

The Evolution of the Concept of Ideal Government in the Political Thought of Rashed Ghannouchi

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Abstract

One of the most important concerns of Islamists in responding to the retardation of Islamic societies is the issue of government. This concern became more evident in the new wave of popular uprisings in Arab countries in 2011. In Tunisia, with the collapse of Ben Ali and the power of Al-Nahda under the leadership of Rashed Ghannouchi, various theoretical analyzes of the future of the political system and the ideal government in this country became the focus of political attention. This paper seeks to address the question of “what is the conceptual transformation of a ideal government in the political views and ideas of Rashed Ghannouchi?” In order to answer this question, this paper has used intentionality hermeneutics method of Skinner in analyzing political thought.

The findings indicate that the ideal government in Ghannouchi’s political thought has undergone a conceptual transformation in three periods: In the first period, he seeks for Islamic-based democracy. In Second period , after the victory of the Islamic Revolution in Iran, he seeks Islam as a specific social agenda for governance. In the third period after 2011, Ghannouchi’s ideal government transformed from Islamic democracy to Muslim democracy.

Keywords

Ideal government, Rashed Ghannouchi, Political Thought, Tunisia, Democracy

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Introduction

Many scholars in the Islamic world believe that the emergence of Mohammedanism, during recent decades, happened as a response to the backwardness of the Islamic communities and confrontation of the Islamic countries toward the West. In other words, after the internal changes in the Islamic world, Moslems were involved in poverty and hardship, ignorance and solidity, oppression and autocracy, corruption and degeneration, and unawareness and negligence, diving among weakness and helplessness, while their internal conditions were under the invasion of the West and arrival of new Western civilization is such a way that they faced two new features of knowledge and thinking, industry, technology, and the political - colonial factors that had targeted the Islamic world, (Dorakhsh, 1390: 40). These two major problems, internal backwardness and the invasion of the West, linked together caused a lot of difficulties during the present period of time to Moslem communities. After familiarity of Moslem countries with the West, a group of writers and thinkers tried to find a way to recover the backwardness of the Islamic nations emphasizing on returning to genuine Islam. They suggested that Moslems could once again become the pioneers of different political, economic, and social realms if they exactly followed all religious orders specifically within social scope. In their viewpoint, the ideal status was to reconstruct the society and establish a government based on Islamic values and orders. Therefore, one important purpose of Islamists was to pay special attention to the case of government and its theoretical and practical patterns in order to provide Moslems with prosperity in this world and the other world. During recent years this concerning received a lot of attention and since 2011, it appeared as a salient movement across Arabic countries. After those movements, different theoretical explanations and analyses were represented about the future of political and governmental system of those countries by thinkers and scholars in political realm. For instance, some of them asked the question of whether the Islamic thinkers who were influential in leading the Islamic groups and movements had any

imagination of “the ideal government?” or “Are they basically seeking for an idealistic government for their people?” “What had been the meaning of the idealistic government for them before obtaining power?”, and “What is their probable process of viewpoint on the meaning of the ideal government?”.

1. Ideal Government

Two questions have always been existing about government among philosophers and political thinkers: (1) Is government an end or a means to an end?, and (2) What is the ideal of the government? Concerning the first question, some idealists considered government as a single end, above people and individuals, while other political schools and thinkers believed that government is a means to achieve some goals in the direction of human societies. In fact, they considered the inherent value as belonging to individuals and the government as a mechanical, man-made instrument for achieving their goals. Regarding the above-mentioned viewpoints, some terminologies came to existence such as “ideal government”, “final and idealistic government”, and recently “the desirable government”. Here the word “desirable” has different meanings such as agreeable, pleasant, favorite, acceptable and so on (Moeen, 1363, Vol. 3: 203). The perspectives of political thinkers on government from early to middle centuries show their idealistic look instead realistic regard, so that most of them have represented a Utopian image of the society and government achievement of which is impossible. After the middle centuries and with the beginning of Renaissance, some theories were given on this regard that contributed to the formation of governments with specific patterns and goals (Gholipour, 1387: 34). In the new age the term “good governance” was employed for the first time in 1979 by Williamson with economic literature and since 1980 it became frequent. In 1989, when the World Bank advocated its report to good governance, it found an extensive place in literature, (Moghimi Ardakani, 1988: 110). Since 90s, the World Bank changed its policy and put the theory of good governance in the center of its policy-making recommendation and focused on reinforcement of government or importance of governance

(replacement of dimensions of government, or reducing its size through reinforcing it), (Meidari, 1385: 267).

Three researchers of the World Bank, Daniel Kaufman, Art Cry, and Pablo Zovido Lobton, incorporated the findings of international institutions such as Heritage and Freedom House about economic and social status in countries and represented general and new indexes under the title of “governance indexes”, (Mahdavi Adeli et.al, 1387: 93). Kaufman defines good governance in the World Bank based on six characteristics as follows:

1. the right of expressing thoughts and responsiveness;
2. political instability and violation;
3. effectiveness of government: competence of government in carrying out its duties;
4. the quality of rules: additional rules and their costs;
5. rulership of the law; and
6. control of corruption (Meidari, 1385: 268).

According to the above definition, the more positive characteristics such as rulership of the law, responsiveness and effectiveness of government in the society, and the less corruption, additional rules, political instability and violation, the governance in the society in order to obtain economic development will be easier. Generally it should be said that “good governance” in any of above-mentioned literature includes the ideal goals expected from the government, followed theoretically or practically by individuals or groups. In this paper, the concept of good governance in Rashed Alghanoushi’s political thoughts will be studied according to the above-mentioned concepts.

2. Methodology

In this paper, in order to study the political thoughts of Alghanoush, Skinner’s intentional hermeneutic method was used. Skinner employed that method on the political thoughts of Machiavelli (Skinner, 1981: 6) and

contrasted its relation with political and social features. Skinner observes language, living atmosphere, thinking background and historical conditions to achieve the intention of the researcher so that he can decode and understand the meaning a human concept (Mahmood Panahi, 1394: 174). He puts forward his main problem by asking this question, “Which method should be employed in order to understand a text? In other words, how should we explore the real and historical meaning of a text?” In response to this key question, he answers that the understanding of real meaning of a text depends on the grasping of the intention of the writer in writing the text. In the same way, in order to study the concept of freedom in the book “Freedom before Liberalism” (Skinner, 1988: 20), instead dealing with the essence of concept, Skinner works on its conceptual evolution within a historical experiment. In fact, he studies the process of evolution in the concept of freedom regarding the internal wars of England during the 17th century to the modern age and liberalism. Thus the three-stage methodological framework of Skinner and the guide of fundamental lines emphasized by him (diagram 1) are as follows:

First stage: The reader comes across the texts and works of a writer and tries to find out the problems that the writer himself had faced them, by returning the writer to the world in which his thoughts first were formed.

Second stage: The researcher attempts to reconstruct the environment in which the works were produced. It consists of both, intellectual and political environment.

Third stage: Finally the researcher explores the theories and teachings of the writer and finds out his or her intention and innovations.

These stages have been represented in the following diagram, (Mohmood Panahi, 1394: 175). According to reasoning within Skinner’s methodology, in order to understand Alghanoushi’s thoughts, the political and social environment of Tunisia and Northern Africa should be studied. In this way, the problems of his time will be revealed. In order to obtain such a perspective the environment in which his works were created, should be

reconstructed. That environment consists of his political life, and political thinking atmosphere. Then, by studying Alghanoushi within his time and the background that initially formed his thoughts, we can understand the process of evolution in his political thoughts about the ideal government.

3. Political and Social Environment

Tunisia gained independence from the colonialization of France in 1965 and Habib Borghibeh was elected as its first president. Borghibeh, as the life-time president of Tunisia was over thrown in 1987 by “Zeinol Abedin Ben Ali” after 21 years of dictatorship. His secular state also was overthrown after 23 years in 2011 under the influence of public oppositions. The spark of those oppositions was produced by the self-burning of a licentiate young man named Mohammad Bu Azizi in the city of Seyyedi Buzeid. After it, extensive opposing movements began against Zeinol Abedin Ben Ali and in other Arabic countries, and the elections of the constituent assembly were held and the Islamist party of Alnehza gained victory. Borghibeh was a secular nationalist who considered economic and social modernization as his first priority and followed the improvement of women’s rights. Ben Ali also continued Borghibeh’s policy from 1987 to the time of his escape from the country. But at his time, the government became more detective, because he, as the president, was a dictator man, and the final decision-making individual about all problems of the country. In his system, the president, prime minister, and parliament, assigned the governors of regions and the managers of supervision of elections. Meanwhile in the last reform of the constitutional law conducted in 2002 the three-course limitation of presidency was canceled and the maximum age for presidency candidates was increased from 70 to 75 years (Freedom House, 2011: 23). Thus, the closed political system of Tunisia became more closed, and civil and political freedom was sacrificed specifically after the events of 11 September 2001 and support of Tunisia toward fighting against terrorism - which like in many other Middle-Eastern countries was only a pretext to suppress the opponents. In such conditions, independent media, journalists and weblog

writers who criticized government, were seriously punished and tortured, or dismissed, or prohibited from exiting the country. In 2010, the committee supporting journalists introduced Tunisia within 10 countries insecure for weblog writers, (Freedom House, 2011: 25). Meanwhile at the time of Borghibeh and Ben Ali Friday prayers were eliminated, most mosques were closed, broadcast of Azan by mosques and radio and TV was prohibited, and women were not allowed to use hijab in official centers and schools, (Mousavi, 1390: 44). According to Skinnerian approach, as the political and social atmosphere shows in Tunisia during the last five decades the most important problem at the time of Alghanoushi has been political autarchy, political corruption and insufficiency, increasing poverty, opposition of presidents to Islam, and religious traditions in Tunisia which contributed to Islamist movements and specifically the movement of Alnezhah in that country. Regarding the importance of that movement in the realm of politics and society of Tunisia within recent decades, especially after the public movement in 2011 in that country, we will attempt to study on the intellectual background and political thoughts to the leader of that movement, Alghanoushi.

4. Works and Political Thoughts of Alghanoushi

Alghanoushi is the representative of a distinct thinking way in the stage of the contemporary Islamic movement. His thinking line is visible in many of his books, articles published in the Tunisian journal of Alma'refah and some other Arabic journals, as well as in his lectures and several conferences. His most important books on political intellect are "Mabaadiolhekamvassolteh Fi Islam" (2001), "Public Freedom in the Islamic Government" (1993), and (Democracy and Human Rights in Islam" (2012). In fact, these books reveal his positioning toward the Islamic movement of Tunisia and fundamental principles of the Islamic administration, political power, and public freedom in Islam, both, from historical dimension, and regarding their plans for the future of such a government. Meanwhile, his articles have been gathered in a book under the title of "Articles" that was published by the publication

institution of Darolkarvan in Paris in 1982. The centrality of Alnehzah movement in Tunisia depends on Alghanoushi's character and his viewpoints. One of salient intellectual qualities of Alghanoushi is his belief in the competency of Islam to manage social and political life, and his attempts are in the targeted framework of creating such a system, (Ghasemi, 1395: 110). Now, we will study his viewpoint on government in Islam.

5. Government in Islam

Alghanoushi believes that Islam is a comprehensive and complete system for life representing ideal patterns for all dimensions of living and encompassing fundamental principles to manage the society and country. Politics in Islam is not only a historical reality, because it is based on the Koranic teachings and Sunnah. Koran suggests, "... And those who don't judge according to what Allah told, they are pagans,...oppressors,... criminals" (Maedeh: 44-47), (Alikhani, 1382: 65). The essentiality of government in Islam also has a logical basis, because religion advises people to observe orderliness in all dimensions and management of society in this direction is highly important from religious viewpoint. Similarly, there are some recommendations in Islam such as physical punishments, atonement and so on, observance of which has been seriously emphasized, while they cannot be observed without having government will be impossible. Thus, "whatever without which, the implementation of obligations becomes impossible, is essential, and the establishment of governments in societies is necessary just for this reason", (Alghanoushi, 2001: 5). Of course Alghanoushi doesn't consider the establishment of government as the only goal of Islam. In fact, he doesn't consider Islam as equal to government, rather, he believes that Islam is the whole and government is part of it, (Alghanoushi, 2001: 6).

6. The Origin of Legitimacy in the Islamic Government

Ghanoushi believes that the Islamic government obtains legitimacy from two sources. The first one is religion. As far as it is related to the legal authority

ruling the policy makings of the government, all policy making in the Islamic government should be based on religion. The holy Koran says, “Then, you should judge among people according to what Allah has recommended”, (Maedeh: 47), “If you have disagreement on a religious case, if you believe in God and the Resurrection day, solve your disputes according to God’s book and advice of your prophet”, (Nessa: 59). Therefore if an Islamic government disobeys these principles, it is necessary to eliminate that government, because based on the holy Koran, those who prevent religious recommendations from being implemented, are considered as pagans, (Maedeh: 44). Thus, the Islamic government is legitimate and any disobedience of the Islamic rules by it leads to the elimination of its legitimacy. Therefore a real Islamic government cannot be absolutely autocratic. Although some of them have been autocratic during the history, their dictatorship didn’t have roots in Islam, rather, it originated from a wrong perception from Islam, (Alghanoushi, 2001: 3). The second source of legitimacy is the council, which based on the explicit wording of Islam, is mandatory. According to that recommendation, a Moslem governor is obligated to hear the comments of others and remain committed to conciliations and ideas of other people and their representatives. For Ghanoushi, people are the source of legitimacy and power of the Islamic government that is obtained through elections, (Alghanoushi, 2001: 8). Of course, there are some standards and rules for opposition and uprising against autocratic governments, and they can be justifiable only when other stages such as advice, warning, threatening, and so on has earlier been observed, and the government has disregarded them. In that case people are obligated to upraise in order to return the justice of Allah,, (Alghanoushi, 2001: 8).

7. The Role of Nations in the Islamic Government

Ghanoushi gives a high importance to the role of people in governing and considers the votes of people as the factor of legitimacy. He suggests that after Allah, people have the superior sovereignty and no one has the right to

decide instead of them, because they are neither children, nor minors, rather, they are the successors of Allah on the earth. For Ghanoushi sovereignty is a kind of agreement and suggests that the Islamic government is established among the society and its leaders and responsibilities based on an agreement, and that agreement obligates individuals in charge to attempt to implement religious recommendations under the supervision of people and their representatives, and not to begrudge establishing councils. Thus the Islamic government becomes the government of the law, meaning that the recommendations of religion are superior to any other system and the governing system also is not an exception to the rule, (Alghanoushi, 2012: 28). Thus, Ghanoushi suggests that emphasizing on monotheism, succession of man instead of Allah on the earth, and councils, allows no dictatorship and smooths the path for people to employ all humanistic heritages and achievements. The Moslems of yesterday and today, both believe that governments should obtain their legitimacy only through pool taking (Bei'at), by which, authorities promise to behave based on religion and respect councils and public interests in order to implement justice in the society, (Alikhani, 1382: 76).

8. The Ideal Government in Ghanoushi's Political Thoughts

As mentioned in methodology section, the political and social environment is in interaction with the political position of thinkers. For Skinner, language, living environment, political atmosphere, intellectual background, and historical conditions should be known in order to decode and understand the meaning of the works of thinkers. In this paper, in order to deeply understand the concept of government in Ghanoushi's viewpoint, first we attempted to study the political and social conditions in Tunisia and the biography of Ghanoushi during few recent decades, and it was found that three periods of time were highly important as follows:

1. Decades of 60th and 70th, during which the Islamic movements began against anti-religious policy of Borghibeh in Tunisia and the movement of Etjaholislami was established by Alghanoushi in that country;

2. The occurrence of the Islamic Revolution of Iran and the deep impression of Imam Khomeini's thoughts on the policy of Alnehzah, and

3. The democratic revolution of Tunisia in 2011 and the collapse of Ben Ali and the victory of Alnehzah in Tunisia,

Based on Skinnerian approach, the study of these three time periods shows that a serious transformation has happened during each time period in Ghanoushi's perspective and Alnehzah concerning the ideal government in Tunisia, which will be further studied in the following.

First period: The beginning of the Islamic movement in Tunisia

His ideal government for Tunisia in this period is democratic and based on Islam. Concerning the public freedom in the Islamic government, he criticizes the Western freedom from one side while from the other side points to different features of the truth that the Islamic government is "civic from any direction", because there is nothing in religious texts to prevent democratic mechanisms from being civic or to negate the civility of societies, (Publications center, 1388: 140). In the introduction of his book he says", "Public freedom was my great concern from the beginning of the Islamic movement in Tunisia. This Islamic movement has transformed since the time of inviting people to the Islamic principles, in opposition to the alien culture, to the stage of extensive balance in Tunisian society and Arabian society, since ten years ago, among which, freedom is the most important. It is because representation of a clear answer to existing challenges in a country like Tunisia that has had active participation in Occidentalism was an epistemological necessity for the Islamic movement (Alghanoushi, 1993: 17). Concerning democracy, Ghanoushi has a specific viewpoint saying that there is no difference or contrast between democracy and Islam. He suggests that democracy is originally an objective not a philosophy or ideology. If we consider "liberal democracy", it means that we are looking at democracy

from a specific viewpoint, and in that case, democracy changes to an ideology from an objective. Democracy itself is a natural and normal concept, and its quality and orientation depends on the way we define it. Thus, Ghanoushi makes it possible to create an Islamic democracy, and considers it as the best manner of governance and the greatest gift represented by the recent age in order to implement councils. (Alghanoushi, 1993: 17). Alghanoushi selects councils as the best way to enjoy the Islamic principles in relation to democracy. For him, the concept of council has an important position. He suggests that after the explicit texts in Islam, councils are the most important principle to establish the Islamic government that along with religion gives legitimacy to the Islamic government, (Alghanoushi, 1993: 108). He considers democracy as an inclusive teaching process, not as a philosophy and ideology. Thus, he introduces it as the best way to accomplish the concept of councils. Looking from this perspective, there is no difference between the Islamic government and today's democracy except in ethical dimension, (Alikhani, 1382: 71).

Second period: The victory of the Islamic revolution of Iran and the impression of Imam Khomeini's thoughts

Ghanoushi considers the impact of the Islamic revolution on the Islamic movement of Tunisia as familiarity with social and political dimensions of fighting against autocracy and colonialism. He suggests, "At that time, we wanted to upraise against the traditional Islamic thought which had come from the East and confined the conflict only in one dimension. We were ready to accept the existence of other dimensions of conflict other than ideological dimensions such as political and social. The revolution of Iran happened to represent the Islamic themes to us. We started the Islamization of some leftist social concepts with the help of those Islamic themes and we could represent an Islamic image of a social campaign. We saw a clergyman who could lead the revolution of indigents against a dictator regime which was the slave of imperialism. The most important gift of that revolution for us was the case of conflict of indigents against oppressors. In fact, it was

another translation of the fight between the poor and the rich as a class conflict, but this time in a more complete framework within an Islamic literature”, (Alghanoushi, 1389: 12). For Ghanoush, the most remarkable impact of Imam Khomeini’s thoughts in Tunisia that is based on the Koranic teachings.” Imam Khomeini’s revolution gave us a new lesson from God’s book which can be summarized in a verse of Ghesas sura of the holy Koran in which Allah says: We are determined to respect those who became indigent on the earth and assign them as leaders and heirs...”. “It seems that we were hearing that verse for the first time, and we found a framework for social struggles in it. That verse acted as a key, cure, and brightness, because it represented a deep Islamic insight to us about the case of social struggles. Islam emphasizes on the battle among indigents and oppressors, and supports indigents. In essence, Islam is a revolution in order to rescue all indigents across the world. Prophets were assigned only to help indigents against oppressors. We concluded that the Islamic thinkers had never seen that Koranic verse, and Imam Khomeini read it for the first time”, (Alghanoushi 1389: 14). Accordingly, Ghanoushi, being under the influence of Iran’s Islamic revolution and Imam Khomeini’s thoughts, represents an image of the ideal government with specific social plans and resists against internal and external oppressors and says, “...and in this way our interest in Iran’s revolution increased... Now the social dimensions were increasing. The government is standing in the queue of internal and external oppressors and we are standing against them. The government supports dictatorship, while we want democracy. Iran’s revolution arrived just at the right time in order to equip us with Islamic analytic instruments of fighting against oppression; this was what our traditional way of thinking was previously unable to do”, (Alghanoushi, 1389: 14).

Third period: The revolution of 2011

After the year 2011, Rashed Alghanoushi the leader of Alnezhah party chose a new path for his party regarding the internal evolutions in Tunisia. In the 10th convention of the Islamic movement of Alnezhah between 20 and 22

May 2016, he announced that his party has decided to cancel the phrase of “Political Islam” from its name. This decision was in fact the complementary of the positioning of the convention of that party in the spring of 2016, during which Rashed Alghanoushi clearly announced that his party is no more a propagandistic party, rather it will be active as a political party. This positioning contributed to diverse debates in media and thinking centers, and some, interpreted it as emergence of secularism in Alnezhah. But Alghanoushi announced that his party is not separating religion from politics. Alghanoushi and his intellectual companions believed that Tunisia and its vital interests are superior to the interests of Alnezhah, and this was superiority of national interests to the interests of the world and a consequence of a greater change in the thinking and functioning of Alnezhah, (Firahi, 1395: 46). Alghanoushi himself suggested about this change, “The change in Alnezhah is the result of 35 years of continuous self-evaluation and more than two years of deep introspection and discussion about the roots. In the convention of May, more than 80 percent of members voted to support this formal turning. We had already adjusted our values with democratic ideals and our main perspective has not changed. What has changed is the environment in which we are working. Tunisia is now the owner of democracy instead of autocracy. This means that Alnezhah can eventually be a political party concentrating on political plans and economic insight in a society which is fighting against suppression and dictatorship. In a condition that the entire Middle-East is involved in instability and violation - the condition that has frequently become complicated struggling for appropriate relation of politics with religion – Alnezhah- should witness that Islam is really compatible with democracy, the Islamic movements can play a key and positive role in strengthening democratic and successful transitions”, (Alghanoushi, 2016: 45). He, somehow, considers this evolution as separation of public arena from religion and in other words, separation of political realms from religion ones and suggests in this regard, “Our objective is the separation of political scopes from religion. We believe that a political party cannot and shouldn’t claim to be representative of religion

and the religious realm should be managed by independent and impartial institutes. In simple words, religion should remain neutral. We want mosques to be a place for gathering of people, and not a place to disperse them. Imams in mosques shouldn't have any positions in political parties. They should act as specialists in their own skill as religious leaders. Now, only seven percent of religious leaders in Tunisia have seen such trainings", (Alghanoushi, 2016: 45). Generally speaking, Ghanoushi is becoming a leader of modernist wing of Ekhvan who is determined to separate his viewpoint from the scope of monotheists of Ekhvan and is seeking for a civic government along with protecting religious values. In fact, Alnezhah is committed to some kind of epistemological minimalism according to which it has a pragmatic approach along with a minimal commitment toward Islamic values and principles. In this direction, it has revised its values, norms, and identity -making patterns and has defined new a identity and interests for itself such as announcement of separation from Ekhvan, and transition from a transnational party to a domestic party, (Ajili, 1395: 23). This means that with the passage of time and national and regional transitions in Tunisia, Alghanoushi's political thoughts have changed and his idea-based political thoughts and ideal government have moved from Islamic democracy toward the democracy of Moslems.

Conclusion

In this research the process of conceptual change in ideal government was studied in political thoughts of Alghanoushi as the leader of movement and party of Alnezhah within political and social evolutions in Tunisia during five recent decades employing Skinner's hermeneutic interntionalistic method. As mentioned before, the most salient political and social problems in Tunisia during that period of time were mainly autocracy, increase of poverty and class gap and anti - religion actions of demonstrations. All of those factors caused Ghanoushi and others in 60th and 70th decades to start

their Islamic movement in the country, and pursue an Islamic government. The findings of this paper about the extensive realm of political thoughts reveal that in Ghanoushi's viewpoint, Islam is an inclusive and complete religion having plans for all dimensions of life as well as establishing societies and governance of countries. Ghanoushi considers belief in monotheism, the resurrection day, mission of prophets, succession of human instead of Allah on the earth, *ejtehad* and councils and people's role in government as fundamental principles of Islam. He believes that an Islamic government gets its legitimacy from two sources, namely, religion and councils. He gives a high importance to the role played by people and their representatives as an important standard for legitimacy of any government. He suggests that after Allah, people have the superior right of governing in the society and no one is allowed to decide from their side. Also in this research using Skinnerian method it was shown that ideal governance has become conceptually transformed within three time periods according to Ghanoushi's political thoughts: First is the start of Islamic movements during 60th and 70th decades in Tunisia that Ghanoushi is seeking for some type of democracy based on Islamic principles. Second is the time that the Islamic revolution happened in Iran and Imam Khomeini's political thoughts deeply influenced Ghanoushi as the leader of *Alnehzah* movement. During that period of time, Ghanoushi became interested in Islam as a clear social plan for governance. And finally the third time period is related to events after 2011 in Tunisia during which, Ghanoushi's political thoughts transformed and in his viewpoint the Islamic democracy changed to democracy of Moslems and the future function of *Alnehzah* became the "democratic party of Moslems" instead of the "Islamic movement".

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