally - that any political failure or success that will be achieved by these movements will be linked inevitably with the extent of an epistemology association or separation between what are provided by the

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<sup>9</sup> - راشد الغنوشي، الجزيرة نت، مرجع سبق ذكره.

contemporary Islamic thought as a political diligence (Ijtihad), intellectual reforms, political interpretations and the extent of activation of this intellectual reform on the level of discourse and practices of these movements.

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