Index

Abdulhamid II, Sultan of Ottoman Empire 91
Abe, Shinzo 177–8
Abu-Odeh, Lama 97
Ackerman, Bruce 63–6, 70–71, 173–4, 177–8
Afghanistan 92
Afsah, Ebrahim 146–7
ahimsa (actions without violence) 27–8
Al-Azhar 238–40
al Banna, Hassan 194–5
al-Nahhas, Mustafa 194
Al Qaeda 41, 163, 183–4
Al Slimi, Manar 118
Albert, Richard 7
Ammar, Rachid 166–7
Ammari, Mohammad 25
Arab Awakening, interpretation 1, 37–8
‘Arab’, connotations of 40–41
Arab League 201
Arab Socialist Union 201–2
Arab Spring, interpretation 1, 37–8
Arab Union 199
Arendt, Hannah
civic identity, and 4–5
constitutions, role of 61–3
freedom, pursuit of 5, 35–6
liberation vs. defense and aggression 130–31
new beginnings 4–6
revolutionary myth 58–9
symbolic violence 29–30
theory of revolution, need for 8–9
violence in revolution, on 2–6, 28–30
authoritarian constitutionalism 10–11, 13
Azzouzi, Abdelhak 126–7
Bahrain 45
Baradei, Mohammed El 231–2, 235
Barak, Aharon 87–8, 147, 180–81
Ba’r el, Zvi 98
bay’ah (pledge of allegiance) 11
Beard, Charles 63
Belaid, Chokri 172
Belhoussine, Chawki 25
Ben Achour, Rafaâ 162, 165
Ben-Gurion, David 85–9
Ben Youssef, Sidi Mohammed, Sultan of Morocco 105
Bolivarian constitutional transformations 7
Bouazizi, Mohamed 25, 38, 47, 49
Bourguiba, Habib 145, 148–9, 153–9
Brahmi, Mohamed 172
Brown, Nathan 76–7, 90–92
Cabanis, André 126–7
Canada 69
Chaabane, Sodak 155–6
Chamki, Fathi 96
citizenship, and critical judgment 29–30
civic equality 14
Cleveland, William L. 209
colonial revolutions 4, 131
colonialism, generally
decolonization, influences on 103–6
effects of 102–6
independence, and 104–6
national identity, and 106
post-colonial intervention 102, 107–8
Color Revolutions 3, 23
Condorcet, Nicholas de Caritat, Marquis de 33
constitutional identity challenges 67–72
constitutional moments 63–4
constitutional monarchies 74–5
constitutional patriotism 68
constitutional politics 64
constitutional revolution 7–8, 10
constitutional theocracy 99
constitutionalism
authoritarian constitutionalism 10–11, 13
definition, generally 2
democracy, and 147
illiberal constitutionalism 88–9, 99
interpretation, academic influences on 97–8
Islamic constitutionalism 10–13, 19–20
liberal constitutionalism 13–19, 55–6
equality, and 14, 174
franchise, extension of 16–17
freedom of expression, and 14–16
legal safeguards, need for 174
militant democracy, and 15, 55–6
rule of law, and 14
separation of powers 19
vs. authoritarianism 10–11, 13
non-liberal constitutionalism 12, 17–20
rule of law, importance of 77
United States, as constitutional state
34–5
constitutions, generally
American Constitution 61–6
collective action, and 70–72
constitutional dysfunction, and 67–8
definitions 62–3
development stages 65
government, role of
legitimacy, influences on 67–8
national identity, and 68–72
people, role of the 67–72
religion, influences on 76
revolutionary process, and 67
self-definition in 69
Convention on Human Rights (1948) 81
Cooperation Council for the Arab State of the Gulf (GCC) 41–2
critical sense 29–30
Dabashi, Hamid 38, 58
Declaration of Rights (Virginia Charter, 1776) 34–5
Declaration of the Rights of Man and the Citizen (1789) 32–4
definitions
actions without violence 27–8
Arab Spring 1, 37–8
authoritarianism 13
constitutional moments 63–4
cconstitutional politics 64
cconstitutional revolution 7–8, 10
cconstitutionalism 2
critical sense 29–30
democracy 53, 97–8, 147
disharmony 68
fatwa 155
freedom 31–2
Islamic government 11
jihad 155
liberal constitutionalism 13–14
liberty 31–2
non-violent actions 27–8
pacifism 28
people, the 70–71
revolution 2–4, 6–10
Shari’a law 12, 76
sovereignty 32–3
violence 23, 25–8
democracy
cconstitutionalism, and 147
counterbalance, need for 147
critical sense, and 29–30
defensive democracy 15, 146
definitions 53, 97–8, 147
dethno-nationalism, and 89
eexceptionalism, and 52–3
freedom and equality, and 30–31
globalization, and 98–9
Islamic democracy 97–9
Islamic states, development in 39
militant democracy 15, 53–6, 146
paradoxes of 53–4, 146
political parties, submission of 53–6
political pluralism, and 56–7
prejudices regarding 78
religion and secular spheres,
relationship between 78–80
revolutionary aim, as 52–7
rule of law, and 72
self-determination, and 29–31
separation of powers, and 73–4
Shari’a law, compatibility with 57, 93–8
supreme democratic values 56

Denmark 80
Derrida, Jacques 30–31
Diderot, Denis 32
domestic influences, on Arab Spring
class divide 48–9, 51
corruption 49–50
economic motivations 46–8
instability 48
minorities, exclusion of 48–9
police practices 49
political motivations 50–52
social motivations 48–9
unemployment/ underemployment 47–8

Egypt
Aswan Dam, construction 203
colonialism
British Protectorate, as 188–90
effects of 184, 185, 188–9
Ottoman control of 188–9
Paris Peace Conference (1919) 189–90
post-colonial interference in 107
constitution
1923, of 191–3, 197
1956, of 185–6, 195–8, 201–2
1958, of 202
1962, of 202
1964, of 202–3
1971, of 186, 205–6
1980 amendments 186, 206–7
2005 amendments 209–10
2007 amendments 212
2011, of 186–7, 215–24
2012, of 224–5, 230
2014, of 231–2, 235–6, 238–44

Arab identity, and 197, 199–200
equality before the law 191
facade, as 186
free public education 202
fundamental rights and freedoms
198, 200, 205, 218, 225, 227–8, 240–41
historical development 91–2, 185–6
human rights 241
independence, and 190
language, national official 197, 228, 235
Monarch, role and powers 190–92
national identity, and 186, 199–200, 218
parliamentary structure 192
Preamble 68–9, 191, 197, 225, 238
religion, controls over 80, 191, 197, 202, 205, 218, 225–7, 235
religion vs. secular spheres, conflicts 89, 147–8, 229
religion vs. secular spheres, separation 238–40
revolution, and 66, 225
separation of powers 73–4, 228–9
social rights 202
social solidarity, recognition of 199
Western influences on 184, 191–2
constitutional reform
Al-Azhar, role of 238–40
Arab Socialist Union 201–3
aristocratic titles, prohibition of 198
Assembly of the People 209–10, 218–19
authoritarianism, and 222–4, 232
bicameralism, and 198, 228
constituent committee 236–7
constitutional declarations 195–6, 215–19, 221–4, 235–6
consultative Chamber 207
Council of the Revolution 195–6
decolonization, influences of 188–9
democracy, and 187, 196, 207, 214, 223–5, 229, 233–5, 239, 243
The Arab Spring

elections 193, 209–12, 219–21, 224, 244
electoral reform 209–10, 228, 230–321
emergency powers 200, 213–14
equality and non-discrimination rights 240
family as foundation of society 227–8
freedom of belief 239
freedom of expression 241
human rights 240–41
independence, referendum on 195
interim constitutions 196, 199–200
interim governments 235–8
interim presidency 231–2, 235–7
Israel, influences on 194–5
January 25 Revolution, and 215–30
judicial independence 241–2
judicial tensions 208, 223, 228–9, 232
Markaz Congress 202
military intervention, role of 196, 230–36
military, role and powers of 229, 242–3
Monarch, role and powers of 190–93
National Assembly, role and powers 198, 200, 202
parliamentary representation 96
political instability, and 204, 229
political parties, controls over 213, 239
presidential impeachment 198
Prime Minister, role and powers 228, 241–2
referenda, textual approval by 197, 209–10, 224, 237
religious advisers, role of 236–7
religious guidelines 238–40
religious parties, restrictions on 213
rights and freedoms, restrictions on 227–8
separation of powers 73–4, 228–9
Shari’a law, and 187, 191–2, 200, 205–6, 208, 218, 225–7, 235, 238–9
Shura Assembly 207, 213, 218–19, 228, 239, 242
socialism, removal of references to 212
Socialist General Attorney 205
sovereignty, references to 218, 222
state, definition of 213
state of emergency 233–4
Suez Canal, nationalization of 197
Supreme Constitutional Court 206, 208, 223, 228–31, 238–9, 242
Supreme Judicial Commission for Elections 219
Syria, relationship with 186, 199–201
terrorism, and 213–14, 216, 232–3, 237–8, 243–4
throughput phases, in 187, 215–29, 231–44
USSR, influences of 203–4
Eilat, closure of 203
Israel, conflicts with 203–4
January 25 Revolution
constitutional reform following 215–30, 222
events 26–7, 38, 215
non-violent, whether 26–7
religious influences on 40–41, 44
Muslim Brotherhood
death sentences 243
establishment 43, 189
restrictions on 194–5, 213, 237–9
terrorist group, declaration as 237–8, 243
revolution, generally 1919, in 185, 190, 1952, in 185
1971, in 186, 205
British High Commissioner, assassination of 193
Cairo uprising 193, 234–5
corruption, and 50
elections, unfairness 209
equality before the law, and 73–4
human rights violations 233–4
independence, calls for 189–90
Luxor massacre 232–3
military interventions 186–7, 230–31
Nasser’s coup d’état 195–6
national constitution revolution, whether there was 7–8
political, demonstrations 230–31
political dissent, repression of 51
rule of law
democracy, and 72–3
legitimacy conflicts 75
Shari’a law
constitutional references to 187, 191–2, 200, 205–6, 208, 218, 225–7, 235, 238–9
democracy, compatibility with 94–6
Straits of Tiran, closure of 203
Syria, unification with 199–201
Yemen, conflicts with 203
El Sadat, Anwar 44, 186, 195, 205–7
Elster, Jon 65
eternity/ non-amendable clauses 177–82
European Convention on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms (1950) 81
European Court of Human Rights
militant democracy principle, on 53, 56
religious education, in Norway 81–5
Falhi, Houcine 25, 47
Fanon, Frantz 102–3
Farouk, King of Egypt 193, 195
Faud I, Sultan (later King) of Egypt 191, 193
Ferrara, Alessandro 187
Folgerø v. Norway (2007, ECtHR) 81–5
France
colonial power, influences of 104–6
civil constitution, 130
democracy, and 33
French Revolution 4, 6, 34–6, 64
liberty, codification of 34
sovereignty, definitions 32–3
franchise, expansion of 16–17
Franklin, Benjamin 34, 62
freedom, generally
definitions 31–2
equality, and 30–31
revolution, and 30–32
sovereignty, and 31–2
freedom of expression
campaign finance, and 17
interpretations 14–15
liberal constitutionalism, and 14–16
militant democracy, and 54
religion, and 80
terrorism, incitement of 16
freedom of religion
Norway, in 80–85
United States, in 80
French Revolution 4, 6, 34–6, 64
Gaddafì, Muammar 135–8, 140
Gandhi, Mahatma 28
GCC see Cooperation Council for the Arab State of the Gulf
geopolitical influences, on Arab Spring
Bahrain 45
counter-revolutionary activities 41–3
Iran 43–5
limitations 38
Qatar 45
religion, and 40–44
Saudi Arabia 41–3
Germany 53, 56, 177
Ghannouchi, Mohamed 167–9
Ghozlan, Mahmud 96
globalization, influences of 98–9
Greene, Jack P. 67–8
Habermas, Jurgen 68
Hamas 43–5
The Arab Spring

Hamilton, Alexander 62
Hassan II, King of Morocco 75, 108, 117–18
hate speech 14–15
_Herri Batasuna v. Spain_ (ECtHR, 2009) 56
Hibou, Beatrice 124
Horchani, Ferhat 165
human rights, generally
- colonialism, breaches under 102–3
- Islamic constitutionalism, and 96–9
- militant democracy, and 56
- political incompatibility, and 56
Hungary 7–8

Ibn Khuldun, Abd Ar Rahman bin Muhammed 72
Iceland 80, 101
_ijma_ (general consensus) 11
illiberal constitutionalism 88–9, 99
illiberal theocracy, risk of 95–6
_ipseity_ 30–31
Iran 41–5
Iraq 92, 164–5, 199, 201
Ireland 147
Islamic constitutionalism 10–13
- characteristics 90–91
- constitutional development, reasons for 90
- human rights, and 96–9
- law, sources of 12
- liberal constitutionalism 11–12
- non-liberal/non-authoritarian 19–20
- non-liberal/non-totalitarian 12
- public power, controls on 89–90
- separation of powers 19–20
- Shari’a law, and 12, 94–5
- strength of 38–9
Islamic democracy, concept of 97–9
Islamic exceptionalism 72, 75–8
Islamic governments, characteristics 11
Israel
- allegiance pledges 88–9
- constitution 85–7, 145
- Egypt, conflicts with 203–4
- ethnic democracy, as 88
- illiberal constitutionalism, and 88–9
- political parties, constitutional controls 55
- religion and state, separation of 85–9
- State of, proclamation of 195
Jacobsohn, Gary J. 6–10, 67–8
Japan 177–8
Jasmine Revolution _see_ Tunisia
Jebali, Hamadi 172
Jefferson, Thomas 34, 79
_jihad_ 155
Joffé, George 39
Jordan 41–2, 46–7, 199, 201
Kamali, Hashim 12
Kamrava, Mehran 42
Kelsen, Hans 6–8
Khomeini, Ayatollah 44
King, Martin Luther 28
Lafayette, Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de 35
Larayedh, Ali 172, 182
Latin America 7
liberal constitutionalism 13–14
- civic equality, and 14
- equality principle, and 174
- franchise, extension of 16–17
- freedom of expression, and 14–16
- historical contingency problems, and 16
- judicial enforcement 19
- legal safeguards, need for 174
- militant democracy, and 15, 55–6
- non-liberal constitutionalism 17–19
- reasonable disagreement problems 14–15
- rule of law, and 14
- separation of powers 19
- shortfalls, and 15
- vs. authoritarianism 10–11, 13
Libya
- colonialism 132
- Bevin-Sforza Plan 132
- decolonization, influences of 101
- effects of 104, 131–2, 142–3
post-colonial interference in 107, 132–3
UN controls 132–3
constitution
drafts 101–2, 133, 136, 140–41
federalism, and 134, 141
fundamental rights 133, 141
Monarch, role and powers of 133–5
Preamble 68–9, 136, 141
principles 133–4, 136–9
religion, state controls 80, 136, 138, 141
revolution, and 66
separation of powers 134
UN requirement for 133
constitutional reform
Arabic language, recognition of 141–2
background 101, 131–2, 134
country name changes 133–4
Declaration on the advent of the People’s Power (1977) 138–9, 141
democracy, and 136–43
ethnic minorities, recognition of 142
Green Book 137–9
Green Charter of Rights 139
interim Constitutional Declaration (2011) 140–42
Jamahiriya (democratic system) 137–8
political influences on 101, 141
political structure 138–9
Revolutionary Command Council 136–7
Shari’a law, and 141
temporary constitutional declarations 101–2
violence, and 101
independence 131–3
intervention in 107
international commission of inquiry 139–40
military operations 140
Qatar, influences on 45–6
UN sanctions 139–40
Monarch
role and powers of 133–5
succession 134–5
revolution
democratic transition 140–42
Gaddafi’s coup d’état 135, 143
military force, use of 131, 139, 143
National Transitional Council 140–41
political demonstrations 130–31, 135, 139, 143
rule of law
democracy, and 72–3, 137, 139
legitimacy conflicts 75
strategic importance 104
Lowenstein, Karl 53
Madani, Mohamed 127, 130
Madison, James 147
Maghraoui, Driss 121–2
Maki, Mohamed 233
Mannheim, Karl 53
Mansour, Adly 231, 237, 244
Marbury v. Madison (US, 1803) 66
Martin, Bunton 209
Marzouki, Moncef 146, 170–71
maslabah (public welfare) 11
Mason, George 34
Matsudaira, Tokujin 177–8
Mebazaa, Fouad 169–70
media, and technology 24
Mehta, Pratap Bhanu 4
Mernni, Albert 102–3
Mohammad V, King of Morocco 105
Mohammad VI, King of Morocco 75, 108, 120–29
Montesquieu, Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de 31–3
Moore, Clement Henry 149, 153
Morocco
colonialism, effects of 104–5, 142–3
constitution
1962, of 111–12, 119
1970, of 112–13, 119
1972, of 113–15, 119
1980, amendments in 114–15, 119
1992, of 115–19
1996, of 117–19
2011, of 119, 123–8
citizen participation provisions 111
citizenship 128
freedom of expression 125–6
human rights 111, 127
legislative powers 111
national sovereignty, and 110
Preamble 111, 113, 115, 128
principles 109–10
religious provisions 111
separation of powers 125
Shari'a law, reference to 111
sub-national units, recognition of 116
succession 120
constitutional reform
Amazigh language, recognition of 128
Constitutional Council 116
Constitutional Court 128
Council of Ministers 127
crowd-sourcing 100, 124
cultural unity, recognition of 128
deconcentration 116
democracy, and 118–22, 128–9
development and implementation, time for 129–30
exceptionalism, and 123
government independence 113
Head of Government, role and powers 125–8
impacts of 127–8
initiative for 126
international treaties, incorporation of 115–16
legitimacy conflicts 74–5
Monarch, influences of 108–9, 117–19
national identity, and 69–70
parliamentary reform, and 117, 120–21
phases of 119
political influences on 101, 123–4
political party boycotts 112–13
popular opinion, influences of 124–5
post-colonial influences 108
principles 110–11
public oversight 129
purpose 119
referenda 113–15, 117, 125
Royal Commission for 124
social media, role in 122–5
success, analysis of 37, 39
GCC membership 41–2
independence 105, 109
Monarch
constitutional reform, role in 108–9
legitimacy of 128–9
political challenge of, restrictions 111–13
political strategies of 109, 114, 120–29
role and powers 74–5, 100, 105, 108–15, 117–18, 125–6, 143
sovereignty of 110
speeches, political function of 126
succession, constitutional basis for 120
National Human Development Initiative 120–21
revolution
background 100
declaration of emergency 112
equality before the law, and 73–4
political demonstrations 121–3
social media, role in 122–5
violence, and 122–3
rule of law
challenges to 74–5
constitutional recognition of 110, 119, 128
Shari'a law
constitutional reference to 111
democracy, compatibility with 94
Morsi, Mohamed 187, 221–4, 229–30, 243
Mubarak, Hosni 38, 107, 206
appointment 186
challenges to 74
constitutional reforms 208–14
corruption 50
resignation 26, 44–5, 215–16
Index

Muslim Brotherhood
death sentences 243
development 43–4, 194
establishment 43, 189
restrictions on 194–5, 213, 237–9
role and powers in Egypt 193–4, 209, 212, 219, 221–2, 232–3, 237
terrorist group, declaration as 237–8, 243

Nasser, Gamal Abdel 195, 199, 201, 203–5
national identity
constitution, and 68–72
post-colonialism, and 105
non-liberal constitutionalism
non-authoritarian Islamic constitutionalism 19–20
non-totalitarian Islamic constitutionalism 12
United States, and 17–19
Norway 80–85
Nouira, Hedi 155

Obama, Barak 243
O’Donnell, Guillermo 170
Ottaway, Marina 241
Ottoman Empire 91–2, 188–9

pacifism 28
Perkins, X. 160
political influences, on Arab Spring
political rights, repression of 51–2
social contract obligations, and 51–2
systemic corruption 50
political soul 29
Port, L. Kenneth 178
post-colonialism 102–8
post-revolution characteristics
liberal themes 36–7
new legal order, legitimacy of 6–7, 36–7
political leadership 6
rule of law, and 72–3
stability, need for 62
winners and losers, rights of 36–7
Prashad, Vijay 140
Proudhon, Pierre-Joseph 29–30
Psyche, myth of 29
Psyche-Polis (public soul) 29
Qatar 45–6
Qutb, Sayed 43
Ramadan 39
Refah Partisi (Welfare Party) v. Turkey (2013, ECtHR) 96
revolution see also post-revolution characteristics
consstitutions, and
American constitutional processes 61–6
Arab Spring constitutional processes 61, 66
balkanisation 65–6
constitutional moments 63–4
constitutional transitions 65–6
drafting challenges 65–6
identitarian challenges 67–72
new beginnings, and 64–5
definitions 2–4, 6–10, 130
democracy, as aim of 52–7
freedom, and 30–32
international community reactions to 24–5
myth, role of 58–9
ruling class, substitution of 36
sovereignty, and 32–3
theories
constitutional revolution 7–8, 10
fanatical idealism, and 6
freedom, conditions of 3, 5–6
liberation vs. defense and aggression 130
national self-understanding, and 4–5
new beginnings, and 4–6, 37, 64–5
nonconstitutional transformations 6–7
role of 2, 8–10
social question, and 3
violence, role in 2–4, 22
violence, role in 2–4, 22, 143
actions without violence 27–8
justification for 23
non-violent methods 23–4
physical violence 28
symbolic violence 28–30
technology influences on 22–7
Romania 9
Rousseau, Jean-Jacques 31–2
Roy, Olivier 78
rule of law
constitutionalism, importance in 77
democracy, and 72
equality before the law, and 73–5
Islamic society, in 72–3
Arab exceptionalism, and 72, 75–8
competing legitimacies in 74–5
legal reform, purpose of 77–8
religion and secular spheres, separation of 80
Shari’a law, and 76
Western models 76–7
liberal constitutionalism, and 14
liberal legality, and 77
Rutherford, Bruce K. 207
Saaf, Abdalah 118
Satre, Jean-Paul 103
satyagraha (non-violent actions) 27–8
Saudi Arabia 41–3
Schell, Jonathan 3
Schmitter, Philippe 170
Senussi, Abdullah 140
separation of powers
democracy, and 73–4
liberal constitutionalism, and 19
Shari’a law, and 19–20
Shari’a law, generally
constitutional adherence to 92–3
constitutionalism, compatibility with 94–5
definition 12, 76
democracy, compatibility with 57, 93–8
equality before the law, and 93
human rights, and 96
importance of 92–3
interpretation conflicts 92–4
liberalism, and 20, 94
Oulemas, role and powers of 225–7
rule of law conflicts 75–6
secular constitutionalism, and 93–4
separation of powers 19–20, 93
sovereignty, and 94–5
Western law concepts, differences from 93
Sherif, Omar 208
shura (consultation) 11
Sieyès, Emmanuel 32–3
Sisi, Abdel Fattah 212, 233, 243–4
Smooha, Sammy 88–9
social media, influences of 22–5, 122–5
South Africa 7–8, 69
sovereignty
definitions 32–3
freedom, and 31–2
revolution, and 32–3
Shari’a law, and 95
Spain 54–5, 105, 129–30
Stack, Lee 193
Stoner, Kathryn 183
suicide 29
Suleiman, Omar Mahmoud 44
Sultany, Nimer 11, 95
Sunni-Shiite antagonism 41–5
Sweden 80
Syria
Egypt, relationship with 199–201
Israel, conflicts with 204
revolution, and violence 131
sanctions against 45
Tantawi, Mohamed Hussein 215, 223–4
technology see also social media
crowd-sourced crisis maps 23
global monitoring, and 24
media, relationship between 24
revolution, role in 22–7
terrorism
freedom of expression, and 16
Muslim Brotherhood, declaration as terrorist group 237–8, 243
revolution, challenges of 183–4
Index

Tunisia

colonialism
  autonomy, developments in 150
  effects of 105–6, 148–9
  political suppression 149

post-colonial interference 106

constitution
  1920, of 144
  1959, of 151–9
  1988, of 161–2
  2014, of 173–4, 183–4, 192

application, in practice 166

authoritarianism, and 154

citizenship, and 177

‘defined by law’ provision 154

delegation, and 154

educational institutions, neutrality of 173–4, 180

emergency powers 152–3, 175

eternity/non-amendable clauses 177–80

fundamental rights 152, 154, 160–61, 165–6, 173, 175–6, 182

historical development 90–92, 150–51

illiberal interpretations of 175–6

importance of 144–5, 168

influences on 152–3

national identity 173, 176–7

political parties, role and powers 160–61

Preamble 68–9, 151–2, 173, 183

president, role and powers 152–7, 161–2, 166, 171, 176–7, 182

presidential succession 167–8

presidential term of office 153, 159, 161–2, 166, 176–7

principles 151–2, 176–7

purpose 144

religion vs. secular spheres, conflicts 89, 147–8

revolution, and 66

rule of law, and 151–2, 166, 173, 175

self-determination, rights of 173–4

separation of powers 151, 176

state religion 151, 173–4, 177, 180

violence, prohibition of 160

constitutional reform
  background 150–51
  Ben Ali, influences over 159–67
  Bourguiba, influences over 154–8

Constitutional Council, role and powers 164–5, 168, 176

constitutional facades 145

Constitutional Law 6-2011 171–2

contradictions, implications of 174, 178–80

decolonization, and 148–9

democracy, and 156–7, 161–2, 165–6, 170

economic crisis, influences of 157, 166–7

elections 171–2

electoral reform 156–7, 162, 170–71

High Commission for the Realization of Revolutionary Goals 169

international law, recognition of 165–6

Islamic movement influences on 155, 157–61

Jasmine Revolution, following 169–77

judicial review 178

militant democracy, and 184

military influences on 159–60

multi-party elections, promotion of 146, 160–61

National Constituent Assembly 150–51, 155–7, 170–71

national identity, and 149

political influences on 145, 148–9, 156–7

political parties, controls over 146, 155, 157–8, 160–61

president, role and powers 155–7, 161–2, 166, 171, 176–7, 182

Prime Minister, role and powers 155–7, 161, 182

public morality restrictions 182

rationalized parliamentarism, and 175–6
religion, state controls 80, 146, 151, 160, 180
human rights 106, 163–6, 173, 175–6, 182
independence 105–6, 150–51
Jasmine Revolution
democracy, influences on 167, 183–4
events 24–5, 38
influences of 38, 131
non-violent, whether 25–6
transitional period following 167–9
post-colonial progress 106–7, 183–4
revolution, generally
Al Qaeda, role of 163, 183–4
amnesties 160
anti-Islamic activities 163–5
Ben Ali’s coup d’état 158–9
bread riots 158
corruption, and 166–7
economic crisis, influences of 157, 166–7
Ennahda, role of 162–3, 165, 170
equality before the law, and 73–4
Ghannouchi’s coup d’état 167–8
Islamic influences on 157–9, 163–5
military controls 166–7
Mouvement de Tendance Islamique, role of 157–61
political amnesties 51
political assassinations 172, 182
political rights, repression of 51
presidential assassination plots 158–9
public demonstrations 166–7, 182–3
slogan 123
state of emergency 167, 175
terrorism, challenges of 183–4
unemployment, and 166–7
US intervention in Iraq, and 164–5
violence in 183–4
rule of law
democracy, and 72–3
recognition of 151–2, 173, 175
Shari’a law 94–6, 146
Turkey 91, 179–82 see also Ottoman Empire
unemployment and underemployment 47–8, 166–7
United Communist Party of Turkey v. Turkey (ECtHR, 1998) 56
United Kingdom 16, 104–7
United States
Bill of Rights 35, 66
campaign finance 17
colonial power, influences of 104–6
Constitution
background 61–3, 65–6, 79–80
debates 68
development stages 65
drafting 61–3, 65–6
identitarian challenges 67–8
legitimacy 66
model, as 78–9
religion and secular spheres, separation of 78–80
constitutionalism
concept development 34–5
constitution development stages 65
constitutitional moments 63–4
liberal constitutionalism 14–15, 17
non-liberal constitutionalism 17–19
Declaration of Rights (Virginia Charter, 1776) 34–5
freedom of expression 17
liberal constitutionalism 14–15, 17
liberty
concept development 34–6
constitutional limitations on 35–6
Philadelphia Convention (1787)
background 61–6
Continental Congress 65–6
post-colonial interference 106–7
Revolution
constitutional development, and 61–6
Founding Fathers, and 62–3
importance 64–5
revolution, concept of 34–6
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Venice Commission for Democracy through Law 172–3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>violence definition 23, 25–6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>actions without violence 27–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-violent actions 27–8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pacifism, an 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>revolution, role in 2–4, 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>justification for 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>non-violent methods 23–4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>physical violence 28</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| strengths and weaknesses of 22 |
| symbolic violence 28–30 |
| technology influences on 22–5 |

| Washington, George 62 |
| Yemen 199, 203 |
| Youssoufi, Abdelrahman 121 |
| Zaghul, Sa’d 189–90, 193 |