

Political Islam and the Contemporary Islamic Movement

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Abstract

The thinking of the motion was influenced through its track by the cultural fraction with other culture, such as the Persian, the Greek and the Western, which left negative effects at many circumstances, and made the regimes nominally prefer Islam and practice secularism and replace Islam by occupational legislations.

The political Islamic conception formed an axial issue through ages; this importance increased and started to acquire a special importance since the day break of the last century, during the nation's combat for the rise, resurrection and search for the identity.

This study deals with the political Islamic thinking and the political developments in the contemporary Arab regions, which started to appear in the form of movements and intellectual streams in the last century and they are still working in the Arab World field.

And since these movements sought to participate in decision making and work for performing the government of Islam on Earth, it was natural to collide with the Arab regions with Liberal and secular trends, lie wise these movements which form the first enemy of the west, especially after the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Socialistic camp.

This paper is an attempt to identify the political thinking of the effective Islamic movements and to induce their objectives and techniques of work. The study will concentrate on both movements of Hamas the military wing of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement, and the Islamic Resistant Movement in Lebanon – Hizbu Allah (Alah Party), in a way that does not ignore or forget the activities of the Islamic Movements in the other Arab countries.

Conception of Political Development:

In the recent decades, the concern with the political development increased, because of its importance in the ordinary life of the citizen, who is badly in need of the political culture which enables him of making the correct decision. Politics and political work both play a basic role in the life of the citizen, his security, settlement, happiness and the future of his sons which requires preparing it, the appropriate political preparation and which never to be realized except by political development which requires devotion of crowd awareness, and the stability of regimes never begets except by the aware support of individuals to this regime and sincere continuous agreement of it, and never to be realizing loyalty and aware boasting and deep which never quivers or shake the nation, its dogma, thinking, heritage, ideals and its values, boasting of loyalty and belonging to the native land and its regime by respecting the constitution of the state and commitment to its systems and regulations and also commitment to principles of freedom , democracy, social justice and liberation from fanaticism with all its forms; the sectarian, ethnic and regional formsi.

Political development in the life of the Muslim Nation:

The program of political development of any community mainly leans on the identity of this community and unifying the individuals of the nation in their belonging, boasting ad loyalty to their home land, nation and dogmaii.

The conception of development in Islam is a comprehensive one, does not separate between secular life and the life of the ever after for the Emir of Believers, Omar Bin el Khattab had written to his governor in Egypt on instructing letter to be taken in consideration and to act according to it saying "O! adorers of Allah, the Al-Might, the pious people obtained the present and the post pond good and participate people of the world in their secular life, and did not participate them in their life of the ever after, he allowed it to them in the secular life and made them satisfied with it and made it dispensable.

It is clear from what have been mentioned, that the investment of nature and growth of product are an objective sought by the Islamic community, and means of developing product have also been maintained for there were means of the intellectual, legislative, political and economical side. In the intellectual means, Islam had encouraged labor and connected it with man's dignity until labour became a worshipping upon which one is rewarded and betowed, but a better deed by Allah from the dead of worshiper who does not work. In the Hadith, Imam Ja'far asked about a man, and was told that he had fallen in need and he is at home worshipping his God and offered for his living by his brothers. He, peace be upon him, said; he who is in all his wits and might is better worshiper than him, and in this respect Islam resisted unemployment and the idea of hindering the natural wealth and resources and (t.al-amwal) freezing of assets, and considered it a type of denial and ungratefulness of favour best owed by Allah Almighty on is worshipers. Islam also urged for investment, Allah Almighty said: "It is He who has Made the earth manageable for you, so traverse ye through its tracts, and enjoy of the sustenance which He furnishes: but unto Him is the Resurrection."iii

And in the legislative means, Islam encouraged dispossession of lands form their owner if he neglected them and hindered them until they were corrupted, because the positive role of land in production is in excused. Islam also prevented domination on the area of land by force and without practice. Islam illegalized benefit, return and usurious capital, without a reason as well, thus this capital turned into a productive capital in the community, sharing in the industrial and commercial projects and the illegality of benefit leads to transforming the capital lists, who were wasting their money with benefit, into

opposes who share in the industrial and commercial projects, in addition to that these assets will be used in projects.

Islam has also illegalized piling up and freezing money and encouraged withdrawing money for dealing. That was by forcing tax on the piled up golden and silver assets and the tax of Zakat (alms). Money is paid into the fields of economic activity opposite to some economists who see that money saving is a beneficial factor and that benefit is a legal thing.

Contemporaneous Political Islam:

Understanding the term of political Islam meets difficulties in specializing its content clearly, and this refers to three variables, they are: difficulty of separating political Islam from nonpolitical, number of types of Islamic application and unacceptance of the principle of methodological comparison.iv

And in what concerns the first variable, Islam in its essence is a collective truth. For civilization is enlisted in behaviour and religious dimension embraces with the political existence, while morals are one unit, but all this does not stand barrier against the possibility of separation between the political and the non-political dimensions, for the present reality forces this chapter on us; for our contemporary community has become familiar with types of the human existence, and a Muslim does not live in a Muslim land and does not subdue to a resume or an Islamic civilization.

But in what concerns the second variable, the multiplicity of types in many times can be found contradictory and sometimes decreasing. The most important of which are three applications bearing the private nature for each: the Arab type which extends to more than three differences ending in the first Abbaside Age, then the second type which made religion a political administration after politics had been a religious administration in the Arab type. Then the Barbarian type which reached to Africa.v For Islam as a political phenomenon plays the role of organizing the civil relationship between the governor and the governor i.e. (that is) from the group performance as concentrated in the person of the governor and the governor is directed and upon which he forces obedience and commitment to loyalty and possesses plenty of power elements.vi And the contemporary political Islam is a new birth and not a pure sigh, or animation and then it must assist in building its organizer which meets with reality in which we live, in the twenty first century.vii

And it can be said that sources of the Islamic thought and the Islamic organizations which their sources are embodied in the group of Muslim Brother hood which was established by Imam (Hasan al—Banna) in Egypt in 1928 and the Pakistani an Islamic Group established by Sheikh Abul A'la Al Mawdoodi in 1941. the Islamic Group was established in communication with Al Salafiyah and rejects addition, analogy, commentary, philosophy, and the great four schools of high, and they think that the return of the Islamic community will be the outcome of a social and political deed and it has to come out of the frame of the mosque.

The Islamic movements had been arisen in the Arab states and started to interfere directly in the political life of the country and since the fabulous sixties they take authorities an objective of theirs and consider economics and social relations basic fields, and the Islamists submit the politics matter starting from the principle, that says: "Islam is a comprehensive thinking and the Islamic movement is nothing, but a social political movement performing Islam characterized as a political ideology equivalent to it as a religion.viii

Political Islam in the civilization of Nation:

The state was prosperous in the shadows of Islam, and social justice was prevailing in the community, that made the age of Mature Caliphs the ideal Islamic type in building the state adomunity. And in the eras that succeeded that age, the Islamic circle and its regime were enlarged with peoples and other nationalities, from which prominent scholars came. They introduced their cultures to Islamic regime instead of learning to the basic Islamic basis; they are the Holy Qura'n and the Sunnah (Prophetic tradition). And by time passing powers, movements, factions, and religious and secular groups appeared, each of there submits its trends and stands fro the type of state and community. Some of them called for building a modern state in the western concept away form leading Islam as a creed and life system, and this trend was represented by some of those who studied in the west, or who were influenced by nick-names of their orientalis. Leaders of this trend decide that the European type is the idea and pattern. Another team with large basis in the conscience of the nation arose and called for building the state and community on an Islamic basis and establishing a political and theological authority, and an equalizing trend appeared between the first and the second pattern, and this trend was represented by Jamal al-Deen Al-Afaghani and sheikh Mohammad Abdu.

And there was a supposition concealing into the political writings in Islam, did not establish on the Islamic historical experiment and did not initially learn on doctrinal fundamentals and the determined adjustments as laid by Islam. And we were not familiar whith the Islamic thinking, for the political writings dealings until the idle of the fifth Hijri century and the show up of Abul Hasan el Mawardi, who laid his book, Sultan Judgements (al-Ahkam el Sultaniyah). And the politica writings in Islam countries were confined to directing pieces of advice to rulers (Abdullah Bin el Mugaffa') and he was assisted by his Persian tongue on transferring the Persian political heritage in the book of kalilah Wa Dimnah, and these writings had left a conspicuous effect in the biography of rulers of the Omayyad State.ix Therefore, it was said that the political regime which was prevailing in both states, the Persian and the Byzantinex like the state prevailing in most of the contemporary Arab regimes which was influenced by the western thought in the present prevailing theories of the government. And then, the translation movements of the ancient Greek political writings continued; for Aristotle's letters were translated into Arabic.

Political negotiations were caused by the great temptation which took place among Muslims at an early stage of their prosperous history and were lately clearly illustrated at the shift fro the Caliphate stage into the stage of Bani Omayyah coming into power.

The period of transference form the decay of the Omayyad state and the rise of the Abbaside state had introduced a stage that motivated speech controversy about Imamut and Caliphate established on the ideal picture which was constituted at every group on the doctrine of the government in Islam, ant thus the "Shiites" and the "Mu'tazila" wrote about the Imamut.xi

And the Farabi had resembled Aristotlds method in politics and used to connect between politics and ethics and philosophy, and he thinks that the civil – state must include attributes of wisdom, courage, fight and justice.

And after five centuries we found that Imam Al Ghazali individuates a part in his book Animation of Religion Science (Ihya' O'loomel Deen) entitled (what is legalized from dealing with in just Sultans and what is illegalized...).

He says at the beginning: "Be informed that you have, with the princes and in just governors, three states:

first state: it is the worst, to get in upon them.

The second: is lesser than it, for they to get in upon you.

The third: it is the safest, to be secluded from them, you do not see them and they do not see you.

And he illegalized praying for them and intermixing with them, and he certified his position from the Sultan in his testament to his son; and it summarizes his vision and thought of the Islamic Sultan history by wording:

"Not to intermix with princes and Sultans, and do not see them, because their vision, sitting with them and intermixing with them is a great defect.^{xiii} And Al-Ghazali determines the establishment of an authority built on the military power and makes of it the real justification and then the lawful justification of obedience reserving the public discipline, he says: "because whatever the ignorant in just Sultan was supported and assisted by his authority and power, and the difficulty of dethroning him, and his replacement was a revolting unbearable temptation, he should be left and his obedience would be a must".^{xiv}

And what we find in Ibn Taymiya's famous statement is propitious to uncover the vision of policy in Islam destroyed by wording: "that Allah Almighty grants victory to the just state even if it were unbeliever, and does not grant victory to the unjust state even if it were a believer."^{xv}

And this statement of Ibn Taymiyah might have changed the delinquency of the authority in Islam region, and reminds us of what had happened in Baghdad's scholars meeting with Houlakoo after he had captured Baghdad in 656H. when he asked them a question. "who is better of them both, the just unbeliever Sultan, or the unjust Muslim Sultan? And so they avoided answering, but the Shiite scholar, al-Ibn Tawoos (D.664H.) who was present at the meeting, proceeded and laid his vision by preferring the just unbeliever for the unjust Muslim. Ibn el Taqtaqi who was present at the meeting says: and people laid their tracks after him,^{xvi} and its support is a Prophetic Hadith "sovereignty lasts by justice with unbelieving, and does not last by believing".

The Contemporary Islamic Thinking:

The fall of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924 caused a violent stroke and a laceration for the Islamic conscience, scholars and Muslim thinkers hastened to discussions about Islam and Abul A'la Al-Mawdudi came a head of the Muslim scholars, who discussed the matter of the government in Islam at a general concept, in his book (Islam Political Theory) at Lahour in 1939 and submitted in it for the first time, the idea of sovereignty which echoed after then in the writings of the martyr Sayyid Qutub, and was taken from him by a bunch of scholars and Islamic thinkers, who were committee to Islamic movements at succeeding periods.^{xvii}

And Al-Mawdudi deduces the primary characteristics of the state as follows:

- 1- No individual, family, class, faction, or all Muslims in the state has a part of sovereignty; for the real sovereign is Allah, and the real authority is specialized solely with His entity, the Almighty.
- 2- Nobody except Allah has the ordinance of legislation.

- 3- Building of Islamic State is not established except on that law brought by the Prophet from his God, the Almighty.

And Al Mawdodi had accepted democracy in the shadow of the divine sovereignty, and the difference between democracy in Islam and the Western democracy, an due to Al Mawdodi's point of view, democracy cannot be constituted except by public opinion, and it is an absolute free democracy, and the Islamic democracy is changeable by Allah Almighty's law. Nation is a representative of Allah, gave birth to s sovereign and members of the Parliament, influential people and those in power in it in a democratic way.xviii

And Al Mawdodi's points of view met a wide circulation in the Islamic and Egyptian region specifically. And the Muslim scholars showed a great concern about discussing the topic of the Islamic state, for the Islamic writings in this century had surpassed all what was written since the fifth century until the thirteenth Hijri century with tens of doubles. And the Islamic political writings issued in this century had unanimously agreed that nation is the sole source for the legitimacy of the government.xix

And the view of the late Shiite scholars showed that the sovereign inauguration (homage) is not being originated except to be witnessed by common people and not influential people, and those of power.

The contemporary Muslim scholars discussed consultation in their applications and their jurisprudent and intellectual researches and determined special books (texts) to it, and sheikh Rashed Al Ghanoushi discussed the topic of consultation from its different (Public Freedoms in the Islamic State in 1992). In this book, he has attempted to assure the history of consultative practice in the political Islamic field.xx

Muslims at the variety of their jurisprudent and dogmatic schools, agreed on that reserving and keeping order is one of the most obligation duties, and turmoil and disorder of Muslims affairs are of the most hateful things to Allah Almighty. And order will never be reserved and kept except by the government depending on a grip of valid explorations dispersed in the texts of Muslim sects, so that Muslim scholars, predecessor's ad successors root from this political Islamic doctrine into the political Islamic meeting and assembly. Sheikh Hasanel Banna had written in the fabulous forties of the twentieth century cautioning the thronging crowds, circulating the Muslim Brotherhood Group and wishing to revolt, to commit to quietness an calmness for the sake of avoiding temptation.xxi

Fear from falling in the temptation constituted a justification of illegalization, but it attained the greatest victory of the in just authority over scholars. Therefore, jurisprudents legislated for co-existing with the in just authorities to avoid temptation for what results of a judgment of obedience to every tyrant Sultan, even if circumstances were available to replace him except very few number of scholars who excused the revolt choice against the tyrant and the possibility of dethroning and replacing him.

But the majority instead of him used the most preaching techniques through the call of Sultans and Emirs by piety and fear of Allah almighty and cautioning fro the ever after punishment. For this reason, they asserted the necessity of submitting pieces of advice among scholars and Emirs to prevention of corruption leaking into the establishment of the government and put an end to tyranny of Sultan.xxii And it seems that Muslims and jurisprudents had two choices in front of the: either submission to a tyrant comprehensive and central authority, or transfer and temptation for a tyrant Sultan is better than a lasting temptation and so the Group response and accepted the tyrant Sultan in the absence of

consultation inauguration (homage), influential people and those of power and else of the mechanism of the political participation and uninteresting them with the Islamic political life led to the absence of finding developed Islamic political concepts, able to resemble their Arab equivalents.

The Political Islam in Egypt: Roots of Islamic Arousal

Turkey and Egypt formed the axis of Islam enemy's interest. Turkey firstly, as considered the headquarters of the Islamic Caliphate and its armies which marched and terrorized Europe, and Egypt secondly that is embracing the blessed Al Azhar, and its geographic location and its strong irradiative influence in the Islamic world. Thus was the concern about them both permanently.

He had opened the fire of war and had done the role of waging war against Islam and terminating the Caliphate in its quarters, the tyrant Mustafa Kamal (Ataturk) had separated religion from the state in 1922, and then he succeeded that by canceling the Caliphate and dismissing the Caliph and his family outside Turkey.xxiii

That and something else were done by Ataturk who is a descendant from Al Dounmah Groupxxiv, after fables had been weave for him, and forged heroisms were realized by his victory on the Greeks in the Anadol. He was made and prepared to be pliable as a daring hero, to do or perform his role which had been arranged to him.

Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Egypt:

But in Egypt, corruption, political tyranny and the policy of expatriation. And in the shadow of these prevailing atmospheres, at both countries of these prevailing atmospheres, at both countries of Turkey and Egypt. And the whole Islamic world, the Muslim Brotherhood Movement at Al-Ismaeliyah in 1928, by the reformer Imam, "martyr Hasan Al-Banna. After it the Group of scholars in Algeria and else was formed in 1941. it is an observed destiny and a witness of the might of Allah Almighty: "And God hath full power and control over his affairs, but most among mankind know it no".xxv

And the call of the Muslim Brotherhood spread all over the Republic of Arab Egypt and outside it in many countries. By route learning, [reaching and irritation of sentiments, in addition to fewness of politically awareness and the planning of enemies... overcame this period and was done before Hasan Al-Banna in 1949, and the United States, Britain and France asked the Egyptian government, through their ambassadors, to dissolve the Group of Muslim Brotherhood, especially after their commando activity in Palestine was in 1948.

And after the dissolution of the Group, the government of Ibrahim Abdel Hadi did practice the deeds of suppression, terrorism, detentions and torture. And circumstances changed in 1950; for freedoms were released and it was allowed to activate new elections and a great outburst towards Islam at all fields had taken place. And then, the drama of making the Muslim Brotherhood inspire their aggression against Abdel Naser on October 26th., 1954 an Alexandria, then detentions, torture, and simulacrum proceedings occurred in a shape which has never been witnessed in Egypt before; for dozens of thousands were imprisoned at the war-prison (Al-Sijnil Harbi) and in other else.

This period was characterized with the s[read of the call of the Muslim Brotherhood inside and outside the borders of Egypt, and in this period it was commenced to apply martyr Sayyed qutub's thinking,

whose views are characterized with clearance and decision. Circumstances continued systematic and calm until detentions started in July 1965, and processes of torture started as well as then Sayyed Qutub, Mohammad Hawwash and Abdel Fattah Ismael were hung. Then the series of releases started at the beginning of Sadat reign.xxvi

Relationship between the Egyptian Regime and Islamic Movements:

The Egyptian regime dealt with (Al-Ikhwan) Muslim Brotherhood as a political power that does not represent a threat to it, and so it allowed them to enter and practice the activity, when it started to deal with the Islamic movements and (Al-Jihad) stripe through emergency rules, which lay strip activity under control. And it seems that incidents of Algeria in 1988 made experts of the regime fear the Islamic trend as a whole, including the moderate trend and that was accompanied by domination over the Islamic economic activity.

And the period of the second half of the fabulous eighties witnessed unprecedented police violence in dealing with the Islamite houses and their sacred nesses, and made that a seed of violence in confrontation and dealing with the Islamic strife trend.xxvii

The Islamic Movement in Egypt in the Fabulous Seventies:

The decade of the fabulous seventies represented the suggested wide-opened decade between the strife movements and the political regime in Egypt, and it is a confrontation that had never been known before by Egypt. And it was similar to an internal national war. And plenty of people indicate that its casualties were one thousand dead persons. And the Muslim Brotherhood Group started deeds with suicidal nature and the regime of the government began to hold the accused individuals of this group as hostages in its hands; for it gave free hand on what is called the repeated detention, the concentration camps were so much filled up with the detainees, the savage torture bean and the Islamic candidates were all over the area in the elections of 1990 and 1995 and the siege of student activity at the university started, and the Islamic movement, in general, seemed at the defense stand and the authorities started fighting Islam with call of fighting what they call (terrorism) which became the soul of condemnation by the irreligious and heretic forces to strike Islam, and this period was known with the initiative of violence halt on July 2nd, 1977.

And by the fall of the Soviet Union and submission of Islam as a replacement enemy due to the Western World, the security information coordination to siege the Islamic trends, crossing the worldly borders started, the phenomenon of the fighting Islam became subject to international and local intelligence systems coordination, and that what means the necessity of revision and repeating the accountings and estimations to members of the Islamic movements. And the political Egyptian regime started changing its perception towards the moderate current represented in the Muslim Brotherhood. And it is considered more dangerous to him than the fighting trends. And from this point the confrontation between the Muslim Brotherhood and the political regime in Egypt it was represented in concluding political military proceedings for the members of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement of the medium youths, and military proceedings were also concluded to their members of syndic lists. And the Islamic movement is siege by the internal hindrance and external plot, and the west in their relationship with Islam, so that the decision of the Islamic movement and decisions of others towards it, were not with a local color, but they held an international, compound and complicated nature, that

requires the availability of elites at highest level within the Islamic movement distinguished with high capacity of responsibility and exactness from the part of the decisions of the Islamic movement, at one hand and reaction towards special decisions concerning it locally, or worldly at the other.xxviii

Mechanisms of Islamic Movements Work in Egypt:

In the shadow of the programs of the liberal and leftist groups, losing credibility and its organizations which suffer from fragmentation and disorder, the groups and associations that constitute the Egyptian Islamic Movement remain, at the end, the sole power that moves within the frame of the public order which caused the withdrawal of the Egyptian state as considered one of the world's distinguished developing countries, and covers the role of the state; for the public sector, financially captivated cannot count for occupations, or basic services for the strategic urban groups, mean while the governing political party is unable to build up effective bonds of crowds and the political result, and thus the Egyptian state was contracted, not only in size, but also in its capacity to absorb the crowds that speak for it too.xxix

And in the shadow of the authoritative state the Islamic started developing a balanced not of associations in which new values were infixed and new techniques for participation were described; for in the last years thousands of mosques, banks and commercial and financial associations were established. And despite they are systematically separated from each other, the numerous interfering bonds among these associations inspire of the rise of a parallel Islamic complex, outside the range of the state.xxx And Islamic propagandists in their oral preaching and written morals for Muslim youths assure that the active joining in public life is an individual duty, or a divine command (individual obligation).xxxi

Islamic War in Egypt after June, 1967 Defeat:

Confrontation with authorities was connected with the conscience of young men and their awareness of the correct dimension about Islam, and the high nutritive spirit inside the young men was quickening confrontation with the regime, especially as the early reaching of this generation are connected with what Sayyed Qutub and Al-Mawdoudi write, and with what once stores had written earlier and we drop them at present. They had opened their eyes at the necessity of holding a stand against the regime which does not govern with what Allah Almighty had revealed.

The international situation which witnessed ascension of Islamic animation in Afghanistan and Iran, And Iran witnessed the fall of the communist regime and confrontation had been done with the late Soviet Union, and Iran also witnessed the fall of Shah of Iran. And young men hastened to have a look and study the ancestral books of heritage.

The political work is what is practiced by the movement within the university campus, and it was represented in students' demonstrations and wall political writings, in addition to summer camps. And outside the university campus the Muslim Brotherhood Trend which was called the political work still did not determine its decision towards the transfer into a political party and considers its activities represented in issuing Al Da'wa Magazine.

The feast (I'ed) prayers started to be performed at public fields, especially since A'abdeen's appearance before the Presidential Palace in audience in Cairo. By the time students were practicing the political

work within the campus of the universities, Muslim Brothers were practicing a faith nearer to the intellectual critical work from the part of an Islamic respect outside the campus. And at all circumstances, they are deeds holding the confrontation nature, but they are expressing the existence of a real political movements, leading to type of interaction with the reality that makes the movement acquire a type of discretion and experience.xxxii

The current of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement remained hesitant to real joining in the political work within a political party; for conservation of the Muslim Brotherhood foundational form (as considered a thing above parties) is still dominant on the minds of its leaders, thereupon the political work was represented in a type of opposition with the authority, which is governed by the public atmosphere at one hand, and attempt of the authority to employ the Muslim Brotherhood for its interest at the other, and from that on, escape the features of confrontation with the political regime which is strongly pushed to it and also consecutive incidents did not allow the opportunity to build up a real political movement terminating the political strife instead of the armed military confrontation. And in this period of the seventies, a political theory was not formulated to deal with the political regime, which represents, in Egypt, the main monopolize of the state and community resources, but dealing with the political regime depended on factious estimation held a secret nature from the part of the Muslim Brotherhood or estimations depended on the reaction form the part of the Islamic movement youths.xxxiii

And the Islamic activists practice their work by joining the huge project to let the Egyptian young men be aware by special dialogues, addresses and religious lessons, and by distributing books and Islamic publications and cossets and else. In the middle of the eighties, the Islamic current, loyal to the Muslim Brotherhood under the leadership of many vocational guilds in Egypt, won through free and competitive elections. It had entered the guild elections in unorganized group for the first time in 1984 when they participated with an urgent list of candidates for the guild of physicians. And ever since they participated in the elections for the guild of Engineers, dentists, scientist, pharmacists, solicitors an journalists, and in many guilds the Islamic current surpassed the competitive lists against it and which were prepared on the basis of ideological sector, and with an escalating difference, acquired them the majority of seats at the consecutive councils. The candidates of the Islamic current had won with the majority of seats of the administrative, staffs of the guilds of physicians, engineers, pharmacists and teachers. And in September, 1992 they won with the guild of solicitors too.xxxiv

The candidates of the Islamic current headed by main vocational guilds in Egypt, aroused trouble to some groups and sects in the community and will crush the Copts, woman and secular vocational who stand out of the Islamic consensus (unanimous resolution).xxxv

And it can be said that the current of Islamic groups had moved in accordance with the present social and political rules of the regime, and despite that their aim its to change the regime from the basis to the top, and by their understanding of Islam as a religion and sate and their aim is not to find a civil space, separated form the secular state and co existing with it, but also to enlarge the Islamic range so that it covers the state itself.xxxvi

And the present studies show that there is a state of cooperation between the Islamists and the officials of the civil service in the local offices, as things occur in the field of insuring the license of private stores, or getting permissions to collect donations. And the new models of cooperation's, financial connections, recent occupational ties, and participation of the government in education, mass media

means and arts inspire with several contacts between the politicized Muslims and the sympathetic elite in the state and the private sector.xxxvii

Even though, the confrontation between the Islamite and the state was represented in the rise of the sharpness of confrontation between the regime and the Islamic groups. And the regime of Mubarak asserts its role as a warrantor (responsible) to attain stability, and the only force, able to rescue Egypt from falling as a victim to a fanatic Islamic state, and from this point the misfortune of independence of few associations that were allowed to practice independent economic activity and freedom of expression. And from the most conspicuous examples of this trend is the determination of the new rule of guilds on 16th February, 1993 by the parliament. The rule terminates the lowest rate of participation in the guild elections and if it had not been realized, the result of elections would be cancelled, and the guild will be laid under control of a staff of appointed judges. The supporters of this rule claim that the highest levels of participation will prevent the organized minority in the guild from dominating (the consistent majority) and it seems that it is an attempt to remove the Islamic leadership and resubjugate it to the state domination.

The Islamic Movement in Egypt in the Fabulous Eighties:

The period of the eighties witnessed new facts and numerous activities, one of which is the existence of Al-Jihadi current (striving current) and the rise of transfer movements against the prevailing conditions. And no doubt that the process of killing Sadat, Asyut incidents and the different individual confrontations were a new thing at the Egyptian Community, as things returned back to their nature by the advent of a new president and a new political regime, and the Jiadi political forces them selves were who paid the price of that alone; for the imprisoned politicians had come out to the presidency palace as they were released and political life flowed again in the directions of the state and community and Muslim Brotherhood returned to ally with al-Wafd party in the elections of 1984, then with the labour party which transformed into the Islamic trend, and the emblem by which they participated in the elections is (Islam is the solution). And that release of those who were judged innocent in the issue o great strife (Jihad) and the student striving movement returned to the university and the Muslim Brotherhood (Al-Ikhwan) started to activate the vocational guilds and sweep them and the striving Islamic groups started to get in friction with the crowds and connect with them.

The period of the fabulous eighties was a restoration of the spirit of the seventies by a new enunciation. It is the transfer of the Islamic movement from the primitive state, to the state o the organized real existence which seeks to attain its objectives.xxxviii

The Political Experience of the Movement in the Eighties:

The Muslim Brotherhood had terminated by determination to participate in political work, by alliance with parties and other political forces and by participation in the elections of the parliament (people's council) enlisted on (Al-Wafd Lists) then on the lists of Labour party; and it is the leadership of the Islamic trend for the opposition inside the parliament (people's council). And it is considered a primary transformation inside the Islamic movement; for it is the first time in which the Islamic trend has a great number of parliamentarians.

And a great number of parliamentarians started to enter the toil of vocational guilds and could dominate the majority of guild councils through the guild elections, and the Muslim Brotherhood trend started stabilizing its existence as a real political power, which could build a net of political, economical social

and multitudinous relations, and the general political atmosphere enabled Al-Ikwan (Muslim Brotherhood) to a rise and spread strongly.

And the years of the eighties started as if they were a development of the stage of the seventies and building a frame work of it. And the striving movement transferred from the state of spontaneity to the state of establishment and building; either it was the Islamic group, or strife. The Islamic group was prior in the open multitudinous activity through intellectual establishment by symbols and history, and the activity transferred to cover the community outside. And the cadres of the Group spread in the circumference in the Groups and the poor quarters in Anababa, Al-Jeezah and E'in Shams in Cairo and Al-Sa'eed (Egypt Party) (Hizb Masr). And the prison witnessed a strong structures of real cadres bearing the thinking of the Islamic Group.

And the transfer to the Afghanistan field started form the part of the striving Egyptian youths (militarization of Islamic Behaviour) so that Afghanistan appeared as if it were a part of the equipment and preparation for the expected confrontation with the political Egyptian regime.

Party of Jordan Islamic Labour Front:

In the light of the parliamentary elections of 1989 which enabled the Islamic Movement "Muslim Brotherhood", to win twenty one seats out of eighty seats, that reflected the proportional weight of the Group under the dome of the parliament and in the Jordan public, and in the light of the practice of numerous forces for political work, a number of Islamists called each other for founding a contemporary political formula, in accordance with the formal law of parties and practice of political work from the Islamic point of view. The Muslim Brotherhood formed the spinal cord in the Front. And since the elections of the council of Consultation of the party were done, the weight of the Muslim Brotherhood was apparently conspicuous, so that some of its leaders and members were forced to resign, thinking that there was an agreement practiced among the members of the Group around them.

These resignations, which formed a challenge to the party, since the starting point, did not prevent dealers fro preparing and continuation of organizing programs and plans, and multiplication of efforts. That was terminated by arising the first Islamic party obtaining a formal authorization on December 8th, 1992 entitled "Islamic Labour Front Party". Dr. Issa'cel Farhan was elected and pronounced of integrity as a general secretariat of it. By this, the preparatory stage which took two years was accomplished.

The secretary general of the party issued a press statement on December 8th. 1992, in which he submitted the broad headlines of the policy of the party, represented in the following:

"serving the Islamic creed and search for the implementation of the Islamic legislation in the community, serving the Palestinian Question, supporting the national security and the national unity, and participation in the social development and the better life for our dear people in the shadow of the authentic Islamic values, and sharing in unification of the Arab Nation, the Islamic solidarity, and serving the human issues in general".

The party of Islamic Labour Fron had shouwn an early interest in the Islamic issues outside Jordan, and so the secretary general of the party issued on December 12th. 1992 a statement in which he condemned the incidents of aggression against the Muslims and their mosques in the Indian continent by an extremist group of Hindu. And also showed an interest in the Arab issues. The party issued a

statement on the same day, December 12th., 1992, in which it "denied the imperialistic lines led by the United States of America to occupy Somalia under the excuse of terminating the civil war there".

Congenial on the side of the local issues, the party showed an interest in that too. And so, issued a political statement on Dec. 25th., 1993, about the American siege to Aqaba harbor, and the American pressure to resume the peace negotiations.xxxxix

And kindred in the spirit of the Palestinian question, the central committee for the support of Palestine, related to the Party of Islamic Labour form, had issued a statement in the occasion of the forty anniversary of usurping Palestine, assuring the refusal of any request for the sake of any solutions to waste any grain of soil from the land of blessed Palestine.

Confirmed Stationeries of the Party and its Strategic Objectives

No doubt that the strategic objectives of the party, as it is apparent in the statement of foundation, is the search for applying the Islamic legislation in the community in a gradual manner, within the real data and by the peaceful techniques, dialogue and conviction. And this process starts with purifying the rules from what differs with the Islamic legislation, and commences gradually in enacting the laws, in harmony with the Islamic legislation. And there upon, the first confirmed stationeries of the party is "to adopt the Islamic authority from the intellectual point of view".

But the second stationary is the integration between Arabism and Islam, and they are two faces for one kind of currency. The theirs stationary: is the national unity, the national security, and not to discriminate between people in rights and duties, because of the race, ethnology (ethno), colour, or religion. And the national, political, social and economic security is the basis of the stability of communities; therefore the political work has no meaning without stabilization of leaders of the national unity and national security. And the fourth stationary is stabilization of consultation principles and the democratic methodology in the community and assuring the respect of Man's dignity, his rights, and the individual, social and political freedoms of the citizens. And the fifth stationary believes in Arabism and Islamism of Palestine, non negligence of any part of its land, and preparation of generations to liberate it what ever time prolonged.xl

These five confirmed stationeries, which are considered the starting points to understand the policy of the party of the Islamic Labour Front, are in need of a method to attain them, to do the required change in the community. The secretary general of the party explained in this letter to brothers in the party of the Islamic Labour Front, party of the change, the graduate reformation and not violence, he said; "the Islamic political work is like the Islamic dogmatic work, or the work of the Islamic methodology in reformation built on peaceful means, and which shuns violence as a method and way.xli

The Islamic Resistance Movement "Hamas"

Hamas Movement was given birth to, from the womb of the Muslim Brotherhood Group and announced that it is a wing of it in Palestine, and it is an extension of all the Palestine episodes of strife (Jihad) against the Zionist invasion. And by this, it connects and contacts with the starting point of martyr I'zi el-Deen el-Qassam and his striver- brothers (Mojahideen) of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1936. and the excuses of the movement were reflected by Sheikh Al-Qassam and his companions in a special manner, in calling the military branch of the Movement, which was founded in the early nineties, after him as a leader of the branch, martyr I'iz el-Deen el-Qassam.xlii

Birth of the Up-rising (Intifada):

Six members of the Islamic Strife (Al-Jihadel Isami) could succeed in escaping from Ghaza Central Prison on May, 1987 and executed several brave operations against a patrol of the Israeli Army, and four of them were martyred in a collision with an Israeli ambush on October of the same year, and the degree of the crowd operations expanded after the Israeli Army breaking in the campus of the Islamic University in Ghaza, in which thousands of students gathered in a very big demonstration after performing the prayer of the absent for the souls of the martyrs, and the Israeli Army opened fire on dozens of students. And on December 6th a member of the Islamic Strife (Al-Jihadel Islami) also killed an Israeli settler by stabbing him with a knife in the main field of Ghaza City. That accident led to an out burst of rage and a hysteric situation in the Israeli quarters, and in the sphere of that outburst an Israeli Loory happened to tread Palestinian workers during their return from their works, the thing that caused the martyrdom of four and wounding nine others. That was on December 8th, 1978, the format date of the Uprising (Intifada) day- breaking. And in the evening of the next day of this accident, the political office of the Muslim Brotherhood in Ghaza did meet, and in it the first phase of the Islamic Resistance Movement " Hamas". The attendants were foundersol Hamas, Sheikh Ahmad Yassin, Abdel Aziz Al-Rantisi, Salah Shihadah, Mohammad Suma', Iissa Al-Nashar, Abdel Fattah Dukhan and Ibrahim Al-Yazouri.xliii

Hamas first statement was distributed in Ghaza Strip on both days 11th and 12th of December, 1987 and in the West Bank on December 14th, and 15th, 1987, and the statement called the crowd demonstrations "Intifada". An no sooner than special institutions of the new born Movement were laid, or the original acting institutions in the regime of the Muslim Brotherhood were developed to be in harmony with the new stage.xliv

The Islamic Movement in Lebanon

The roots of the Islamic Movement in Lebanon refers to the return of a group of religion scholars after the theological sciences started in behalf of Mr. Mohammad Baqerel Sader. And one of the most distinguished secular personalities at that stage was Imam Mr- Mousa El-Sader, who formerly visited Lebanon in 1975, to reconnoiter the conditions of Shiite Muslims. And in 1985 Iman El-Sader could form the supreme Shiite Islamic Council which was issued by a rule authorized by the Parliament, upon which its first article stated:

"The Islamic Shiite sect is independent in its religious affairs, it wagfs and its institutions, and it has representatives who learn all by its tongue and work by its name, in accordance with the magnanimous shariah (Islamic Legislation) and jurisdiction of Al-Ja'fari and Al-A'bbadi schools, issued b the reverend entity of the sect in the world.xlv

The Sader had worked to gather the different popular trends to set forth to wards building an Islamic current requiring a social justice, even if that led to confrontation with the authority.

Birth of Allah-Party:

Allah- Party was given birth to in the Lebanese south, and both Mr.A'bbas Al-Mousawi and Ibrahim in the earl days of the mineties. The formation of the party came as a result of the release of the party came as a result of the release of the liberation area in Beirut from under the Israeli occupation. And the meetings were repeatedly condensed in Al-Biq'a' to form the modern political frame-work, and nine persons were chosen for this purpose, one of them was Al-Mousawi, and this committee was known as the committee of the mine, and the committee included representatives from the different Islamic trends, one of which is Amal Movement, Al-Da'wa party, the Islamic Committees, scholars and independent personalities. And the responsibility of the committee was to prepare the political

formulation which will be the front of the Islamic work, and the committee had made a contact with Iran for the coordination of aids with all types, and so Imam el-Hassani was entrusted as a representative of it, to follow-up the situation in Lebanon, and find canals for the relationship between the Islamic state and the Lebanese Islamists.

And the committee of the nine was replaced by a committee of enthusiasm called "the consultation" (Al-Shoura) Lebanon, and held its first meeting early at the beginning of 1983 and got the agreement of Islam in Lebanon, and supporting the act of Islamic devotion in Iran.xlvi

And the Islamists dealt with the consultation as considered the reference for all Muslims, its obedience is a must and its decisions are obligatory, and the term of consultation started to frequent in the Islamic environments with reserving the secrecy of the names of its members and that accompanied the appearance of emblems carrying the name of "Allah-Party", when consultation decided in May 1984 authorizing a consistent denomination and a central emblem preceding all the statements, that is "Allah Party"- the Islamic Revolution in Lebanon, and at the same time the political library, which had determined to issue the weekly Journal "Al-A'hd", was founded.

From this turning point, and due to the historically firm relation between the Shiites in Lebanon and the Shiites in Iran, and they are relations concentrating on the mutual social, religious and jurisprudent connection among them; for it was known that Iran comprises the second important religious complex of the Shiites in the world in (Qissim) city next to the city of the moblest Najaf) which formed the first religious university of the Shiites in the world today for several reasons.

It was natural, from this point, to stabilize the jurisprudent and ideological connection in Iran after the break of the Revolution and establishing the Islamic State, and no sooner than this connection found its direct translation by the prompt and direct support offered by the Islamic Republic through its revolutionary guard to Allah-Party resulting indiscriminately with resistance against the Zionist entity. This religious and ideologist connection between Allah- Party and Iran after the Revolution and the fundamental stand of Iran towards the Zionist entity, had the great influence in defending Allah-Party by all types of necessary support, the substantial, the unsubstantial and the lawful, which hastened in transforming into the most distinguished movements of resistance against the Zionist enemy kindred in this spirit.

The transformation of Allah-Party into a resistant movement against the Israeli occupation, never was a casual thing to it, for the nature of the party and its ideological thinking which does not see any legitimate phase in Zionism elevates the nature of contradiction with it up to the degree of existential contradiction, and does make the nature of conflict with it lawful, and has a sacred religious dimension. And the rising of resistance conceals in the ideological nature and creed of the party and in the nature of its political, principles. And so, the party in its content, is a striving movement, found its great opportunity in expressing its elf by the Zionist occupation to the Lebanese Lands, especially in the south with the western Biqa'.

From here, we can understand that the nature of the central emblems of (Allah-Party) represented in its central emblem to liberate Jerusalem, and talking its political address for the international dimension (a proportion of the Islamic Mohammad an Nation) and also its carrying the strategic aim to perform an Islamic government.

And the Islamic resistance could direct fatal strokes to the Zionist enemy and forced withdrawal after withdrawal on it, the most distinguished of them was the greatest one in 1985 and else of withdrawals caught it and forced it to get out of Hizbiterritory, the stolen Christian zone, getting it reach the forcing of the complete withdrawal alternative as a final alternative leaving this enemy act haphazardly without choice except the complete withdrawal as a final solution for its problems.

Allah-Party forced through its resistance a new qualitative technique in its strife (Jihad) against the occupier Zionist entity represented in the suicidal/ martyrdom operations, which caught it with qualitative losses on all spirits, the military, the security and the psychological. Mean while they formed, on the other contradictory side, a great ideative patch for the Islamic Nation.

And what deserves mentioning here, is that the resistance could gain a great credibility at both congenial sides; the popular and the formal, the local, the regional and the international, so that the United States itself had announced in one of its formal stands, that it finds in the resistance a stubborn movement at the side of confronting the Israeli occupation. And formed a core of internal national consensus, formal and popular rarely a core(axis) of the internal Lebanese cores had gained it, and this point deserves scrutinizing, if we have taken the nature of the Lebanese people in consideration, or the partitioned Lebanese community from the religious, sect, school of Fight, ideological, social, cultural and economical side.... etcxlvii.

And today Allah-Party is considered one of the most distinguished Lebanese political parties and it has a noticeable presence in the Lebanese parliamentary council ("8" eight parliamentary members) and so it forms one of the most important balancing poles in the political and internal social life. And on the political common ground Allah-Party today gains a great respect; for it proved the strength of its presence, effectiveness, rationality, and its respect of others the thing that made it mark a distinguished political technique of what had been familiar and prevailing. This is from one side and on the other, Allah-Party finds itself of commitment to introduce Islam, which addresses mind and logic, the confident Islam with its principles and progressive civilization understanding of Man and life.

And the party finds itself obliged to introduce Islam, that works to attain the right and justice and that it is concerned about identifying Islam, proficient to penetrate into the hearts of all nations in spite of the multitude of their cultural and political memberships. And it is in a continuous seeking and permanent work to introduce Islam, the principle and creed that conserves the human rights and his alternatives.

And the party tends to form a political pressure power and establishing a special technique in education and offering different services, especially in the medical, educational and human fields. And Allah-Party has its own special cultural scheme, which depends on persuasion and polarization by human and civilization means as it is restated on in the legislation of human rights a way from employing power, violence and forcement.

And it deserves indication here, that the type of Islam required by Allah-Party is a civilization project, rejecting injustice, degradation, slavery, servility, imperialism and blackmailing. And Allah-Party extends its hand to continuance among nations on the basis of mutual respect, and the Islam with which it is concerned, is Islam which does not accept domination, or entrustment of others to free play with rights and interests of the nation.

Islam concerned about by Allah-Party, is which depends on continuance among civilizations and rejects the category of destined collision among them, because Islam believes in cultural continuance among nations and rejects the placed barriers, and finds it is his right to remove these barriers by diplomatic means, but when others intend to wage war against it, since it would have the right to defend itself.

The method of Allah-Party is a message aims at establishing security, justice, peace and right for all people, disregarding their Arab or religious memberships, therefore the party feels with responsibility towards them, to make them understand the significance of peace away from fanaticism and subjugation.

The party does not desire to apply Islam by force, or violence, but by Peaceful political performance giving the opportunity to the majority in any community to accept that and reject it. If Islam were the choice of the majority, it would have been implemented, but if it were the vice-versa, it would have been continued in co-existing with others and build the means of dialogue and acquaintance with them in order to reach the peaceful belief, for it certifies that Islam adopted by it rejects violence as a means of being in power and authority. And this is what the equation of Non-Muslims should be too.

Striving Operations of Allah-Party:

In November 1982, i.e. after six months of the raid, a violent explosion resounded in Sour City and destroyed the residence of the of Israeli Military Ruler and resulted in the fall of dozens of casualties and wounded people of the Israelis including great officers. The Israeli Field Marshal, Chief of the General Staff at that time, Rufael Iytan described the explosion that it is resulted from a weakness in the building, and the truth that it was the first martyrdom operation done by Allah-Party which had never been revealed, except after three years; he was Ahmad Qaser, the Israeli and were surprised by that and secured a preliminary victory in the long confrontation between the Islamists and the army of occupation, which resulted, afterwards, in more of operation under the supervision of Al-Shoura which preferred secrecy in its operationxlvi.

And in a qualitative operation Allah-Party executed a martyrdom operation aimed at the American Marines, in which two hundred and forty members of the American Forces in Lebanon, and the destruction of the American Embassy is being done in Lebanon as well.

Allah-Party had executed its military operations by the most modern of fight techniques and brave operations, in which plenty of Israelian soldiers and officers were captured. It also practiced, through Al-Manar Space Canal belonging to the Party, a psychological war against the people and Israeli forces. And Allah-Party became a liberation type, its effects were shown at the occupied land in the Uprising (Intifada) of the Palestinian people. And Allah- Party depended a social system guarantees the families of the martyrs and reserves to them their dignity all along life, and exerted efforts to train children and make the striving martyrdom spirit grow in them and breed them on it.

Islam in Yemen

Yemen is an Arab country, so much filled up with Islamic values, securely connected with the tribal allegiances, full armed with weapons, and the Republic of Yemen had shown through the corporate combination of the Arab Yemeni Republic (North Yemen) and the Popular Democratic Republic of

Yemen (South Yemen) in a community upon which the Islamic rituals forced; as such piety, adoration, prayer, fasting and woman's veil, a considerable power to improve and reform their political affairs, represented in the mechanism of (Muslim Brotherhood) enlisted under the umbrella of the "Islamic Front", a touchable conspicuous authority during both decades: the seventies and the eighties. That came represented in a series of Islamic institutes, which were established by a Saudi support to teach the fundamental text of Islam, and also came in the need of Sana' to employ the religious Yemen against women as it is the case with many Arab regimes.

And the roots of "reformation" refer to the conservative opposition, supported by Saudi Arabia, against the Socialist Party in Yemen, in the south and its supporters in the National Democratic Front, the mutineers in the middle and south of the Yemeni Arab Republic.

And the Religious Yemen had obtained some ministerial pouches, and it loves one of their enthusiastic radical personalities, Abdel Hamidel Zindani, member of the presidency council. And that led the Yemeni wing in the reformation more form the center of authority in Sana', where Al-Zindani had practiced an increasing ascension with the expansion of difference between the president and the Yemeni Socialist party and breaking out of war afterwards. And the Reformation was victorious and successful within the framework of the government and the Yemeni Congregation for Reformation had stricken "the conference of Unity and Peace" witnessed by four thousand members and secured victory on December 1992 and several emblems were raised, such as "The Holy Qura'n and the Sunna are above the constitution and the law", they do not make the statement of evil above the statemen of God (Allah)".

The Reformation had secured an important number of votes in all governorates, and the elections in March represented to the Reformation a successful campaign to register electors and bring out elective cards all by the efforts of the woman department, which succeeded in polarizing women votes, and the enticement of the Reformation was not only confined to its message and the personal attractiveness of Sheikh Abdullah El-Ahmar, but it exceeded that to the organized services through societies bearing the same name in Kuwait and the United Arab Emirates. And it assisted in solving the Great Awakening of social, health and relief services made available by the government, and enabled a medium vocational training, religious education, lessons in weaving, sewing and camps and collective wedding ceremonies to unable people to pay for the private classical ceremoniesxlix.

Conclusion

The political Islam derives its outlook of life, universe and legislation taken from Qura'n and Sunna "and some of the Islamic scholars consider democracy a blasphemy or an innovation, for democracy in Abul A'lal Mowdodi's view is not form Islam, and theocracy democracy or the divine government democracy are suggested instead of that", because it is the most truthful in expressing the Islamic systeml. But the Islamic Egyptian propagandist, Mohammad Qutub does not recognize something called the popular will and describes it (the illusion which never exists)li.

And one of the leaders of the Armed Islamic Movement in Algeria views that democracy is a means of the employed means to push the individual and enforce him to reliance on in just people, for it is not the view of the majority that specifies between the right and justice, but Allah Almighty is him who clarifies and specifieslii.

Democracy is smaller than Islam, because freedom in Islam is greater than democracy for government in Islam is related to Allah no to the people, and the sword acts what it wants by unanimous resolutions, or by the bond under the lights of the Noble Inspiration. The Holy Qura'n and the sunna, for the government of Islam is the government of God (Allah), then consultation, i.e. inspiration then the mindliii.

Islam does not have mercy upon view by the agreement of the majority, but looks at it in that is it wrong or correct, if it were correct it would stand even if it had only one vote, and if it were wrong, it would be rejected even if it had 99% of the votes.

And at studying the announced programs of some groups, Islamic parties, or what we ascribe to their propagandists, at that we deduce that there is general expenditure on the necessity of work for the sake of changing the acting system of the government (regime) so that it would be accessible to implement the Islamic government, able to rescue the community from arises which is already storming it alone, but there is a deep difference and unlikeness towards the act of how to attain those objectivesliv.

Some of the Islamic movements, such as Islamic liberation party and Al-Takfeer Wal-Hijrah Group (Blasphemy and Abandonment Group) viewed to use force in some systems of the government and establishing the state of Caliphate, while we find that the Muslim Brotherhood, Allah Party and the Organization of Islamic Movement support participation in the authority through the parliamentary elections, but we may know that the united states and the powers, very close to it, don not allow performing a developing Islamic regime, and the experience of Algeria in the elections of 1989 might be a clear example of fighting against reaching authority and power by the Islamic Movement, and if we admit to Carter's doctrine in 1980 about the means of intervention in the Arab region, we will find it specifying the followinglv:

- the United Stated interferes in the Arab region in the following states:
 1. If the extremist fundamentalists got into power by the democratic method and elections.
 2. In case of aggression against Israel.
 3. If Iraq got into Kuwait.

The issue of circulation on power employed as an expedient by the Islamic antagonists is presented to drive them away from the political field pretending that the Islamists reach into power will terminate democracy, because they will never respect the doctrine of interference upon authority.

And if this fear had what justified it depending on the general Palestinian stand, which looks at the basis of regionalism as it is confined to (those in power, and influential people) in the general frame work of the Islamic Shariah (legislation), that made some of the proponents of stern viewpoints contract the political life into two parties without a third one; they are Allah-Party and Satan Party. Mean while, we find that the Islamists admit that they stick to the view of the majority, even if it were for the interest of the communist Party. This view is told by both Al-Nahdah Al-Tunisayah and the Algerian Islamic Community Movement, while we implicitly find that Jabhatel Inqaz (The Rescue Front) in Algeria does not promote to the level of thinking and respecting the doctrine; for we reconnoiter from their program, which state clearly in its political core to weaken the right of freedom of expression and the right of free election, within the limits of its comprehensive reformation, work of the political systemlvi.

And in the verses of the Holy Qura'n what supports that as such; the verse No: (116) sura Ana'm "wert thou to follow The common run of those on earth, they will lead thee away from the Way of God". The verse No: (103) sura Yusuf "Yet no faith will the greater part of mankind have, however ardently though dost desire it". And the verse No: (187) Sura A'raf "But most men know not".

These verses indicate to what certifies opposition of Islam to democracy doctrine, and it is the doctrine of the majority, because the majority of the Fuqha' (jurisprudents) of the Sunna is the majority of "the influential people and those in power", and in what concerns multiplicity of parties, we scrutinize the speech of the Leader of the Aluslim Brotherhood Movement, Sheikh Hassan Al-Banna who stands erect opposing the multiplicity of parties, because it enlarges the gap among the individuals of the nation mean while Islam calls for unity and cooperation among the peoplelvii.

Mean while, we find that the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Jordan had accepted the doctrine of the multiplicity of the parties by its participation in the political life in Jordan, as a commitment to the parliamentary freedom in the stage of the fabulous nineties, even if the movement had returned back and rejected participation in the elections of the parliament at the end of the nineties.

And there is another group represented by the Tunisian intellectual Rashed Al-Ghannoushi, who views that democracy means Ash-Shoura "consultation" and Ash-Shoura is awording mentioned twice in the Holy Qura'n, specifically in Sura Al-I'mran, verse No.(159) "and consult them in affairs (of the moment)", and in Sura Ash-Shoura, verse No. (38) "who (conduct) their affairs by mutual consultation". And the leader of the Islamic Community Movement invented a term stating the wording Ash-Shouroratiyah (consulteracy) (consultation and democracy) considering that democracy meets the Islamic doctrine "Ash-Shoura" = consultation.

And the leader of the National Islamic Sudanese Front views that Liberalism and democracy do not contradict with consultation (Ash-Shoura)lviii.

But Sheikh Yusuf Al-Qardawi had viewed that Islam preceded democracy in determining the bases upon which its core was performed, but it had left the labyrinths to the independent reasoning of the Muslims in accordance with the fundamentals of their religion.

And there is a presentation introduced by choosing openly the influential people and those in power, representatives of the nation on condition that the unanimous resolution of the public should be done upon them, in a popular follow up to choose the best, due to what the Sunnites (Ahl-Alsunna) had voted in choosing Al-Khulafa' Al-Rashideen (the orthodox Caliphs).

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