

Islamist and Leftist Encounters in the Middle East and North Africa (1960s-2010s): An Introduction

Laura Guazzone and Rossana Tufaro

From the 1960s to the 2010s, in Middle Eastern and North African countries, leftist and Islamist movements rose to prominence as the primary transformative actors in the Arab world and Iran, consistently operating within the same terrain of political opposition and emancipatory politics. Despite this commonality—which persisted across different historical phases even as hegemony shifted between the two forces—scholarly literature has rarely examined their relationship systematically. When it has, the tendency has been to portray these movements as implacably opposed, locked in fundamental ideological and political antagonism. Of course, in the rich literature on contemporary Middle Eastern politics, analysis of Islamist and leftist movements is abundant; what is rare is specific attention to their relations.¹ Even in studies devoted to the specific question of political participation in Middle East authoritarian regimes (Lust-Okar 2005; Schwedler, Clark 2006; Albrecht 2010), the question remains unaddressed. However, the role of cross-ideological alliances was analyzed as a key factor in post-Arab Spring transitions to democracy (Stepen 2018). This volume challenges the narrative that sees Islamist and leftist actors as inherently politically antithetical and enriches the literature about political participation, as we argue that this conventional depiction of Islamist-leftist relations obscures more than it reveals, failing to capture the complex, nuanced, and often surprising patterns of interaction that characterised their historical encounters.

¹ Notable exceptions are Michaelle Browers (2009), Nicolas Dot-Pouillard (2007, 2008, 2009, 2019, 2024) and some interesting works on cross-ideological relations in Egypt in the 1990s and 2000s (Shehata 2009; Abdelrahman 2004, 2009, 2015; Sallam 2022).

In effect, since their beginnings, the relationships between leftists and Islamist movements have been undoubtedly marked by sharp ideological antagonism—with each side rejecting the other's foundational premises. Looking at 1940s Egypt alone, we can see how Abu Sayf Yusuf, the second secretary general of the Egyptian Workers and Peasants Communist Party, in his 1946 book *Ḥawla al-falsafa al-marksīyya* (On Marxist Philosophy), accused the Muslim Brotherhood of deceiving the masses and undermining the nationalist/democratic movement through the dissemination of false consciousness. The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's critique of leftist ideologies was even more stark. Referring to capitalism and communism, Sayyid Qutb stated in his 1949 *ʿAdāla ijtīmāʿīyya fī al-Islām* (Social Justice in Islam) that “both philosophies [are] depending on the preponderance of a materialistic doctrine of life” (Shepard 1996: 77). More in general, the Muslim Brotherhood argued that “capitalism was equated with licentious individualism and thus with social chaos, communism with atheism, and both with materialism” (Mitchell 1993: 228). Then, an Islamist “authenticity critique” on the left emerged during the 1970s and 1980s. The critique asserted that leftist movements lack an organic connection to local society, presenting them as foreign agents with questionable national loyalties. The electoral victories of Islamist parties in the late 1980s and early 1990s, together with attacks against secular intellectuals in the 1990s, paved the way for a leftist counter-critique of Islamists, one that continues to shape leftist discourse in the contemporary moment. In Egypt, this counter-critique argued that it was the Islamist movement that lacked authentic roots in society and questioned Islamists' loyalty to the homeland, given their ties with international networks of Islamist groups and governments (Sallam 2025).

However, ideological contradictions between the two sides have been historically counterbalanced by their common dedication to the cause of national liberation from foreign domination and colonial and post-colonial oppression. Arab Marxists have always established a dialectical link between social change and national liberation, whereas the national democratic revolution comes before the class struggle (al-Charif 2023; Giampaolo).² As for the Islamists, their dedication to national liberation rests on the persuasion that the materialist

² In this introduction we refer to the chapters in this volume by quoting the author's name in round brackets.

culture imposed by foreign domination is a fundamental cause of the weakness and backwardness of Muslim societies, as relentlessly argued by the founding fathers of Sunni and Shia Islamism, as well as by contemporary Islamist movements. Therefore, the unresolved question of national liberation represents what Rudé (1980) terms an “inherent ideology, “a sort of mothers’ milk ideology”, for all shades of resistance movements in the Middle East (Browsers).

Indeed, a closer look at the empirical record reveals complex patterns of interaction that transcend sheer polarization and show how focusing on ideology, praxis, and their historicized evolution should aim at taking stock of how ideational registers move as a result of the political action and at explaining how the strategy of political actors evolve in changing political contexts, thus nuancing the sometimes over simplistic use of concepts such as accommodationism or opportunism to explain cross-ideological collaborations. For instance, despite enduring ideological antagonism, in the “long-1960s” Iraqi and Lebanese Communists also reached out to the popular masses by sharing in the Shia symbols and rituals of the fight against oppression (Menghini; Tufaro, Chaib). In the late 1970s, some leftist thinkers and activists -such as Palestinian Munir Shafiq and Egyptian ‘Adel Hussein - “converted” to Islamism through nationalism and anti-imperialism, advocating the revolutionary potential of Islam and its mobilizing power among the masses (Dot-Pouillard 2008, 2024; Giampaolo). Then, in the late 1980s, some Arab leftists, namely the Revolutionary Socialists in Egypt, developed a much more nuanced analysis of Islamism that, considering its multiple class base and multipurpose discourse, rejected outright identification of political Islam with conservatism and fascism and opened to pathways for collaboration, albeit amid considerable internal debate (Harman 1994; el-Hamalawy). The Islamists followed their own trajectory. Generally speaking, during their political ascendancy in the 1970s and 1980s, they maintained their rejection of collaboration with the left, with leaders like Khomeini categorically refusing to enter into any partnership (Randjbar-Daemi). However, in peripheral contexts such as rural South Lebanon, forms of cooperation in local struggles or cultural platforms emerged nonetheless (Tufaro, Chaib). In a similar vein, especially in universities, Islamists were influenced by leftist ideology and practices (Carnevale; Guazzone; Biondi). Also, when facing adverse political conditions in the 1990s, 2000s, and 2010s, Islamist activists and intellectuals increasingly

recognized shared democratic and human rights principles and actively pursued both oppositional and electoral partnerships with leftist forces (el-Hamalawy; Giampaolo; Guazzone; Gervasio, Pioppi).

The examination presented in this volume of the empirical record, encompassing multiple case studies and their diverse geographical, social, and institutional contexts, suggests a notable interplay between praxis and ideas. Rather than existing in a state of permanent opposition, leftist and Islamist movements have demonstrated considerable capacity for tactical convergence, alliance-building, and ideological cross-pollination across diverse settings throughout the 1960s - 2010s period. As shown by the case studies throughout this volume, these interactions have manifested across multiple levels —from local contexts including the religious milieu of Najaf, South Lebanon's rural struggles, Palestinian resistance networks, and student movements in the Maghreb, to regional developments such as the widespread embrace of human rights and democracy norms, and regional effects of global power reconfigurations after the end of the Cold War.

Conceptual Definitions and Theoretical Framework

For this research, we have chosen to work with a deliberately broad yet focused definition of the left that captures its essential characteristics while acknowledging its internal diversity. We define the left as encompassing the heterogeneous array of political actors who, notwithstanding their tactical, strategic, and ideological differences, share class analysis, socialism, and anti-imperialism as foundational principles informing their emancipatory political agenda. This includes the wide spectrum of leftist movements—from communist parties to socialist organizations, from Marxist-Leninist groups to the various currents of the so-called New Arab Left— all united by their secular orientation and their shared commitment to the radical emancipation of their societies from both international and domestic forms of subordination. By radical emancipation, we mean their vision of fundamental transformation— whether achieved through revolutionary means or gradual reform—that addresses the root causes of societal oppression rather than merely its symptoms. This dual focus on international and social dimensions reflects the particular historical context of the Middle East and North Africa, where leftist movements have consistently opposed both external domination (colonialism, imperialism, and various forms of

foreign interference) and internal hierarchies (class exploitation, social and gender inequality, as well as authoritarian governance).

Similarly, we define Islamism simply as the ideology that interprets Islam as offering a *niẓām shāmīl*, a comprehensive system including the political sphere, that derives from the sacred texts – the Quran and the Sunna – which remain open to interpretive effort (*ijtihād*) by those with adequate religious training. This interpretative approach distinguishes Islamists from Salafi and Jihadi movements, as Islamists embrace a prevailing reformist methodology in both theology and politics, viewing *ijtihād* as a legitimate and necessary tool for adapting Islamic principles to contemporary circumstances. Central to Islamist ideology is the conviction that establishing an Islamic state – i. e., a state governed according to Islamic law (*sharīʿa*) – represents not merely a political preference, but a religious imperative, essential for enabling both individuals and society to live authentically Islamic lives. Islamists are individuals, groups, social movements, and political parties that subscribe to this ideological framework, despite differences in their specific interpretations, strategies, and organizational forms.

The paucity of systematic empirical investigation into the political relationships between Islamism and the left in the Middle East led us to develop this collection of case studies, which examines specific countries and contexts across different phases of the 1960s–2010s period. By grounding our analysis in concrete historical experiences rather than abstract theoretical frameworks, we aim to provide a more nuanced understanding of how ideologically distinct movements have navigated their relationships within the complex political landscapes of the Middle East and North Africa. Therefore, the volume employs a multi-sited comparative approach that combines detailed case studies with cross-regional analysis. Our selection of cases was guided by several criteria: geographical diversity (spanning the Maghreb, Mashreq, and Iran), temporal variation (covering different phases within the 1960s – 2010s period), and institutional diversity (examining encounters in family networks, universities, rural communities, urban movements, and political parties). The methodological approaches employed by contributors range from micro historical analysis of social networks to institutional studies of organizational evolution, from discourse analysis to participant observation. This methodological diversity reflects our conviction that the complexity of ideological encounters requires multiple analytical lenses to be fully understood.

As highlighted in the title of this volume, our research focuses on what we conceptualize as “radical encounters” between leftist and Islamist movements across Arab countries and Iran during the 1960s–2010s period. We use “encounter” as an umbrella term for the diverse ways these ideologically distinct movements have interacted throughout the period under study. These interactions take multiple forms: sometimes involving political convergence around shared concerns and struggles; other times, cross-pollination of ideas and practices; and frequently manifesting as direct competition for the same political spaces and constituencies.

These encounters unfolded across several interconnected yet analytically distinct dimensions. At the ideological level, we observe how leftist and Islamist movements have grappled with common concerns, including social justice, anti-imperialism, opposition to Zionism, questions of democracy, human and minority rights, and responses to globalization. In terms of political practices, we examine how these movements have interacted towards the same political goals, with social environments influencing each other’s constraints and opportunities, leading to unexpected borrowings of tactics, horizons of meaning, and language. Finally, regarding agendas, we examine the enabling conditions that, under specific historical circumstances, facilitated the emergence of forms of cooperation.

The Temporal and Contextual Dimensions

The temporal and contextual dimension of these encounters proves equally significant. Specific political events and circumstances have repeatedly brought leftist and Islamist groups into contact, creating complex patterns of competition and mutual influence.

We chose the 1960s – 2010s timeframe for our enquiry because it encapsulates the timespan in which most types of encounters between Islamists and leftists took place in modern history. The so-called “long-1960s” (1956-1979) are conventionally portrayed as the age of global radicalism, defined by decolonization movements, revolutionary ferment, and the emergence of global agendas of dissent around anti-imperialism and social emancipation. Together with representing the heyday of the regional and global lefts, this period was also characterized by the emergence of a new generation of Islamist militants, groups, and ideologues searching for alternative

Islamic answers to the bids of emancipation that were shaking the Arab and Iranian masses.

Arab authoritarian regimes often manipulated their rise to the forefront of grassroots socio-political opposition to pursue divide-and-conquer strategies, which pitted leftist and Islamist movements on opposing sides in the 1960s and 1970s. Nevertheless, this historical juncture also enabled intense, multidimensional encounters between leftist and Islamist movements.

With the advent of the 1980s, the exhaustion of Third-Worldist momentum, and the progressive demise of the socialist revolutionary experiences that had defined the previous phase, came a significant contraction in the influence of leftist ideologies among the Arab masses. At the same time, the success of the Iranian revolution, the geopolitical rise of petro-monarchies, the legitimacy crises of the post-independence Arab regimes, and the Western-sponsored neoliberal restructuring of the regional economies were among the key factors prompting a coeval “Islamic revival”. Also, the rise to prominence of Islamist revolutionary movements allowed leftists to discover the revolutionary potential of Islam, bringing to more nuanced reassessments of their former positions and even leading to the already mentioned “conversion” to Islamism of prominent leftist intellectuals. In some cases, this prepared the ideological terrain for new forms of sustained tactical and strategic encounters to emerge throughout the 1990s and 2000s, centered on anti-war and pro-democracy themes. This new convergence was prompted by two primary triggers: on the one hand, the recurrent regimes’ crackdown on civil society and the consequent weakness of liberal democratization drives; on the other, the succession of US and Western-backed military invasions and occupation in the region, the most important represented by the 2003 invasion of Iraq and the enduring Israeli occupation of the Palestinian territories. Last but not least, during the 2000s in several countries (Egypt, Iraq, Jordan, Tunisia), significant examples of sustained convergence and cooperation took place right before and during the Arab Uprisings, triggered by the common opposition to dictatorship, police brutality, and neoliberal policies. Then, the abandonment of cross-ideological alliances after the revolution was a key factor in the failure of the post-Arab Uprisings transition to democracy in Egypt and Tunisia, and possibly in the descent into civil war elsewhere (Stepan 2018).

Structure of the Volume

This volume is organized into four thematic parts that capture different dimensions and contexts of Islamist-leftist encounters across the 1960s-2010s period.

Part One, "The Shiite-Communist Conundrum" examines the distinctive dynamics in Shiite-majority contexts, where shared narratives and experiences of marginalization, along with revolutionary symbolism, created unique possibilities for ideological cross-pollination. Pietro Menghini's analysis of the Najaf environment reveals how family and social networks facilitated intimate exchanges between communist activists and religious figures in Iraq's holy city. Rossana Tufaro and Kinda Chaib explore how rural organizing in South Lebanon brought together progressive Shia clerics and leftist militants. Siavush Randjbar-Daemi analyzes the complex relationships between leftist organizations and political Islam in pre-revolutionary Iran.

Part Two, "Between the University and the Stage" focuses on institutional contexts, particularly universities and cultural spaces, where ideological encounters occur through more structured channels. Laura Guazzone provides a comprehensive analysis of Islamist-leftist relationships in Tunisia from the 1960s to the 2010s, while Alessia Carnevale examines how Islamist students in 1980s Tunisia learned cultural production techniques from their leftist counterparts. Martina Biondi traces the evolution of the Moroccan National Student Union (UNEM) from leftist to Islamist dominance, revealing patterns of ideological succession and adaptation.

Part Three, "Struggles in the New Millennium" examines how these relationships evolved in response to regional developments, U.S. interventions, and the changing international context after 2000. Hossam el-Hamalawy's militant "autoethnography" analyzes Egyptian leftist strategies toward Islamist movements, articulating the principle of tactical cooperation against the state. Mattia Giampaolo explores how the post-Oslo period created new conditions for Palestinian leftist-Islamist cooperation around shared rejection of the peace process. Gennaro Gervasio and Daniela Pioppi examine the unexpected electoral and ideational cooperation between leftist and Sadrist movements in post-2011 Iraq.

Part Four, "A Postscript", offers a broader theoretical reflection and a presentation of documentary resources. Michaelle Browsers analyzes

cross-ideological alliances as expressions of “resistance as ideology”, while Zhaleh Nayeboossadrian presents a new documentary archive that provides primary source materials gathered through our research and made available for future research on these encounters.

For a Typology of Cross-Ideological Encounters

The chapters in this volume collectively challenge conventional narratives of ideological replacement and linear succession by revealing a more complex pattern of what we term “encounters” between competing opposition forces. Rather than simple succession or synthesis, the case studies demonstrate how Islamist and leftist movements developed tactical alliances and unexpected collaborations while maintaining distinct ideological commitments, often competing for overlapping social constituencies while simultaneously learning from each other’s approaches to mobilization.

The diversity of the historical moments and local contexts notwithstanding, political encounters between leftists and Islamists can be categorized along a spectrum of three distinct forms of engagement, each characterized by varying degrees of commitment and scope.³

Limited Engagement represents the most basic form of collaboration, where organizations participate in joint initiatives on a case-by-case basis with no long-term commitments. Such partnerships typically emerge around specific issues that generate broad consensus—such as Palestinian solidarity or opposition to Western interference and regime policy—and require minimal political investment from participants. This form of collaboration, reported in most of the case studies in this volume, does not require participating groups to reconcile their actions with their fundamental ideological principles, though it may occasionally create opportunities for deeper understanding. An example of single-issue collaboration is the Anti-Normalization Committee in Jordan, which was formed in 1995 by the Islamic Action Front (IAF) and a number of leftist parties. The committee was established to oppose any normalization of bilateral relations between Jordan and Israel in the aftermath of the 1994 peace treaty. Another such example includes the Egyptian Popular Committee for Solidarity with the Palestinian Intifada (EPCSPI), a broad-based coalition of

³ The following typology is inspired by: Schwedler, Clark 2006; Kraetzschmar 2011.

societal and political forces in Egypt, which in 2001 organized a number of pro-Palestinian demonstrations and fundraising activities in support of the second intifada (Abdelrahman 2011). As el-Hamalawy witnesses in his chapter in this volume, the EPCSPI did indeed foster further collaboration.

Sustained Partnership involves more comprehensive and enduring forms of collaboration that extend across multiple policy areas. While such alliances may begin with specific objectives, they tend to expand as new opportunities arise. However, this intermediate level of cooperation often operates within implicit boundaries, where certain contentious issues – namely women or non-Muslim rights- remain deliberately excluded from joint deliberations. Participants commit to ongoing collaboration while maintaining their distinct political identities and avoiding the development of unified ideological frameworks (el-Hamalawy; Gervasio, Pioppi). In other terms political actors in sustained partnership, use ‘cooperative differentiation’ in order to “maintain a public face of solidarity towards the movement’s targets while differentiating themselves in communications with their constituencies” (Hathaway, Meyer 1997: 67-68). An example of sustained partnership is the multi-issues convergence in Egypt of the Muslim Brotherhood and some leftists’ groups and civil society organizations during the 2000s, in the runup to and during the Arab Spring mobilization (Abdelrahman 2011; el-Hamalawy).

Comprehensive Alliance represents the most advanced form of cross-ideological cooperation, in which distinct organizations work to develop shared visions for comprehensive political, social, and economic transformation. In this model, participants engage with any relevant issue through meaningful dialogue about fundamental principles and values. This form of collaboration extends beyond policy coordination to encompass questions of identity and worldview, as partners seek to articulate common ground regarding both their ultimate goals and the strategies for achieving them, as seen in pre-Arab Spring Tunisia and in post-2011 Iraq (Guazzone; Gervasio, Pioppi).

Triggers Cross-ideological collaboration tends to emerge primarily when political circumstances create strategic advantages, particularly when opposition movements face shared challenges from authoritarian governance, Western intervention (such as the US attacks against Iraq in 1991 and 2003), or competing political projects (such as the Oslo accords). However, even sustained partnerships do not preclude

individual parties from pursuing separate accommodations with ruling regimes when it serves their particular interests, as in the case of the Tunisian opposition parties analyzed by Guazzone. In the same vein, even a comprehensive alliance does not automatically imply a commitment to the formation of new political entities emerging from the merging of existing actors (Gervasio, Pioppi).

Structural constraints The reasons why cross-ideological collaborations of all types have not (yet) proven durable in Arab countries and Iran over the 1960s–2010s period are also, although to a lesser extent, a theme analysed in our research. Overall, as Shehata stresses in the case of Egypt:

These attempts proved tactical and short-lived owing to the persistence of fundamental ideological divisions and mobilizational asymmetries between Islamists and secularists. The Egyptian regime, for its part, has successfully manipulated and deepened these divisions and asymmetries to ensure its continued survival and the continued weakness and fragmentation of its challengers. (Shehata 2010)

However, when political opportunities arise, whether through regime liberalization, increased repression, or external threats, Islamist and leftist forces tend to mobilize concurrently against common challenges. It is when opportunities fade or when one side appears poised to dominate that alliances often dissolve and confrontation resurfaces, as seen in post-Arab Spring Tunisia. This pattern suggests structural constraints on the durability of cross-ideological cooperation in contexts where winner-take-all political logic prevails.

The volume's findings contribute to several broader theoretical debates. First, they challenge binary understandings of secular-religious divides in Middle Eastern politics, revealing a spectrum of hybrid positions and tactical accommodations. Second, they demonstrate the limitations of cultural approaches that predict political behavior solely based on ideological positioning, showing instead how contextual factors and strategic considerations shape actual political practice. Third, they contribute to social movement theory by examining how ideologically opposed movements can simultaneously compete and cooperate within the same political fields. Equally important, the volume offers new empirical insights that expand knowledge and understanding of the forms, geographies, temporalities, spread, and nodes of operability through which encounters between the two political worlds are substantiated, and sheds new light on the

transformative impacts the latter exerted beyond teleological and elite-centered narratives.

A commonality across the chapters is how specific institutional and socio-political contexts facilitated unexpected exchanges between seemingly incompatible ideological groups. These contexts created what can be termed “bridging spaces”, where ideological boundaries became more porous, allowing the circulation of ideas, tactics, and symbolic repertoires, as well as circumstantial tactical or strategic forms of cooperation. These are part of what one of the contributors calls “the reconfiguring of a never-quite ideologically configured space” (Browers). For instance, in his chapter, Giampaolo quotes the striking example of the leader of the Palestinian Islamic Jihad speaking in Leninist terms about the role of the state, similarly Guazzone shows the convergence of Tunisian Maoists and Ennahda Islamists in the defence of human rights, a liberal concept alien to both ideological traditions.

The temporal dimension reveals both cyclical patterns and moments of simultaneous mobilization that complicate linear narratives of ideological succession. For instance, both Tunisia and Egypt experienced instances of advanced cooperation between sections of the left and the Islamists in the decade preceding the Arab Spring “revolution”, cooperations that were completely reversed into opposing political fronts after the electoral success of the Islamists (Guazzone; el-Hamalawy). Also, the sectarian dimension emerges as a crucial factor differentiating the dynamics of encounter across the region, with Shia-majority contexts creating distinctive conditions for leftist-Islamist interaction through shared experiences of marginalization and common symbolic repertoires.

The contemporary relevance of these historical patterns extends beyond academic interest, offering crucial insights for understanding current Middle Eastern politics. The volume’s findings suggest that the capacity for cross-ideological cooperation remains a significant feature of opposition politics in the region, even as new forms of polarization have emerged. The volume findings also point toward future research directions. The emphasis in much existing literature on elite-level political interactions has obscured the importance of social networks, institutional contexts, and everyday forms of ideological circulation. Future research might productively examine how digital technologies are reshaping these encounters, how generational change affects

ideological flexibility, and how transnational networks influence local patterns of cooperation and competition.

Conclusions

Rather than the conventional narrative of fundamental antagonism between leftist and Islamist movements, this volume reveals a complex pattern of tactical maneuvering, mutual learning, and contextual accommodation. While genuine ideological synthesis and durable political alliance remain rare, the capacity for strategic cross-ideological cooperation has proven to be a persistent feature of opposition politics across the Middle East and North Africa.

The historical record analyzed in the case studies presented in this volume demonstrates that these relationships have been shaped more by structural conditions—authoritarian manipulation, external pressures, and competitive political environments—than by inherent ideological incompatibilities. Understanding these dynamics provides crucial insights not only for historical analysis but also for understanding contemporary political developments, where ideological commitment continues to intersect with pragmatic necessity in shaping opposition politics across the region.

Despite recurring cycles of popular protests, the post-Arab Spring authoritarian reconstitution in most Arab countries and the resilience (so far) of the Islamic regime in Iran, together with the global rise of populist and right-wing forces, and the reignition of new armed conflict in the Middle East – seem to have seriously diminished the political force of both leftist and Islamist oppositional movements in the region. But, for all the claims of ossification of both established power and exhaustion of its most radical oppositions, the Middle East and North Africa societies are “unlikely to become post-ideological any soon” (Browsers).

References

- Abdelrahman, Maha (2004) “The Leftists and Islamists in Egypt”, *Isim Newsletter*, 14/1.
- (2009) “‘With the Islamists? —Sometimes. With the State? —Never!’ Cooperation between the Left and Islamists in Egypt”, *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 36/1.

- (2015) *Egypt's Long Revolution: Protest Movements and Uprisings*, London, Routledge & CRC Press.
- Browsers, Michaelle (2009) *Political Ideology in the Arab World: Accommodation and Transformation*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- al-Charif, Maher (2023) "'Marxisme arabe' ou marxisme dans le monde arabe?", *Orient XXI*. [Online] Available at: <https://orientxxi.info/dossiers-et-series/marxisme-arabe-ou-marxisme-dans-le-monde-arabe,6858> [Accessed 03.10. 2025].
- Nicolas Dot-Pouillard (2007) "Un islamisme ouvert sur sa gauche l'émergence d'un nouveau tiers-mondisme arabe ?", *Mouvements*. [Online] Available at: <https://mouvements.info/un-islamisme-ouvert-sur-sa-gauche-lemergence-dun-nouveau-tiers-mondisme-arabe/> [Accessed 03.10. 2025].
- (2009) "Rapports entre mouvements islamistes, nationalistes et de gauche au Moyen-Orient arabe", *Alternatives Sud*.
- (2008) "De Pékin à Téhéran, en regardant vers Jérusalem: la singulière conversion à l'islamisme des «Maos du Fatah»", *Cahiers du Religioscope*, 2.
- (2019) "La greffe et l'empreinte chiisme et communisme dans le monde arabe", *Revue des mondes musulmans et de la Méditerranée*, 145.
- (2022) "Un air de famille? Nationalisme(s) et "islam de résistance" dans les mouvements islamiques libanais et palestiniens (1964-1992)", in: François Burgat and Matthieu Rey (dirs.) *Histoire des mobilisations islamistes. XIXe-XXIe siècle. D'Afghani à Baghdadi*. Paris, CNRS Editions.
- (2024) "Mounir Shafiq: du marxisme à l'islamisme, ou les conversions sans rupture d'un intellectuel révolutionnaire palestinien au Liban", *Biens Symboliques/ Symbolic Goods*, 15. [Online] Available at: <http://journals.openedition.org/bssg/6260>, [Accessed 19.11.2025].
- Hathaway, Will and David Meyer (1997) "Competition and Cooperation in Movement Coalitions", in: Thomas T. Rochon and David S. Meyer (eds.) *Coalitions and Political Movements*. Boulder, CO, Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Harman, Chris (1994) "The Prophet and the Proletariat", *International Socialism Journal*, 2/64.
- Kraetzschmar, Hendrik (2011) "Mapping Opposition Cooperation in the Arab World: From Single-Issue Coalitions to Transnational Networks", *British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, 38/3.
- Mitchell, Richard P. (1993) *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, Oxford, Oxford University Press.
- Rudé, George (1980) *Ideology and Popular Protest*, New York, Knopf.
- Sallam, Hesham (2022) *Classless Politics: Islamist Movements, the Left, and Authoritarian Legacies in Egypt*, New York, Columbia University Press.
- (2025) "Authenticity and national loyalty: the intellectual roots of Islamist-leftist affective polarisation in post-2013 Egypt", *The Journal of North African Studies*.

- Schwedler, Jillian and Janine A. Clark (2006) "Islamist-Leftist Cooperation in the Arab World", *ISIM Review*, 18.
- Shehata, Dina (2009) *Islamists and Secularists in Egypt*, London, Routledge.
- Shepard, William (1996) *Sayyid Qutb and Islamic Activism: A Translation and Critical Analysis of Social Justice in Islam*, Leiden, Brill.
- Stepan, Alfred (ed.) (2018) *Democratic Transition in the Muslim World: A Global Perspective*, New York, Columbia University Press.