RELIGION, RECOGNITION, AND ANCESTRIES OF ISLAMIST POLITICAL THOUGHT; TRACING THE ENTSTEHUNG GENEALOGY OF HEZBOLLAH AND HAMAS

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ABSTRACT

Foucault's genealogy is critical in understanding the contingent features of history. Considering the Entstehung genealogy, this article aims at examining the emergence of Hezbollah and Hamas, with a focus on their political recognition and religious foundations. Utilizing a comparative historical analysis, the study explores how their emergence have been shaped by historical forces including resistance discourse, colonialism, and Islamist political thought. The article is a descriptive analysis revealing that both the groups share Islamist roots yet Islamist political thought itself is influenced by socio-political contexts of time. Also, the analysis contributes to a deeper understanding of how religious ideologies, over time have influenced recognition and political legitimacy in volatile regions.

Keywords: *Genealogy, Contingency, Entstehung, Hurkunft, Ursprung, Deconstruction, Recognizability.*

Introduction

According to Birnboum, (2015), secularism as a "power/knowledge regime" or as an epistemic category, have been analysed as modern state's tools of power as a Eurocentric framework of thought with powerful workings in the reproduction of an Islamic 'other' and in the post-colonial world. Post secular accounts, while building upon this critical work, emerged as articulating alternatives beyond contemporary secular frameworks (Ibid, 2019). These have traced the "resilience" or "return" of religion in modern life and have argued for new models of politics, which would be capable of including the growing number of

religious ideas, communities and arguments in the public realm. Post Secular scholars, while, list different reasons for the exclusion of religion, they continue to agree about the problematic nature of religion and argue for religion's recognizability in international relations. They have not simply argued about the importance of a concept in international relations theory, but that religion as communities (Scott Thomas), ideas (Daniel Philpott), or epistemic treasure-chest (Mariano Barbato/ Habermas) represents a fundamental part of the international relations' fabric itself (Ibid, 2019)

In IR discourse, the recognition of Islam is crucial for analysing the rise of political Islam and how Islamist political thought paved the way for it to have a deeper understanding of how religious ideology, identity and transnational networks shape global politics. To analyse political Islam as a political force, it demonstrates how religion can challenge existing power structures, mobilize populations, and influence state policies. Recognizing Religion in IR and analysing the genealogical roots of their evolution, allows for a more comprehensive analysis of movements such as Salafism, Muslim Brotherhood, Hezbollah.

The paper analyses the emergence of Hezbollah and Hamas in the light of Foucault's genealogy to examine how their ideological, political and militant trajectories have been shaped by broader historical forces, including Islamist political thought, colonialism, and resistance. Genealogy exposes the discontinuous and contingent ways, instead of looking for a linear development, in which particular phenomena emerges. Islamist political thought in its modern form, particularly, is deeply embedded in anti-imperialist movements, post-colonial resistance, and the reassertion of Islamic governance as a substitute to Western secular models of governance. Key figures like Ruhollah Khomeini, Sayyid Qutb provided ideological frameworks that informed groups like Hezbollah and Hamas, emphasizing the role of Islam in resistance, social justice, and political sovereignty. The paper further explores their inspirations from historical contexts and practices in post-Prophet era, the divisions in Muslim ummah and the contemporary religious thoughts of Jamaluddin Afghani, Sheik Abdah, Maulana Maudoodi, Hassan al Banna, and Abdullah Yusuf Azzam followed by the anti-imperial resistant discourses, featuring Islam as the best system of governance.

Understanding the concept of Entstehung- Foucault's Genealogy

The genealogical history of Foucault seeks to deconstruct what was formerly regarded as unified (i.e., history as a chronological pattern of events originating from a puzzled but all-determining point of departure), while also trying to identify an underlying continuity which is the product of "discontinuous systematicities" (Foucault, 1981). Additionally, Foucault (1981) highlighted that the Foucauldian genealogy is a history of outlining "origins" and, as such, it questions the deeper meanings of the idea of origins. It underneath the force relations operating in particular historical developments or events. Foucault calls his genealogy an "effective history".

Foucauldian genealogy exposes the assumption underlying conventional historiography that "facts" are there, to be interpreted; rather, facts, themselves, are constructed out of the "will of truth" of researcher (Foucault, 1998). Moreover, Foucauldian genealogy shows how, in discourses, 'subjects' are constituted (Foucault. Punir. et, 1975). For Foucault's genealogy challenges the belief in the existence of unchanging truths and essences. Foucault, in his early work, had pre-supposed an essence of madness, namely an original truth. Yet, Foucault, in his genealogical writings, engaged in a deconstructive exercise (Sembou). He was more conscious of genealogy as a method and hence set forth its objectives. In examining the genealogy of Nietzsche, he noted that Nietzsche used "Entstehung", Herkunft", and "Ursprung" interchangeably. Foucault argues that the problem of "Ursprung" is that it is a term that refers to "something already there"- viz. a deeper reality- before the search commenced (Ibid).

For Foucault, in other words, the idea of "origin" is just a metaphysical truth that has, for two thousand years, dominated European thought. According to him, the task of genealogy is better characterized by "Entstehung" and "Herkunft". Herkunft is equivalent to descent or stock; it is the ancient affiliation to a group, sustained by the bonds of social class, tradition or blood. The analysis of Herkunft frequently involves a consideration of social type or race. In his book, "Nietzsche, Genealogy, History, Foucault discussed: "But the qualities it identifies are not the exclusive generic characteristics of an idea, an individual, or a sentiment, which permit us to qualify them as "English" or "Greek"; rather, it seeks the singular, subtle, sub individual marks that, perhaps, intersect in them to form a network, which is hard to unravel.

On the other hand, "Entstehung" represents emergence, that is, "the moment of arising". So, it is different from "origin", that usually has a metaphysical connotation, as it indicates an as yet unidentified purpose that seeks its understanding the moment it arises. Though, genealogy does not search for uncovering substantial entities; rather, it studies the emergence of battle which clears and defines a space (Ibid) Instead of deeper meanings or origins, Foucault, finds power relations operating in specific events and historical developments (D, Faubion. R, 2002). There is an imperative difference between Foucault and Nietzsche here, however, whereas Nietzsche political and social institutions as well as morality in the group of actors or individual's tactics ('will of power"), Foucault sees political and social practices as the consequence of strategies without strategists: "no one can glory in an emergence; no one is responsible for it, since it always happens in 'interstice" (Foucault, 1977) The use of "interstice" must be emphasized; the play of forces is conditioned at a particular historical context- to some extent- by the space that explains them (Sembou).

Genealogy quests "for discursive production's instances, (which to be sure, also administer silences), of the power's production (which have, sometimes, the function of prohibiting), of the knowledge's propagation (which often causes systematic misconceptions or mistaken beliefs to circulate)". Genealogy writes "these instances' history and their transformations". In his book "History of Sexuality" Foucault stated that genealogy shows that it's the specific configuration of power that interpretations are dependent upon. And the more an interpretation is uncovered by a genealogist-interpreter, the more he/she finds only another interpretation and not a fixed meaning. In this way all interpretations' arbitrariness is revealed. Since there is no "original" truth/essence, there is nothing to interpret; and then everything is open to interpretation if there is nothing to interpret. This is the understanding/insight we gain through practicing genealogy.

Employing Foucault's concept of Entstehung to the rise of Hamas and Hezbollah requires tracing how Islamist political thought emerged through local resistances, historical struggles, and geopolitical conditions, rather than being a monolithic ideological structure. These Islamist movements did not emerge from an unbroken, singular lineage of Islamic theology or jurisprudence but rather from the interplay of modern state repression, colonial

legacies, and ideological contestation. The Entstehung (emergence) of their thought structures must be seen with regard to political conditions of the late 20th century.

As far as power struggles and local contests are concerned, Hezbollah's Islamist ideology was shaped by the violent political struggle within the multi-confessional political system of Lebanon and not only by Shi'a political theology. Hamas' thought emerged through the pressures of Israeli policies that paradoxically influenced its radicalization, and competition with secular Palestinian movements (like PLO). Within the contextual conditions of emergence, Hamas emerged during the First Intifada in 1987, drawing from the ideology of Muslim Brotherhood but transforming it, in the context of Israeli occupation, into a militant resistance movement. Hezbollah arose in 1982 in response to the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, drawing on the discourse of Iranian revolution and the Shi'a clerical tradition but also adapting to the Lebanese resistance and sectarian landscape.

Foucault's genealogy also suggests their subjectivities, the ideologies of these groups were not static but altered over time via discourse shifts-alliances with non-state and state actors, internal ideological reconfigurations, and responses to international sanctions. For instance, In Gaza, Hamas' governance forced adaptations in its Islamist doctrine, while Hezbollah' role, in Lebanon, expanded from a resistance group to a political entity.

Historical Contexts and Origins of Political Islam

Butterworth, E, (1992) discussed the political history of Islam taking it back to Prophet Mohammed who spread the message of Islam far and wide. After the death of Prophet Muhammad, Islam had already spread political dominion throughout Arabia, taking advantage of the strategic place of the Arabian Peninsula, which offered an opportunity for internationalization of the religion through trade and military conquests. This set the stage for a much more political, rather than spiritual, expansion of Islam—one in which the geographic reach of the religion's expansion increased because of the policies of ruling dynasties rather than because the religion itself had some sort of power to sustain itself indefinitely. The death of the fourth caliph, Ali, in 661 would lead to a dispute over who would be the heir to leadership and dramatically express the inextricable involvement of religion in the governing of their lives (Martin, C, 2004). This would lay the foundation for the sect that would come with each of their understandings of the leadership of Islam. This dispute gave rise to the main political

Caliphates of the Umayyads and Abbasids, even if the Caliphate title itself would later be disputed and effectively put to an end by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk in 1924, a marked happening associated with secularism, which signifies one of the vital events in the separate identity of religion from politics (Saikal, Amin, 2003). Though characterized with a whole history, the character of civil war and factional strife, which have set in a string, question the unity of Muslims and light up the delicate equilibrium between religious teachings and political leadership.

The governance model of early Islam in Medina, established by Prophet Mohammed, had religious leadership elements but it was, significantly, a politico-administrative model ruling the daily Muslim community life. This system is known as the Medina Charter, considered one of the oldest, if not the very first, written constitutions in the world, encompassing elements of legal and administrative control, in addition to moral and spiritual guidance (Rahman, Hafijur, 2020). The role of a Prophet transcended above and beyond just being a spiritual guide; he was also the head of state and supreme commander, integrating religious and temporal aspects of life within a single Islamic governance system.

Succession emerged as one of the toughest problems for Islamic governance. The first problem concerning who would lead the Ummah emerged once Prophet Mohammed had passed. The process was steeped with tribal Arab traditions, where the Shura was to be held with the elders of the community and notable men to have a meeting that would decide who would be their leader (Khel, Kaka, (1985). The first Caliph was appointed to succeed the Prophet. He had an advisor who was his very close associate. That marked the commencement of the Rashidun (rightly guided) Caliphate (Black, Antony, 2011). This age was full of meaning; it made the building block of political governance in Islam and saw the rise of powerful personalities who could mould the politics of Islam ahead. This early decision, accepted by the larger part of them, laid the conflict lines among the Muslims, on which later, deeper, more pronounced sectarian splits would be grounded.

The leadership tussle that was to arise after the death of Prophet Mohammad was not at all a matter of who was to rise to take over the mantle, but again, an issue in the kind of leadership and governance in Islam. They would justify: The type of governance is to be based on the Saqifah model, where the leader of a community is elected from its members on the basis of virtues and merit (Khatri, H. 1980). This model is concerned with the practical

perspective of leadership that pays attention to stability and unity in the Muslim community. Afsaruddin, Asma. (2018) discussed that the Shia party (Shi'at Ali or the party of Ali), on the other hand, held that the leadership rested in the family of the prophet, particularly through his cousin and son-in-law Ali and his descendants from his marriage with Fatima, the daughter of the prophet. This perspective was rooted in the viewpoint that Ali had been appointed by the Prophet in Ghadir Khumm, and leadership should pass on by divine appointment. This divine appointment was known as Nass, which should underline a hereditary principle to make sure spiritual and temporal authority remain aligned with prophetic guidance (Walker, E. 2013).

Ruthven, Malaise. (2006) describes that Initially, Abu Bakr was chosen as the successor, through the Saqifah model. However, a minority, later known as Shi'is, believed Mohammed had preferred his cousin and son-in-law, Ali, to succeed him, advocating for leadership based on familial lineage (Martin, C. 2004). Following Abu Bakr, the caliphate passed to Umar and then to Uthman, whose policies led to dissent and eventually their assassination. This paved the way for Ali to become caliph, but his leadership was contested, leading to several armed conflicts known as fitnas. The first fitna ended with Ali's assassination by the Kharijites, a group dissatisfied with the arbitration that ended a dispute between Ali and his rival, Mu'awiya. This dispute ushered in the Umayyad dynasty. Ali's son, al-Husayn, later challenged the Umayyad's legitimacy, which led to his martyrdom and further solidified the Shi'i belief in genealogical succession. This conflict continued through the Umayyad period until the Abbasid dynasty took over, not directly from Ali's lineage but still related to Mohammed.

The Kharijites leadership was based on piety alone, independently of lineage. One of their teachings said that the Imam could be any person, no matter to which ethnic or tribal group he belonged, so long as he displayed true religious zeal and was a staunch follower of the teachings of Islam. Their doctrine famously even preached that leadership could take a turn to be an Abyssinian slave if he proved most pious. This radical egalitarian view of leadership only further inflamed what was already a supercharged atmosphere of politics, leading to several violent confrontations that would eventually leave a lasting mark on Islamic political thought.

These early conflicts, known collectively as the three fitnas, deeply influenced Islamic history, highlighting the intertwined nature of religion and politics and setting precedents for leadership and

governance within the Islamic community. The expansion of Islam was significantly shaped by these military and political actions rather than purely religious missionary work, leading to the rise of major Islamic caliphates and eventually influencing global Islamic practices and governance structures.

The Concept of the Caliphate and Its Political Implications over Time

Kersten, Carool (2019) stated that; the concept of Caliphate and the role of the Caliph have significantly transformed through time, remarkably reflecting the character of the social and political life of the Islamic world. From the beginning, the Caliphate had united the spiritual and the temporal power of the Muslim community in himself and had united the two roles just as the Prophet Mohammed had. As Islam expanded from its Arabian roots, the Caliphate acted as a uniting force with which central authority was granted across varied regions and cultures under one common Islamic identity. However, with the growth of the empire, ranging to the different political problems of external invaders and internal wars, the role of the Caliphate would have really transformed. The roles of the Caliphate were hence so many and they included reacting to such things. The Mongol invasions and the rise of regional powers reconfigured power settings in the Islamic world. However, the Caliph stayed just a symbol of religious and cultural unity, and very often the political power transited to the hands of sultans and local rulers, who enjoyed more independence and sovereignty on their territories. This gradual decentralization of the power was what was responsible for a weakened position of the central Caliphate with its authority and diffusion of political power throughout the Islamic world.

The rise of powerful dynasties such as the Umayyads and Abbasids contributed much to transforming the Caliphate from a political institution into a mere symbolic figurehead. The Caliph exercised some religious authority, however, more and more political power rested with the ruling dynasties who established their own administrative and legal systems. This shift highlighted a growing divorce between political authority and religious leadership, since the Caliph became more of a ceremonial and symbolic role than it had been (Martin, C. 2004). Its abolition in 1924 by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk essentially shattered—or, in some ways, deviated from—centuries-long Islamic political tradition. More broadly, Ataturk's decision spoke to a deeper move towards secularism and modernization in Turkey, which cut at the

conventional Muslim connection between faith and governance. Rahman (2015) states that this signalled an utterly sensational departure from the historical trajectory of the Caliphate and moved political identity and models of governance in modern Muslim majority countries to an entirely new far-reaching outcome.

However, following the abolition of the Caliphate, its legacy continued in contemporary debates on Islamic governance. The Caliphate is considered one of those powerful symbols that represent unity and authority to the collective imaginations of many Muslims. The above historical undercurrents of the Caliphate serve as a reference point to understand the intricate connection between religion and politics in Islamic tradition, bearing on how the believers are to envision and translate Islamic governance within their most diverse jurisdictions. The impact of these two global forces—the inspiration from the legacy of the Caliphate in their approach to the role Islam should play in shaping political identity and government structures—persists through to the present day in majority Muslim countries.

Key Figures in Islamist Political Thought

Jamaluddin Afghani

Jamaluddin Afghani is one of the most significant Islamic intellectuals and political activists of the 19th century, considered an initiator of the genesis of political Islam. He was born in 1838 in today's Afghanistan and, during his life, visited many countries with Muslim populations, where he sought to call for Islamic unity and the resistance to Western colonialism. In his early years, he embraced a variety of traditions from India, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia, which caused wide exposure to many philosophical, theological, and political currents. He grew up in the pursuit of knowledge and in connection with the representatives of various Muslim religious and intellectual traditions. His education spanned between India, the Ottoman Empire, and Persia, thus creating a wide and diverse intellectual formation. A large part of his life took place amidst this mixed set of currents, at the crossroads of which he was able to draw a unique perspective regarding the fusion of traditional Islamic imperatives and contemporary political ideas. He thought that the main reason for the decline in Muslim societies was their departure from genuine Islamic principles and at the same time their failure to adopt modern scientific and technical advances (Adam, Idris. 2017).

Central to Afghani's vision was the idea of pan-Islamism, a political movement in the interests of the unity of all Muslims

under one caliphate or state. He stated that Muslims could withstand Western imperialism and regain past glory only if they acted in solidarity and were collectively united. His was a call that had no ethnic or sectarian divisions, calling for unity. His attempts to propagate pan-Islamism manifested in the form of establishing and participating in various intellectual societies, articles published, and political activism in countries such as Egypt, Turkey, and Iran. Perhaps the second most important tenet of Afghani's political Islam was the call for internal reform within Muslim societies. He criticized the conservative ulama and the ruling elite for their complacency and corruption. Afghani called for a reinterpretation of Islamic texts in light of contemporary realities; this process is traditionally called ijtihad (Uddin, Akram, Yusof. 2022).

He suggested that only a living interpretation of Islam could serve the purposes of social and political revitalization. This reformist approach aimed to find a balance between Islamic values and modern concepts of governance, education, and social justice. His effects on the formation of political Islam are huge and continuous. His notions influenced later generations of Islamic intellectuals and activists, who in turn constituted the base from which various Islamist movements of the 20th century would ultimately emerge. Figures like Muhammad Abdah and Rashid Rida, both of whom were directly influenced by Afghani, provided a further expansion of his ideas and thus were instrumental in the intellectual formation of modern political Islam. His lessons on unity, reform, and resistance against external domination have not been lost in further disquisitions pertaining to Islam's role in politics and society.

Jamal al-Din al-Afghani greatly influenced Sheikh Muhammad Abdah's thinking of political Islam through his call for solidarity, modernization, and reformation. Afghani's pan-Islamism and call for the solidarity of Muslim people against European colonialism was the basis of Abdah's thinking, who then called for the necessity of a serious renaissance in Islamic thought and the reinterpretation of Islam's scriptures (Adam, Idris 2017). Afghani believed that Muslim societies had sunk lower owing to the failure to follow 'real' Islamic teachings, which he also saw as a failure to modernize thinking and sciences; therefore, the responsibility befell Abdah to push for a reform in the educational curriculum and re-interpret Islamic texts to allow the use of reason. The two shared a similar critique of Western imperialism, with Al-Afghani

championing the call for Muslims to raise and rid themselves of the imperialists, while Abdah insisted that they be politically free and self-governed. Afghani's activism and interaction with political leaders somehow spilled over to Sheikh Muhammad Abdah, who got active in the political arena following his appointment as the Grand Mufti of Egypt, where he was allowed to carry out some reforms that served to modernize the Muslim institutions. Hasaan, Hamka discussed that ; as far as their intellectual work is concerned, their joint publication, "al-Urwah al-Wuthqa," served to spread their ideas, with Abdah fusing Afghani's idea to create a kind of Islam that solved the problems, though modern but remaining true to its core.

Sheikh Abdah

Sheikh Muhammad Abdah was a renowned Egyptian Islamic scholar and reformer who laid significant imprints on the modernist stream of political Islam during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. Born in 1849 in the Nile Delta, the early life of Abdah was influenced by mentor Jamal Uddin Afghani, with whom he maintained close working contacts. They furthered the revival of Islamic thought and practice, disseminating ideas that would act as a bridge between tradition and modernity. Amir, Ahmad N., Abdi O. Shuriye, and Ahmad F. Ismail, (2012) discussed that the political Islamist camp learned about the contributions of Abdah, which were delineated in the form of rationalism, reform in the domain of education, and the imperative need to reinterpret the Islamic teachings in light of contemporary challenges. As he encountered Afghani, who had acquired the zeal of a reformer within Islam, the traditional Islamic studies of the young Abdah morphed into something different (Adam, Idris. 2017). As Abdah saw it, Taizir, Aswita, (1994) states that "the Muslims' stagnation was being cultivated by their stiff adherence to the obsolete interpretations of Islamic law and religious dogma and the rejection of modern scientific knowledge" . This was a very radical approach, inasmuch as it rejected the static authority of conservative religious scholars in favour of a dynamic, adaptive form of Islam. He advanced the concept of Ijtihad, or independent reasoning, which suggests the reinterpretation of Islamic principles in dealing with the changing social and political landscape.

Gesink, Falk (2014) wrote that the greatest among them was his work in educational reform. As Grand Mufti of Egypt, Abdah could influence new policies toward the system of education, which knitted together religious and secular learning. Abdah felt

that it was through correct education that the Muslim could gain the intellectual and moral capacities needed to meet the modern world with faith. His educational reform gave attention to the modernization of the oldest and most important center of Islamic learning, Al-Azhar University, by revising its courses and spreading free and lively discussion. Social justice and rule of law were other great ideals that marked Abdah's political thought (Yusuf, Aasia, 2012). He felt that Islam was a comprehensive system, which included the governing of the life of human beings, ethically and socio-politically. Abdah repeated that the Islamic government must have elements of shura and justice in making any decisions, and that it is very close to the democratic ideal. He claimed that the idea of just and responsible government was an inherent part of Islam itself, a concept in sharp contrast with the reigning autocracy in Islamic countries at this point in history. His thoughts were the source from which the later Islamic political movements drew their inspiration, those that tried to bring Islamic values and principles with modern political systems.

Salleh, Haji, (2003) articulates that Maudoodi's political philosophy, therefore, was heavily influenced by the thought of Sheikh Muhammad Abdah, who laid great emphasis upon Islam being a complete code of life and regulated not only politics but also society. Abdah's synthesis between Islam and modernity led Maudoodi to his revivalist approach, where he called to return back to the original Islamic teachings in light of the problems of the modern age. He stood against the implantation of such Western ideologies as secularism and capitalism into the Muslim world, which, for him, were irreconcilable with the Islamic system, and just like Abdah, he emphasized the role of education as a means of Muslim empowerment. Political activism, therefore, within the Abdahian reforms, was intended to create an Islamic state where the Sharia would regulate all aspects of life, establishing a just and morally ordered society. His world was, therefore, indivisible as it covered political activity and social change to regain the identity and sovereignty of the Muslim world in the modern world.

Hasan al Banna

As the pioneers of the modernist movements, Afghani and Abdah, from Al-Azhar, while tied to the yoke of colonialism, remained influential in awakening the Muslims to a new consciousness of the suppression of their identity, 'the Islamic Identity' (Asaf, 1983). But through Islam, in giving it to a political direction and

expression, it was Hasan al-Banna, (the founder and the leader of Ikhwan al-Muslimun, until his assassination) who took the whole credit. Born in Buhraya, Egypt, in a religious family, the strict training by his father enabled him, at the age of twelve, involved with the work of several religious societies, which developed his aptitude and organizational abilities. Additionally, at the age of twenty-one in 1927, he graduated from the Dar al-Ulum and started doing his job in the state school system but he was not content with it. Being active for working for Islam, he desired for collective action in the service of Islam, his belief system, which led him together with his friends from Ismailiya found the Ikhwan and became known as the first Murshid-i-Aam (The Supreme Guide) and until his death, continued strengthening the foundations of Ikhwan (Ataman).

Al-Abidin, Z.A describes that Banna, Murshid-i-Aam and party leader, believed that a true understanding of Islam entails familiarity with Qur'an and Sunnah, the commanding sources of deriving the rule of Islam for all circumstances. He believed that the resentment of Islamic doctrine was necessary and legitimate, for the Qur'an speaks to all mankind as a whole regardless of their social, cultural and political background (Banan-Al, Hasan, 1975. He was of the view that liberating Muslim world from the foreign domination and establishing an Islamic state necessitates a substantial socio-political change in society. Banna, while given the wide contours of his Islamic state, laid down three principles; first, the ruler is accountable to God and his people. Second, since the brotherhood among believers is a principle of faith, the Muslim nation must act in a unified manner. Third, the ruler must respect Ummah's will.

He reinforced the idea of re-establishment of the Islamic Caliphate for a long-term goal as it is the symbol of unity. According to Hasan, Banan-Al, (1975), he rejected and criticized the adaptation of foreign law codes for commerce as Islam possessed sufficient regulations for the matters. He also rejected the notion of a multiparty system in an Islamic state even admitting that Islam endorses a constitutional parliamentary democracy. For economics, he envisioned the element of economic nationalism for Islamic economy. So, he called for economic cooperation with the Muslim countries and the Arab world. His ideas about women were firmly traditional, having their different roles based on their natural and biological differences. As per the religious guide for women, they just need to fulfil their God-given rights and their

place is the home and they must stick to their roles as wife, mother, and the housekeeper (Commins, 1994).

Banna, like many other traditional thinkers, also beholds that since sexual attraction is the fundamental feature of relations between women and men. So, to protect the society's future from sexual destruction, Islam, between genders, proscribes social mixing. Therefore, having schools or public places where men and women could come together is prohibited. Banna's views about the minorities, dhimmis, are also traditional. As long as they behave with sincerity and rectitude, he provides the minorioties with the dhimmi status, for the Qur'an reads: "O mankind we have created you male and female, and have made you nations and tribes that you may know each other." (Qur'an, 49: 13), "God forbid you to be friends only with those who fought you in religion, and drove you from your homes, or aided in driving you forth". (Qur'an, 60: 9).

Hasan al-Banna, although throughout his life believed that there was no separation between politics and religion, never transmitted Ikhwan to a political party. Instead, he saw his movement as a social and religious society whose sole concern was to remind people of their responsibilities and to educate them, of the glorious past and of their present despair. Abidin-Al highlighted some facts regarding the views that he is viewed as a man of charisma, which helped him spread and establish the thoughts of Ikhwan to an extent that the branches of the movement were established not only in Egypt but also in neighbouring Arab countries like Algeria, Syria, Sudan, Jordan, Iraq and Palestine. Even today, most of the Islamic movements have been/are, directly or indirectly, influenced by the thought of the Ikhwan, all over the world (Ataman). Considering the harmful effects of European culture, he believed that most Muslims misunderstood and misrepresented Islam. They thought that Islam only consists of the spiritual and moral aspects of life and the rituals of worship. He held that for Muslims' incorrect notions of their religion, the Al-Azhar's scholars bore a shared responsibility. He considered the Ulema of Al-Azhar as men steeped in the methods and concerns of the bygone age and anchored to irrelevant interpretation of Islam (Commins 1994).

Maulana Maudoodi

Syed Abul Ala Maududi, also known as Maulana Maudoodi, was a prominent figure in 20th-century Islamic thought. Jameelah, Maryum. (1987) shed light on the ideas and activism that had a

significant impact on South Asian politics and the global Islamic revival movement. Maudoodi was born in Aurangabad, British India on September 25, 1903. He came of age during a period of political turmoil and societal transformation in the Indian subcontinent. From a young age, Maudoodi displayed a profound fascination with Islamic theology and philosophy. His early years in a family with strong religious beliefs and his education in Hyderabad, India, gave him a solid grounding in the field of Islamic studies. Afterwards, he began a quest for intellectual discovery, diving further into the realm of Islamic philosophy and legal principles.

In 1941, against the backdrop of the fight for freedom and the division of India, Maudoodi established the Jamaat-e-Islami in Lahore, Pakistan (Ahsan, Hadia, Rizwan, and Butt. 2023). This signalled the start of his endeavour to create an Islamic state founded on the teachings of the Quran and Sunnah. Ali & A.Jan (2010) says that the Jamaat-e-Islami served as a platform for Maudoodi to promote his vision of Islamic revivalism, supporting the enforcement of Sharia law and the fusion of religion and politics. Maudoodi's ideology centred around the idea of revitalising Islam, aiming to restore and reaffirm its principles in today's society. He stressed the importance of Muslims embracing the authentic teachings of Islam and distancing themselves from Western influences (Husain & Zohair 1986). Maudoodi's writings and speeches played a crucial role in inspiring a whole generation of Muslims to actively participate in political and social matters, presenting Islam as a holistic way of life rather than merely a religious conviction.

Despite never occupying any political position, Maudoodi's impact on Islamic political movements in Pakistan and beyond was significant. His vision for a system of governance based on Islamic principles emphasised fairness, equal opportunities, and the well-being of the population. Maudoodi's concepts struck a chord with numerous Muslims who perceived him as a defender of their religion and a forward-thinking figure promoting an alternative to Western secularism. The influence of Maudoodi on Sunni Islam and global politics is immense. His focus on the implementation of Islamic principles in every aspect of life continues to influence the conversation within Sunni Islamic thought, especially among Islamist movements in South Asia and the Middle East. The teachings and ideas of Maudoodi continue to inspire and influence the Jamaat-e-Islami and other Islamic political parties and

movements worldwide, ensuring his lasting legacy (Lerman, Eran. 1981).

Maudoodi gave the biggest momentum that shaped Syed Qutb on political Islam by presenting Islam as an all-encompassing system that regulates all aspects of life, which include politics and society. For instance, Maudoodi's bashing of the West as assault on the Islamic way of life and rationalization of an Islamic state on the precepts of Sharia were something Qutb could use in evaluating the socio-political issues of Egypt. Both of these people found secularism and the Western-based model of politics as a threat to the nature and perception of Islam in society (Raza, Mustafa,Khan, Aamir, 2021). Maudoodi particularly stressed a return to the original ideas of Islam and the utilization of Sharia to distribute justice and morality in the society, and this flamed Qutb to formulate his notion of the contemporary era of Jahiliyyah to symbolize Islamic societies living under the yoke of non-Islamic secular systems. This paved the way for Maudoodi's development of the concept into the inevitability of a vanguard revolution to oust non-Islamic regimes and institute a pristine Islamic order, and this is what this author put before his readers. With this kind of convergence in thinking, Qutb began laying much more emphasis on political activism, jihad, and a call to establish an Islamic state to revive the days of Islam's glory and set right the society.

Sayyid Qutb

Sayyid Qutb, an Egyptian writer, teacher, and Islamic thinker, rose to prominence as a highly influential figure in modern Islamic political philosophy in the 20th century. Qutb was born in 1906 in the village of Musha in Upper Egypt. He received his education in Cairo, where he pursued studies in literature, education, and social sciences. His encounter with Western philosophy and literature while he was in the United States in the late 1940s had a significant impact on his intellectual growth and his subsequent analysis of Western society. Rahman, Hj, Ahmad.Wan & Ali (2011) states that Qutb's significant writings, particularly "Milestones" (Ma'alim fi al-Tariq) and "In the Shade of the Quran" (Fi Zilal al-Quran), established the foundation for contemporary Islamist ideologies. In "Milestones," Qutb expressed his vision for an Islamic society governed by Sharia law, promoting the formation of an Islamic state to replace secular governments (Qutb, Sayyid. 1964). He saw Western civilization as morally bankrupt and believed that Islam was the sole remedy for what he

perceived as the spiritual and moral decline of humanity (Calvert, John 2004).

Khatab, Sayed, (2002) shares their research, according to which the core of Qutb's ideology lies the idea of Jahiliyya, a term he adopted from early Islamic history to depict the state of unawareness and ethical decline that he perceived as prevalent in modern society, both in Western nations and in Muslim-majority countries governed by non-religious governments. Qutb contended that a genuine resurgence of Islam necessitated the abandonment of Jahiliyya and the application of Islamic principles in every facet of existence. Qutb's concepts have had a significant influence on Islamist movements globally, motivating countless activists and militants throughout the years. His plea for the creation of an Islamic state, rooted in rigid interpretations of Sharia law, struck a chord with Islamist factions aiming to confront non-religious powers and enforce their own version of Islamic rule. Nevertheless, Qutb's support for using force to combat perceived oppressors also offered a rationale for violent extremism, leading to the radicalization of individuals and the growth of terrorist groups like al-Qaeda (Shah, Niaz A. 2013).

Regardless of his lasting impact, Sayyid Qutb continues to be a divisive figure, both among Muslims and in other circles. While some see him as a proponent of Islamic resurgence and a protector of Muslim culture against Western domination, others condemn his inflexible interpretations of Islam and his support for using violence to achieve political objectives. Qutb's impact is multifaceted, showcasing the various understandings of his concepts and their disputed significance in today's society.

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convergence in thinking, Qutb began laying much more emphasis on political activism, jihad, and a call to establish an Islamic state to revive the days of Islam's glory and set right the society (Soage, Belén, 2009).

Following is the impact of Syed Qutb's ideas on Ayatollah Khomeini's rhetoric on political Islam, especially in the articulations of the Jahiliyyah and the imperatives that an Islamic government had to fulfill in order to resist secular and un-Islamic rule. Khomeini's consideration of Qutb's articulation of today's Muslim societies as living in a state of ignorance or darkness, that is, Jahiliyyah, which is ruled by a secular regime, very much sounded the case. In the considerations of Khomeini, while the Shah's regime in Iran was undeniably oppressive and un-Islamic, Qutb's consideration was a need for a positive, militant jihad, an effort to overthrow such regimes and to establish a government based on Sharia law (Murr, Virginia 2009). Such is the vision that Khomeini had for an Islamic revolution. Khomeini found his inspiration from Qutb's assertion that this kind of struggle is what calls for a vanguard movement, and he fashioned the Qutbian revolutionary framework to his needs. Aras, Esra stated The fact that Qutb had stressed that it had to be God's law alone, and not any laws established by man, fit well with Khomeini's propositions for the establishment of Velayat-e Faqih, or religious rule by a jurisconsult, and thus both the revolutionary and ideological postulates contributed toward shaping Khomeini's means and strategies to the establishment of the Islamic Republic in Iran.

Ruhollah Khomeini

Ruhollah Khomeini is widely regarded as a significant figure in the history of Iran and Shia Islam, with his impact reaching well beyond the confines of his native country. He was born in 1902 in the quaint village of Khomeini and received a classical Shia education, delving into the realms of theology, ethics, and jurisprudence. Khomeini's formative years were characterised by a profound commitment to his faith, which greatly influenced his perspective and paved the way for his subsequent engagement in the political arena. Khomeini gained prominence during the Iranian Revolution of 1979, which toppled the authoritarian regime of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. His passionate speeches and unwavering opposition to the Shah's regime rallied widespread backing, bringing together diverse factions in the name of Islamic revolution (Tayebipour, Meysam, 2023). Khomeini's guidance during this chaotic time was marked by his steadfast

dedication to creating an Islamic state founded on the ideals of fairness and parity.

Matsunaga, Yasuyuki (2009) narrated with facts that at the core of Khomeini's vision for an Islamic Republic lay the idea of wilayat al-faqih, which refers to the Guardianship of the Jurist. This idea established the power of Islamic jurists to govern when the Prophet or the Hidden Imam were not present, effectively positioning clerics at the highest point of political authority. Khomeini personally took on the role of Supreme Leader, exerting complete control over state matters and influencing the direction of governance in post-revolutionary Iran. During Khomeini's tenure, Iran experienced a significant shift, as extensive reforms were introduced in different aspects of society (Milani, Mohsin, 1993). His agenda aimed to incorporate Islamic principles into every facet of society, encompassing areas such as legislation, schooling, cultural practices, and the economy. Sharia, the application of Islamic law, played a pivotal role in his administration, shaping both legal codes and social norms.

Khomeini's rule was characterised by a combination of strong control and appeal to the public, as he aimed to strengthen his authority while also addressing the desires and hopes of the people. The government's rule was characterised by a severe suppression of dissent, effectively silencing those who opposed the Islamic Republic and eliminating any form of opposition. Rakel, Eva. (2008) said that simultaneously, Khomeini fostered a following centred around his persona, portraying himself as a champion for the oppressed and a guardian of Islamic principles. Khomeini's rule had a profound influence that reached well beyond Iran, resonating throughout the Muslim world and beyond. Nevertheless, Northrup, Stuart, & AIR FORCE INST OF TECH WRIGHT-PATTERSON AFB OH conducted research in which they stated that his unwavering opposition to Western imperialism and backing of anti-colonial movements garnered admiration from numerous individuals in the developing world. The endorsement of militant organisations and participation in regional disputes also faced criticism from certain factions.

In Shia Islam, the impact of Khomeini's teachings is intricate and diverse. Although he managed to enhance the influence of clerics in political matters, his understanding of Islamic law and governance continues to be a topic of discussion among scholars and religious authorities. He is seen by some as an innovative leader who brought new life to the Islamic tradition, while others

condemn his tendency to be controlling and his stifling of opposing views (Rouleau, Eric. 1980). In the world of international politics, Iran under Khomeini became a significant force, questioning the authority of Western nations and promoting a different global structure rooted in Islamic values. The movement he spearheaded still moulds the geopolitical terrain of the Middle East, impacting regional dynamics and stoking tensions between Iran and its foes.

Abdullah Yusuf Azzam

Abdullah Yusuf Azzam was born in 1941 in the West Bank village of Silat al-Harithiya and is known for contributing to the development of modern political Islam, particularly through the prism of the jihadist ideology. From a very young age, he was engaged in scholarly Islamic work, and the continuation of that work directed him to prominent centres of Islamic learning, like Al-Azhar University in Cairo. That scholarship and the teaching he performed came to form the basis for his later activism, as he advanced toward the fusion of Islamic precepts with a call for militant resistance to oppression. Azzam became most prominent during the Soviet-Afghan War in the 1980s. He had moved to Pakistan and was actively organizing and recruiting for the Afghan Arabs, putting out the call for foreign Muslim fighters to go and support the Afghan mujahideen against the Soviet invasion. He preached jihad as a religious obligation for Aboul-Enein, Youssef. Late Sheikh Abdullah Azzam's Books states that Muslims in order to defend the lands of Islam from non-Muslim invaders. He founded, with Osama bin Laden, the Maktab al-Khidamat (MAK), which attracted money and fighters from abroad and distributed them to Afghanistan; this entity would later evolve into Al-Qaeda.

Azzam was a prolific writer and speaker of such influential works as "Join the Caravan" and "Defense of the Muslim Lands," which recommended that Muslims carry out jihad and explained war as a defence mechanism. His ideology was not confined to the local nationalist causes but glorified a universal approach towards jihad which attracted many alienated Muslims across the globe. What he emphasized to be an obligatory jihad and establishment of an Islamic state gave a strong plotline that worked as a motivation for the future generations of jihadists (McGregor, Andrew. 2003). Although he was assassinated in 1989 in what was claimed to be a conspiracy, Azzam's legacy lived on, informing, among many more Islamist groups, Al-Qaeda, ISIS, and in general the Islamist movements.

Rise of Muslim Brotherhood, Iranian Revolution, Hezbollah and Hamas

Defining Islamism, Mozaffari, Mehdi. (2007) explained that; The evolution of contemporary Islamist movements, such as Hezbollah and Hamas, can be traced back to the foundational ideas and activism of ke97y figures in political Islam. Thinkers like Jamaluddin Afghani, Sheikh Muhammad Abdah, Maulana Maudoodi, Sayyid Qutb, and Ayatollah Khomeini played pivotal roles in shaping the ideological frameworks that these groups would later adopt. Afghani's call for Islamic unity and resistance to Western colonialism laid the groundwork for pan-Islamic solidarity. Abdah's advocacy for educational reform and reinterpretation of Islamic texts influenced modernist streams within political Islam. Maudoodi and Qutb further radicalized these ideas, emphasizing the necessity of an Islamic state governed by Sharia law and critiquing Western secularism. Khomeini's successful implementation of an Islamic Republic in Iran provided a concrete model for integrating Islamic governance with political authority. These intellectual and ideological contributions significantly influenced the strategies and objectives of Hezbollah and Hamas. These groups have drawn from the ideas of these key figures to guide their actions in the complex political landscapes of Lebanon and Palestine, respectively. The following analysis explores the chronological development of these groups, highlighting the significant impact of these key figures on their evolution and collaboration.

The Iranian Revolution of 1979 left a lasting impact on the region and the international system. In order to situate this event, it necessitates an examination of the socio-political circumstances that existed during the reign of Mohammad Reza Shah Pahlavi. The Shah regime, supported by Western powers, indeed ushers in swift modernization and economic advancement. However, it also fosters significant social disparity, political suppression, and cultural estrangement. Furthermore, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini rose to prominence as a formidable figure in the resistance against the Shah's government, taking advantage of increasing dissatisfaction, particularly among religious leaders, intellectuals, and the impoverished urban population. Khomeini's belief system, rooted in a blend of Shia Islam, opposition to imperialism, and populism, garnered backing for the revolution and offered a cohesive account against the Shah's secular authoritarian regime and Western impact (Takeyh, Ray, 2021).

The latter was defined by significant occurrences and stages characterised by widespread demonstrations, work stoppages, and increasing aggression, and reached its peak in February 1979 when the Shah was compelled to leave the country, followed by Khomeini's return from France. Subsequently, they established a temporary administration, which additionally announced the organisation of a widespread vote in which the majority would choose the Islamic Republic. Afterwards, it declared the formation of a temporary administration and later arranged a widespread vote, where the majority supported the Islamic Republic. During Khomeini's rule, the Islamic Republic of Iran operated under the principles of the Velayat-e Faqih (Guardianship of the Jurist), which concentrated power in a Supreme Leader who held the highest religious and political authority (Mavani, Hamid 2011). This system had connected religion with state affairs and influenced legislation, judiciary, and foreign policy based on Islamic principles.

Seliktar, Ofira, and Farhad Rezaei 2020) states that Hezbollah is a Shia militant group that was born after the Iranian Revolution of 1979 as an announced proxy of Iran's foreign policy. The movement itself declared its official creation in 1982, after the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, with huge support from the newly born Islamic Republic of Iran. Hezbollah's creation marked a geopolitical moment in the Middle East since it was the advent of a new model of the non-state actor, which was being sponsored by ideological fervour other than being sponsored by a state actor. The influence of Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini on Hezbollah cannot be overstated. Khomeini's ideal of an Islamic government, which was based on the principles of wilayat al-faqih (Guardianship of the Jurist), formed the ideological underpinning of the Hezbollah movement. Khomeini's doctrine, which taught the necessity of clerics' intervention in governance and the need to fight Western imperialism and other regional antagonists, among which Israel was the most prominent target, fitted well with the raison d'etre of Hezbollah. Hezbollah assimilated Khomeini's ideas, and it began defining itself as a vanguard movement that was geared to establish an Islamic state as well as oppose the Israeli occupation (Dominique, Avon & Khatchadourian, 2006). With time, Hezbollah gradually evolved its role in Lebanese politics from its militant role to that of a notable political player, gaining representation in the Lebanese Parliament and the Cabinet.

Parallel to the growth of Hezbollah, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) followed its own course as an important Sunni Islamist movement. Established in Egypt in 1928 by Hassan al-Banna, the Brotherhood began with a mission to spread Islamic doctrines and resist the Westerners' influences (Özdemir, Ahmet Yusuf. 2013). Although their main focus was on society and politics within Egypt, their ideology spread throughout the Muslim world, becoming an inspiration for many other Islamist movements, one of which is Hamas, Amr, Ziad 1993). More specifically, it was Sayyid Qutb who radicalized the Brotherhood further (Azoulay, Ronnie, 2015). His notion of Jahiliyya and the imperative of an Islamic state inspired many within the ranks of the Brotherhood and far afield from it. Thus, Qutb's notions of jihad and the need to engage in political activism helped provide an ideological blueprint from which later Islamist organizations like Hamas would craft their own missions. Qutb's influence also reached men like Maulana Maudoodi, who likewise wrote much on the need for Sharia and the repudiation of Western secular governance, and whose influence was to shape much of the ideological terrain of Islamist political movements. More than that, the MB had a significance that was larger than social and political. The lessons it had learned about how to conduct Islamist rule would soon be copied.

Hamas is the Sunni Islamist movement/organization that began in 1987 as an outgrowth of the Palestinian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood during the First Intifada (Amr, Ziad, 1993). Hamas was founded with twin goals in mind: to free Palestine from Israeli occupation and to establish an Islamic state in Palestinian lands. Learning a lesson from MB in ideology and organization, Hamas integrated militant resistance with social services and had a wide following among the Palestinians. One of the founders of Hamas, Sheikh Ahmed Yassin, sought to apply the ideas of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Palestinian context. Hamas applied the emphasis of the MB on social justice, education, and community services as part of their strategy. The most important factor in the meteoric rise of Hamas was its capacity to provide welfare and social services to the Palestinian people, in sharp contrast to the corruption and inefficiency of the Fatah-led Palestinian Authority. Militant and social activities by Hamas were totally integrated, thus winning both support and legitimacy in Palestinian society (Awad, Hani, 2021).

Despite the traditional Shia–Sunni divide, Hezbollah and Hamas were united in their antagonism to Israel and their shared commitment to establishing Islamic governance (Wege, Carl). The geopolitical and ideological landscapes offered scope for this to be a pragmatic alliance, essentially transcending sectarianism in preference to strategic cooperation. Hezbollah's support for Hamas grew more pronounced in 2006, when Israel's plan of bringing Hamas into the mainstream politics of Palestine was aimed at the side-lining of the more secular-oriented Fatah party. However, through its politics of social work, such as the rehabilitation of the disaffected populace and citizens, Hamas had been growing its public appeal and could displace Fatah through a public ballot. Its victory and forming of the government became a severe challenge to Israel, which then got more engaged in military face-offs.

Azzam's ideas have also indirectly shaped the formation and further development of Hezbollah and Hamas. Hezbollah being a Shiite outfit and Hamas a Sunni, they share a common enemy and a broader common ideological platform, that of resistance against Western and Israeli penetration, which is an extension of Azzam's vision of an undivided struggle of Islam. These convergent interests have gone to the extent of having coordinated operations of Hezbollah and Hamas. Thus, Azzam's call to universal jihad transcends the sectarian level and calls for alliances among Islamist groups in the attainment of common goals. It is, therefore, in this regard that Azzam has done much to further political Islam since his doctrines have continued to mould the strategies and ideologies of militant Islamist movements all over the world.

Foucault's Entstehung assists to see how both the groups emerged from a genealogy of power relations, historical contingencies and a genealogy of conflicts rather from a fixed theological blueprint. Rather than a predetermined ideological destiny, their Islamist thought is best understood as a historically situated emergence.

Conclusion

The genealogical approach of Foucault critiques grand narratives and focuses on how political identities are constructed by the discourses. Islamist political thought, particularly in its modern form, is deeply rooted in anti-imperialist movements, post-colonial resistance, and as an alternative to Western secular models, the reassertions of Islamic governance. Their evolution reflects shifting forms of governance, resistance and ideological adaptation, shaped by both global and local forces. A genealogical approach reveals the complexities of their formation and in a constantly changing

geopolitical landscape, the ways they navigate power, instead of viewing them as monolithic entities. Entstehung, in Foucault's term, is not a linear history rather it's an examination of contingencies, discourses and power relations that shape identities, ideologies, and institutions over time and that emphasized on the emergence of phenomenon, creating space for interpretation. Applying this to Hamas and Hezbollah involves looking at how social, historical and political forces have influenced their emergence, legitimization, and transformation. Also, the recognition process reinforced and replicated the colonial epistemic framework, which categorized these religious groups as distinguishable, distinct, solidifying them into internationally recognizable or recognized entities, leading towards the international recognition of religion. Furthermore, it has reinforced a differentiated social ontology constructed on distinction between (secular) "Self" and (religious) "Other" further enhancing the Muslim "Otherness".

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Appendix

Dhimmi

A dhimmi is a person with whom a covenant or bond has been made in an Islamic state. The term dhimmi is used here as one of several synonymous terms in the juridical context to designate a tolerated monotheist (Jew, Christian, Sabian, and Zoroastrian) who lives within an Islamic territory. A dhimmi pays cizya a kind of tax for protection of his or her life, religious or political rights and so on. He or she enjoys his or her religious rights, political freedom etc., according to covenant. However, she or he has a relatively inferior status with comparison to a Muslim.