



مركز الجزيرة للدراسات
ALJAZEERA CENTRE FOR STUDIES

التحويلات في الحركات الإسلامية 24-25 سبتمبر / أيلول 2016

فندق روتانا سيتي سينتر
الدوحة , قطر

Transformations of Islamic Movements 24-25 September 2016

Rotana City Centre Hotel
Doha, Qatar



Concept Note

The increased presence of Islamist movements in the Arab political environment, whether as the opposition or within state institutions such as parliament, is a noticeable trend in recent decades. The Arab Spring revolutions uncovered a generally advanced state of these Islamist movements in Arab societies, one that became even clearer with elections in Tunisia, Egypt and Morocco, as well as with the varying balance of power in Syria, Libya, Yemen and Iraq's respective conflicts.

Challenges to the Arab Spring movements disrupted change and democratic transition, eventually returned old regimes to power (albeit in differing forms) and increased violence and conflict across several Arab spheres. These challenges also uncovered profound transformations within bodies and forces which ascribe to the Islamist trend. This extends from their intellectual framework and goals, to their structure and organization, all the way to their relationships with the state on the one hand, and other social and political forces on the other hand.

These transformations are not just a general, overarching trend for Islamist groups - they have occurred even within individual groups, such as disputes within Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood post-coup, and the Sudanese Islamist Movement's internal splits since coming to power in the late 1980s, which ended in the group choosing the path of national dialogue only two years ago. Tunisia's Ennahda Movement, which was elected to power in the post-revolution period, found itself in a coalition with its historic rival that had ruled the country since 1950s, and ultimately decided to dedicate its efforts to political work in order to strengthen its position in the state, leaving religious and preaching activities to civil society components.

Similarly, other components of the Islamist spectrum across the Arab world (Jordan, Yemen, Syria, Iraq, Palestine, Morocco, Algeria and Mauritania) have seen significant transformations on different levels. The Salafi trend is no exception. A number of Salafi groups have taken the path of calling for reforms and engaging in the political process, trying to influence their communities and states through political parties.

Then, there are Jihadist movements, which have taken on various forms ranging from those with transnational aspirations, such as al-Qaeda, the Islamist State (IS) organization and Boko Haram, to those which operate domestically in the form of armed opposition groups, like those operating in Syria. Hezbollah is yet another a model, one that is jointly a political party and resistance movement, as well as the sectarian arm of a foreign state with which it shares the same ideology and a military, political and sectarian agendas.



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In addition to the intellectual and political aspects, it is necessary to consider the social structure on which these Islamist forces rely and determine to what extent these structures are expanding or contracting. The Arab revolutions brought about major social mobility in most of the Arab countries, pushing wide sectors of the middle class and intelligentsia into the arena of political action and the struggle for change. There is no doubt that Islamist forces occupied a prominent position at the forefront of this social mobility, and here a serious question arises: To what extent have Islamist forces been able to maintain gains made during the Arab revolutions, particularly following the counter-revolutions which caused major impediments on the path to change and democracy?

And from this, another serious question arises: How responsible are Islamist groups for successes achieved by counter-revolutions as well as for the floundering of democratic transformations in other Arab countries?

Since it is clear that even the wave of counter-revolutions has mostly failed to provide successful alternatives that resulted in concrete socio-economic and political achievements, what remains unanswered is to what extent Islamist forces have been able to understand and learn from the successive transformations that have swept the Arab world in the past few years.

Al Jazeera Centre for Studies will be holding a conference about the **transformations of the Islamist movements** after the Arab revolutions to generate discussions around these questions, particularly focusing on intellectual, political and organizational transformations political Islam is experiencing. Conference participants will also explore the future of Islamist movements and the implications of their transformations in both the Arab and Islamist arenas, as well as implications of these transformations on Muslims' relations with others, particularly the West.

Program

Day One | Saturday, 24 September 2016

Time	Description
9:30 - 10:00	Opening Remarks: Salah Eddin Elzein, Director of Al Jazeera Centre for Studies
10:00 – 12:00	<p>Session I Diverse Contexts and Choices of Islamic Movements</p> <p>Groups and forces that rely on an Islamic framework in political discourse are usually all lumped together under the same umbrella, despite the fact that each actually has its own unique political, historical, social and cultural contexts. This diversity is observed clearly in the different approaches and objectives of the Islamic movements and in the way they deal with their respective realities. In this session, the following questions will be addressed: What are the contexts that must be taken into account when examining the diversity of visions and agendas of Islamic movements? Can it be said there are actually several [types of] Islamic movements rather than one single movement? How can the individual and common aspects of the visions and agendas of Islamic forces be perceived?</p> <p>Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Abdelali Hamidine • Ghazi Salahuddin Atabani • Mohamed Jemil Manssour • Nazzar Kaawan • Khalid Al-Dakhil
12:00 - 12:30	Break
12:30 - 14:30	<p>Session II Intellectual and Organisational Transformations of the Islamic Movement Post Arab Revolutions</p> <p>The transformations caused by the Arab revolutionary movement have prompted the need to reconsider the perceptions, behaviours and structures of all actors in the Arab arena, including Islamic forces. In turn, this has resulted in the emergence of new insights and interpretations, especially within the circles of Islamic forces. In this second session, these questions will be addressed: What are the most prominent transformations of the Arab revolutionary movement? How convincing is the response of Islamic forces to such transformations? Is there still a need for political Islamic forces? Have Islamic forces responded adequately to the counter-revolutionary</p>



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Time	Description
	<p>wave?</p> <p>Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rhel Gharaibeh • Azzam Ayoubi • Hasan Abu Hanieh • Sami Brahem
14:30 – 16:00	Lunch
16:00 – 18:00	<p>Session III</p> <p>Developments in Political Attitudes and Orientations</p> <p>There are pressing and substantial developments in politics in the Arab region, stimulated by either the revolutionary and counter-revolutionary waves, or by other political movements and forces. These developments include the increasing sectarian divide and the growing uncertainty about the future of the national state, factors bringing the Arab system close to the brink of collapse. Other factors include a renewed controversy over the Islamic Caliphate as well as the post-World War I regional system, and ongoing tension between the west and the Muslim world. Session 3 will address these questions: To what extent did Islamic political forces interact with these developments? And how far did these developments uncover the divergence of interests between various Islamic forces?</p> <p>Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rafik Abdessalem • Abdal Rahman Jmean • Amel Boubekeur • Saoud El-Mawla • Azzam Tamimi
19:30 – 20:30	<p>The Palestinian Resistance and the Transformations of the Arab Spring</p> <p>Keynote Speech: Khalid Meshaal</p> <p>Commentary: Fatima Alsmadi and Ahmed Al Sheikh</p>
20:30 – 21:30	Dinner



Day Two | Sunday, 25 September 2016

Time	Description
9:00 - 10:00	Keynote Speech: Abdel Monem Abouel Fetoh
10:00 – 12:00	<p>Session IV Lessons from Islamist Rule</p> <p>Political Islamic trends have had the opportunity to rule, alone and with other groups, in a number of countries over the past few decades. Islamic experiences in power have been generally classified as successful, failed or controversial. Session four will address the lessons learned from the Islamist experience of rule and to what extent these lessons can be generalised.</p> <p>Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mohammad Al-Yadomi • Abderrazak Makri • El-Mahboub Abdelsalam • Hamza Al-Mustafa
12:00 – 12:30	Break
12:30 – 14:30	<p>Session V Islamic Movements' Future Prospects</p> <p>The response of Islamic forces to the wave of counter-revolutions, as well as to the major issues triggered in the region over the past few years, once again sparked controversy over the future of the political Islam movement. In this session, these questions will be addressed: Will they be a main political force in Muslim societies or just a component of the political thought? What are the potential prospects for Islamic forces? How can the indicators of such prospects be identified?</p> <p>Participants:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ali Yousef Sanad • Galip Dalay • Khalil Al-Anani • Tarek El-Zomor • Hassan bin Hassan
14:30 – 16:00	Lunch
16:00 – 18:00	<p>Concluding Session Open dialogue among participants and closing remarks</p>

Speakers

Abdal Rahman Jmean



Secretary-General of the Forum for Muslim Intellectuals, journalist and writer in Kuwait's An-Nahar newspaper. He graduated from the Teachers Institute in Kuwait and later from the United States majoring in mathematics. He worked in the Ministry of Education for 35 years, moving between several positions in the field of education. He contributed to Islamic thought and political affairs. He published research papers, including: Arab Nationalism: the History and Criticism, the Muslim Brotherhood History and Methodology: A Critical View.

Abdel Monem Abouel Fetoh



Was one of the candidates during Egypt's 2012 presidential elections and is now the head of the Strong Egypt Party. He earned his medical and law degrees from Cairo University, as well as a Master in Hospital Administration from Helwan University. He has served as secretary general of several institutions and unions, and as a member of various regional and international organizations, including the Arab National Congress, the Islamic National Congress, and the Board of Trustees of the Jerusalem Foundation. Aboul Fotouh was a member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Guidance Bureau from 1987 to 2009.

Abdelali Hamidine



Is a professor of political science and constitutional law at the Mohammed V University in Rabat, a member of the Moroccan Parliament and the Chairman of the Committee on Education and Cultural and Social Affairs. He has been a member of the General Secretariat of Morocco's Justice and Development Party (PJD) since 2008, and acted as the general rapporteur for the Commission on National Dialogue on Civil Society from March 2013 to May 2014. He served as a member of the committee on reviewing press law in 2012 and has been Chairman of the Karama Human Rights Forum since April 2012, as well as the Secretary General of the Moroccan Association of Constitutional Law. Hamiddine is the author of several books, including 'Islam and the Formation of the Modern Arab State in Morocco'.

Abderrazak Makri



President of the Movement of Society for Peace in Algeria and a founding member of the Forum of International Justice and Democracy of moderate Islamic parties in Switzerland. He is the director of 'Al-Baseera' Centre for Research, Consulting and Educational Services and the secretary-general of the Kuala Lumpur Forum headed by former Prime Minister of Malaysia, Mahathir Mohamad. He was vice-president of the National People's Assembly and served two terms as Member of Parliament. He authored several books, including: 'The Civil State: An Islamic View'; 'Towards a Better Relationship between Dawah and Politics'.



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Ahmed Al-Sheikh



Adviser to the Chairman of the Board of Al Jazeera Media Network. He holds a Bachelor degree in English language and literature from the University of Jordan. He worked as English teacher in Jordan and Kuwait, and then worked on a full-time basis in the press in Kuwait. He worked at the BBC in Britain, then at Al Jazeera satellite channel in Qatar where he served in various positions, most notably: Editor-in-Chief of Aljazeera.net in 2000, Editor-in-Chief of Al Jazeera Arabic from 2004 to 2010.

Ali Yousef Sanad



Columnist in the Kuwaiti Al-Qabas newspaper and assistant professor of Islamic studies at the Basic Education College. He holds a Master's degree and Doctorate from the faculty of Dar Al Uloom, Cairo University. His doctoral dissertation was a comparative study between the Mu'tazila's approach and the methodology of Ibn Taymiyyah with regard to enjoining the good and prohibiting evil. He appears regularly in many Arab satellite channels.

Amel Boubekeur



Is a researcher at Pierre Mendès-France University. She was a visiting fellow at the Brookings Doha Center, a non-resident fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP-Berlin), a resident scholar at the Carnegie Middle East Center in Beirut, and the head of the Islam and Europe Programme at the Centre for European Policy Studies in Brussels. Her research focuses on the politics of the Maghreb, democratisation in the Arab world, Euro-Arab/US-Arab relations, and Islam in Europe. She is the author of Whatever Happened to the Islamists?; European Islam: The Challenges for Society and Public Policy.

Azzam Ayoubi



Has been secretary general of the Islamic Group in Lebanon since early 2016. He earned a degree in Islamic Studies from the University of Tripoli in 1992, a Master of Theology from the Quranic Interpretation department at Omdurman University in 1995 and a Master in Christian-Muslim relations from the University of Balamand in 1999. Al-Ayoubi holds multiple memberships in local and international organizations and coalitions concerned with youth, social and political issues. He was head of the political bureau of Lebanon's Islamic Group until 2010, when he was elected secretary general of the group.



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Azzam Tamimi



Is the Chairman and Editor-in-Chief of Alhiwar TV Channel. He received his PhD in political philosophy from the University of Westminster in 1998. He served as director of the Institute of Islamic Political Thought in London until 2008, and lecturer at The Markfield Institute of Higher Education, UK, from September 2000 until the end of March 2004. He joined the University of Kyoto in Japan as a visiting professor, and later moved to Japan's University of Nagoya. Tamimi has published several works in English on Islamic political thought and Islamic movements, including 'Rachid Ghannouchi: A Democrat Within Islamism' (2001).

El-Mahboub Abdelsalam



Is the director of Alef Ba Center for Studies. He graduated from Cairo University in Khartoum with a liberal arts degree. He then went on to earn his degree in political science from the University of Cardiff (UK) in 1983, and a degree in advanced studies in sociology from the University of Paris III in 1989. Mr. al-Mahboub served as Foreign Media Manager in Sudan's Ministry of Information and Culture from 1990-1992, Secretary General of the Intellectual Works Authority from 1996-2000, and as a lecturer in European and American universities from 2009 through 2013. His writings include 'Reflections on the First Decade of the Rule of Rescue'.

Fatima Alsmadi



Is a specialist in Iranian affairs. She is a senior researcher at Al Jazeera Centre for Studies. She holds a PhD. from Iran. Her areas of expertise include: Iranian affairs, social movements and political parties. Her publications include: "The Role of Women in Islamic Political Parties: A Comparative Study of the Islamic Action Front in Jordan and Hizbollah of Lebanon"; "Iran - US Rapprochement and Iran's Future Role (Editor), (2014); Political Trends in Iran (2012).

Galip Dalay



Is the research director at Al Sharq Forum and senior associate fellow on Turkey and Kurdish Affairs at Al Jazeera Center for Studies. He previously worked as a visiting fellow at the German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) in Berlin and as a political researcher at SETA Foundation in Ankara. He is a regular writer for German Marshall Fund of the United States' Turkey policy brief papers and book-review editor of the quarterly magazine Insight Turkey. In addition, He is columnist for Middle East Eye and blogger for Huffington Post. He also hosts a weekly foreign policy TV show on Turkish TV channel, TVNet. .



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Ghazi Salahuddin Atabani



Is the chairman of Sudan's opposition Reform Now Movement (RNM). He held several positions from 1991 to 2012, including Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and adviser to the President. He was elected secretary general of the ruling National Congress Party (NCP) and resigned from the NCP and the National Council in 2013 to found the RNM. Al-Atabani earned his PhD in clinical chemistry from the University of Surrey, UK, in 1985, and a Bachelor of Medicine and Surgery from the University of Khartoum's School of Medicine in 1978. He has published in both Arabic and English on politics and political thought in the region.

Hamza Al-Mustafa



Is a resident researcher at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies and secretary of the journal Siyasat Arabia. His research interests focuses on international and regional affairs in general and the Syrian situation in particular. He has published many peer-reviewed research papers and a book titled "The Virtual Public Sphere in the Syrian Revolution: Features, Orientations, and Mechanisms to Create Public Opinion." He contributed to other books, including: "The Kurdish issue in Syria: Present, History, and Legend" and to "Backgrounds to Revolution: Syria Studies".

Hasan Abu Hanieh



Is a researcher and expert on Islamic movements who has worked with a number of local, regional and international research institutions. He writes for several local and Arab papers, including Al Rai, Al Hayat and Arabi21. His publications include 'The Jihadi Salafist Movement in Jordan after Zarqawi: Identity, Leadership Crisis and Obscured Vision' (co-author), and 'The "Islamic State" Organization: The Sunni Crisis and the Struggle of Global Jihadism' (co-author). He will soon release two additional books, 'The Arab Jihad and Integration of Dimensions between the Islamic State and Al-Qaeda', and 'Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan: Religious and Political Crisis in a Quasi-Democratic Context'.

Hassan bin Hassan



Is a researcher specialised in philosophy and humanities, and a former member of the Shura Council of Ennahda party in Tunisia. He published philosophical articles in specialised magazines, a book on the interpretive theory of Paul Ricoeur. He lectured at multiple platforms on issues of historical consciousness, philosophy of religion and modernity, Western philosophical thought, the Arab Spring and freedom. Some of these lectures are available on social media networks. He is currently adviser at the Qatar University Office of Scientific Research.



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Khalid Al-Dakhil



Is a columnist for Al Hayat newspaper, an academic and a member of the editorial board of the Journal of Palestinian Studies. He received PhD from the University of California at Los Angeles (UCLA) and was an Associate Professor of Political Sociology at King Saud University. He was also a visiting scholar at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. He regularly contributes to several publications. He has co-authored several books in Arabic and English, including 'Wahhabism between Polytheism and Tribal Splintering'.

Khalid Meshaal



Founding member of the Islamic Resistance Movement (Hamas), and head of its political bureau since 1996. He emigrated with his family from Palestine in 1967 to Kuwait and left for Jordan after the outbreak of the Gulf crisis in 1990. In Amman he experienced a failed assassination attempt in September 1997, but remained there until his deportation along with others to Qatar in November 1999, where he stayed until the beginning of 2001. He then he moved to Syria and resided there for nearly 11 years and then left at the beginning of 2012 to Doha, where he lives until now.

Khalil Al-Anani



Is an associate professor at the Doha Institute for Graduate Studies. He received his PhD in Political Science from Durham University in the UK. He previously taught at many universities, including Georgetown, Johns Hopkins, George Washington and George Mason. He served as senior fellow at the Middle East Institute in Washington, scholar at the School of International Affairs at Durham University in the UK and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C. His research focuses on Middle East politics, Islamic movements, US foreign policy and democratic transition in the Arab world. He has authored and edited several studies, including 'Inside the Muslim Brotherhood: Religion, Identity and Politics'.

Mohamed Jemil Manssour



President of the National Rally for Reform and Development (Tawasul), and former deputy in the Mauritanian Parliament. In 2001 he was elected as mayor of the largest municipalities in Nouakchott. In the early nineties, he co-founded what was known as the Islamic Front. He was imprisoned several times because of his political activities, and lived in exile in Belgium between 2003 and 2004. He holds a Diploma of advanced Studies from the Sidi Mohamed Ben Abdallah University in Fez. His research interests include Islamic political jurisprudence, Islamic political thought and the Islamic movement.



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Mohammad Al-Yadomi



Is the presidential advisor and head of the Yemeni Congregation for Reform party (al-Islah). He graduated from Egypt's Police Academy in 1973 and served as an officer with both the general and political security forces. He rose through the military ranks until he retired at the rank of Brigadier General. In 1985, he founded Al Sahwa Newspaper and acted as its editor-in-chief until 1994. He was elected deputy secretary general of al-Islah in 1990, and secretary general in 1994.

Nazzar Kaawan



Is a member of the Supreme Council of State in Libya, and head of the Political Department of the Justice and Construction Party. He holds a Master in Political Science with a concentration on civil society and political participation in Libya. He has had several responsibilities, including Chairman of the Justice and Construction bloc in the General National Congress (GNC) from 2012 until 2014, and Chairman of the GNC's Foreign Affairs Committee from 2012 until 2014. He is also a founding member of and spokesperson for the 17 February 2011 Revolution Coalition

Rafik Abdessalem



Is the director of the Centre for Strategic and Diplomacy Studies and former Minister of Foreign Affairs of Tunisia. He is in charge of Ennahda's foreign relations. He holds a PhD in politics and international relations from the University of Westminster. He worked as a researcher at Westminster University and a visiting scholar at the Oxford Centre for Islamic Studies. He was senior researcher and head of research at the Aljazeera Centre for Studies. He is a member of several research bodies, such as 'Neon Process' that includes a number of international political figures. He authored several books, including "Religion, Secularism and Democracy" and "the United States between Hard Power and Soft Power".

Rhiel Gharaibeh



General Coordinator of the Jordanian Initiative for building "Zamzam", and the Head of the Jordanian Society for Democratic Empowerment. He holds a PhD in Islamic law from the University of Jordan. He taught in several Jordanian universities, including: Balqa Applied University, Irbid Local University, Al-Bayt University, Zarqa Local University, the University of Islamic Sciences, and the University of Jordan. He held various responsibilities in the Muslim Brotherhood, including: member of the shura council, member of the executive bureau, and head of the political bureau.



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Sami Brahem



Is a research professor at the Social and Economic Research and Studies Center in Tunisia. He holds a Master in Arab Civilization, with a focus on the Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence. He was a professor of Language, Literature and Arab Civilization at the Preparatory Institute of Literary Studies and Social Science from 2007 until 2011. He then served as director of the Cultural Center of Enlightenment in Al Marsa, Tunisia, and researcher with the geopolitical department of the Tunisian Institute for Strategic Studies (ITES) from 2012 until 2014. He also served as advisor on the UNESCWA-sponsored Arab Integration Report published in 2014. His published research focuses on the phenomena of Jihadist Salafism and Terrorism. His books include 'Religion and Politics between Incoherence of Secularists and Failures of Islamists'.

Saoud El-Mawla



Has been Director of the Book Translation Unit at the Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies since August 2013. He earned a PhD in Islamic Civilization and Islamic Studies from the University of Sorbonne (France) in 1984, and holds degrees in philosophy, psychology and social and political history. He has taught at a number of universities, including the Lebanese University from 1986 until 2014. Dr. El Mawla holds multiple memberships with a variety of institutions and intellectual and scientific associations. His writings include 'Islamic Groups and Violence: A Historical-Sociological Encyclopaedia' (2011) and 'Salafism and the New Salafis from Afghanistan to Lebanon' (2016).

Tarek El-Zomor



Is the secretary general of Egypt's Building and Development Party (BDP). He holds a PhD in political systems from Cairo University, along with several post-graduate diplomas in various disciplines, including common law, Islamic law, international relations and international law. Arrested at the beginning of ousted president Hosni Mubarak's rule and imprisoned for 30 years, Al-Zumar was released from prison after the 25 January revolution. He has authored a number of books, including 'Revisions Not Retractions', 'The Political Project of Abbud Al-Zumar and Tariq Al-Zumar', and 'The West's Perception of Islam and Its Stance towards the Islamic Region'.