Journal of Liberty and International Affairs | **Vol. 3, No. 3, 2018 | eISSN 1857-9760**
Published online by the Institute for Research and European Studies at www.e-jlia.com



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Peer review method: Double-Blind
Date of acceptance: January 18, 2018
Date of publication: February 24, 2018
Review article
UDC 316.75:32]:28



POLITICAL AND DOCTRINAL SOURCES AND VALUABLE FRAMEWORK OF THE POLITICAL ISLAM IN THE CONTEXT OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGIES

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Abstract

The relation between religion and politics is a field of mutual interaction, as well as source and promoter of many historical, current and probably future political movements, parties, and organizations. Political Islam represents the old-new dimension in the spectrum of contemporary political ideologies with specific characteristic and own socio-political worldview which pretend to penetrate into countries with Muslim inhabitants. The authors analyze those value's elements, their first term, and modern interpretation, as well as their indicators for change. Level and dynamic of society's development in many cases are determinate in political ideologies and Political Islam tries to present itself in this light with affirmation of its/own postulates of organization and regulation on socio-political living. This paper in addition to analyzing on those values' framework logically offers and review of political doctrine sources which concept Political Islam in the whole of its time-space aspects.

Keywords: Political ideology, Political Islam, Sharia law, Islamic parties, Islamic movements, Islamic values

INTRODUCTION

The relationship between religion and politics has always been a field of a kind of double-sided interaction. Regardless of whether the valuable socio-political continuum of a given society perceives it as a positive or negative trait of the respective political system, no one can completely ignore the significance of religion in human life. When the modernization and industrial revolution in Western societies pushed the church away from the domain of political action and practice (or passivated while remaining in the sphere of

social contemplation and spiritual queuing), the colonial powers engaged in the mission to impose such a quantum of convictions in the Islamic countries. Islamic movements in that spectrum emerged as a pure reaction to such subordinate attitude.

Matic and Bilandzic note a completely acceptable axiom in modern political discourse: "Knowers of the situation in the Middle East have long warned that political Islam in its various forms has long offered ideological alternatives not only to the existing Arab regimes but also to the entire existing world order" (Matic and Bilandzic 2010, 35). The plausibility of such claim is almost unquestionable. Following the situations of the Middle East, as well as everywhere where Muslims live, any attempt at their ignorance is ephemeral. And while the theory of modernity and development unanimously imply secularization and westernization, the acute debate in the Western world over the nature and character of not only Islamic parties and movements, but also the Islamic world as a whole, and its role, have been gaining ever-increasing dimensions (Tamini and Esposito 2000, 10). The problem of global terrorism, which most often relates to Islam as a religion and organizations with Islamic provenance, further reinforces the need to research what is meant by Political Islam and under such a valuable - ideological framework, where its primary sources of political orientation can be sought, as well as can we identify all Islamic parties and movements with violence and where can we look for the basic premise for such action? Not always when talking about that part of the world western journalism, so the scientific mainstream, looks with benevolence. The situation is on the contrary reverse. However, the phenomenon of the deprivation of religion is not new to us, and the absurdity of being greater occurs primarily in the United States and the countries of Latin America (Evangelical, Catholic), Israel (Zionist), etc.

Bearing in mind the fact that colonial slavery is right behind us (but not neocolonialism as a separate economic and political phenomenon), and largely culminated in the attempts for a plastic exogenous copy of the Western order models and the system of their values, as well as the demographic indicators for the expansion of Islam, as additional working questions for the past work we imposed several important moments: What is the political ideology and does political Islam have its own worldview, which to a considerable extent distance and from the classical ideological political spectrum? To what extent can the influence of the original Islamic writings be perceived and is there some kind of modifications of the principles so established, or are they subject to change and reinterpretation?

The above questions are a framework for the applicability of the research subject itself. The main goal will be to get to know a new concept that has occupied a very small space in the scientific and expert public. The author will try to enrich such a quantum and point out a research to serve as a guide for a deeper and more comprehensive approach to the same problem.

THE PHENOMENON OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY AND THE POLITICAL ISLAM

The extent and dynamics of social development, as well as the directions for the future solution of social problems, are largely determined by the political ideologies contained in the programs, statutes, platforms, declarations, proclamations, and projects of political parties everywhere in the world. When Francis Fukuyama published his book "The End of History and the Last Man" in 1991, his theses on defusing ideologies and a definite victory of liberal democracy in a theoretical and praxeological sense proved to be extremely unsustainable, and in one hand even illusory. To claim that it is sometimes possible to leave the ideological-political contest and to behave politically in all political societies according to the Western model is a pure illusion. The significance of political ideologies in modern society is vast, despite the lay and groundless assertions that they have now disappeared or become socially irrelevant. Such claims are linked to the direction of action of political parties in almost all countries. As a working paradigm for political ideologies in the context of our labor, we would also use the framework provided by Andrew Heywood, who in a highly clandestine and simplified approach captures their wholeness and teleogeny. It primarily descriptively determines the political ideology as a more or less coherent set of ideas that provides an essence of organized political action, regardless of the purpose of such action - to preserve, modify or ruin the existing governing system. Hence, all ideologies: a) Provide a projection of the existing political rationale, usually in the form of a "worldview", b) Deliver a model for a desired future, or "a vision for a better society", c) Explain how and how it should the political change took place, i.e. how to get from a) to b) (Hejvud 2005, 12). In this direction, Heywood summarizes the ideology as a phenomenon in the following way:

> To examine a particular political ideology is to explore a particular type of political thinking differently of that in the political sciences or political philosophy. It also means analyzing the content of a particular political thought, being interested in ideas, doctrines, and theories that develop within different political traditions (Hejvud 2005, 5).

Such a contiguous undoubtedly divided through the prism of Bobbio (1997, 95) the contemporary political spectrum of the left, the right, and the center, so modern ideologies such as liberalism, conservatism, socialism, social democracy, have found their proper position in the political space.

Islam in the political narrative

Islam as a religion has always had immense social influence in the countries where the Muslim population lives. Historical and modern states were also named in behalf of the Islam (the four Rightly Guided – Rashidun Caliphs of Medina 632-661, the Umayyad Caliphate from Damascus 661-750, the Abbasid Caliphate in Baghdad 750-1258, the Ottoman Empire- the Sultanate of Turkey, The Safavid and Mogul Sultanate, from Iran or India, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan, the Islamic Republic of Iran, etc.), various national liberation movements of the 18th and 19th centuries that resulted in the formation of modern states (Sudanese Mahdi, Senussi in Libya, Fulani in Nigeria, Wahhabi in Saudi

Arabia), as well as socio-religious theorists, reformers and fundamentalists (Jamal al-din al-Afgani, Muhammad Abduh, Hassan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb from Egypt, Abdelhamid Ben Badis of Algeria, Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab of Saudi Arabia, Allal al-Fassi of Morocco, Syed Ahmad Khan and Muhammad Iqbal of Indonesia, Rashid Rida, Ali Shariati and Ayatollah Khomeini of Iran, Mevlan Mawludi of India, etc.), autocratic rulers (Libyan Muammar Gaddafi, Sudanese Gaafar Mahmoud Nimeiry, Egyptian Anwar Sadat, Pakistani Zulfikar Ali Bhutto and Zia ul-Haq, etc.), as well as terrorist organizations from their very appearance up to date (Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Society – Jama'a al-Islamiyya, Hezbollah, Hamas, Harakat-ul-Mujahideen - Movement of the Holy Warriors, Al Qaeda, Al Jihad, Islamic Liberation Organization etc.). Its role in this direction is double: on the one hand, it serves as an excellent application mechanism for mobilization, and on the other hand, as a useful phenomenon for legitimizing the existing order and power. Recent political developments in the Arab world during and after the "Arab Spring" only reaffirmed the thesis on the influence and role of Islamic political parties and movements in the respective societies. Islamic parties such as *Ennahda* (Awakening) in Tunisia and the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt have become a serious political player and a significant social representative of different strata of the population (here, are not only the low classes and exalted believers, but also famous businessmen, doctors, professors, etc.) (Lange 2012, 13). In a theoretical discourse, however, latent or explicitly Islamic societies and states in this setting make their own dichotomy of the world (earlier and contemporary): Muslim territories (Dar al-Islam) and non-Islamic areas (Dar al-Harb) (Esposito 2001, 62). Thus, Islamic societies and states, as well as other political subjects, make a clear distinction between their own territories and the scope of their influence. But the contemporary demographic expansion accompanied by the spatial expansion of Islam abstracts this distinction, although the official line still prevails in that regard.

Defining Political Islam

When we discuss political Islam, it is necessary to imply the need for its defining, as well as a distinction with the other terms that appear in this perspective. Thus, the terms are Islamic fundamentalism, Islamism, Islamic revivalism, and political Islam. We will operate the term Political Islam for several reasons. *Firstly*, the term Islamism is always identified with radical political movements outside the institutional framework of the existing political system, but there are many political parties that act within already existing constitutional orders (for example, Muslim brothers in Egypt, FIS in Algeria, Hadas in Kuwait, etc.). On the other hand, as Roxanne Euben notes, although perhaps the term "Islamism" is the most widespread, it is not universally accepted and often implies caution and limitations, especially according to many theorists, those who use the term in question did not capture the essence of Islam itself (Euben, 2015, 53). *Secondly*, the term fundamentalism can be used for all movements and parties that seek to recall the basic principles of religions in life, but also in a broader social context, a distinction that political Islam does not know in his own basic. As Hezbollah's former leader, Sayyed Muhammad Hussein Fadlallah, states:

> We are not fundamentalists, as the West sees us and we refuse to call it so. We are Islamic activists. From the etymological prism, the term fundamentalism (Usulia) denotes a reversal of the roots and origins, and

> our roots are the Quran and the Sunnah of the Prophet, and not the historical period in which the Prophet lived or the generations after him, that is, we do not want to live as people of that era (Euben 2015, 52).

Third, the concept of Islamic revivalism (awakening) can only refer to contemporary Islamic movements with its significant variations, and our goal is to determine a timeless and outspoken denominator, although we have different variables that affect the spatial-temporal metamorphoses, i.e. the source and the dynamics of the differences inside the Islamic phenomenon. Therefore, the term "Political Islam" seems to be most suitable for the simple reason that politics exist as a sphere of human activity from its very existence, and as we will see later from Islam itself, from its occurrence to this day.

Since we have solved the issue of semantic nature, we need to set the basic elements of the definition of Political Islam. The laconic approach would be most appropriate in that direction if we take into account the distinctions that we need to observe above. Sheri Berman, for example, defines political Islam as a set of ideas which indicate that Islam should be a guide to the political, social and private life of man (Berman, 2003, 258). Guilain Denoeux gives a comparatively similar definition that highlights in scientific credible circles the theories of political Islam, but still overwhelms its sociological dimension. We will note for a simplified reason that very skillfully captures the extensibility of this teaching itself. This phenomenon is understood as a form of instrumentalization of Islam by individuals, groups and organizations that pursue political goals. It provides political responses to today's social challenges with the imagination of the future, a foundation that relies on reorganized, reinvented concepts borrowed from the Islamic tradition (Denoeux 2002, 61). Matic and Bilandzic make a similar continuum of ideas, but pointing out that the term political Islam is used to denote a political-religious movement that believes that Islam is also a religion (Din), a way of life (Dunya) and a state (Dawlah), hence society and state should be organized according to Islamic law (Sharia, God's path) (Matic and Bilandzic 2010, 35). Michael Field, elaborating the reasons for the emergence of political Islam, implicitly offers a definition of the same, emphasizing it as a new ideal, which for the Muslim world is not an imported concept such as socialism, nationalism or the nation-state, but comes inherently from their culture as a response that provides rules for all aspects of life, including political power (Field 1994, 72).

Bearing in mind the offered definitions that they would accept in the paper, it seems that Esposito's thesis concludes that the responsibility of Islamic believers according to this worldview "exceeds all forms of other social, family and national responsibility, while politics is central because it embodies ways and means for the realization of Islamic principles in public life" (Esposito 2003, 153), affirms and emphasizes the inextricable link of the phenomenon political ideology with the second largest religion in the world.

POLITICAL AND DOCTRINAL SOURCES OF THE POLITICAL ISLAM

When we argue about political ideologies as an important element of the political system as a whole, and of the party system as its sub-system, the question arises where to look for the basic sources of such a worldview. For example, liberalism has Locke's "Two Treatises of Government", Marx's "Capital" socialism, Burke's conservatism "Reflections on the Revolution in France", etc. Even more significant in this light, as Wiktorowicz notes, "Political Islam is not a sui generis phenomenon. Despite ideological and worldviews, such collective action and its mechanisms demonstrate in itself the consistency of political Islam with other modern political movements" (Wiktoriwicz 2004, 3). Such point reinforces the thesis that the manifestations of political action are approximately identical, but the ideological view of the world is different. What is an essential feature of Political Islam as an ideology is the fact that religious texts and interpretations get a political dimension?

Andrew Heywood rightly concludes that it is nothing new for political ideologies to take ideas from the religious treasury, but such ideologies differ in that they do not treat religious ideas as a means of defending or decorating their own ideology, but as a matter of political thought itself (Hejvud 2005, 309). Hence, it is necessary to see the sources of such a valuable concept.

Qur'an

Undoubtedly the Quran (Loud Reading), received by Muhammad through the Malik Jibril (Archangel Gabriel) through the periodicals, and for the first time in 610 on the night that Muslims celebrate as the "Night of Power and Perfection" (Laylat al-Qadr), until the end of the same 632, collected after the Prophet's death, is the first and main source of the political worldview of all Islam. As almost no other religious announcement, the Qur'an contains and elaborates a wide range of socio-political categories that regulate various behaviors of human life. Actually political Islam as an ideology that necessarily demands respect for the given proclamations, and there is no political subject calling upon Islam to immanently emphasize any part of it. The Quran is composed of 114 chapters (Surah), each of which is more specific in verses (Ayah). It should be noted that there is a significant distinction between general and specific provisions in the very field. Thus, the former are more numerous and express ethical dimensions and principles, while the latter relate to ritual, family, commercial and criminal law (Al-Hibri 1992, 3). The interpretation of the Qur'an's content often creates divisions in the Islamic political spectrum, primarily in terms of whether its messages should be consistently interpreted or should be understood in the time-political circumstances of the era in which they are published (the division of conservatives, for example, Wahhabi, Qutb etc. and modernists such as Afghani, Han, Emin etc.). In a narrower sense of the political concept, only three terms, as noted by Gerhard Bowering, have a highly regarded point in Islamic political thought, although they do not have a prominent position in Qur'an himself: the Ummah, Caliph and Jihad (Bowering 2015, 196).

Sunnah and Hadith

The life of the Prophet Muhammad (with the religious intonation the attribute "Salla Allahu Alayhi Wa salam" – "God bless and peace be with Him", s.a.a.s.) is used and his example represent also one of the basic principles of political Islam. His example (Sunnah) contained in various texts - traditions (Hadiths) are an example of the action in the then and modern human life, both in the private and in the public sphere. Hence, many meaningful Hadiths speak of the prophetic practical aspect of acting in various fields such as political leadership, warfare, and peace, negotiations, personal hygiene, dressing, attitude towards family and parents, as well as towards friends and enemies. The Hadiths were collected for a period of 800 years and represent the second most important source beside the Qur'an. Sahih al-Bukhari, Sahih Muslim, Sunan al-Sughra, Sunan Ibn Majah, Sunan Abu Dawood, and Imam Malik are considered as the most important collections of Hadith. Formally there are two grounds for confirming their authenticity. The first, according to the order of the transmitters, who finally have to reach the first source - Muhammad himself or any of his friends. The second, content-related compatibility of the Hadith with the Qur'an or the rest of the already confirmed Hadith). In this context, there are several types of Hadiths, according to the way they are transmitted, and we would single out them: Mutawatir - hadith that heard the majority of the as-sahabah (companions of the Prophet) were transferred from people who would not speak untruth, have unquestionable authenticity; Musnad - Muttasil - hadith whose sened (chain of transmission) goes directly to the Prophet Muhammad; Ahaad - those Musnad-muttasil Hadiths transmitted by one individual; Mashhur - those Hadiths whose actuality arose later, and in the first Islamic century it was transmitted only by one person; Gharib - every hadith that ultimately carries only one person, that is, in the end, another person is opposed; Mevkuh - those Hadiths that have an undeniable senad (chain), but the first ruler (translator) did not utter "I heard the Prophet that he said" (Karalic 2010, 335-350). And finally, in terms of the degree of authenticity, the Islamic experts have divided the Hadith to: Sahih - the hadith which is transferred from credible and honesty to the end of the Seed, and at the same time does not contradict other relevant traditions and does not contain hidden shortcomings in itself (commonly found in Muslim and Bukhari); Hasan - the hadith that is continuously transmitted by credible rajas with a weaker precision and is not opposed to the most reliable ranks. In fact, the determinant difference between the sahih and the Hasan hadith consists in the fact that in the second degree of precision of the transmitter (rawij) it is not at the same level as the former; Daif - weak, unreliable, incomplete for various reasons (from the sened, ie chain of transmitters, the credibility of the rawij, i.e. transmitter or the precision of the rawij) (Karalic 2010, 352-360).

The Five Pillars of Islam

Islam contains five general provisions that are mandatory for every Muslim: 1) Recognition of Faith (Shahada), expressed through the motto "There are no other Gods except Allah, and Muhammad is his prophet"; 2) Five daily prayers (Salat); 3) Contribution, charity for the poor in the form of a tax of 2.5% of personal property and inheritance (Zakat); 4) All-day fasting, from sunrise to sunset during the holy month of Ramadan (Sawm); 5) A pilgrimage trip, a pilgrimage to Mecca, in Kaaba (Hajj). It is

important to notice that there is a big difference between the Christian apostrophe of "right" teaching (orthodoxy) and Islamic "right" action (orthopraxy). Such a distinction greatly points to the lack of distinction between practice and belief in the Islamic worldview. In other words, acting in all spheres of human life (including politics, of course) must be compatible with religious persuasion. Moreover, many Islamic activists are trying to reaffirm their daily lives and recapture them in parts where they were forgotten or neglected. Also important political events are related exactly to the five pillars, such as the Khomeini support banners during the pilgrimage to Mecca, the organization of numerous humanitarian activities with a 2.5% tax, and political gatherings in mosques after the prayer of the Muslims brothers in Egypt or interruption of clashes during the holy month of Ramadan in Lebanon, etc.

The Basic Principles of Islamic law

Similar to other political-legal systems (Continental and Anglo-Saxon), the Islamic law (Sharia) as well recognizes general principles that need to be observed in its interpretation and application. It is important to mention that, as we have seen above, Islam does not set the boundary between belief and practice, but stands for their conformity. In this direction, the following principles are distinguished: 1) Analogous conclusions (Qiyas) - when in the Quran or Sunnah no explicit provisions are noted for a certain question, and based on the contextual-conceptual connection, a logical conclusion is made (for example, the ban on the use of alcohol is derived from the ban on the disgust of wine); 2) Consensus (Ijma) - Islam seeks to create a firm cultural, spiritual and political connection of its community (Ummah). If we leave aside the question of the parameters of such success, we need to prophesy the statement of the Prophet Muhammad: "My community will never be unanimous in the delusion" (Esposito 2003, 142). Such a point of view also explains in this way the thesis why political Islam has various manifestations of certain phenomena such as terrorism for example; 3) Righteousness (Istihsan) and the public good (Maslaha) - the interpretation of certain Quranic provisions as well as the action of every Muslim should satisfy these principles. The concept of the resumption of Islamic society follows these road signs, and the whole Islamic political action (regardless of its methods) is directed towards their satisfaction (for example, Restoration of Islamic Law due to decadence infiltrated by the West, which contradicts the public good, condemnation of the western capitalism as an unjust and exploitative society, etc.); 4) Enjoining good and forbidding wrong (Hisbah) - this is one of the elementary axiological and praxeological conceptions of Islam as a religion that includes its political dimensions. They are related to the Hadith of the Prophet in which it is said: "I swear by the One in whose hands is my life that you either call for good and you turn away from evil, or soon Allah will send a punishment upon you, and you will pray, but you will not be forgiven" (Ferid 2012). Also, another Hadith noticed in Muslim is important to emphasize. The Prophet said: "Which one of you who sees something bad, let him remove it with your own hands, and if you cannot - then with your tongue, and if you cannot do so - with your own heart" (Ferid 2012, 5) Reinterpretation (Ijtihad) - many Islamic theorists and political activists are referring to the concept of reinterpretation in the light of the new circumstances and challenges facing today's society. As Azizah Y. Al-Hibri estimates: "Ijtihad is not concerned only with the delineation of the species from the general regulations, but goes even further, by implementing general

Islamic laws regulations that best suit a certain epoch and community" (Al-Hibri 1992, 5-6) Disagreement (Ikhtilaf) - divergence between the Islamic scholars (Ulama), opposite to the Ijima (consensus). This tendency, on one hand, emphasizes the possibility of flexibility in given societies and epochs; and on the other hand, it opens space for adapting and implementing contemporary humanistic trends (for example, civil-political and economic-social rights, women's rights, modernizations clusters and urban expansion, etc.).

It is especially important here to present the classifications of the nature of the legal rules in the Sharia, because they are essentially reflecting the obligatory nature of the actions of Islamic political and social subjects. Thus, generally the Fiqh (Islamic jurisprudence) knows two categories. The first refers to rules in relations, that is, decisive types ('amaliyya) and knows the following categories: a) Fardh - obligatory, what is ordered to do, that is to say, a duty (for example: Amentu Billaqi - belief in Allah, prayer, fast, etc.); b) Mustahab - it is advisable, there is no obligatory weight such as the fardh, i.e., the Wajib, but its fulfillment has benefits (e.g. sadaqah – voluntary charity, umrah - volunteer hajj, etc.); c) Mubah – permissibility, value-neutral activities, or a work for which no benefit or punishment is prescribed (e.g. seating, eating and drinking what is not forbidden etc.); d) Makrooh - unreasonable, rooted, but according to sharia there is no sanction for such a deed (for example, divorce); e) Haram - prohibited acts for which there are penalties in this world (al-dunya) and the other (al-akhira), i.e. eschatological (for example: murder, theft, etc.). The second category, in turn, refers to the rules related to the conditions, that is, the situation (wadia') and differentiates the following categories: Shart - condition, Sabab - cause, Mani – preventor, Ruksah and Azeemah - permission and enforcement, Sahih, Fasid, Batil – valid, corrupt, invalid, and finally, Adaa, Qadaa, I'ada – in time, deferred, repeat (Kamali 2005, 131-135).

VALUABLE FRAMEWORK OF THE POLITICAL ISLAM

Islam consistently denotes subjugation to God's will, and his followers Muslims - subjugates, adherents of such congruence. Political Islam has the general goal of realizing God's law and will and consistent integration of such value elements. In this context, Esposito emphasizes two essential features of the very Islamic concept: "The purpose of Islam is to provide guidelines and conditions for two kinds of interactions - first, the relationship between human beings and God, which is worship and second, interpersonal action, which in essence are social relations" (Esposito 2003, 141). Having in mind the above-mentioned determinants, we will carry sectional of the most important socio-political values of political Islam, which give us valuable framework of that ideology.

God's Sovereignty (Hakimiyya)

The theories of sovereignty for a long time in the XVIII and XIX centuries were an important center of political and philosophical debates on the old continent. The theocratic *vis-a-vis* national and people's theory of sovereignty only looked at the source, that is, the legitimacy of the sovereign power (whether the government is legitimate because it is "determined" by God or citizens or the nation). However, political Islam makes a clear distinction in relation to such views. For political Islam, God as a demiurge of all living beings in the world is the only sovereign or simplified, sovereignty is not

transferred to any human subject (Tawhid principle). Although it seems that this valuable imperative remains only at the meta-theoretical level, it will further serve as the basis for political organization and regulation (the principle of the Caliphs, actually heirs in the political aspect of the Sunnis, that is, Ayatollahs in the Shiites), or rejection or adaptation of contemporary concepts of democracy. For example, the reactionary wing, like the Pakistani theologian al- Mawmudhi, will describe the western concept of sovereignty as an invalid principle (Batil), which leads to evil and destructive consequences (Awakib Waqihiman Hadamah) (Sharif 1988, 210). Ayatollah Khomeini, on the other hand also links his concept of Islamic republicanism with the sovereignty of God, but according to his views, the legitimacy of power stems from God's subjects on the Earth, to which a small portion of such indisputable Allah sovereignty is transferred. It is precisely from this motto that there are numerous Islamic political movements, believing that this principle can bring the success, prosperity, and power of the Islamic community (for example Muslim Brotherhood and their branches in Algeria).

Sharia As a Sacred Life and Political Pattern

Islamic law (sharia) and its logic are basically an alternative to all political ideologies (liberalism, socialism, social democracy, conservative, etc.). The weakness and submissiveness of Muslim societies and their long colonial dependence and subordination have a basis in its disregard or oblivion. Westernism and secularization, considered as a by-product of the capitalist countries of Western Europe and primarily from the United States, lead to the decomposition and decadence of Islamic society. The message in that sense (for example from the movements/parties of the Muslim Brotherhood or Jama'a al-Islamiyya) clearly suggests that a state order must be established, which for the Muslims basically consists in the sharia. Islamic law, however, is not a homogeneous category, and as we have pointed out above, there are different angles of its observation and interpretation. The best-known schools (Madhabs) in this direction are Hanafi in the Arab world and southern Asia, the Hanbali in Saudi Arabia, the Shafi'i in East Africa and Southeast Asia, the Maliki in northern, central and western Africa, and the two main Shi'ite schools - the Ja'fari and the Zaidi. From the aspect of political Islam, they define and explain Islamic law, which provides a plan for the functioning of a good society, and what is an Islamic ideal (Demiri 2009, 31-32). What is most important when considering Sharia is its rigidity in the penal field or bounders (Hudud, penalties which include stoning adulterers, cutting the thief's hand, etc.). Still, it should be emphasized that they are limited to several spheres: fornication, false testimony to fornication, theft, and the use of alcohol. It is also important to mention two more important elements of Sharia as its essential characteristic: one is the ban on bounty and interest (Riba), and the other is the counseling for the important political and social issues of the establishment (Shura). From the latter, the modern (re) interpretations of solidarity and democracy in the Islamic world are drawn.

Anti (neo) - Colonialism

Political Islam, by nature of things, seems its opponent's figure (Schmitt's figure of a political enemy) has western colonial powers. Latent or explicitly the reaction of Islamic movements is primarily anti-colonial. All actions on their own bases have the

liberation from Western colonialism or the modern neo-colonial placement. The terrorist attacks of radical Islamic groups and the political actions of Islamic parties (such as the Islamic Pan-Malaysian Party, the National Islamic Front in Sudan, the Islamic Liberation Front "FIS" in Algeria, the Muslim League in India, etc.) (Salih 2009, 5-6) with acute rhetoric when it comes to international politics expressed in that part. The colonial and neocolonialist policies of the United States and European allies distinguish three fundamental reactions. In fact, anti-colonialism as a value component remains, but the political reaction gets different dimensions. The one direction, denoted as rejection and deviation, is retreated following the example of Muhammad's relocation from Mecca to Medina (Hijrah) or the obligatory war (Jihad) against "unbelievers" begins. The latter accepts Westernization and secularization, guided by the incremental paradigm of political action (such as Ataturk's Turkey) (Voll 1987, 6). Finally, the last - Islamic reformism is trying to bridge the gap between the aforementioned solutions, emphasizing the need to adopt Western values in the light of Islamic teaching and practice. The divisions within the Islamic parties and movements in the past and now are most extremely visible in terms of this issue. The holders of colonial rule and such period of contemporary political history raised the perception of inferiority, backwardness and aggressiveness in the reaction to the Western world, as well as the feeling of returning to Islamic principles of organization, resistance (intifada), and glorification of the golden age of Islamic spread and Arabic campaigns in the Muslim world.

Distinction between Secularism and Modernism

The latter value element is actually a different species for political Islam as an ideology. The Western hemisphere has elevated secularization woven into modernity at the level of a political ideal that often binds necessarily to democracy, human rights and freedoms and contemporary trends. However, political Islam makes a clear distinction between secularism and modernization. The first is absolutely unacceptable, and the second is a benevolent relationship. As we have seen above, secularism is incompatible with the first and second value element of political Islam. Secularization is considered a source of social decadence, moral decline, and political instability. Separation of religion from the state's institutional system according to Political Islam contributes only to the suppression of religious postulates and a new kind of servitude to the west. On the other hand, modernization is not a controversial phenomenon. Many Islamic leaders are in touch with modern technology and communication achievements, and they serve as a medium for the diffusion of Islamic ideas and teachings (for example Khomeini, Mohammed Morsi, and even Bin Laden regularly had their video addresses to the masses). Moreover, the supporters of political Islam, the so-called "Islamic states" such as Iran are in an accelerated step with the development of science and technology (such as in the nuclear program). There are several arguments regarding this worldview. First, secularization as a concept owes its inheritance to the French Revolution, and it is also affirmed largely in American society in order to any group in multi-religious does not have any religious privileges.

Secondly, many Western countries such as Great Britain, Germany, and Canada have a state religion, which is not an obstacle to the perception of their democracy or modernity. Thirdly, the secularization attempted by the European colonizers of the Arab

world has thrown that part of the world into a long period of subjugation, dependence, and inferiority. Political Islam in that light was defined as a doctrinal and socio-cultural static phenomenon, and therefore anti-modern and ultimately anti-democratic (taking it as a primary factor religion). In that direction, the ban on wearing a women's cover (Hijab), as well as the aid or the tacit agreement for a coup in Egypt after the victory of the Muslim Brotherhood candidate Mohamed Morsi in the presidential election and the trial against their members (and similar events were identified in Algeria 1992, when the Front of the Islamic Rescue FIS won the local and parliamentary elections) only amplify the perception of animosity towards socio-cultural Islam, which has far-reaching consequences on the political plane. Armando Salvatore rightly concludes that major innovative changes in the modernization of the Islamic world were made by young Islamists and historians who understood the types of intellectual modernization as a multiplied connection with the specifics of development, capitalist production and markets before any apparent confrontation with threats of western modernity (Salvatore 2015, 138).

Mandatory Struggle (Jihad)

Undoubtedly, the most exposed element in political Islam is Jihad. There is almost no political party, movement or platform that does not emphasize the importance of the mandatory struggle. Jihad is invoked and called upon by different movements (Muslim Brotherhood, Islamic Society - Jama'a al-Islamiyya, Hezbollah, Hamas, Harakat–ul-Mujahideen - Movement of Holy Warriors, Al Qaeda, Al Jihad, Islamic Liberation Organization, Islamic Jihad, Islamic State of Iraq and Levant), political-military leaders from the beginning of Islam until today (Husayn ibn Ali, Muhammad bin Qasim, Saladin, Baibras, Shamin Alam Khan, Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Saddam Hussein, Osama bin Laden etc.), Islamic theorists (Hassan al-Banna, Mamudhi, Sayyid Qutb etc.). It can be correct to say that there is no term that in recent years is not so extensible and gets different connotations in the modern world. The el-Jihad group, for example, marked Jihad as the "sixth pillar of Islam" (Jansen 1986, 161). However, the different interpretation of this term leaves an opportunity to be used with different meanings (spiritual, military, political) because one of the most sacred duties and benefits of every Muslim is the struggle of God's way. That is why the term fight or struggle, and not war is terminologically used. In addition, a distinction is made between the so-called Small and Great Jihad. According to a certain hadith, the Prophet, returning from battle, pointed out that after the end of the little one, the greater one follows - dedicated to the fight against human selfishness, corruption, and evil (Esposito 2003, 122). The terrorist activities and militant movements, of course, have a basic principle of Jihad, but there is a contemporary tendency to emphasize it in a spiritual and socio-cultural sense, including the sense of the Islamic parties.

CONCLUSION

The era of political ideologies is not stagnant. In contemporary societies, despite the spatial insuperability of modernization, ideologies play an influential role in the contemporary political action. There is almost no country or region that is not influenced by contemporary ideologies in the direction of their shaping, modification, stagnation or progress. Each political system is characterized by the content of the political ideologies, that is, the ideological orientation of the political parties stuck in the party system, as well as their tendencies and alternatives that make it up.

Political Islam is an old-new dimension of the contemporary political spectrum. Characteristic from the beginning until today, it always finds its own way of penetration into political and social life. As such, it undoubtedly possesses its own specific features and features that are to some extent converge, and somewhat diverge from other known and affirmed ideological worldviews. For example, the concept of divine sovereignty (Hakamiah), as well as the extreme rigidity of certain punishments (Hudud) is almost incompatible with any contemporary political ideology; the concept of anti-colonialism, the charity for the poor (Zakat), the ban on bounty and interest (Riba) can find tangible points of socialism and nationalism, etc. Like any other ideology, the political and doctrinal sources of political Islam can be identified. In our case, this would be in the primary scriptures - the Qur'an, the hadith of the Sunnah, and the basic principles of Sharia. We can freely conclude that if socialism has Marx, liberalism - Locke, conservatism - Burke, Political Islam has the Qur'an and Muhammad. Primary sources, like other ideologies, have space for their development and reinterpretation.

The issue of political Islam and its connection with violence and extremism have been thrown in the direction of studying only from a security - related point of view, but not from ideological and political. It is precisely the value framework, as well as the sources, which give us the right to conclude that there may be a twofold possibility. Regressive interpretation and extremism on the one hand, and possible integration and adaptability in the modern age on the other. It is precisely the legalization and networking in the party competition that caused fear in Western civilization from its proclamation and extension. The direction to which it will move further is determined by different variables, among which the exogenous (actually, the foreign policy relationships) have an influential role.

Political Islam allows considerable space for its further development, adaptation, and certainly assimilation. The demographic indicators in the world affirm our initial motive for this paper. Undoubtedly, the Islam as a socio-cultural and certainly religious phenomenon becomes present everywhere. Hence, we should not be deceived that the assimilation towards the European and Western views would come to a priori or be a necessary. Exactly in this direction there are further dimensions of the intensity and content of this ideology's development will have to be sought. 

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