

TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMISM AND POLITICAL MODERATION:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EGYPT AND MOROCCO

by

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Doctor of Philosophy

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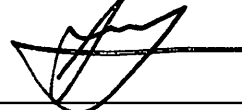
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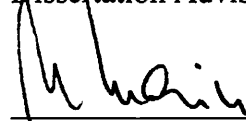
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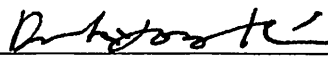
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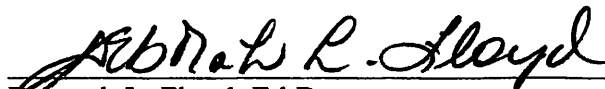
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I would like to thank my father, even though he is not here with us, I always felt his presence pushing me to be a better person. In addition, I would like to sincerely thank my daughter, Zayna, and my mother, Somaya, for all their love, enduring support and understanding. I also wish to thank my love, my inspiration for all his support in this dissertation. I also want to thank Dr. Renat Shaykhutdinov, Dr. Noemi Marin and Dr. Dukhong Kim for their time, patience, understanding, and guidance. I also want to express my great appreciation for Dr. Michael Horswell for all his support.

ABSTRACT

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This dissertation examines how transnationalism can affect Islamists' moderation in both Egypt and Morocco. In this dissertation, I do an in-depth comparative case study analysis to assess the prospects of moderation of two Islamists political entities, the Muslim Brotherhood as a transnational social movement and the Morocco Party of Justice and Development (JDP), which has no transnational ties. Both the Muslim Brotherhood and PJD came to power after the Arab uprising in 2011 and were key players in the democratic transitions in both countries; however, the entities are not related. Further, the dissertation will explore the moderation level of the Muslim Brotherhood and PJD. Current literature on Islamists and moderation theory focuses on political inclusion, political learning and repression as factors that would affect the moderation of an Islamist group. Looking at Islamists as a transnational social movement is a new aspect in the study of Islamism. Recently, scholars have addressed the

transnational aspect of Islamist social movements; however, these studies focused on radical Islamist groups such as Al Qaeda. To date, there has been no study to assess how transnationalism can affect the moderation level of Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood. This dissertation attempts to fill that gap by assessing the moderation level of the transnational Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Justice and Development Party in Morocco. Furthermore, extant studies have ignored transnational *identity* in conceptualizing “Transnationalism”. My dissertation corrects this gap by bringing this new element into consideration. In addition, most of the research conducted on the Muslim Brotherhood stops at 2012. My dissertation gives in-depth examination of the development of events up until February, 2015.

DEDICATION

To my father, I did it for you. To the love of my life, to my beautiful Zayna and to my mother, Somaya. Thank you.

TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMISM AND POLITICAL MODERATION:
A COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF EGYPT AND MOROCCO

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CHAPTER ONE

TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMISM AND SOCIAL MOVEMENT THEORY

Introduction

Late in January 2015, the United States hosted a delegation of the Muslim Brotherhood to discuss the Brotherhood's ongoing efforts to oppose the Egyptian government and its new president Abdel Fattah el-Sisi. The event did not get a lot of coverage in the media until one of the delegation members posed in front of the United States flag and the State department logo. There he displayed the Brotherhood's four finger Rabaa symbol, which was associated with the Brotherhood fight against the Egyptian regime but interestingly, Ragab Tayeb Erdogan, President of Turkey, was the first to use the Rabaa symbol. Waleed Sharaby, the Brotherhood-aligned judge, wrote on his Facebook page, "Now in the U.S. State Department. Your Steadfastness impresses everyone" (Kredo 2015). Faced with a lot of criticism for not announcing the meeting with the delegation, the United States State Department responded,

"Well, State Department officials meet – recently met with a group of visiting Egyptian former parliamentarians whose visit to the United States was organized and funded by Georgetown University. Such meetings are fairly routine at the State Department, where we regularly meet with political party leaders from across the world. The Georgetown group included former members of the Freedom and Justice Party (Muslim Brotherhood), among others. So this was a meeting – we meet on a regular basis with a range of groups, and obviously, as I mentioned, this was a group sponsored by Georgetown," Jen Psaki, spokesperson of the State Department, said (U.S. Department of State 2015).

According to Psaki, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor and other State Department officials attended the meeting. Gamal Heshmat, a prominent member of the Muslim Brotherhood who was part of the delegation claimed

that he met a representative of the White House (Breitbart 2015). Georgetown University, which hosted the Brotherhood delegation, receives a vast amount of funding from foreign entities, some of which could potentially be sympathetic to the Muslim Brotherhood (Breitbart 2015). Qatar, which remains one of the strongest allies of the Muslim Brotherhood, operates a Georgetown satellite school in Doha (Breitbart 2015). However, meeting with foreign governments is not the only means used by the Muslim Brotherhood to put pressure on the Egyptian government. Since June 30, 2013, violence has been escalating in Egypt. Bombings of military officers, police security, and civilians have become intense in the last year and half. According to *New York Times*, “Attacks on Egypt’s security forces have become routine” (Fahmy 2014). Recently, bomb attacks on civilians by Brotherhood members or sympathizers are also becoming common. Western governments condemned these attacks in the media, but no pressure was exerted on the Brotherhood to refrain from violence. In fact, the idea that the Muslim Brotherhood can sit with American officials to discuss their efforts in opposing the current Egyptian government, a U.S. ally, raises questions on the strength of the Muslim Brotherhood as an international network.

Still, the scope of this international network was also demonstrated when the Muslim Brotherhood was in power. When the Muslim Brotherhood realized that controlling the Egyptian army was not possible, they turned to Iran for consultation on how to start their own independent intelligence apparatus. In January 2013, Dr. Essam el-Haddad, a prominent member of the International Brotherhood network and national security advisor for Mohamed Morsi, met with Qassem Suleimani, the commander of the Qods Force (a division of the Iranian Islamic Revolutionary Guard), in Egypt at the invitation of Morsi’s government (*Algemeiner News* 2013). According to *The Times*,

“...the spy chief met Essam el-Haddad, foreign affairs advisor to President Morsi, and officials from the Muslim Brotherhood, to advise the government on building its own security and intelligence apparatus, independent of the national intelligence services, which are controlled by Egypt’s military” (Westrop 2013). Even when they were in power, the Muslim Brotherhood found an alternative using its international network to create a parallel apparatus as a substitute for state institutions that they found hard to deal with. So instead of moderating their behavior, they reached to their global network to find a substitution. It is this aspect of transnationalism that makes the Brotherhood less likely to adapt to their local environment and moderate their behavior. The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how transnationalism affects Islamists’ moderation.

The recent wave of popular protests in the Arab world that caused the collapse of authoritarian regimes resulted in the rise of Islamists to power in the region. The Arab Spring drastically altered domestic and regional politics. Despite the fact that the popular uprisings were largely non-ideological in nature, driven largely by youth who came together with no political agenda other than removing authoritarian regimes, it was the Muslim Brotherhood that was to reap the advantages of the revolution. In Egypt, the Arab Spring gave the Muslim Brotherhood its long-awaited opportunity to exert its political influence over Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood, through its political arm, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), emerged triumphant in both parliamentary and presidential elections. The push of the Muslim Brotherhood into Europe in the early 1960s broadened the scope of the Brotherhood setting in motion the beginnings of its transnational network. The Brotherhood succeeded in crafting a network of branches and organizations across Europe, the Middle East and beyond, becoming perhaps the most influential transnational Islamist social movement in the world. According to Tarrow

(2001), to be transnational, a social movement ought to have social and political bases outside its target state or society; but to be a social movement, it ought to be clearly rooted within the social networks in more than one state and engage in contentious politics in which at least one state is a party of interaction. This produces a definition of transnational social movements as, “Socially mobilized groups with constituents in at least two states, engaged in sustained contentious interaction with power-holders in at least one state other than their own, or against an international institution, or a multinational economic actor” (Tarrow 2001, 20). The definition proposed by Tarrow focuses on socially mobilized groups in more than one state that are fighting with power-holders, institutions, or other entities to achieve a certain goal. However, I want to propose another definition when it comes to transnational Islamist groups. The key with transnational Islamist groups is that they are not only constituents in more than one country but it is how they define themselves. Transnational Islamists move across the borders with their identity as an Islamist group that is not bound by the borders of the country they function in. It is this transnational identity that makes them different. Members of the Muslim Brotherhood, for example, do not identify themselves as Egyptians, Syrians or any other nationality. They identify themselves as members of the Muslim Brotherhood. The state or the country for them represents the branch of the Brotherhood they belong to- not their national identity. For many of these Islamist groups, the nation state is non-existent. If we consider ISIS as another example, Islamist groups from Tunisia, Libya, Sinai and other countries pledge their allegiance to Abo Bakr Al Bogdady. Their own existence within the state is identified by this new transnational identity.

For decades, Islamists used regime repression to build up their networks and

image. They cleverly turned their political grievance into social and political capital, allowing them to recruit new members and increase their social influence among different social groups. Moreover, over time, Islamists became used to the rules of the political game. Hence, they routinely participated in elections, built alliances with liberal and secular forces, and, more importantly, used regime repression to broaden their public appeal. In addition, Islamists built strong, nationwide social networks. They capitalized on the dissatisfaction of the poor and improvised means of securing political gains. For instance, they provided shelter for many of the poor and lower-middle class. With the Arab Spring, Islamists, once the long-standing victim to the brutality of the Arab regimes, are now in power. Since coming to power, the Brotherhood and Morsi failed to provide viable solutions to the many problems overwhelming Egyptian society. The Muslim Brotherhood's behavior and attitude has alienated non-Islamists and cast doubts on its real commitment towards democratic values. After only one year of Muslim Brotherhood rule, the Egyptian people became extremely frustrated with a leadership that not only did not deliver on the economic front, but polarized the country, undermined social cohesion, diluted the democratic transformation and acted irresponsibly in regard to national security. The youth rebel movement "Tamarod" mobilized tens of millions of Egyptians in mass demonstrations nationwide on June 30 2013. They were eventually aided by the military, which intervened to depose Morsi on July 3rd 2013. While the majority of Egyptians were celebrating the end of Brotherhood rule amid mounting nationalism, the West was angry about what it perceived as a military coup and a retreat from the path to democracy. Tension rose quickly as both the military and the police forces faced militant jihadists in Sinai, worked to abort angry Brotherhood attempts to incite violent demonstrations, and arrested several of their leaders. The peak came on

August 14, 2013 when approximately 632 people were killed in confrontations with the security forces, who had started an operation to disperse two pro-Brotherhood sit-ins in Cairo. The new military-backed government, supported by mass public demonstrations on July 26, was convinced that dispersing the two sit-ins with force was necessary, since many of the protesters were armed with both light and heavy weapons, including RPGs.

The Purpose of the Dissertation

The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how transnationalism can affect Islamists moderation in both Egypt and Morocco. In this dissertation, I will do an in-depth comparative case study analysis to assess the prospects of moderation of two Islamists political entities, the Muslim Brotherhood as a transnational social movement and Morocco Party of Justice and Development (JDP), which has no transnational ties. Both the Muslim Brotherhood and PJD came to power after the Arab uprising in 2011 and were key players in the democratic transitions in both countries; however, both entities are not related. Further, the dissertation will explore the moderation level of the Muslim brotherhood and PJD in two phases. The first phase will examine the level of moderation of both groups prior to the Arab uprising in 2011. The second phase will examine the level of moderation of both groups after 2011 when they came to power. This study aims to utilize both qualitative and historical narratives. The use of qualitative methods and historical narratives enables the researcher to identify causal mechanisms demonstrating how independent variables affect the dependent variable. The sources for this dissertation are based on primary and secondary sources such as academic journal articles, books, governmental reports, non-Egyptian governmental reports, non-governmental associations reports, news articles and videos.

Importance of the Dissertation

Current literature on Islamists and moderation theory focuses on political inclusion, political learning and repression as factors that would affect the moderation of an Islamist group. Looking at Islamists as a transnational social movement is a new aspect in the study of Islamism. Recently, scholars have addressed the transnational aspect of Islamist social movements; however, these studies focused on radical Islamist groups such as Al Qaeda. To date, there has been no study to assess how transnationalism can affect the moderation level of Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood. This dissertation will attempt to fill that gap by assessing the moderation level of the transnational Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Justice and Development Party in Morocco. Furthermore, extant studies have ignored transnational *identity* in conceptualizing “Transnationalism”. My dissertation corrects this gap by bringing this new element into focus. In addition, most of the research conducted on the Muslim Brotherhood stops at 2012. My dissertation gives in-depth examination of the development of events up until February 2015. To that end, the major research question of this dissertation is: “How does transnationalism affect the moderation of Islamists groups?” I argue that transnationalism affects the level of moderation of an Islamist group. Further, I argue that this effect is conditioned by whether or not Islamists are in power.

Dissertation Overview

The remainder of this dissertation is divided into five chapters. The remainder of this chapter is divided into two parts. The first part focuses on transnational Islamism and social movement theory. I will also discuss the Muslim Brotherhood international social network focusing on the United Kingdom and Germany’s Muslim Brotherhood network as these two countries represent the strongest Brotherhood network in Europe.

The second part of the first chapter will discuss the conditions under which Islamists moderate. In the second chapter of the dissertation, I will discuss the research design and explain the rationale behind my case selection. I also discuss the research methodology and design where I will elaborate more on both the independent and dependent variables and discuss the criteria of moderation assessment. The following chapter examines the Muslim Brotherhood in a historical context focusing on their political participation and ideology through different time frames up until today applying my moderation assessment criteria. Then I move on to PJD in Morocco and examine how it emerged as a political party, political participation and ideology applying my moderation assessment criteria. The final part of this dissertation will conclude with an analysis of the findings.

Transnational Islamism and Social Movement Theory

One of the puzzles about the Muslim Brotherhood is that I could not find a proper way of defining it. It is not a political party, however, it acts like a political party participating in elections and seeking power. But when looked at closer, the Muslim Brotherhood fits more in the frame of a social movement. So in this section, I look at Islamism and social movement theory to examine how the Brotherhood is considered as a social movement and a political actor. But first, a definition of what is meant by Islamism is needed. Islamism traces its history back to the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Jamaat-Islamia in Pakistan (Roy 1994). Bayat (2007) defines Islamism as an ideology, which sees Islam as a complete divine system with a superior political model, cultural code, legal structure, and economic arrangement; in short, a system that responded to all human problems. Shepard (1987) uses 'Islamic totalism' to describe the tendency to view Islam not merely as a religion in the narrow sense of theological belief, private prayer and ritual worship, but also as a total way of life with guidance for political, economic, and

social behavior, which leads to the claim that Muslims should have an ‘Islamic state’, that is, a state in which all law is based on the Shari’a and this is what ‘Islamism’ is. Our understanding of Islamic activism can be greatly enhanced by seeing it as a form of social movement activity and thus availing ourselves of the large body of theory on social movements. The organizational structures, repertoires of contention, and collective identity, of Islamic movements are similar to those of other movements throughout the world. However, what makes Islamic movements different is the political context within which they operate (Singerman 2002).

The logic of the socio-psychological approach dominates much of the work on Islamic activism. The rise of Islamism can be explained through the structural-psychological approach. For functionalists, system disequilibrium arises from external structural strains that produce new grievances and erodes the efficiency of institutions, resulting in dysfunctions that can cause political instability (Wiktorowicz 2004). The classic models of the structural-psychological approach suggest a linear causal relationship in which socio-structural strains create psychological discomfort, which results in collective action. Various strains, such as socio-economic factors, identity creation, and political strains, can be used to explain the rise of Islamism.

Some scholars argue that socioeconomic factors are the principal cause for Islamists’ activism and tend to emphasize the common socioeconomic background of Islamic activists (Ibrahim 1980; Ansari 1984; Munson 1986; Waltz 1986). The underlying assumption of such an approach is that socioeconomic background tells us something about grievances and therefore why individuals join an Islamic movement or group. Others, such as Tessler (1997), put emphasis on the significance of socioeconomic factors in explaining the psychological isolation of Islamist activists.

Their argument is that Islamist movements represent modern reactions to rapid urbanization, overpopulation, unemployment, poverty, marginalization of lower/lower-middle classes and visible minorities, skewed income distribution, and corrupt elites (Gurr1970). Others view Islamic activism as a response to cultural imperialism. From this perspective, the most important social strain is the growing influence of western culture, as supported by an assortment of foreign and international political, economic, and military instruments (Burgat and Dowell 1993; Keddie 1994; Esposito 1998). Political strain can also be an explanation for the rise of Islamic activism. Under authoritarian rule, the masses lack formal political access to lessen the adverse effects of modernization projects and the deterioration of quality of life. With few open channels for political resources, the result is social frustration and a sense of alienation (Wiktorowicz 2004). Since political movements are banned under most authoritarian regimes, Islamic activism becomes a natural vehicle for political discontent. Rooted in established social sites of religious practice and widely accepted values, contention through Islam represents one of the few remaining effective options for confronting a sense of political exclusion (Wiktorowicz 2004).

The psychological-structural approach can be used to explain the rise of Islamism, however, it does not tell us how Islamism develops and sustains. Social movement theory can be used here to understand the evolution of Islamism. Social movement theory has been advanced to explain the causes of Islamist radicalism as well as the shift towards moderation. It includes: resource mobilization theory, the political process model, and collective action framing (Yavuz 2003, Hafez 2004). Three fields of resource mobilization structure are in theory available to the Islamists' movement: (1) the formal political mobilizing structure of political parties and legal institutions; (2) the legal

environment of civil society in the form of NGOs, medical clinics, charity societies, schools, and especially professional organizations; and (3) the informal sector of social networks and personal ties (Meijer 2005).

Islamism as a form of oppositional politics indicates that its trajectory is not random, but is instead governed by political considerations and strategic calculations (Baylouny 2004). Movements create crucibles of mobilization, communication mechanisms, and professional staffs through a process of bureaucratization and institutional differentiation designed to coordinate and organize contention. With a sturdy and enduring infrastructure, formal institutions, resources, organic community organizations, and a division of labor, movements can strategically direct activism to maximize impact and efficaciousness (Wiktorowicz 2004). Islamic non-governmental organizations (NGOs) constitute another set of widely used Islamist organizations (Clark 1995). Within these organizational contexts, Islamists not only provide needed social services, but also use social interactions with local communities to propagate ideology and recruit followers as well. In at least a few instances, employment opportunities at Islamic NGOs provide patronage rewards, such as selective incentives for loyal constituents, thus reinforcing solidarity ties to the movement. They also offer concrete, visible examples of what the Islamists' movement can provide, in contrast with the state's secular modernization failures. Where the regime constrains formal political space, outreach programs through Islamist grassroots activities can provide tangible resources for mobilization (Wickham 2002).

While RMT emphasizes formal organizations, it also accommodates the role of informal institutions and social networks as well. A multitude of studies, for example, highlight the importance of social networks for movement recruitment, particularly in

high-risk activism where social ties provide bonds of trust and solidarity and encourage activism (McAdam 1986). The use of social networks and informal resources for mobilization is especially common in less open polities where visibility is dangerous. In such contexts, formal resources are targets for regime repression and may actually make it easier for security services to undermine the institutional capacity of the movement. As a result, movements may instead use informal institutions and social networks for activism, since such resources are embedded in everyday relationships and thus more impervious to state control (Scott 1990). Islamists are innovative because they utilize informal and less visible means to mobilize supporters and build movements (Wiktorowicz 2001). The use of informal networks, in addition to formal, bureaucratized, mass organizations, displaces Islamists' movements from the "contentious politics" framework, since their collective action is often not "public" in a conventional sense. Their strategies of mobilization and their ideological vision often rely upon informal, personal networks and religious and cultural associability to build movements (Singerman 2002).

Social movements do not operate in a vacuum; they belong to a broader social milieu and context characterized by shifting and fluid configurations of opportunities and constraints that structure movement dynamics. Regardless of the level of grievance, resource availability, or the prevalence of mobilizing structures, collective actors are both limited and empowered by exogenous factors, which often delimit movement viability and the menu of tactics, actions, and choices. Such understandings examine collective action by incorporating the influence of external factors and the existing structures of opportunity and constraint (Wiktorowicz 2007). Mobilization depends to a great extent on the ability to take advantage of the existing opportunity structures and the overcoming

of constraints. Prominent old-guard Muslim Brotherhood member Mustafa Mashour expressed the brotherhood attitude towards new political openings saying that “We must benefit from the experience of elections for our future, for elections are an art with its own rules, expertise, and requirements, and we must push those who have given up on reforming this nation, push them to get rid of their pessimism and register to vote as soon as possible” (El-Ghobashy 2005, 380).

Key to the success of Islamists is how they frame themselves. Frames represent interpretive schemata that offer a language and cognitive tools for making sense of experiences and events in the ‘world out there’. For social movements, these schemata are important in the production and dissemination of movement interpretations and are designed to mobilize participants and support. As signifying agents engaged in the social construction of meaning, movements disseminate frameworks of understanding that resonate with potential participants and broader publics to elicit collective action. The term ‘framing’ is used to describe this process of meaning construction (Snow 1986; Snow & Benford 2000; Williams & Benford 2000). In Egypt, for example, Islamists have been attempting to fill the declining efficacy and legitimacy of the Egyptian secular state. However, along with the help, often came a message: “Islam is the solution” (Murphy 2002). The vague call that “Islam is the solution” resonates on so many levels in the Muslim world, and as a result it influences multiple social and political fields and encourages a collective identity (Singerman 2004). A strong sense of collective identity promotes a reflexive feeling of solidarity among the Muslim Brotherhood members, who become more entwined through ideological, educational, cultural, political, or social networks. Individuals join movements, but movements are built through networks of associations that ultimately build and cultivate a collective “we.” In the following part,

now that we have established that the Muslim Brotherhood have some of the characteristics of social movements, I consider next the transnational aspect of the Muslim Brotherhood as transnational network.

Definition of Transnational Movements

In the era of globalization, transnational networks have become increasingly influential actors in world politics (DeMars 2005). The bulk of the early work on transnational organizations focused on international economic exchanges and the activities of multinational corporations. Political scientists are only beginning to understand the importance of transnational forms of social organizations outside of the economic realm (Salehyan 2009). “Scholars have been slow to recognize either the rationality or the significance of activists networks,” as Keck and Sikkink (1999, 89) depicts it. In recognition of this, a remarkable growth has occurred in the study of transnational organizations including firms, religious institutions, and advocacy groups (Salehyan 2009) along with a growing interest in studying the impact of globalization on social movements (Guidry 2000). Transnationalization is the result of the development of a global civil society that creates a cross-national diffusion of ideas and values in a transnational public sphere via new communication technologies (Wiktorowicz 2007). As state sovereignty erodes and new technologies facilitate the transformation of space, collective mobilization has become increasingly transnational. Whether understood as advocacy networks or more unstructured forms of contentious politics, many social movements have mobilized across the state borders in the pursuit of movement goals (Wiktorowicz 2007). Literature on transnational movements and networks emphasizes that transnational movements are necessarily built on nationally based groups and movements and the energy of these groups (Johnson & McCarthy 2005). Yet, there is a

shortage of critical research that studies networks as a dynamic process that cut across and link the global with the local. In fact, several authors have argued that very little attention is paid to how global issues and movements affect the structure of civil and political life at the local level and the dynamic process and mechanisms which link activists at both levels (Diane 2005; Tarrow & McAdam 2005). Further, Keck and Sikkink (1999) explain that world politics at the end of the twentieth century include many non-state actors who interact with each other, with states, and with international organizations in networks which are increasingly visible in international politics. These networks may be key contributors to a convergence of social and cultural norms able to support processes of regional and international integration giving them transnational, regional and domestic significance. By building new links among actors of in civil societies, states and international organizations, they multiply the opportunities for dialogue and exchange (Keck & Sikkink 1999). What is novel in these networks is the ability of non-traditional international actors to mobilize information strategically to help create new issues and categories, and to persuade, pressurize, and gain leverage over much more powerful organizations and governments (Keck & Sikkink 1999). Therefore, networking is key to understanding transnational movements and social movements in general. Tarrow and McAdam (2005) point out the fact that transnational activists do not simply come to life periodically to gather in large numbers in protest against international financial institutions. Instead, activists from all over the world are brought together and organized along common themes and forms of collective action. Outside of these brief moments of global action, these activists are embedded in hugely diverse local contexts, fighting wide-ranging battles, and engaged in different processes of mobilization. Activists in networks try not only to influence policy outcomes, but also to transform the

terms and nature of the debate. They are not always successful in their efforts, but they are increasingly important players in policy debates at the regional and international level (Keck & Sikkink 1999). While the sovereign state still commands significant authority and legitimacy, transnational networks have managed to attract support and mobilize resources. In this regard, religion-based networks are particularly active. Due to their spirituality and worldviews, they are better suited to extend over national borders and function universally (Karagiannis 2013).

Islamists as a Transnational Social Network

The theoretical literature on transnationalism has devoted little concentrated attention to religious phenomena. Until recently, with the rise of radical Islam, religious actors were widely regarded as remote from the central questions that affect states in international politics. The explanation for this relative neglect lays in the assumption embedded in theories of modernization and political development that the future of the integrated nation-state lays in secular participatory politics (Haynes 2001). Indeed, globalization facilitated the growth of transnational networks of religious actors whose main priority is the well-being and advancement of their transnational religious community. The development of transnational religious communities was greatly enhanced by ease of interpersonal and inter-group communications, helping to spread their message and to link up with like-minded groups across state boundaries allowing them to feed off each other's ideas and perhaps help each other with funds, (Rudolph & Piscatori 1997). The war in Afghanistan against the Soviet Union, for example, created the transnational community of radical activists that constitutes the underlying base of support for the al-Qaeda network. Radicals and non-radicals alike use new media and technologies to redefine Muslim publics and foster international connections among like-

mindful individuals (Eickelman and Anderson, 1999). The Afghan government and the US/NATO coalition forces have been unable to defeat the Taliban and A-Qaeda militants despite several years of counterinsurgency operations and clearly superior firepower because of their transnational network (Salehyan 2009). The Internet, in particular, has fostered communication, the exchange of ideas, and publications to promote transnational understandings of community purpose. And the development of Muslim immigrant communities in Western liberal democracies has raised important questions about how to understand the Muslim World, the goals of Islamic activism, and the dynamics of Islamist contention (Kepel, 1997). However, one of the major difficulties in conceptualizing these movements, according to Bayat (2005), is their fluid nature and the fact that they are constantly evolving and reviving their strategies and tactics.

Transnational networks frame issues to make them comprehensible to target audiences, to attract attention and encourage action, and to fit with favorable institutional venues. McAdam (1996) argues that framing is the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and themselves that legitimize and motivate collective action. The Islamists' frame, which focuses on working within existing political structures to realize a more Islamic society, dates back at least to Hassan al-Banna in the 1920s. Those who adopted and developed these ideas have been characterized as Islamists because the norms of dialogue, debate, and consensus are embraced as key mechanisms for achieving social change. Al-Banna in 1948 expressed the need to change *al-rouh al-'am alazi uhaimin* (the hegemonic public spirit) in Muslim countries before Islamists can target power (Mitchell 1969). From that time on, strategies of cultural transformation have become central to most Islamist movements around the world. At the end of the 1980s, the Western Muslim Brotherhood members began to view

the Muslim presence in the West differently. In various seminars held in France, top Brotherhood scholars started to redefine some centuries-old religious qualifications, stating that the traditional distinction between the *dar al-Islam* (land of Islam) and *the dar al-harb* (land of war) did not reflect the current reality. While the West could not be considered *dar al-Islam* because the *shari'a* was not enforced there, it could not be considered *dar al-harb* either, because Muslims were allowed to practice Islam freely and were not persecuted. The scholars decided, therefore, that it was possible for them to create a new legal category. They concluded that the West should be considered the *dar al-da'wa* (land of preaching), a territory where Muslims live as a minority, are respected, and have the affirmative duty to spread their religion peacefully (Ternisien 2005). The implications of this decision go far beyond the merely theological aspect. By redefining the nature of the Muslim presence in the West, the Brotherhood also changed the nature of their own role in it. The characteristics of this new role are precisely outlined in the seminal book *Priorities of the Islamic Movement in the Coming Phase*, published in 1990 by the top Muslim Brotherhood ideologue, Yusuf al-Qaradhawi. Al-Qaradhawi devotes a large section of his book to the presence of Muslim minorities in Western countries and the unprecedented opportunity that this phenomenon may represent for the Islamist movement, which, in al-Qaradhawi's words, can "play the role of the missing leadership of the Muslim Nation (*umma*) with all its trends and groups" in guiding and shaping the minds of Muslim immigrants living in the West (al-Qaradhawi 2000). While the Islamist movement can exercise only a limited influence in Muslim countries, where hostile regimes keep it in check, al-Qaradhawi realizes that the Brotherhood can operate freely in Europe where, thanks to its activism and ample financing, it can over-shadow other currents of Islam (Vidino 2009). The ultimate aim of Islamist politics, Hefner (2001)

wrote, was not to confront state rulers directly, but to create “a Muslim ‘civil society’ capable of counterbalancing the power of the state” (15). Islamists drew on religious symbols and practices to alienate the masses from their secular rulers and turn them into political dissidents (Wiktorowicz 2004). Over the past two decades, a distinct public sphere emerged around the dialogue among these Islamists, with such widely heard and engaged voices as those of Rashid Ghanoushi, Hassan Turabi, and Abd al-Karim Soroush.

Keck and Sikkink (1999) argue that transnational networks are most likely to emerge when: 1) channels between domestic groups and their governments are hampered or severed where such channels are ineffective for resolving conflict, setting into motion the influence of these networks; 2) activists or political entrepreneurs believe that networking will further their missions and campaigns and actively promote them; 3) international conferences and other forms of international contacts create arenas for forming strengthening networks. For many Islamist organizations, the evolution from a national to a transnational organization is primarily the result of strategic choices designed to ensure the survival and legitimacy of the movement. The transnational dimensions of Islamic activism both affect and are affected by informal networks, political exclusion and repression, and a strong collective identity. The transnational dimension of movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood is obvious, since they were capable of operative movement, communication, and other facilitation of resources across national boundaries with ease (Singerman 1995). In addition to seeking resources abroad, Islamist movements may need to find physical refuge across borders to escape from state repression at home. In the process, they often develop organizational ties with Islamists in border countries or even in Western European cities, increasing the potential for

international networks and transnational organizations. With new organizational connectivity developed by securing finances and obtaining geographic refuge, groups find increasing incentives to develop international organizations (Mecham 2006). The late 1990s also saw the emergence of a network of Islamist research institutes, many of which are open to foreign and non-Muslim researchers in an effort to demonstrate their willingness for integration in practice. Along with mechanisms such as the Internet, these research institutes have begun to play a significant role in shaping the content of the transnational dialogues through their conferences and reciprocal invitations to sister institutions in other countries. With such exchanges, transnational debates emerge around 'hot' topics such as civil society, the role of women, local governance, and the environment (Schwedler 2001). To sum up, transnational Islamists networks are horizontal structures consisting of multiple entities that interact with each other for the purpose of promoting a political agenda based on Islam. They usually include Islamic charities, NGOs, legal groups, Muslim religious leaders and preachers and individual followers (Della Porta 2006).

The Muslim Brotherhood: A Transnational Social Network

The universe of Islamist organizations and movements is extremely diverse, both in the Muslim world and in the West, and a first distinction must be made between rejectionist and participationist movements (McRoy 2006). The former are those that declare any system not based on a strict interpretation of the Sharia as un-Islamic and refuse to take part in it. They include violent organizations such as Al-Qaeda as well as groups, such as Hizb ut Tahrir, that express their opposition to democracy but do not, at least openly, resort to or advocate violent means to further their agenda. Rejectionist movements, particularly those using violence have received extraordinary amounts of

attention over the past few years. Policy makers and commentators universally condemn them, though they often debate the causes of the rejectionists' positions and best strategies for confronting their organizations (Vidino 2010). Assessing participationist Islamist movements is much more complicated. These Islamists publicly declare their acceptance of democratic processes and actively seek to participate in them. However, policy makers and analysts are split over the genuineness of this stance. The history of Islamist organizations in Europe began approximately 50 years ago, when many members of the Brotherhood, who were often fleeing persecution in their home countries, spent significant amounts of time or permanently settled in various European countries. These Islamists founded some of the first Muslim organizations in the West, which at the time of their foundation were little more than student organizations with a few hundred members. At that point, most of these individuals and organizations simply aimed at spreading the Brotherhood's ideology to the small number of Muslims living in the West, while focusing their political efforts on influencing their native countries in the Middle East and North Africa (Vidino 2005). Having built an extensive network throughout the West over the past fifty years, these Islamist movements often present themselves as representatives of the local communities and seek to interact with Western elites as such (Vidino 2010). These movement's activism and capacity for mobilization put them at the forefront of the battle for the leadership of Western Islam (Boubekeur 2007). Participationist Islamist organizations are by default the main candidates to become the privileged interlocutors of Western governments (Vidino 2010). Understanding their history, nature, and aims are therefore crucial. Looking at European Muslim communities, organizations with historical and ideological links to the Muslim Brotherhood have often overshadowed other Muslim organizations in influencing the

Muslim community and establishing relations with European governments. Thanks to their politically motivated activism and ample funding, Brotherhood-linked organizations have established an impressive network of mosques, think tanks, organizations, charities, and publications, which operate in each European country and transnationally (Rubin 2010).

An International Organization or a Global Network

The “International Organization of The Muslim Brotherhood”, led by the Egyptian Supreme Guide, is not the same structure as the Global Muslim Brotherhood and is far more limited in scope. In this part, I will discuss the global network of the Muslim brotherhood focusing on how it became influential in Europe by establishing a social network in Britain and Germany. In 2004, the French newspaper *Le Monde* described the history of the Muslim Brotherhood International Organization, also known as the ‘*Tanzim al Dawli*’ as the best-guarded secret of the Brotherhood. Today, however, many pieces of the puzzle are known. One of the most contentious issues that has haunted the Muslim Brotherhood in recent decades has been the ‘*Tanzim al Dawli*.’ Much of the controversy has arisen on the account of secrecy that has surrounded this organization since its inception in the 1970s. There seem to be even confusion within the Brotherhood itself as to what exactly the international ‘*tanzeem*’ is and what role it plays. Whilst some Brotherhood members talk about it as if it were an active component of the Brotherhood, part of its transnational identity that is actively directed from Cairo, others dismiss it as little more than coordinating body, with no significant function (Pargeter 2010). Brown (2011) argues that there is an International Muslim Brotherhood Organization that works to coordinate among the movements in various countries. But it does not matter very much. The various movements do follow a similar general model,

but they are free to apply it very differently according to what they see as appropriate for their own societies. So while country-based organizations swap ideas and sometimes contribute funds across countries, the formal international organization is almost irrelevant. Brown (2010) explained, “At a global level, the Brotherhood is no Mafia.” These are tame frameworks for a group of loosely linked, ideologically similar movements that recognize each other, swap stories and experiences in occasional meetings, and happily subscribe to a formally international ideology without giving it much priority. There is every reason to be interested in the Brotherhood’s myriad of country-based movements, but there is no reason to fear it as a menacing global web. Similarly, Brotherhood members such as the Egyptian Dr Kamal Helbawy and Syrian Dr Hassan Al Huwaidi would describe it s no more than ‘international co-ordination’ or ‘an advisory body that has no executive power’ (Pargeter 2010,103). Other members would completely deny the presence of ‘*Tanzeem al Dawli.*’ Egyptian Brotherhood member Abdel Monein Abou Al Fottouh (one of the contesters in 2012 presidential elections in Egypt) claimed that the international ‘*tanzeem*’ was something that existed primarily in the minds of the West (Pargeter 2010). Egyptian member, Youssef Nada who ran Al Taqwa Bank in London, goes further explicitly claiming “As far as I know this so-called international ‘tanzeem’ never existed” (Pargeter 2010, 104). There is strong divergence of opinion regarding the presence of the ‘*Tanzeem al Dawli.*’ Some critics would claim that the international ‘*tanzeem*’ along with the various plans and documents that have been ascribed to it, is an elaborate network set up by the Brotherhood to infiltrate Europe with its dangerous and fundamentalist ideology (Poole 2006). Others, however, would see the international ‘*tanzeem*’ as no more than a loose and feeble coalition scarcely able to convene its own members (Leiken & Brooke 2007). Muhammed Akif, the Supreme

Guide of the Egyptian branch of the Brotherhood, explains this dilemma saying, “The Muslim Brotherhood is a global movement whose members cooperate with each other throughout the world, based on the same religious worldview – the spread of Islam, until it rules the world... We don not have an international organization; we have an organization through our perception of things” (Trenisien 2005, 110). In order to operate more efficiently and without attracting unnecessary scrutiny, the International Brotherhood started to function not as a structured organization of card-carrying members, but rather as an ideological movement that transcended formal affiliation (Vidino 2009).

The Muslim Brotherhood, not as an international ‘*tanzeem*’, but as a transnational movement, represented an important feature in the Brotherhood’s history and has played a key role in the movement’s evolution. Since its origins in rural northern Egypt in the 1920s, the Muslim Brotherhood has achieved incommensurable successes (Mitchell 1969). A significant, yet overlooked, part of this history has taken place in Europe, where small, scattered groups of brotherhood members from Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries have concentrated since the early 1950s (Vidino 2010). The movement’s internationalist outlook was established from its very inception, thanks to the vision of its founder Hassan Al Banna (Pargeter 2010). The majority of the Muslim Brotherhood members who fled persecution in their native countries were students, members of educated community, and urban middle classes (Cesari 2004). The first Brotherhood members and sympathizers who settled in Europe became immediately active. As mentioned earlier, most of them were university students and loyal to Al Banna’s focus on developing extensive networks of organizations. Together they formed Europe’s first Muslim student organizations (Vidino 2010). Most European cities lacked

mosques, and these organizations often became the first to open small places of worship, generally little more than garages or small meeting rooms on university campuses. The continent's freedoms allowed the Brotherhood to freely conduct the activities for which they had been persecuted in their home countries (Rubin 2010). With little funds at the beginning, but plenty of enthusiasm, they published magazines, organized lectures, meetings, and all sorts of activities through which they could spread their ideology. Their activism soon attracted other Muslim students and small numbers of Muslim immigrant laborers who had not had contact with the Brotherhood in their home countries (Vidino 2010). One of these pioneers was Said Ramadan, the son in law of Al Banna. Ramadan, who had always had international ambitions, arrived in Europe in 1958. He was generally considered to be in charge of the Brotherhood abroad (Ternisien 2005). He settled in Geneva where he began publishing Islamist literature and set up the Islamic Center of Geneva. Keen to expand his influence further, Ramadan also opened a center in Munich and another in London in 1964 (Pargeter 2010). The defeat of the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, claimed by the Arab and Afghan *mujahedeen* (jihadists) as a victory for Islam, along with the collapse of communism, led to a global surge in the Islamist confidence (Rich 2010). Consequently, toward the end of 1980s, the European Brotherhood had become one of the continent's most influential Muslim movements. This evolution took place in virtually all European countries where the Brotherhood had established a presence (Rubin 2010). Today, organizations created by the Muslim Brotherhood as its European offshoots, such as the Union of Islamic Organizations of France (UOIF) or the Islamic Society of Germany (IGD) have gained positions of prominence within their countries' Muslim communities (Vidino 2010). Even though their conservative and politicized interpretation of Islam is generally not shared by the

majority of Muslims residing in Europe, Brotherhood-linked organizations have often managed to overshadow most other Muslim organizations, becoming the only movement that has been able to create stable organizations in virtually all European countries and the only pan-European Islamic movement (Vidino 2010).

The Muslim Brotherhood in Britain

Britain has long had a reputation for being a hotbed of Islamist activism. This was especially true during the 1980s and 1990s, to the point where its capital city was dubbed “Londonistan” (Pargeter 2010). While South Asians linked to Jama e Islamiya (JI) have traditionally dominated the British Islamist scene, since the 1960s a significant number of Arab activists linked to various Middle Eastern offshoots of the Muslim Brotherhood have settled in London, where they have continued their activities with remarkable energy (Vidino 2010). Particularly prominent among them, largely due to experience, connections, and charisma, is Kamal Helbawy, one of the Brotherhood’s most dynamic leaders (Vidino 2010). Of all the Muslim Brotherhood leaders and other activists to arrive to London from the Arab world, Helbawy, who has been an MB member since the age of twelve, has done more than any other to push the MB into the public arena (Rich 2010). Over the years, Helbawy became involved in Islamic activities throughout the world. In 1972, he was one of the founders and the first executive of the Saudi-based World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY) and in the 1980s, he lived between Afghanistan, where he served as an advisor to the mujahedeen leadership, and Pakistan, where he chaired the Arabic Studies department and worked as a lecturer on dawa at the Institute of Policy Studies (Vidino 2010).

The first solid Muslim Brotherhood activity in Britain came in the form of two student groups, the Muslim Students’ Society (MSS) and the Federation of Student

Islamic Societies (FOSIS) in early 1960s. Egyptian Sheikh Ahmed al-Ahsan and Indian scholar Mustafa Azami, who had been imprisoned in Egypt for his Brotherhood activities and had come to the UK to continue his PhD at Cambridge, founded both groups (Pargeter 2010). Both founders had strong links to the Brotherhood mother branch in Egypt; however, MSS was purely dominated by Brotherhood ideology while FOSIS had a broader platform. The main tasks of these organizations were to spread *dawa*, organize demonstrations in front of Arab embassies and support Muslim students in the UK by providing them with accommodations and directing them not to blend in Western society (Pargeter 2010). In 1964, Ramadan, who put the first seed of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe in 1961 in Geneva, set up the Islamic Center in London along with Brotherhood members from Iraq and Sudan (Pargeter 2010). In 1976, Ramadan joined the Executive Committee of the Islamic Council of Europe (ICE), a body set up three years earlier by Salem Azzam, a Saudi diplomat in London, to be a vehicle for *dawa* in Europe. Azzam was born in Egypt and he is the great-uncle of Ayman al-Zawahri (Rich 2010). In 1970, the Muslim Welfare House in Finsbury Park, North London, was inaugurated to support Muslim students in the UK, and became another key Brotherhood hub in Britain as well as part of the Brotherhood network there (Pargeter 2010). Although relatively small, these organizations were the first institutional nucleus of the Brotherhood in Britain (Helbawy 2008). These organizations were not claimed publicly as Brotherhood organizations, but they were founded by, in many cases ran by and deeply influenced by them. “They never said ‘we are *Ikhwan*’ (Brotherhood) or established an *Ikhwan* center publicly... MSS and FOSIS and the Muslim Welfare House were the institutions... They were not under the Muslim Brotherhood although they received leaders from abroad, they helped them, they trusted them. The only (Brotherhood) public organization or

institution was when I started the Muslim Brotherhood media center in the 1995,” said Helbawy in an interview in 2008 (Pargeter 2010). In the mid 1990s, Helbawy was sent by the Egyptian Brotherhood’s *shura* (consultation) council to establish the Global Information Center in Britain, the Brotherhood’s first media office in the West (Vidino 2010).

Part of the activities of the Brotherhood in Britain was the founding of the Islamic Relief in 1984. Founded by Hany al-Banna, an Egyptian immigrant in Birmingham, it has fundraising offices in 13 countries and works in 26 countries (Petersen 2012). Staff members in Islamic Relief often attribute the growth of their organization to its Muslim identity. “Because it is Muslim, Islamic Relief enjoys greater access to funding. It is included everywhere, people listen, they have access to the government. In these times, people want to be seen to be involving Islam,” one staff member said (Petersen 2012, 139). Even though Hany al-Banna does not claim any ties to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood he does not deny the influence of Hassan al-Banna and Qutb on his perception of Islam. “In Egypt, you don’t hear of Hassan Al- Banna, you grow up with him. He was a phenomenon, just like Nelson Mandela and Muhammad Ali are. His presence could be felt everywhere even though his name dare not be uttered openly. Our area, Hilmiyya, was the Brotherhood’s headquarters and Al-Banna used to pray in the mosque where my father gave khutbahs (sermons). You could breathe Al-Banna’s teachings in the air. He was held in so much awe and respect” (Al-Rashid 2004, 3). Hany al-Banna then added that after he first arrived in the UK he began to read Sayed Qutb’s classic *‘In the Shade of the Qur’an.’* “Qutb was hanged by the regime in 1965, but even as a young man he was a visionary,” he said (Al-Rashid 2004, 3). However even though only an ideological connection can be established between the founder of the

organization and the Egyptian Brotherhood, a number of Islamic Relief trustees are members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Essam El Haddad, a trustee of both Islamic Relief Worldwide and Islamic Relief UK, was the national security advisor of Brotherhood's Egyptian President Mohamed Morsi and played a prominent role as both the head of his presidential campaign and as his advisor on national security issues (Westrop 2013). He was the connection between Morsi and the West. Further, Dr. Ahmed al-Rawi, a director of Islamic Relief, is the former head of the Federation of Islamic Organizations in Europe and president of MAB (Westrop 2013). In addition, Issam el-Bashir is a former Director of Islamic Relief and former Minister of Religious Affairs in Sudan and a leading Muslim Brotherhood figure. He is also a leading member of the European Council for Fatwa and Research, which is led by Muslim Brotherhood spiritual leader al-Qaradawi (Westrop 2013). Finally, Ibrahim El Zayat is also a trustee for both the Islamic Relief Worldwide and Islamic Relief UK and is the head of the Munich-based Islamic Community of Germany as well as the head of Islamische Gemeinschaft in Deutschland (IGD), both representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany (Westrop 2013). Islamic Relief has experienced a rapid growth since September 11, 2001, and is today the biggest transnational Muslim NGO in the world (Petersen 2012) with revenue of 82.2 million English pounds in 2013. A sharp increase in budget testifies to the popularity of the organization: 10 years ago, Islamic Relief had a budget of less than \$15 million USD, in 2010, it is 60 million USD and in 2013, its revenue is more than \$120 million USD. Much of this money comes from institutional donors such as DfID (The Department for International Development UK Government), ECHO and various UN agencies, all praising Islamic Relief for the efficiency and quality of its aid provision. Other, more anecdotal, evidence of the organization's status include its close relations with the British

royal family: Islamic Relief was the first organization Prince Charles visited after September 11, 2001, and he was a guest of honor at the gala dinner held in December 2009 to celebrate the organization's 25 years anniversary (Petersen 2012).

Traditionally a hub for both Western and Arab media, London was the ideal location for a body deputized to promote the positions of the Brotherhood on a global scale, and Helbawy who was fluent in English was the ideal person to run it (Vidino 2010). Despite the fact that he was from the older generation of the Egyptian MB, Helbawy has always understood the opportunities available to Islamists in the open societies of the West and has lamented the caution and secrecy that many Arab Islamists have brought with them from their experiences in their home countries (Rich 2010). In an interview with *Le Monde Diplomatique* in 2000, Helbawy said that the International Organization "needs to work openly and meet with public figures; as it is, only the secret services know when its main figures come and go. There is no proper research center anywhere in the West, or a TV channel. We need to create a global forum for dialogue and to increase our activities." By that time, the MB already had a publishing imprint, the International Islamic Forum and produced *Risalat al-Ikhwan* (Brotherhood messages) newsletter and *al-Da'awa* magazine in Britain (Rich 2010).

However, Helbawy's major achievement since moving to Britain has been the creation of the Muslim Association of Britain (MAB). MAB is a quintessential Western Brotherhood organization in its origins, ideology, connections and methodology. MAB leadership includes experienced political activists from various Middle Eastern countries including Anas Al Tikriti, son of leader of the Iraqi branch of the Brotherhood, and Azzam Tamimi, the former director of the parliamentary office of the Islamic Action Front, Jordan's Brotherhood offshoot. Its leaders are involved in a myriad of initiatives,

running small think tanks and small television stations catering to Muslims, publishing magazines, and frequently speaking at conferences in Britain and abroad. MAB is a founding member of the Muslim Council of Britain (MCB), a key member of the Federation of Islamic Organization in Europe, the Western Brotherhood's Brussels-based pan-European organization (Vidino 2010). In April 2002, MAB and the Stop the War Coalition (STWC), a coalition of the largest and most active groups in Britain led by the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and the Communist Party of Britain (CPB), organized anti-Israel protests. The event made headlines for its strong tones and the presence of emblems of Hamas and Hezbollah. According to Helbawy, some 80,000 participants attended the protest. Even though the protest was supported by large organizations such as MCB, the UK Islamic mission and STWC, the event had been organized by MAB, and it was remarkable that with just 400 members at that time, MAB could mobilize such large crowds showing clear proof of its leadership's professionalism and skills (Vidino 2010). The MB flavor of the event was summed up at the end, when Rashid Ghannouchi led prayers for the whole demonstration (more than 80,000 demonstrators) from around the country, which left a strong impression on many inside and outside the Muslim community (Rich 2010). MAB membership went from 400 in 2002 up to 1000 in 2003 (Rich 2010).

Just like their coalition with the left in Egypt, the British Brotherhood's willingness to cooperate with political forces with which they have little in common is additional proof of their flexibility and sophisticated political strategy. MAB leaders openly acknowledge these ideological differences but say that there are greater objectives to be achieved by establishing a temporary partnership with the extreme left (Vidino 2010). The MAB had already identified the need to prove to political circles that Muslims

can be mobilized into becoming influential block in any future elections. The most obvious electoral expression of this new left-Islamist movement was the formation of RESPECT- The Unity Coalition, an electoral alliance between SWP, the MAB and the far-left, Islamist and Muslims community groups. Best known for the 2005 election of George Galloway in Bethnal Green and Bow, Respect was in the end a short-lived experiment that held only a brief attention for the MAB (Rich 2010). By 2004, the MAB was already moving away from RESPECT and into the orbit of a far more powerful figure of the British left: the mayor of London, Ken Livingstone. This relationship, that would eventually do a great deal of damage to both parties, first came to public attention in July 2004, when the City Hall hosted the MAB arranged visit to London of Yusuf al-Qaradawi. When Livingstone came under attack for his stubborn defense of al-Qaradawi as a moderate, despite the latter's homophobia, anti-semitism, theological justification for suicide bombings, support for female genital mutilation, and other conservative views, Livingstone's political allies on the left, particularly gay rights' group, along with much of the London electorate, were appalled. However, Livingstone was more interested in the Muslim vote and thought that by pandering to al-Qaradawi, he could get it (Rich 2010).

Although MAB has failed to exert political influence in terms of votes, it has been much more successful in influencing opinion, both inside and outside the Muslim community. In October 2004, Muhammad Sawalha, director of MAB at that time, established Islam Expo, a project that combined a political conference with an Islamic cultural festival on a massive scale. The first Islam Expo event took place in summer 2006 and a second in summer 2008. Both drew thousands of Muslims who were attracted as much by the cultural attractions as the religious and political speeches. While

the Expo website focused on the cultural and educational purpose of the event, the goal of those behind Islam Expo was to change the perception of Islam for key decision makers from the world of politics, media and commerce (Rich 2010). In the 2008 event, this took the form of a seminar, “Understanding Political Islam,” which featured a host of MB and other Islamist speakers. The seminar was co-organized by several groups and was a clear expression of the MB’s political position: the MB are the Islamists with whom you can do business. The seminar included non-Muslim advocates of cooperation with MB such as Robert Leiken while the seminar was co-organized by Alistair Crooke’s Conflicts Forum. Crooke’s is a former MI6 (UK Intelligence) officer who created Conflicts Forum in 2004 to engage and listen to Islamists while simultaneously challenging Western misconceptions and misrepresentations of the region’s leading agents of change (Rich 2010). The scale of Islam Expo certainly impressed many. Tens of thousands of people, mostly but not exclusively Muslims, passed through the doors of the event in both 2006 and 2008. The 2008 event was even promoted via advertisements on the sides of London buses. This was a result of MB’s political organization and their ability to access funding that is rarely available to moderate, non-Islamist groups. The 2006 Expo cost over 1.1 million English Pounds to produce, which was paid entirely by grants from the following: the Qatari National Council for Culture, an arm of the government of Qatar (£ 967,442 English Pounds), and the Greater London Authority which was then under the control of Ken Livingstone (200,000 English Pounds) while the 2008 event was paid entirely by a second Qatari grant of 2 million English Pounds (Rich 2010).

There were also examples of cooperation British government and MAB. In December 2005, the MAB was drawn into efforts to secure the release of Norman Kember, a British hostage in Iraq. Anas al-Tikriti, a MAB leader, was dispatched to Iraq,

and the MAB managed to persuade al-Qaradawi and other MB leaders to call for Kember's release (Rich 2010). In addition, MB figures in Britain tried hard to present themselves as potential allies in counterterrorism work, an idea that was taken up most notably by the Muslim Contact Unit (MCU) of the Metropolitan Police. In particular, the police used the MB in its efforts to take control of the North London Central Mosque, which under the leadership of Abu Hamza al-Masri, had become notorious for its connection to several convicted and suspected terrorists. After expelling Abu Hamza and his supporters from the mosque, the police handed it over to MB members understanding that they had the physical strength and credibility with the local Muslims youth to prevent the mosque from falling back into the Jihadists hands (Rich 2010). In addition, in 2005, Egyptian MB activists in Britain joined other exiled Islamists to form *Save Egypt Front*, which protested in London against the Egyptian government. Further, Azzam Tamimi and Anas al-Tikriti are involved with the London-based Arabic TV station, Al-Hiwar, which promotes the MB perspective on Arab affairs. However, it is their work within the British arena, such as Islam Expo or the MCU, which represents a maturing of MB political activity in Britain along with a growing self-confidence. What is striking are the many different areas of British public life relating to the Muslim community, political, educational, policing, cultural, and others, in which MB ideas and activists exert some influence (Rich 2010).

The Muslim Brotherhood in Germany

Just as in other European countries, the German Muslim Brotherhood tries to establish itself as representative of all Muslims. More than anywhere else in Europe, the Muslim Brotherhood in Germany has gained significant power and political acceptance. Islamist organizations in other European countries now consciously follow the model

pioneered by their German peers (Vidino 2005). During the 1950s and 1960s, thousands of Muslim students left the Middle East to study at German universities, drawn not only by the German institutions' technical reputations but also by a desire to escape repressive regimes. Egyptian ruler Gamal Abdel Nasser's regime was especially vigorous in its attempts to root out the Islamist opposition. Beginning in 1954, several members of the Muslim Brotherhood fled Egypt to escape arrest or assassination and West Germany provided a welcome refuge. However, Bonn's motivations were not simply altruistic. As terrorism expert Khalid Durán (2000) explained in his studies on jihadism in Europe, the West German government had decided to cut diplomatic relations with countries that recognized East Germany. When Egypt and Syria established diplomatic relations with the communist government, Bonn decided to welcome Syrian and Egyptian political refugees who were often Islamist dissidents (Labeviere 2000). One of the Muslim Brotherhood's first pioneers in Germany was Said Ramadan, the personal secretary and son-in-law of Muslim Brotherhood founder Hassan al-Banna (Faruqi 2007). Ramadan, moved to Geneva in 1958, attended law school in Cologne., and while in Germany, founded what has become one of Germany's three main Muslim organizations, the Islamische Gemeinschaft Deutschland (Islamic Society of Germany, IGD). Ramadan served as president over IGD from 1958 to 1968 and also cofounded the Muslim World League, funded by the Saudi establishment (Faruqi 2007). In 1960, the Muslim Brotherhood led by Ramadan and Ghaled Himmat, a Syrian member of the MB, sponsored the construction of the Islamic Center in Munich aided by donations from Saudis. Since its foundation, the Islamic Center in Munich has been one of the European headquarters for the Muslim Brotherhood. The Center has been quite vocal and publishes a magazine, Al-Islam (Vidino 2005). Relying upon this privileged

relationship with the oil-rich kingdom, Ramadan benefited from an influx of money, which he used to fund the powerful Islamic Center of Geneva and to bankroll several other financial and religious activities. Hani Ramadan, Said Ramadan's son, runs the Islamic Center (Vidino 2005). The IGD and the Islamic Central Council aim to establish an autonomous space in German society where Muslims can live their lives according to Islamic Law, as interpreted by the Muslim Brotherhood and its representatives in Europe. Implicitly, since these organizations claim to represent all Muslims in Germany, they aim to also control all spheres of Muslim life (Steinberg 2010). In order to reach this goal, the IGD and the Central Council follow a two-pronged strategy. First, they build the necessary infrastructure to promote their vision. In a country where mosques are often sited in poor neighborhoods, they promote the construction of new, modern mosques and cultural centers for their constituencies. Second, the Central Council and IGD frequently demand to be recognized by the federal and state governments as the main representatives of Muslims in Germany and as privileged partners in all matters pertaining to them. Until 2006, Nadeem Elias successfully positioned himself as a moderate Muslim leader and a partner in religious dialogue. Although he raised suspicion, he was accepted by large parts of the public as the representative of Muslims in Germany. In addition, although both federal and state governments are aware of the strong Muslim Brotherhood influence on the Central Council, government officials have nevertheless opted to enter into dialogue with it (Steinberg 2010).

Over the years, IGD, headquartered in the Islamic Center of Munich, expanded throughout Germany reportedly controlling more than 120 mosques. Mohamed Akef, the former *murshid* (guide) of the Muslim Brotherhood, served as the mosque's imam between 1984 and 1987 (Vidino 2010). Following Ramadan's ten-year presidency,

Pakistani national Fazal Yazdani briefly led the IGD before Himmat took the helm. During his long stewardship (1973-2002), Himmat shuttled between Italy, Austria, Germany, Switzerland and the United States. Himmat along with Youssef Nada, one of the Muslim Brotherhood's financial masterminds, founded the Bank al-Taqwa, a powerful conglomerate Italian intelligence, dubbed "Bank of the Muslim Brotherhood." Himmat helped Youssef Nada, run Al-Taqwa as well as a web of companies headquartered in locations such as Switzerland, Liechtenstein, and the Bahamas. From these locations, which maintain few regulations on monetary origin or destination, both Himmat and Nada reportedly funneled large sums to groups such as Hamas and the Algerian Islamic Salvation Front (Vidino 2005). According to Italian intelligence, the Al-Taqwa network also financed several Islamic centers throughout Europe and many Islamist publications, including *Risalatul Ikhwan* (Brotherhood Messages), the official magazine of the Muslim Brotherhood (Vidino 2005). In 2002, the United Nations designated Al-Taqwa Bank as a terrorism financier and Himmat was forced to leave IGD's presidency and leadership was passed to charismatic 34-years old Tarek El Zayat, another prominent member of the Brotherhood (Vidino 2010).

The IGD, of which the Islamic Center of Munich is one of the most important members, represents the main offshoot of the Egyptian Brotherhood in Germany. But the IGD is also the quintessential example of how the Muslim Brotherhood has gained power in Europe. The IGD has grown significantly over the years, and it now incorporates dozens of Islamic organizations throughout the country. Islamic centers from more than thirty German cities have joined its umbrella (Steinberg 2010). Today, the IGD's real strength lies in its cooperation with, and sponsorship, of many Islamic youth and student organizations across Germany. This focus on youth organizations came after Zayat's

succession. He understood the importance of focusing on the next generation of German Muslims and launched recruitment drives to get young Muslims involved in Islamic organizations. Zayat is also linked to the World Assembly of Muslim Youth (WAMY), a Saudi nongovernmental organization that seeks to spread Wahhabism. WAMY also falls under the umbrella of the Muslim World League, which is the largest Muslim youth organization in the world and can boast unparalleled resources (Vidino 2005).

Of all Zayat's financial activities, the one that has attracted the German authorities' greatest suspicion has been his association with officials Milli Görüş movement (Vidino 2005). The Muslim Brotherhood in Germany closely cooperates with some of their Turkish counterparts and in fact, the Milli Görüş movement might be considered a Turkish branch of the Muslim Brotherhood. The movement was founded by former Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan (Steinberg 2010). According to the Annual Report of the Office for the protection of the Constitution (2000), Milli Görüş, which has 30,000 members and perhaps another 100,000 sympathizers, claims to defend the rights of Germany's immigrant Turkish population, giving them a voice in the democratic political arena while preserving their Islamic identity. "Although Milli Görüş in public statements, pretends to adhere to the basic principles of Western democracies, abolition of the government system in Turkey and the establishment of an Islamic state and social system are among its goals (Annual Report of the Office for the protection of the Constitution 1999, 165)." Milli Görüş pushes an agenda similar to that of the IGD, even if its target is more limited. Nevertheless, both Milli Görüş and the IGD collaborate on many initiatives (Ulfkotte 2003). There is also a family connection as Zayat married Sabiha Erbakan, the sister of Mehmet Sabri Erbakan. The siblings' mother is also involved in politics and runs an important Islamic women's organization in Germany. The

Zayat family is active as well. Ibrahim el-Zayat's father is the imam of the Marburg mosque; other members of his family are involved in Islamic organizations (Steinberg 2010). German politicians meet regularly with Milli Görüş officials to discuss immigration and integration issues. The fact that an official like Ahmed al-Khalifah, IGD secretary general, represents Islam before members of parliament who are discussing religious tolerance, shows the success of Brotherhood-linked organizations' efforts to gain acceptance as the representatives of German Muslims (Ulfkotte 2003). The Office for the Protection of the Constitution (2000) well described these efforts, saying that Milli Görüş and the IGD "strives to dominate regional or nationwide federations and umbrella organizations for Muslims which are increasingly gaining importance as interlocutors for state and ecclesiastical authorities and thus to expand its influence within society (174)."

The trend toward consolidation took a step forward in 1994 when German Islamists realized that a united coalition translated into greater political relevance and influence. Nineteen organizations, including the IGD, the Islamic Center of Munich, and the Islamic Center of Aachen, created an umbrella organization, the Zentralrat der Muslime. According to a senior German intelligence official, at least nine out of these nineteen organizations belong to the Muslim Brotherhood (Pargeter 2010). The Zentralrat, which portrays itself as the umbrella organization for German Muslim organizations, has become, together with the IGD and Milli Görüş, the de facto representative of three million German Muslims. Even though the IGD is a member of the Zentralrat, the two organizations often operate independently. Their apparent independence is planned. With many organizations operating under different names, the Muslim Brotherhood fools German politicians who believe they are consulting a spectrum of opinion. Further, politicians seek the Zentralrat's endorsement when they

want to reach out to the Muslim community. In addition, the media seeks out the Zentralrat's officials when they want the Muslim view on anything from the debate about the hijab (headscarf) in public schools, to the war in Iraq, and so forth (Pargeter 2010).. In terms of numbers, influence on the Muslim community, and political relevance, the Zentralrat and its two most important constituent parts, the IGD and Milli Görüş, dominate the scene (Pargeter 2010). After looking at the network of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe, in the next part of the dissertation, I discuss Islamists and moderation theory.

Islam, Democracy and Moderation Theory

For years the debate of whether or not Islam is compatible with democracy has been the focus of numerous scholars. The idea that Islam by its very nature is inhospitable to democracy and pluralism continues to have some broad appeal (Huntington 1996). It is based on the assumption that Islamic religion, with its distinctive value patterns, is a world set apart from western civilization, with which it often engages in violent confrontations (Lewis 2002). Islam is argued to be anti-secular by definition, and this implies that Muslims cannot support political secularism because of their religious identity. Lewis (1993) argues that the idea of separating the state from the church in Islamic societies is meaningless, since there are no two entities to be separated. However, in recent years, scholars on political Islam moved away from the abstract debates about the compatibility of Islam and democracy and toward empirical studies of the practices and commitments of Islamist groups. The rise of Islamists movements in the Muslim World has been the subject of heated debate among scholars and policymakers. One group of scholars argues that Islamists use elections as a façade and warn against their political ascendancy via electoral democracy (Gurses 2012). Another

group of scholars, however, points to the moderating effects democracy has on views held by Islamists (Gurses 2012). A substantial portion of these analyses hinges on drawing a distinction between moderates and radicals viewing them as supporting and opposing liberal democratic reforms respectively (Schwedler 2007). Islamists are undoubtedly the most significant political actors throughout the Middle East. Political openings of almost any kind continue to allow Islamists to make immediate gains because authoritarian regimes have for decades quashed other oppositional voices (Schwedler 1998). The strongest opposition movements that command mass followings remain religious in nature. The basic idea is that once radical political groups, committed to the overthrow of the political system, are organized as voting seeking parties, electoral considerations make these groups abandon revolutionary goals since revolutionary and extremist platforms usually fail to mobilize pluralities, not to mention majorities. Radical groups that organize as electoral parties need to appeal to the greatest number of voters in order to remain politically viable and win elections. Second, radicals remain suspicious in the eyes of the regime elites who command superior coercive mechanisms. Radicals need to pursue cautious and conciliatory policies toward these elites to avoid their wrath. The logic of political survival necessitates that radicals avoid openly confronting the elites. An organizational perspective suggests that the maintenance of the organization and its authority structure becomes the priority overriding all declared goals (Tezcur 2010). In the case of radical groups organized as electoral parties, revolutionary goals become unreachable simply because of the lack of organizational resources. An electoral party, by definition, is a very unlikely candidate to challenge the political regime and bring about its fall. Electoralism, defined as the strategy of exclusively pursuing votes to achieve and sustain political power, requires professionalism, expertise, and competency

in certain kinds of political action, such as campaigning and patronage distribution, rather than in others, such as civil disobedience and participatory decision making (Tezcur 2010). These groups were often perceived as having dubious democratic and liberal credentials such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, the Islamic Salvations Front in Algeria, and the Welfare Party in Turkey. In Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Morocco, and Yemen, rulers used limited political and economic liberalization to prolong their rule and divide the opposition forces (Lust-Okar & Jamal 2002). In addition, Zakaria (2003) argues that the current economic, political, and social crises of the Arab countries prepare the ground sufficiently for the rise of extremists and illiberal Islamism. He concludes, “The Arab rulers of the Middle East are autocratic, corrupt, and heavy-handed. But they are still liberal, tolerant, and pluralistic than what would likely replace them... The Arab world today is trapped between autocratic states and illiberal societies, neither of them fertile ground for liberal democracy” (120). In states as diverse as Algeria, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Morocco, Palestine, Turkey, and Yemen., Islamists have participated widely in pluralist and democratic elections where incumbent regimes are typically the greatest obstacles to real democratic reforms This has brought a new focus to the study of Islamists. Have the beliefs and practices of Islamist groups changed over time? What processes, mechanisms, and institutions promote moderation?

Inclusion-Moderation Theory

The vast majority of the literature on the inclusion-moderation hypothesis emphasizes the ways in which institutions and political opportunities provide incentives for previously excluded groups to enter the system, abandon more radical tactics, and “play by the rules” (Schwedler, 2011). However, scholars are cautious that moderation may be a temporary strategy to attract voters’ support, so that once power is gained, an

exclusivist illiberal agenda can be implemented (Brocker and Kunkler 2013). For example, Kalyvas (2000) argues that in the early 1990s, the Islamic Salvation Front (FIS) party in Algeria was unable to demonstrate that once in power, they would behave moderately. Thus, Tezcur (2010) argues that moderation is a double-edge sword, especially in regimes with strong undemocratic characteristics. In such contests, and regardless of whether a regime is indeed committed to advancing democracy, the stakes of whom to include and who to exclude are extraordinarily high. This is the paradox of democracy: the idea that democratic processes might empower non-democratic actors to reverse those openings perhaps permanently. In terms of the real advancement of democracy, questions about expanded political inclusion therefore include the possibility that elections could empower a group with no commitment to democratic norms. At the same time, opposition groups participate in elections in the hope to increase their political power while regimes seek to prevent precisely that outcome. Tezcur (2010) claims that radicals become moderates through strategic interests. Ashour (2009) argues that the incentive for de-radicalization is largely structured by strategic calculations and political opportunities, and the resulting political learning may lead to a shift in the orientation of the group, particularly when a charismatic leader provides ideological justification for the shift.

One of the most important effects of political inclusion is that it creates strong incentives for various groups to cooperate with each other, even if at the pure tactical level. In this regard, the political openings of much of the Middle East in the early 1990s all of which have since seen significant reversals since, have led to expanded instances of cooperation between Islamists and their historic ideological rivals, notably communists, socialists, and liberals (Schwedler and Clark, 2006). In Egypt, the Wasat Party has

increasingly sought to cooperate with their generational cohort within other political trends, and those alliances have produced considerable political impact in such instances, such as turning out large crowds for protests against Mubarak's regime. However, Clark (2006) argues, cooperation does not emerge around 'red-line' issues for Islamists. Yet, even though cooperation is limited to issues of common purpose, the trend toward such engagement and coordination marks an extraordinary development in the political practices of Islamist groups. Although political inclusion cannot be expected to always lead to such behavior, it is responsible for creating the incentives for Islamists to even consider cooperating with other groups. In this regard, increased cooperation is an important effect of inclusion.

The question of moderation is thus the most important issue at stake in the inclusion of ideological groups such as Islamists. If ideological groups are those that hold a relatively closed worldview that precludes the legitimacy of alternative views, the core question is whether inclusion is a mechanism that can create, or at least encourage, ideological moderation. This process is captured in the idea of a 'participation/moderation tradeoff', a sort of 'democratic bargain' (Huntington 1991) in which opposition groups become eligible to take advantage of political openings only once they have 'modified their demands and moderated their tactics.' This process typically involves their agreeing to abandon violence and any commitment to revolution, to accept existing basic social, economic, and political institutions, and to work through elections and parliamentary procedures in order to achieve power and put through their policies. The challenge concerning whether inclusion produces or encourages moderation is in distinguishing between actors who are acting as if they have become more moderate and those whose ideological commitments have substantively changed. Schwedler

(2007) argues that the incentive structure of inclusive political institutions and processes are necessary but insufficient to produce ideological moderation. In fact, many of the more 'moderate' Islamists have always been moderate. Processes of political inclusion provides visibility and incentives to mobilize a following for their perspectives, but this may not signal ideological change. As a political strategy, one would certainly want to encourage inclusion as means of elevating moderate actors on the political scene, and to deny radicals a large support base by provide alternative voices working within the system. Thus, regardless of whether groups become more moderate as a result of inclusion, the encouragement of inclusion may discourage radicalism in a way that produces an overall political effect of more moderation.

Wickham (2004) notes, any moderate rhetoric or behavior can be dismissed as strategically motivated. However, she adds that we can identify change in policies that might fairly be considered ideological moderation if we look to internal party debates and documents rather than relying on public statements alone. Over time, series of internal debates may lead to fundamental shifts in ideological commitments in ways that can be recognized and indeed measured as increased moderation. For example, inclusion was essential to provide the changing political logic that led Islamists like the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan to debate whether they could justify participating in the new pluralist processes. Political inclusion can be expected to have many effects on ideological actors, but none of them guarantee moderation. Nonetheless, the logic of cooperation and moderation is compelling within inclusive political systems, just as the logic for extremism is present in contexts of extreme political repression. Inclusion is clearly far more likely to produce an overall moderate political sphere, though it is unlikely to eliminate all forms of radicalism. It will, however, deny radicals portions of

their support base and thus produce an overall effect of moderation even if no political groups have substantively changed their normative commitments.

The empirical record on Islamist participation in elections shows that by far most Islamist parties win significant, but not majority, blocks in parliament the first time they field candidates (Schwedler 2007). Some studies on moderation point to the function of underlying social networks. Most of the time, religious parties emerge out of religious social movements and networks that are tightly connected to constituencies through the provision of welfare and education. Religious parties use these networks to attract and mobilize voters (Tessler 1997). As a result of this mobilization, Islamists typically win 20 to 40 per cent of the seats (Schwedler 2007). Far more interesting, however, is that these parties fairly consistently lose seats in subsequent elections. The slogan ‘Islam is the Solution,’ under which many Islamist parties campaigned, particularly in the 1990s, becomes empty rhetoric when party representatives are unable to effect significant change. Constituencies hold candidates responsible for delivering goods and services as well as policy reforms, and the ineffectiveness of many Islamist parliamentarians is recorded in subsequent polls when their parties typically lose seats (Schwedler 2007).

Jordan provides a case that is much more typical. In 1989, members of the Muslim Brotherhood participated in Jordan’s first full elections for its National Assembly. Although at the time political parties remained illegal, and thus Islamist candidates were all officially independents, Muslim Brotherhood members won 22 of 80 seats (27.5 per cent of the assembly). Combined with twelve seats won by independent Islamists, the Muslim Brotherhood dominated block controlled 40 per cent of the seats. During the next round of elections in 1993, their share decreased to 17 seats. They led a boycott (with leftist and liberal parties) of the 1997 elections, but in 2003 they again won

17 seats, though the assembly had been expanded to 110 seats. This example serves to demonstrate that there is little evidence Islamists will enjoy the huge victories that would be necessary for them to overturn the democratic processes (Clark 2006).

Repression and Moderation

Muslim political organizations have been the major actors challenging the status quo in many of the Muslim-majority countries in the last quarter century. They represent a wide variety of positions ranging from advocacy of global jihad to establishment of democratic and pluralistic rule. Despite this diversity, it can be argued that Islamic political activists have been developing stronger commitments to democratic governance since the early 1990s (Kramer 1997). Their experience of state repression, questioning of state-centric nature of the Islamist ideology, and disagreements with the older generation of Islamists made them more receptive to democratic ideas. They have become more interested in participating in electoral contestation and had come to respect electoral results (Moadelle 1991). As a general rule, Muslim political actors in more open, liberal states tend to be more moderate and develop relatively conciliatory platforms (Keddie 1980).

In the twentieth century, it became the rallying cry of the Muslim modernists, rejecting the immediate Islamic cultural past as corrupt and articulating a political vision in which Islam as religion became a blueprint for a social order (Hodgson 1977). The timing of the rise of Islamists coincided with the increasing problems of secular-authoritarian modernization. However, until the mid-1990s, it could hardly be said that democratic ideas were very popular among Islamic cadres. The predominant discourse, establishing the ‘Islamic State,’ was much influenced by the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan El-Banna and found its earliest expression in the work of the

Pakistani journalist Abul Ala Mawdudi . In turn, this rhetoric was highly inspired by Sayyid Qutb's (1906-1966) discussion of vanguard Muslims, and was galvanized by Ruhollah Khomeini's (1902-1989) overthrow of the Pahlavi monarchy. These men exerted great influence on the formation of Islamic politics in the second part of the twentieth century in many parts of the Muslim world (Tezcur 2010). Muslim political organizations that were heavily influenced by any of these thinkers/activists had initially tended to assign no value to democratic rule. They were ardently against what they perceived as Western cultural infiltration and the erosion of social moral fabric (Tezcur 2010). For the Egyptian Qutb, all societies that compromised the sovereignty of God with "man-made laws" were corrupt and had to be fought against. Qutb called these societies *Jahiliyya*, a term he borrowed from the Qur'an, where it was used to describe pre-Islamic Arabic societies (Shepard 2003). Whether democracies or not, these societies, he believed, subdue noble human ideals to material interests and institutionalize humankind's slavery to its base instincts (Qutb 2000). Qutb advocated the overthrow of these societies by any means necessary (Qutb 1990). The task of true Muslims was simply to wage a long war, *jihad*, against these societies and disseminate the message of Islam for achieving human dignity and freedom (Euben 2000). While Qutb's disciples developed various readings of his central concepts of *jahiliyya* and *jihad*, the Islamic state envisioned by Qutb was never fully realized in any Arab country (Kepel 2002). Unlike Qutb, Khomeini was the man who achieved the ideal Islamic state for the first time in modern history. The theme of Islamic government that would become the core element of Khomeini's political thought was already in its embryonic form in 1941. Khomeini developed the notion of the rule of the religious jurist, which became the building block of the Islamic Republic of Iran in the early 1970s. In a series of lectures developed in

Najaf in 1971, Khomeini forcefully argued for the necessity of the most learned and just religious clergy to defend Islam against imperialism and its local collaborators. In Khomeini's political vision, rulers would be constrained only by the divine law revealed to humans in Qur'an. For Khomeini as well as Qutb, it was an insult to Islam to talk about Islamic democracy, because Islam provides an immaculate understanding of sociopolitical life and does not need any qualifiers (Khomeini 1981).

Meanwhile, a considerable number of second-generation Islamic activists engaged in a critical and productive dialogue with democratic concepts and practices. Some of these Muslim activists realized that the "Islamic solution" actually was not free from the social and political malaise associated with the authoritarian regimes of the Muslim world. As a result, they increasingly came realize the ideal Islamic state was not immune to the problems of repression, corruption, economic inefficiency and waste, as well as intellectual and cultural immobility. They argued that the concepts of human rights, rule of law, and political participation were already deeply rooted in the Islamic traditions. In addition, they increasingly recognized the importance of making rulers institutionally accountable; curbing the arbitrary power of the state, respecting basic freedoms of expression, faith, and assembly, and promoting free electoral competition for achieving a better society. Partially as a result of their suffering and humiliation at the hands of state authorities, these Muslim politicians became advocates of the right to dissent (Dagi 2005). Most importantly, they challenged radicals for being revisionists and not representing the authentic face of Islam (Shepard 1987). These activists articulated flexible and often ambiguous understandings of Islam rather than simply revitalizing an already existing Islamic culture or espouse a coherent Islamic ideology that appealed to multiple audiences (Tugal 2006). The leadership cadres for this position

often comes from the socially and politically marginalized, educated middle class in pursuit of social status and recognition (Clark 2004). These individuals are not ideologically committed and would be satisfied if they gained effective political representation. They often become the moderate face of political Islam and out maneuver more radical Islamists forces. Being products of the public university system with professional careers that include law, journalism, and administration, they emerged as the leading voices of a nonviolent political Islamic vision (Gole 1997). In Egypt, a group of younger members of the Muslim Brotherhood expressed their open displeasure with the leadership and left the Brotherhood to form the independent Wasat political party in 1996. They were committed to electoral competition as the only legitimate means of acquiring and staying in political power and embraced political pluralism and moderation as their guiding principles. While avoiding cultural defeatism of Islamic culture, they struggled to define Islam as a force that had the ability to speak in persuasive terms to a broad audience in an increasingly globalized world (Olav 2005).

The rise of Muslim reformers offers a more complex picture of politics in the Muslim world and depicts richer possibilities than either authoritarian secularism or Islamic radicalism (Fuller 2003). Muslim reformers perceive elections as the only source of legitimate political power that also prevents its corruption (Sadiki 2004). They view democracy as a set of institutions and a value system independent of Western lifestyle and morals. They often justify their support for democracy in reference to traditional Islamic or national sources. From a Muslim reformist view, religious mobilization is a mixed blessing, since the politicization of Islamic identity may lead to the corruption of Islamic beliefs and bring repression. In most cases, they make attempts to appeal to constituencies who do not share the pious lifestyle of their core supporters. This strategy

of broadening their appeal often takes place under the dynamics of electoral competition (Tezcur 2010). In this part, I discussed how moderation is affected by both inclusion and repression. Some scholars argue that political inclusion leads to moderation of Islamists and others argues that repression by authoritarian regimes in the Middle East actually led to some of these Islamists groups to change and become more moderate to avoid regime repression. However, the moderation literature largely ignores transnational effects on moderation of Islamists. In the next part of the dissertation, I look at the Muslim Brotherhood as a transnational network and whether or not it has moderated through examining the history of the Muslim Brotherhood considering them both in opposition and in power. Then I look at Morocco's PJD and examine its development as a non-transnational party which makes it more focused on developing in local context.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN

This study employs a comparative research design with two cases to test its theory. This study aims to utilize both qualitative and historical narratives. The use of qualitative methods and historical narratives enables the researcher to identify causal mechanisms demonstrating how independent variables affect the dependent variable. I am using the Most Similar Systems Design to explain the relationship between transnationalism and moderation. When applying the Most Similar Systems Design (MSSD), we choose objects of research systems that are as similar as possible, except with regard to the phenomenon, the effects of which we are interested in assessing. The reason for choosing systems that are similar is the ambition to keep constant as many extraneous variables as possible (Anckar 2008). MSSD would require to choose countries that are similar in a number of specific variables (the control variable) and different with regard to only one aspect (the independent variable under study) (Anckar 2008). The MSSD is particularly useful in cases where we are interested in variables at the systemic level. According to Przeworski & Teune (1970), “Similar systems designs... require an a priori assumption about the level of social systems at which the important factors operate. Once a particular design is formulated, assumptions concerning alternative levels of systems cannot be considered (36).”

In this dissertation I am focusing on two important countries in the Middle East and North Africa region Egypt and Morocco. Since I am trying to examine the major Islamists parties in both countries, The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood (MB) and the

Moroccan Party of Justice and Development (PJD) serve as my two case studies. Since I am using MSSD in my analysis, my control variables (similarities in the two cases I chose Egypt and Morocco)

- Since their independence, both countries have experienced modernization and secularization.
- Both Egypt and Morocco are Arab, Muslim countries. However, they are both embrace moderate Islam.
- Sharia is imposed mostly in family law.
- Both MB and PJD have an Islamist foundation.
- After the Arab Uprisings in 2011, both MB and PJD came to power.
- Culturally both Egypt and Morocco are more westernized than for example other Arab countries like Saudi Arabia for example.
- Both had limited political opportunities before the Arab Uprising.

The study looks at the MB as a transnational network (independent variable); while PJD is not. In this dissertation, I employ a comparative research design with two cases to test my theory. I aim to utilize both qualitative and historical narratives. The use of qualitative methods and historical narratives enables the researcher to identify causal mechanisms demonstrating how independent variables affect the dependent variable. However, the fact that MSSD model is likely to suffer from the problem of small number of cases cannot be escaped (Liphart 1971).

The Purpose of the Dissertation

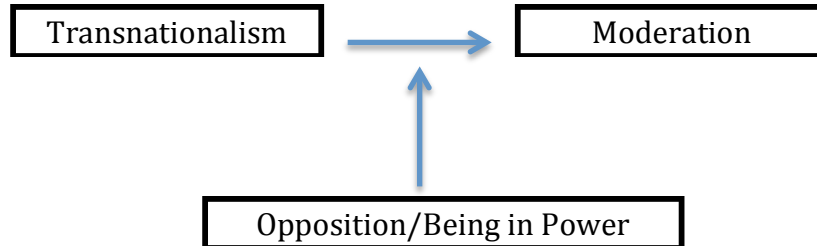
The purpose of this dissertation is to examine how transnationalism can affect Islamists moderation in both Egypt and Morocco. In this dissertation, I will do an in-depth comparative case study analysis to assess the prospects of moderation of two

Islamists political entities, the Muslim Brotherhood as a transnational social movement and Morocco Party of Justice and Development (JDP), which has no transnational ties. Both the Muslim Brotherhood and PJD came to power after the Arab Uprisings in 2011 and were key players in the democratic transitions in both countries; however, both entities are not related. Further, the paper will explore the moderation level of the Muslim brotherhood and PJD in two phases. The first phase will examine the level of moderation of both groups prior to Arab Uprising in 2011. The second phase will examine the level of moderation of both groups after 2011 when they came to power. This study aims to utilize both qualitative and historical narratives. The use of qualitative methods and historical narratives enables the researcher to identify causal mechanisms demonstrating how independent variables affect the dependent variable. The sources for this dissertation will be based on primary and secondary sources such as academic journal articles, books, governmental reports, non-Egyptian governmental reports, non-governmental associations reports, news articles and videos.

Importance of the Dissertation

Existing literature on Islamists and moderation theory focuses on political inclusion, political learning and repression as factors that would affect the moderation of an Islamist group. Looking at Islamists as a transnational social movement is a new aspect in the study of Islamism. Recently, scholars have addressed the transnational aspect of Islamist social movements; however, these studies focused on radical Islamist groups such as Al Qaeda. To date, there has been no study to assess how transnationalism can affect the moderation level of Islamist groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood. This dissertation will attempt to fill that gap by assessing the moderation level of the transnational Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and the Justice and Development

Party in Morocco. Furthermore, extant studies have ignored transnational *identity* in conceptualizing “Transnationalism”. My dissertation corrects this gap by bringing this new element in. In addition, most of the research conducted on the Muslim Brotherhood stops at 2012. My dissertation gives in-depth examination of the development of events up until February 2015. To that end, the major research question of this dissertation is: “How does transnationalism affect the moderation of Islamists groups?” I argue that transnationalism affect the level of moderation of an Islamist group. Further, I argue that this effect is conditioned by whether or not Islamists are in power.



Hypothesis:

- Transnationalism + Access to Power = Lower Moderation
- No Transnationalism + Political Opposition = Higher Moderation
- No Transnationalism + Access to Power = Higher Moderation
- Transnationalism + Political Opposition = Medium Moderation (Only Behavioral Moderation, but not Ideological)

Summary of the Hypothesis:

	Transnational	Non-Transnational
In Power	Lower Moderation	Higher Moderation
In Opposition	Medium Moderation (Only Behavioral)	Higher Moderation

Assessment criteria of moderation

- Renounce of violence
- Imposing Sharia law
- Use of religious rhetoric to advance their cause
- Support for the democratic alteration of power through free and fair election.
- Greater toleration of the expression of values and perspectives (arts, literature, film, music.
- Individual rights and freedom/Equal citizenship
- Working within state institutions

Significance of Research

Primarily, this research question is relevant and significant due to the rising conflict in the Middle East. After the fall of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, terrorists groups are tearing the Middle East apart. With the ousting of Morsi in Egypt on June 30, 2013 Ansar Beit Al Maqdes (a group later affiliated with ISIS) declared war in North Sinai on the Egyptian army. Violent protests, bombings and attacks on police and army officers make the headlines everyday in Egyptian news. After the death of 30 army officers in Sinai January 29 2015, Al-Sisi claimed that leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood warned him a few weeks before Morsi's ouster that they would be bringing

people from all over the world to fight Egyptian citizens. So why would a moderate Islamist group like the Muslim Brotherhood resort to violence? In his last speech addressing the Egyptian people, Morsi called for protesters to respect the rule of law, and stressed his constitutional legitimacy to hold the post of president and he went on saying that “If the price for safeguarding legitimacy is my blood, then I am prepared to sacrifice my blood for the sake of stability and security of this homeland” (RT 2013) So what happened to legitimacy coming from the people as Morsi claimed earlier before becoming president? The Muslim Brotherhood was not willing to step down or call for early elections despite the turmoil in the streets where around 30 million people gathered demanding Morsi’s resignation. In Rabea Square, where pro-brotherhood supporters gathered, calls for jihad against the infidel were made along with claims that what was happening in Egypt was a war against Islam. Beginning of the mid-1980s, the Brotherhood expended its presence in various spheres of public life and quickly established itself as the leading edge of opposition. From this point on forward, the Brotherhood references to global norms of democracy and human rights increased. Prior to 2011, moderate characteristics are leading the Muslim Brotherhood towards a milder route by channeling it into politics through social activities, so the organization discourages its members from resorting to violence, and asks militants to leave. Since, until recently, the Brotherhood was not permitted to contest elections freely, it directed all of its energy into providing social services and engaging in political activities in Egyptian syndicates. The organization seems to owe the success of its candidate in the 2012 presidential elections to these moderate policies, its political activities in the syndicates and the education, healthcare, and welfare services it has been delivering to the public over the last couple of decades. During this period, the Brotherhood has

consistently showed a commitment to a democratic system of government. So why did Islamists refrain from moderating after coming to power? Were their tactical carefulness and strategic modesty signs of moderation or self-preservation prior to coming to power? The Brotherhoods' ability to maneuver, build bases of support with patience, pose as moderate, and employ both violent and electoral tactics, make them far more impressive political actors. The Brotherhood is not only a Middle East, or even a Muslim-majority country phenomena. In the West, officials of Brotherhood-linked organizations have understood that infiltrating the system, rather than attacking it, is the best way to obtain what they want. Western Brotherhood members realize that their most fruitful approach is to cozy up to Western elites and gain their trust. By becoming the privileged partners of the Western establishment, they gained significant power that will help them further their goals.

CHAPTER THREE
CASE STUDY EGYPT

The Muslim Brotherhood in Opposition

Hassan al-Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood (1928-1952)

In order to gain a better understanding of the Muslim Brotherhood and its role, it is necessary to study its evolution and complex relationship with the secular Egyptian state. It is important to analyze the development of the Muslim Brotherhood as a social movement, as a political actor, but not a political party, and the development of its ideology through the different phases of its evolution. Founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928, the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has always been considered the heart and soul of the entire Muslim Brotherhood. Not only because it is the founding branch of the transnational movement, but also because its *murshid* (Supreme Guide) is the spiritual guide to the Brotherhood as a whole. That is why it is referred to as the “mother organization” of Brotherhood affiliates in Jordan, Palestine, Kuwait, Syria, Iraq, Sudan and Bahrain (Pargeter 2010). The Muslim Brotherhood is the flagship organization of Sunni revivalist Islam and has been in existence longer than any other contemporary Islamist group in the Arab world (Wickham 2013). In the first three years, its primary goal was the enlargement of its membership in Suez Canal town Ismailiya, where al-Banna lived. Al-Banna and selected deputies pursued this goal by direct contact, touring the countryside on weekends and during vacations, preaching most usually in mosques but also in the homes, clubs and other meeting places (Mitchell 1969). The mosques

gave the speakers the legitimacy and respectability they desired. Direct communication with the people added to that legitimacy the quality of genuineness and the personal touch (Mitchell 1969). In addition to direct communication, they built a mosque, school for boys, a boy's club, and a school for girls (Wickham 2013).

In 1932, al-Banna decided to move the Brotherhood's headquarters to Cairo in order to develop its operations (Munson 2001). The Brotherhood then began to develop a number of community service projects, including: (1) the building of neighborhood mosques; (2) creating small educational institutions, which offered courses in religion and literacy; (3) small hospitals and dispensaries for the public; (4) small industrial and commercial enterprises, designed to provide employment as well as income for the organization; and, (5) social clubs and organizations as well as a massive publishing effort (Aly and Wenner 1982). The Society of the Muslim Brothers expanded by the outbreak of the Second World War into one of the most important political competitors on the Egyptian scene (Mitchell 1969). It rapidly grew into a broad national organization with a large membership base and network of social and welfare institutions that overshadow those of any other civic association, religious or otherwise, in the country (Wickham 2013). More significantly, it made effective progress into the most desirable of these groups, the civil servants, the students, and urban laborers and peasants (Mitchell 1969). The number of its branches rose from four in 1929 to two thousand in 1949; by the mid 1940s, the Brotherhood had grown to include approximately three hundred to six hundred thousand members (Mitchell 1969). In 1934, it started its own press, a weekly magazine called *Majallat al-Ikwan al-Muslimin* (The Muslim Brothers Magazine) (Mitchell 1969).

In 1938, in celebration of tenth anniversary of the movement, al-Banna put forth

the foundation of the ideology of the Society. These ideas were, essentially, a definition of how the Muslim Brotherhood conceptualizes Islam; the insistence on 1) Islam as a total system, complete unto itself, and the final arbiter of life in all its categories; 2) an Islam formulated from and based on its two primary sources, the revelation in the Quran and the wisdom of the Prophet in the Sunna; and 3) an Islam applicable to all times and to all places (Mitchell 1969). Al-Banna, in specific terms, defined the movement as “a Salafiyya message, a Sunni way, a Sufi truth, a political organization, an athletic group, a cultural-educational union, an economic company, and a social idea” (Mitchell 1969, 14). The Brotherhood sought to raise the level of religious commitment in Egyptian society by providing its own members with rigorous Islamic upbringing and subsequently enlisting them in religious outreach to the wider public. Communicating their ideas through face-to-face contact with friends, neighbors, relatives, schoolmates, and fellow office workers, the Brotherhood sought to enlarge the circle of committed Muslims until it eventually encompassed society as a whole. At the same time, the Brotherhood sponsored local social services and community projects, including schools, health clinics, and charitable foundations, demonstrated the Brotherhood’s concern with the public welfare and created new avenues for recruitment (Wickham 2013). The Brotherhood agenda, which was to capture the hearts and the mind of the educated youth, as well as its claims to act in the broad interests of society rather than those of a partisan group, made al-Banna reluctant to categorize the organization into any conventional political category (Wendell 1978). The Brotherhood actually never offered a detailed and coherent vision of the Islamic order it sought to create. Through the simple message that Islam was a means of regulating every aspect of life, al-Banna skillfully tapped into people’s concerns about the eroding of tradition and the increasing Westernization of the Egyptian elite (Pargeter

2010). As Lia (1998) argues, the appeal of the Brotherhood was in its ability to link Islamic law and strict public morality to the national issues of independence and development. In claiming to represent all Muslims and portraying its message as the only true and correct understanding of Islam, the Brotherhood exhibited, as Mitchell (1969) argues, “a self-righteousness born of sanctimonious claims to omniscience” as well as “basic intolerance of dissent” (p 319). Even if the Brotherhood did not intend to seize power and impose its agenda by force, its arrogation to itself of the exclusive authority to interpret God’s will and rejection of the legitimacy of opposing viewpoints, gave its ideology a rigid and coercive tone (Wickham 2013).

However, it was al-Banna’s ability to mobilize and organize people that enabled him to turn his organization into such a significant force. According to Abdel Kalik (2003), a member of the Brotherhood, al-Banna was not about absolute ideas; he was an organizational thinker and he translated theoretical ideas into reality. There were several factors critical to the Brotherhood’s expansion, one of which being the way it established its new branches, allowing more effective mobilization by combining its organizational infrastructure with the informal network already existing in the community (Gould 1991). Upon opening a new branch, it would begin one of the community service projects previously described, adapting to the specific needs of the area and weaving itself into the fabric of the community (Mitchell 1969). New recruits were then gradually introduced to the Brotherhood’s principles and activities through its “three-tier membership structure,” with “assistants” at the bottom merely paying their membership dues, “related” members with more involvement and knowledge, and “active” members completely dedicating themselves full-time to the organization (Munson 2003). Although the Muslim Brotherhood’s headquarters was located in Cairo, each individual branch throughout the

country retained a degree of autonomy in a “federated structure of authority” that enabled the Brotherhood to move “coordination and communication responsibilities” when the headquarters was threatened by the state (Munson 2003). The Brotherhood’s organizational infrastructure as it developed would indeed prove critical to its endurance.

The Brotherhood was ambivalent toward formal political institutions like parliament and political parties. However, even though the Brotherhood condemned the corruption and elitism of the political system, in 1942, seventeen Brotherhood candidates were slated to participate in the parliamentary elections, with al-Banna himself as a candidate for the district of Ismaliya. However, Nahhas, leader of Al Wafd Party at that time, asked him to withdraw from participating in the election along with the other Brotherhood members (Mitchell 1969). Al-Banna agreed, but in return, the Brotherhood would be free to resume full-scale operations and the government would order restrictions on the sale of alcohol and take legal steps against prostitution (Mitchell 1969). As a result, al-Banna pledged his support for the Wafdist Government. However, relations between the Muslim Brothers and the Wafd remained unstable and at the end of 1942, Nahhas closed down all Wafd branches, except the headquarters. In 1945, al-Banna and five other Brothers ran for Parliament, but because of electoral fraud, all of them were defeated (Wickham 2013). This, according to Mitchell (1969), deepened the Brotherhood’s alienation from the formal political order and reinforced its anti-system orientation.

Even though the main focus of the Muslim Brotherhood was the incremental reform of the society from the bottom up, al-Banna and other leaders embraced the concept of *jihad*. Beyond the concept of *jihad* as struggle, the Brotherhood viewed it as the legitimate use of force, both as a method to enlarge the territory under Islamic rule

and as means to defend the Muslim community when it was subjected to the rule of unbelievers and therefore, vulnerable to external threats (Wickham 2013). Friction with the government and its alienation from the political order made the Brotherhood more actively hostile to the government. Under these circumstances, al-Banna started *al-nizam al-kass* (the special section), also referred to as *al-jihaz al-sirri* (the secret apparatus), a unit of the most dedicated and active members on whom could be placed the primary burden of serving God and the message of the Brotherhood. The secret apparatus was rationalized as an instrument for the defense of Islam and the Brotherhood. In 1948, the assassination of a prominent judge by members of the secret apparatus (Wickham 2013), together with a secret apparatus weapons cache discovered and confiscated just outside of Cairo, and an explosives-laden vehicle, led Prime Minister Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi to order the dissolution of the Brotherhood, as well as the arrest of many members (Yapp 1996). In response, some members of the Secret Apparatus assassinated the Prime Minister. Despite his public denunciation of the assassins, al-Banna himself was assassinated shortly thereafter by state security forces (Leiken and Brooke 2007).

The Muslim Brothers in Nasser and Sadat Era (1952-1981)

On July 23, 1952 the Muslim Brotherhood joined the reset of Egypt celebrating the dawn of a new era after the Free Officers overthrew Egypt's constitutional monarch (Mitchell 1969). Brotherhood leaders saw themselves as having provided the inspiration for the rebellion and saw the establishment of the new regime as a fulfillment of the Brotherhood themselves (Wickham 2013). Due to the Brotherhood's contacts with the Free Officers prior to their assumption of power, they were permitted to legally re-establish the organization, and its members that had been imprisoned under the monarchy were freed (Aly & Wenner 1982). While not as large as it was prior to dissolution,

membership in 1953 was estimated at approximately 200,000 to 300,000 (Mitchell 1969). The new government also began a process of consolidating power, and in doing so “abolished all Egypt’s existing parties in 1953” (Owen 2000). Since it was a religious organization and not a political party, the Muslim Brotherhood was allowed to continue to operate after this period (Aly & Wenner 1982). The Brotherhood’s repeated calls for the application of sharia and its public support for General Muhamed Naguib, Nasser’s rival in the power struggle that followed the Free Officers’ takeover, provoked Nasser (Wickham 2013). Following a clash between Brotherhood university students and the police, Nasser dissolved the Brotherhood on January 1954 (Mitchell 1969). On October 26, a member of the secret apparatus attempted to assassinate Nasser firing eight shots at an open-air rally, none of which reached Nasser (Wickham 2013). The assassination attempt gave Nasser the pretext he needed to crush the organization; the regime destroyed its headquarters and tried a thousand Brotherhood leaders in court (Zollner 2007).

Between 1954 and 1970, the Brotherhood remained a prime target of the state. Thousands of Brotherhood members were imprisoned and tortured, while those not caught up in the regime’s security net fled into exile or were forced underground (Wickham 2013). Among the arrested and condemned to labor for life members was Supreme Guide Hasan al- Hudaybi, who had succeeded al-Banna after his assassination (Aly & Wenner 1982). One of the leading members of the Muslim Brotherhood, and important ideologue, imprisoned and subjected to torture in the 1954 crackdown, was Sayyid Qutb. A strong proponent of political Islam prior to his detention, his writings took on a far more radical and revolutionary tone subsequent to his prison experience, leading him to declare that Egyptian society was in a state of *jahiliyya*, or ignorance of God, and that leaders of the regime were apostates, or not true Muslims, and could be

overthrown by force (Leiken & Brooke 2007). In such a context, the enemy is no longer “out there”; rather the enemy is the Muslim community that ignores the Islamic *shari’a* (Haddad 1983). Under the concept of *takfir*, to charge with being an infidel (Haddad 1983), such people are no longer considered Muslims and thus are considered legitimate targets in the revolution. Qutb believed “that Islam is committed to destroying *jahiliyya* and that Islam will fight when necessary to convey its message,” seemingly rendering “these hostilities inevitable” (Shepard 2003, 531). Subsequent trials led to the execution of six Muslim Brotherhood leaders, while hundreds of others were tortured and jailed over the next decade (Munson 2001). Nasser ordered the release of many Brotherhood members in 1964 in an effort “to counterbalance the influence of the communists, who had been freed as well,” (Aly & Wenner 1982, 342). Many were again rounded up the following year, however, on accusations of plotting to overthrow the government, with one of the leaders being Sayyid Qutb, who was then executed in 1966 (Owen 2000). His execution by the state in 1966 made him a martyr in the eyes of like-minded members of the Muslim Brotherhood who were radicalized by the brutality of their prison experience (Esposito 2002).

In 1970, Nasser died and was succeeded by his Vice President Anwar Sadat. Sadat attempted to boost his authority by invoking religious themes and values, presenting himself as the “Believer President” and appearing on numerous television broadcasts entering and exiting public mosques on Friday and other holidays (Esposito 1984). As part of this broader reorientation, Sadat granted a general amnesty to the Brotherhood and released its members from prison in stages, beginning in 1971 and continuing through 1975. He also encouraged Brotherhood members living in exile to return home (Kassem 2004). Sadat’s adaptation of a more Islamic message and his

support to the Muslim Brotherhood was to counter the growing influence of the Nasserist left, which he viewed as the greatest challenge to his authority. Of the Brotherhood members released was Supreme Guide Hasan al-Hudaybi (Ramadan 2004). This was an important step, as al-Hudaybi was a moderate voice, rejecting the concept of *takfir* and shunning the use of violence in his book, *Duah la Qudah* (Missionaries, Not Judges)” (Abed-Kotob 1995). His successor, Umar Tilmisani, who took over after al-Hudaybi’s death in 1972, completely renounced violence as a domestic strategy (Ramadan 2004). “If what is meant by *haraka* (movement) is to confront the regime by force and violence, then we believe that this is a futile use of the people’s strength which benefits no one but the enemies of this country,” Tilmisani said (Kepel 1993, 125). At that time, several Brotherhood leaders confidently predicted that they would eventually be permitted to form a party of their own (Kepel 1993), but these expectations were dashed by the passage of the Political Parties Law of 1977, which expressly prohibited the formation of parties on the basis of religion. In a private meeting with Sadat in 1979, Tilmisani broached the idea of forming a Brotherhood party, which Sadat rejected (Ramadan 2004). Sadat offered instead to register the Brotherhood as an association under the authority of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Tilmisani rejected Sadat’s proposal as it would both limit the scope of the Brotherhood’s activities to the narrow domain of social and charitable work and compromise its independence (Baker 1990). So the Brotherhood remained both inside and outside the system, permitted to publish its own journal and lobby parliament, but lacking formal recognition as either an association or a political party.

In 1976, six members of the Brotherhood won seats in the parliament, including Sheikh Salah Abu Ismail, who played a leading role promoting Sharia-based initiatives within the assembly. In addition, the Brotherhood lobbied other members of parliament

to support their causes (Al-Khatib 1990). As Hala Moustafa (1995) observed, the Brotherhood's efforts to promote the Sharia rule took two forms: first, pressing for an upgrade of the status of Sharia in Article 2 from "a primary source" to "the primary source" of legislation; and second, repeatedly petitioning parliament for the immediate repeal of laws that allegedly contradicted Sharia principles and, as such, violated the constitution itself. Brotherhood leaders elected to parliament took pains to stress that their participation did not imply their support for a democratic system in which personal opinions of legislators trumped the Laws of God (Al-Khatib 1990). The Brotherhood's participation in parliament hence evinced a distinct instrumental logic: it would work within the framework of existing laws and institutions in order to transform them (Wickham 2013). In November 1979, the parliament was not in session; Sadat used his executive privilege to issue a new personal status law expanding the rights of women in marriage and divorce, a move that provoked bitter opposition from the Brotherhood (Esposito 1984). Yet shortly after, Sadat reversed track and took a historic step toward the Islamization of Egyptian law. In April 1980, the government-dominated parliament overwhelmingly approved the amendment in Article 2 of the constitution to define "the principles of Islamic Sharia" as the chief source of legislation (Lombardi 2006). However, the turning point between the regime and the Brotherhood came with the Brothers vehement opposition to the peace negotiations with Israel, which led them to openly challenge the religious legitimacy of the regime for the first time (Kepel 1993). Forced onto the defensive, Sadat's rhetoric became increasingly combative. He publicly castigated the Brotherhood for abusing its newfound freedoms and warned that he would not tolerate those who tamper with the high interests of the state under the guise of religion (Baker 1990). By 1981, Sadat's tolerance for dissent has reached its limit. In

September, the regime arrested more than 1,500 civic and political leaders from across the ideological spectrum, including al-Tilmisani and other senior Brotherhood leaders, and banned several opposition journals, including *al-Dawa* (Ramadan 2004). Among those caught up in the security net was Muhamed Al Islambuli, an Islamist student activist from Asyut, whose brother Khaled, acting on orders from the militant group al-Jihad, gunned down Sadat less than a month later on October 6, 1981 (Wickham 2013).

The Brotherhood and Electoral Politics Under Mubarak (1982 – 2010)

Hosni Mubarak's era set the stage for a new phase in the Brotherhood's development. By the mid 1980s, the Brotherhood managed to expand its presence in various spheres of public life and quickly established itself as the leading edge of the opposition (Wickham 2004). The Mubarak era also marked an increase in the Brotherhood's references to global norms of democracy and human rights. However, according to Wickham (2004), the Brotherhood invoked the language of democracy in part to challenge the conditions of its own exclusion. This era also witnessed the rise of *al-tayar-el-eslahi* (reformists) within the Brotherhood. The life experience of such figures as elected public officials in parliament, faculty clubs, and professional associations triggered a gradual process of psychological and ideological transformation (Wickham 2013). In the fall of 1981, Mubarak signaled his commitment to a gradual increase in public freedoms with the release, in stages, of opposition activists Sadat had imprisoned. Under the leadership of al-Tilmisani, the Brotherhood took some time to evaluate its options and assess how it might take advantage of the country's more open political climate (Springborg 1989). Among the Brotherhood's senior leaders, it was al-Talmisani who emerged as the most forceful advocate of expanding the group's role in public life.

New Beginning Under Mubarak

At his initiative, in May 1984 the Brotherhood entered parliamentary elections as an organized force (Ramadan 2004). Under Law 114 of 1983, a party-list system had replaced competition for individual seats. Independent candidates were prohibited and a relatively high threshold (8%) was established for parties to qualify for representation (El-Ghobashy 2005). In May 1984 elections, the Brotherhood entered into a tactical alliance with the secular nationalist Wafd party. As a condition of gaining the cover of a legal party, the Brothers acquiesced to a role as the Wafd's junior partner. According to a deal worked out between Tilmisani and Wafd Chairman Fuad Serag El-Din in February, the Brothers would run their own slate of candidates on the Wafd party list. The Wafd would provide a legal channel for the Brotherhood while the Muslim Brotherhood offered their popular base (El-Ghobashy 2005). Tilmisani needed to persuade members of the legitimacy of the Brotherhood alliance with the Wafd Party. In an attempt to placate the Brotherhood and boost its mass appeal, Wafd party leaders revised the group's platform shortly before the elections to include a passage affirming the party's belief in what the constitution stipulates, that Islam is the religion of the state and the principles of Sharia are the primary source of legislation, prompting some party member to resign in protest (Yassin 1990). Of the fifty-eight seats won by the Wafd-Brotherhood alliance, only eight went to Muslim Brotherhood candidates (El-Ghobashy 2005). In the 1984 parliament, the Brotherhood continued to push for the application of Sharia and succeeded in making it a major focus of discussion in the People's Assembly. Several sessions on the issue were held at the People's Assembly, to which various political and religious figures, including Tilmisani were invited to offer their advice. As the 1985 Arab Strategic Report observed, a general consensus was reached in these sessions on the necessity of applying the Sharia in a gradual manner, beginning with the cleansing of the existing laws, that is the removal

of elements in conflict with the Sharia rulings (Yassin 1986). Brotherhood deputies in the parliament, together with senior figures in the state religious establishment lobbied hard for the repeal of the progressive reform of Egypt's Personal Status Code that Sadat had issued by decree. In partial concession to Islamist demands, the NDP (National Democratic Party) majority in the parliament amended the law to restore some of the privileged rights of men in marriage and divorce that Sadat's reform had weakened or abolished completely (Yassin 1986).

In the parliamentary elections of 1987, three years later, the Brotherhood made another alliance with the Socialist Labor Party and Liberal Party to form the Islamic Alliance under the banner "Islam is the solution" (*al-Islam howa al-hal*) (Ebeid 1989). The Brotherhood was clearly the dominant force in the alliance, both the chief architect of its electoral program and its prime magnet and support (Springborg 1989). Both Ibrahim Shukri, Labor Party chairman, and Adel Hussein, editor of *al-Shaab*, the party's newspaper, were former leftists turned Islamists. The Labor Party alliance with the Brotherhood, which led some of its last remaining secular leaders to resign in protest, consolidated the party's Islamic orientation, and *al-Shaab* welcomed a growing number of Brotherhood editorialists and journalists (Yassin 1989). The tiny Liberal Party followed a similar path and its party newspaper became another outlet for Islamists opinion. During the campaign period, which witnessed the greatest public displays of pro-Islamist sentiment in the history of the Egyptian parliamentary elections, the Brotherhood blanketed the country with posters carrying messages such as "Give your vote to Allah, Give it to the Muslim Brotherhood" (Springborg 1989). The alliance won fifty-six seats, of which thirty-six went to the Muslim Brotherhood, compared with thirty-five for the Wafd, making the Brotherhood the single largest opposition bloc in

parliament for the first time (El-Ghobashy 2005). After the elections, Hamid Abu Nasr, the Brotherhood's newly appointed Supreme Guide, sought to reassure the movement's critics by emphasizing that the Brotherhood supported a gradualist approach to the implementation of Sharia, just as Sharia itself had appeared gradually in the history of Islam (Ramadan 2004). Brotherhood deputies repeatedly expressed their exasperation at the slow pace of the government's progress toward the application of *Shari'a* (Al-Khatib 1990). They also stressed that the partial adjustment of existing laws was not enough. As Mamoun Hudeibi, head of the Brotherhood's parliamentary bloc put it, "Either you have God's law or you don't; there is no middle ground between them (Al-Khatib 1990)." "No one imagines that, with our small numbers we can impose our opinions, beliefs, programs, and broad strategy, we know that the path we have embarked upon is fraught with difficulties, and this period is best summed up in the words of God the Most Blessed and Most High: "Speak out, and as long as you are outspoken you are not required to achieve a dominant position, meaning that our presence in parliament is in order to speak out and to utter the word of Truth at all time," Hudeibi said (Haydar 1989, 135). Not only did the Brotherhood representatives offer guidance to the NDP majority in parliament but sometimes they directly addressed the president. "Since we find Ministers who justify what they do as based on the instructions of the President of the Republic, so where are the instructions of the President with respect to the application of the Laws of God? The government is not serious about purifying the Islamic society of moral abominations and depravities and that could be done by one stroke of the pen from the president; so I ask of him from atop this *minbar* (podium) to do this and shut down the liquor factories and forbid entertainment places, and direct the media especially the television to the protection of our sons and daughters and our wives," Habib stated before

Parliament in June 1987 (Al-Khatib 1990, 87).

However, the Brotherhood deputies in the parliament did not spend all their time pontificating in support of Sharia law. They also began to address other issues like calls to raise educational standards, address housing shortages, expand the country's sewage and electricity grids, increase domestic wheat production, raise the wages of government employees as well as regional issues such as the increase of Soviet Jewish immigration to Israel (Al-Khatib 1990). They also vigorously condemned the extension of the country's Emergency Laws and protested the restrictive nature and laws governing the formation of political parties and the licensing of newspapers and journals, which they claimed, failed to guarantee all Egyptians citizens a voice in the country's affair. The Brotherhood's new emphasis on public freedoms and citizenship rights exhibited a clear instrumental logic, given that the primary victim of existing restrictions was the Brotherhood itself (Wickham 2004). The Brotherhood used the regime's own references to democracy against it by highlighting the gap between its rhetoric and practice. Brotherhood's deputies argued that if the government were truly faithful to the principles of democracy, it would proceed without further delay to apply *Shari'a* laws (Wickham 2004). "If democracy is the rule of the people by the people and in the interest of the people as we know, well then, the people of Egypt believe in their religion and their Sharia and have repeated time and again that they want to be ruled according to laws which conform with their beliefs and opinions and feelings," Hudeibi argued (Al-Khatib 1990, 72). Despite the Brotherhood's repeated claims that the Egyptian people wanted to be governed by Sharia, it was clear that this was not really the case which made some of Brotherhood members to claim that it was not really about what people wanted but they were obliged to do that. Muhammad Tawfiq Qassim argued before the parliament in 1988, "Only the

Creator knows what is best for his creations. Hence submission to the Sharia is not a choice; rather it is an obligation (al-Khatib 1990, 144).” Thus, members of the Brotherhood began to develop new competencies and skills, including the ability to maneuver around the agenda of the NDP majority. In short, Brotherhood deputies began to justify their efforts to secure a larger role in the political system, as well as to expedite the application of Sharia, by referring to the principles of democracy, citizenship, and the rule of law.

In addition to running for seats in the parliament, the Brotherhood decided to field candidates for seats on the boards of Egypt’s professional associations. The Brotherhood’s growing influence in the professional syndicates can be largely credited to the group’s middle generation, who were sandwiched between the old guard and the more recent recruits (Wickham 2013). Given that many of the group’s most active leaders were based in the natural sciences, it is not coincidental that their first forays occurred in these fields. In 1984, a group of Brotherhood activists, the self-proclaimed Islamic Voice, headed by Abd-al Munim Abu al-Futouh, entered the doctor’s syndicate elections and by 1986 had won a majority of seats on its executive board (Wickham 2002). In 1985, the Brotherhood fielded candidates in the engineers’ syndicate elections under the banner of the Islamic Trend, achieving its first major victory when it won fifty-four of the sixty-one seats on the executive board (Ghobashi 2005). The Brotherhood also achieved noteworthy gains in the pharmacists’ and scientists’ syndicates and later in 1992, its most stunning victory occurred when it won eighteen of twenty-four seats on the executive board of the lawyer’s syndicate (Ghobashi 2005). On a parallel track, Brotherhood activists gained a dominant position in the faculty clubs at many Egyptian Universities. In 1985, they won a majority of seats on the government board of the

Faculty Club of Asyut University and in 1986 on the board of the Cairo University Faculty Club and later in the Delta area (Ghobashi 2005). However, this does not really reflect their popularity. According to Wickham (2002), only a minority of the syndicates' members turned out to vote; therefore, these victories demonstrated the Brotherhood's superior organization, financing, and electoral tactics, which enabled it to mobilize supporters in electoral contests from which other organized trends were conspicuously absent. However, despite their victories, the Islamic Trend did not contest the position of *naqib* (syndicate president), a position traditionally held by a government minister or other high-ranking official, so as not to undermine the syndicates' relation with the state upon which they continued to depend for financial and operational support (Wickham 2002). As syndicate official, the Islamic Trend leaders broke out of the Brotherhood's insular networks and engaged in closer and more sustained dialogue and cooperation with other individuals and groups. This was a clear departure from the pattern of self-isolation that had distinguished their behavior in the past (Wickham 2002). However, to justify their interaction with other groups, the Islamic Trend leaders cited the behavior of the Prophet Muhammad and al-Banna, thereby framing their openness as consistent with the spirit of Islam and the Brotherhood's own *minhaj* (program) (Wickham 2002). The victories accomplished by the Brotherhood within these new open political opportunities gave the Brotherhood the confidence to think again about starting their own political party.

The idea of having their own party was raised again in the 1980s, however, Mubarak was opposed to the idea just as Sadat was. The Brotherhood leaders were reluctant to push on the issue fearing broader conflict with the regime. Tilmesani expressed his opinion on party formation in an interview in 1983: "The Parties Law has

blocked the Brotherhood from every outlet it might have pursued, but as another matter, the Brotherhood has never thought of forming its own party, because Islam does not recognize the word parties; if you read the Quran from start to finish you will not find the word parties. Hence we don't accept the idea of parties," (Haydar 1989, 91). Contrary to his views expressed in the media, in the mid-1984, Tilmisani formed a special committee charged with drafting a Brotherhood party platform (Al-Awadi 2004). Even though a party platform was formed, no attempt was made to apply for a party license and the whole party debate never took formal channels (Aly 2007). Proponents of the Brotherhood's new strategy emphasized that electoral participation was not a substitute for the group's *Dawa* mission, but a means to extend it into new domain. Tilmisani explained how the Brotherhoods' entry into politics served its broader goals; unlike other groups, the Brotherhood did not enter the political fray seeking power for itself but to spread the word of God. "Some think that when we speak on political matters that this has nothing to do with religion and that this is the talk of parties, but this is not true, because the parties seek to achieve power and that is not our approach. We don't work for ourselves; we work for God" (Haydar 1989, 92). When asked about whether this represented a new path in the strategy of the Brotherhood, Mashhour argued that they could take advantage of the campaign period preceding elections, as well as the political immunity of Brotherhood representatives in the parliament. He added, through its representation in the parliament, the Brotherhood could achieve a "complete transformation in the thinking of all toward God and Sharia (Wickham 2013, 49)." Mashhour also noted that Brotherhood deputies in the parliament could hold the government accountable for its actions and provide it with guidance based on the public interest and the principles of the Sharia (Al-Khatib 1990).

The Muslim Brotherhood Under Repression

The 1990's marked a change in the political sphere for the Brotherhood. The Brotherhood's growing influence began to provoke concern within the regime circles, prompting a revival of the charge that the Brotherhood and Jihadist groups were in fact two sides of the same coin (Campagna 1996). The regime efforts to restrain the Brotherhood occurred against the backdrop of a sharp increase in violent attacks by militant Islamist groups. While Islamist violence produced 33 casualties between 1982 and 1985, that number rose to 1,164 from 1990 to 1993, marking that period as the bloodiest in this century (Ibrahim 1995). Among those Islamic militants assassinated at that time were a prominent former Speaker of the Parliament and four police generals along with attempts made on the lives of the minister of information, the minister of the interior, and the prime minister. Egypt's most prominent secular critic of the Islamist movement, Farag Fouda, was also assassinated. Eventually the attack was broadened to include a wider range of civilian targets, such as Coptic Christians and other Muslim intellectuals as well as cinemas, nightclubs, cafes, and video shops (Ibrahim 1995).

A series of events in the early 1990s also provoked the government starting the Brotherhood boycotting the 1990 parliament elections, which was seen as a move to embarrass the government. In 1991, tension mounted when the Brotherhood issued a public statement condemning Egypt's participation in the Madrid Peace talks and the Islamist-controlled doctor's syndicate organized a rally which was attended by an estimated twenty thousand demonstrators (Campagna 1996). With the 1992 earthquake, the regime's perception that the Brotherhood posed a threat to its interests was reinforced. The Brotherhood-led doctors' and engineers' syndicates were first on the scene providing tents, blankets, food, and clothes to the victims, which they dispensed from first-aid

clinics and emergency shelters plastered with banners and posters declaring “Islam is the Solution” (Campagna 1996). The Brotherhoods’ quick response to the earthquake, along with its efficient mobilization of relief funds and supplies in the days that followed, was in stark contrast to the government’s slow response. The 1992 earthquake convinced government officials that the unchecked expansion of the Brotherhood’s activity in the public domain could no longer be tolerated. As Abdel Halim Musa, the minister of interior, complained, “What is going on here? Do we have a state within the state?” (Wickham 2000, 203). Accusations escalated after a march by several hundred lawyers in 1994 to protest the death in state custody of Abdel al-Harith Madani, a defense lawyer for some of the militants (Campagna 1996).

However, the 1990’s also witnessed some changes within the Brotherhood’s position on women and non-Muslim minorities. In 1994, the Brotherhood issued a statement “The Muslim Woman in Muslim Society,” which asserted that the Quranic verse establishing the authority of men over women applied only to the domain of the family and should be understood as a component of the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife (Wickham 2002). Further, while emphasizing the crucial roles women play in raising children, the Brotherhood endorsed women’s right to work and participate in public affairs. The statement said women had the right to vote and to run as candidates in legislative elections, finding nothing in Sharia that prohibits them from doing so (Wickham 2002). The statement, however, stated that women must be over forty, at which time most women have already completed the task of raising children. The statement also advised women to wear Islamic dress and to avoid any improper mixing with men (Wickham 2002). The second striking statement concerned non-Muslim minorities “Statement to the People” in 1995. The statement emphasized the

Brotherhoods' support of full citizenship rights for Egypt's Coptic Christians, noting that they have the same rights and duties as Muslims; however, Coptic citizens should be barred from top positions in the army to ensure complete loyalty in confronting Christian states and should be expected to pay *jizya* (the tax historically paid by minority religious communities in return for their protection) (Wickham 2002).

Regime efforts to wrest the syndicates from the Brotherhood control began in 1993. The NDP passed a new bill through the parliament titled the "Law to Guarantee Democracy in the Professional Associations" that established a minimum voter turnout rate for syndicate elections as 50% in the first round and 33% in the second round; if not met, the results would be voided and the association would be placed under the supervision of a panel of appointed judges (Wickham 2002). The law triggered protest from the Brotherhood and other opposition groups, which led to demonstrations including clashes with the police. Following a series of arrests in the early 1990's, the regime's offensive against the Brotherhood intensified in 1995. Hundreds of Brotherhood members were arrested and the cases of eighty-one prominent leaders were transferred to military courts (Rishwan 2006). The trials aimed to disrupt the work of the middle-generation activists who had spearheaded the dramatic expansion of the group's involvement in public life (Al-Awadi 2004). Fifty-four of the Brotherhood defendants received of up to five years in prison (Rishwan 2006). The timing of the sentences was a week before Parliamentary elections of 1995, which suggests that the regime intended to undermine the Brotherhood's ability to run an effective electoral campaign. The stakes of the 1995 Parliamentary elections were high because the 1995 assembly was set to nominate Mubarak for a fourth term as a President and if the Brotherhood won more than one-third of the seats, it would be in a position to obstruct his nomination (Al-Awadi

2004). As a result, the 1995 elections exhibited an unprecedented level of government intervention. Although the Brotherhood put forward 170 candidates, it won only one seat (Al-Awadi 2004).

Democracy and Human Rights: A New Millennium for the Brotherhood

With the beginnings of the new millennium, the Brotherhood tried to avoid another round of confrontation with the state. In the 2000 parliamentary elections, the Brotherhood decided to run for only 75 out of the 444 seats open to contestation (El-Ghobashy 2005). Besides limiting its participation to certain districts to avoid confrontation with the regime, the Brotherhood generally avoided high-profile figures and favored local, and in many cases younger and less experienced, candidates not wellknown outside of their own districts (Makram Ebeid 2001). Further, many of its candidates focused on issues related to their districts rather than engaging in ideological grandstanding such as “Islam is the Solution” used in earlier campaigns (Abu Talib 2003). Following the July 2000 Supreme Constitutional Court ruling that deemed the results of the previous two elections invalid because they were not subject to judicial control, President Mubarak consented to full judicial supervision of elections as a move toward democracy (Kassem 2004). However, the regime still intervened to limit the Brotherhood’s gains. A few days before the elections, twenty Brotherhood candidates were arrested and tried. Despite the violence at the poll stations, the Brotherhood managed to win 17 seats, equal to the number of all other opposition candidates combined (Thabet 2006), again emerging as the largest opposition group in the parliament. The Brotherhood followed the same self-restrained attitude to not provoke the government in syndicate elections. For example, in the 2001 lawyers syndicate elections, the Brotherhood joined a national slate for all twenty-four seats open to

contestation that encompassed figures from various opposition groups as well as members of the ruling party and independents. According to the agreement worked out between the parties in advance, only eight of the twenty-four seats on the syndicate board would be allocated to the Brotherhood (Abu Talib 2003).

The September 11 attacks, however, marked a turning point in the development of the Brotherhood. Incentives for self-restraint were augmented by the 2001 attacks. Suddenly the world began to focus its attention on the various Islamist movements, and what had until then been considered as domestic opposition groups now came to be viewed by some as part of a global Islamist network that threatened the whole Western civilization (Pargeter 2010). However, the Brotherhood somehow received a boost from this international climate (Pargeter 2010). Since many of the Brotherhood members spoke English, they took advantage of the renewed interest by scholars and journalists and were keen to engage in interviews and debates as means of demonstrating their commitment to reform (Salem 2004). They also began to promote themselves through the Internet, setting up their own English language website. In doing so, the Brotherhood was able to project a new image that contradicted previous perceptions as secretive, autocratic and aggressive that were circulated in some Western circles (Salem 2004).

The events of September 2001 also coincided with the death of Mashhour and the appointment of Mahdi Akef as the new *murshid* (supreme guide). Although Akef was a member of the *al tanzeem el seri* (secret apparatus), discussed earlier in this chapter, and part of the old generation of leaders, he had the reputation of being more tolerant and sympathetic to the reformists in the Brotherhood and was considered a compromise figure between the old guard and the reformists (Nye 2002). Under Akef, the Brotherhood produced a series of reform platforms and in 2004, at a conference at the

headquarters of the journalist's syndicate in Cairo, the Brotherhood announced its comprehensive program for reform titled "Muslim Brotherhood Initiative: On the General Principles of Reform in Egypt" (Wickham 2002). The initiative laid out the movement's stance on a range of issues from political and legal reform to education and foreign policy (Pargeter 2010). Further, the Brotherhood's initiative integrated democratic themes into a broader project of Islamic reform. In fact, many of its demands were similar to those of secular opposition groups.

It (the initiative) asserted that the people are the source of all authority and have the right to select their political representatives in free and fair elections. It called for the separation of the presidency from any political party and the restrictions of the holder of that office to two consecutive terms. Further, it called for lifting of state emergency and replacing the country's restrictive party and syndicates laws with new legislation that affirms the freedom of citizen and his dignity and right to participate in public life. The statement also called for the release of political prisoners, an end to torture, and limiting the security establishment to the protection of the state society, rather than protecting the government or being used to repress the opposition. Likewise, it advocated strengthening judicial independence, abolishing all exceptional courts, and using military courts exclusively for those accused of military crimes (Wickham 2013, 105).

Despite this new expression of the Brotherhood's commitment to progressive liberal ideas, the Brotherhood's initiative made it clear that this reform program was inseparable from a broader religious agenda. According to Wickham, the purpose of reform was not to establish a framework providing equal representation to all sectors of opinion in Egyptian society but to promote Islamic values and behavior as the Brotherhood defined them. This direction is revealed in the opening section of the program titled, "Construction of the Egyptian Human Being" (*Bina 'al-Insan al-Misri*) (2013).

Seeking to capitalize on the political opening created by external pressure from the West, the Brotherhood ran 161 candidates in the parliamentary elections in 2005, more than double the number it ran in 2000. However, it did not contest seats in districts

where senior government candidates were running (Hamzawy and Brown 2010). This time the Brotherhood did not form a coalition with secular opposition groups. Instead it ran its own list and revived the old slogan “*Islam Howa el-Hal*” (Islam is the solution), which continued to resonate among members of its base as well as with conservative voters in general. “It is not for position, nor for power, not for money, nor for party... It is Islam and for God,” Brotherhood campaign workers chanted (Antar 2006, 15). The first round of voting proceeded with minimum government interference and despite the regime’s aggressive tactics in the second and third rounds, the Brotherhood won a total of eighty-eight seats, ten times the number of seats won by all opposition parties combined (Habib 2008). The results were reported heavily in both Arab and Western media, which made the Brotherhood launch a public relations campaign, mainly to the West, to reassure its critics. In an interview titled “No Need to Fear from Us” to the English newspaper *The Guardian*, Kairat El-Shater, the second deputy to the supreme guide and one of the group’s most influential members said, “We are not seeking more than a small piece of the parliamentary cake” (Habib 2008).

The 2005 Parliament election results shocked the regime and strengthened its decision to contain the Brotherhood. The official state media started a campaign against the Brotherhood describing it as a secret and illegal organization seeking to undermine the public order (Shehata 2007). These accusations escalated after a demonstration by Brotherhood students at Al-Azhar University in December 2006, to protest government interference in the student union elections. About fifty Brotherhood students dressed in black military uniforms, faces covered by black hoods, staged a martial arts demonstration (Shehata 2007). This incident placed the Brotherhood on the defensive again. Akef, the Supreme Guide (*al-murshed al-am*), gave a series of public interviews

in which he stressed that the group had no military wing and opposed the use of violence to solve problems, but still the regime framed the Brotherhood as a threat to the public order (Shehata 2007). The regime assault on the Brotherhood included the arrest and long-term detention of some of its most influential leaders and financiers. The security police arrested 140 members including Khairat a-Shater, who supervised the Brotherhood's financial networks and his business partner Hassan Malek (Shehata 2007). According to Amr al-Chobaki, the arrest of al-Shater dried up about one third of the society's funding streams (around \$88 million) forcing it to rely on the two other main streams, membership dues and charitable associations and businesses (International Crisis Report 2008).

The growing demand from the West called for the Brotherhood to be more explicit in articulating its policies and in 2007, the Brotherhood released a new draft party platform as an attempt to demonstrate what a Brotherhood manifesto would look like should it ever decided to apply to become a political party (Pargeter 2010). The draft platform envisioned a Muslim Brotherhood party as a civil party with an Islamic frame of reference and declared its support for a constitutional order based on the peaceful alternation of power through popular elections, as opposed to a system of Clerical rule. Like earlier proposals, it expressed support for political pluralism, the rule of law, judicial independence, and strengthening the role of civil society. It also stressed the Brotherhood's commitment to the eventual application of Sharia. The platform also called the establishment of a council of religious scholars to vet executive and legislative bills for conformity with Sharia principles. Finally, while affirming the citizenship rights of women and Coptic Christians, the platform barred them from running for president (Hamzawy & Brown 2008). Muhammad Morsi (who later would be the Brotherhood

nominee for the 2012 presidential elections), a longtime Brotherhood member of parliament, took the lead in formulating this draft party (Wickham 2010). Despite the fact that the draft was criticized heavily in the Egyptian media, the Brotherhood decided to present it to leading Islamists around the world in a major meeting in London to which some parts of the Arab media was invited (Pargeter 2010).

As 2010 approached, the conservative faction of the Brotherhood was becoming more dominant in the Brotherhood, especially after Akef's decision to step down. In August 2009, Akef announced that he would be stepping down as a Supreme Guide (*murshid al-am*) when his term expired in January 2010. This represented the first time in the organization's history that the *murshid* did not remain in the position until his death (Wickham 2013). Secretary-General Mahmoud Ezzat insisted on holding elections as quickly as possible to ensure the domination of the conservative faction in the Guidance office. In January 2010, Muhammad Badia, a sixty-seven-year old professor of veterinary medicine who had been arrested with Sayyid Qutb in 1965 and spent nine years in prison, became the new *murshid al-am* (Supreme Guide) of the Brotherhood, which further consolidated the position of the conservative wing in the group (Wickham 2013). The consolidation of the old guard's monopoly on executive power triggered predictions in the Arab and Western media that the Brotherhood would retreat from the political stage and redirect its energies back to *dawa* and social service activities it had prioritized in the past (Kneill 2010). Participation was no longer a tactic, but a strategic choice perceived by Brotherhood leaders as serving the group's long-term interests, regardless of who was at the top. "Any suggestion that the Muslim Brotherhood will withdraw from engagement in political life because of conservatives' control over the organization is logically flawed. Political involvement is vital to the Muslim

Brotherhood if it is to score political gains, sustain its connection with the public and recruit new members,” Khalil al-Anani said (2010, 2). The Brotherhood entered the parliamentary elections in 2010 expecting to lose the seats it won in 2005. Initially, the Brotherhood fielded 135 candidates of the 508 seats open to contestation, however, 35 were disqualified (Hamzawy 2010). Government intervention in the polling process was even more aggressive than anticipated. The official results of the first round showed that the Brotherhood had won no seats. Protesting fraud in the results, the Brotherhood pulled out of the elections altogether before the runoff on December 5, while other opposition parties combined won 15 seats (Wickham 2013).

Muslim Brotherhood in Power

The massive popular uprising that erupted in Egypt on January 25, 2011, produced a change that no one could have predicted just a few weeks earlier. What was notable in the revolution was that it was not driven by any overriding ideology. It represented the coming together of people from all walks of life united by their shared desire to bring down the corrupt authoritarian regime. However, the success of the uprising was not a function of people’s power alone, rather it hinged on the support of the Egyptian military, the only institution in the country capable of forcing Mubarak to step down. Despite the Brotherhood being the largest and most established opposition movement in the country, it was the secular youth who seized the moment and risked their lives to try to bring change to Egypt. Such groups shared some common characteristics. First, they were independent of Egypt’s political parties. Second, many of them were headed by urban, educated, technically savvy youth with liberal backgrounds. As Egyptian youth flooded into Tahrir Square to demand change, the Brotherhood appeared to be in shock of the events taking place.

The Muslim Brotherhood: Between Democracy and the Call for Allah

Participating on the 25th of January, 2011 uprising was deemed risky for the Brotherhood. A number of the Brotherhood youth leaders, already in direct communication with their counterparts of uprising youth organizing movements, were involved in planning the January 25 demonstration from the very beginning; however, a few days before it was scheduled to occur, they asked the Guidance office for permission to participate in the name of *shabab al-Ikhwan* (Brotherhood Youth), but their request was turned down (Wickham 2013). While some of the Brotherhood Youth members took part in the demonstrations as individuals, the movement did not list itself among the organizers of the protests and refused to give them its official backing (Pargeter 2013). The Brotherhood itself would maintain a position of neutrality, neither supporting the protest nor opposing it. As Mohamed Morsi said, “We are not pushing this movement, but we are moving with it. We do not wish to lead it but we want to be part of it (Associated Press 2011). Still uncertain at this stage as to whether the protestors would be tolerant to stick out for long enough to actually bring down the regime, the Brotherhood did not want to risk taking action that might see it lose the gains it made over the past decades. It feared that the regime would retaliate hard and that it would be the main loser, scapegoated for the whole episode (Pargeter 2013). Moreover, the Brotherhood had never been a revolutionary movement. It had always maintained that it was not seeking to overturn established order but rather that it preferred to concern itself with reforming society from below to prepare it for the eventual establishment of Islamic state (Pargeter 2013). As Egyptian researcher Nabil Abdl-Fattah observed, “The Brotherhood is afraid of aggravating security forces against them and at the same time afraid of missing the opportunity to participate in this widely anticipated protest against

the regime” (Fahmy 2011). The Brotherhood’s decision to support the general demands of the protest and permit its member to participate in it as individuals, without granting the event their official endorsement, reflected such conflicting priorities. Still, it is undisputable that the uprising gave an unprecedented boost to the Brotherhood, which quickly emerged as the country’s most powerful civilian actor. On January 28, as the protests grew in magnitude, the Brotherhood reached the conclusion that its own fate hung in the balance, knowing that it would be the first target of the regime if the uprising failed. “Our only card is the mobilization in Tahrir Square. It has been our life insurance against the swing of the pendulum if the regime gets back on its feet,” one of the leaders of the Brotherhood said (Tammam & Haenni 2011). The Brotherhood abandoned its earlier caution and ordered its members into the streets after noon prayers (Tammam & Haenni 2011). The Brotherhood’s presence in the demonstrations starting from January 28 gave the uprising a new momentum. The Brotherhood, however, was well aware that underneath the newfound spirit of national unity, there were still plenty of young activists in Tahrir square who were anxious about the Brotherhood and its intentions. As one young liberal activist puts it, “ The Brothers...They want it to be Islamic like Iran... But we do not want it like that. We are liberal” (Sennott 2011). The Brotherhood’s sudden call for Mubarak’s downfall and its willingness to talk in the name of the people prompted some protesters to accuse the Brotherhood of muscling in and of trying to claim the revolution as its own. “The Muslim Brotherhood wants to steal the success of this revolution... They do not represent us,” one of the protesters proclaimed (Murphy 2011). The Brotherhood was careful to assert that it was not calling for change in order to take power itself. “We have said clearly we have no ambitions to run for the presidency, or

posts in a coalition government,” Mohamed al-Beltagy, the Brotherhood spokesman said (RIA Novosti 2011). On February 11, Mubarak stepped down.

After Mubarak’s removal, once again the Brotherhood was quick to stress that it was not hungry for power and that it had no intention of dominating the post-Mubarak political arena. In a statement after Mubarak’s departure, the Brotherhood declared that it would neither nominate a candidate for presidency nor seek a majority in the parliament (Ikhwan web 2011). “We are also not targeting to have a majority in the upcoming parliament. This is time for solidarity, unity, we need national consensus,” Essam al-Ariyan, a member in the Brotherhood Guidance Office, said (Keath & Hendawi 2011). Despite all their earlier claims, the Brotherhood still believed it could maneuver itself gradually into a position of power. The Brotherhood jumped at the chance to participate in the committee of legal experts established by SCAF (Supreme Council of the Armed Forces), which comprised a small and a select group tasked with drawing up a set of recommendations for amending the constitution ahead of parliamentary elections. Sobhi Saleh, a Brotherhood senior member, was appointed to the committee that was led by Tariq a-Bishri, the former head of Egypt’s administrative court and known Brotherhood sympathizer. The most crucial element for the Brotherhood was it would have a say in when the country’s new constitution was to be drafted (Habib 2012). While most political groups in Egypt wanted a new constitution before the parliamentary and presidential elections took place, it was crucial for the Brotherhood, as the most organized force on the scene, that the parliamentary elections take place as soon as possible leaving the new constitution to be written by the new parliament (Habib 2012). Because their previous experience and their mobilization network, the Brotherhood knew that it would stand a good chance at winning the polls and it would thus be able to

dominate the whole constitution drafting process and ensure that the resulting document have a strong Islamic spirit. On March 19, the proposed constitutional amendments were put for the people in a referendum (Trager 2011). Many political groups were desperate for the amendments to be rejected because they wanted the constitution to be drafted before the elections. However, since it got the SCAF to agree to its transition plan, the Brotherhood was not going to squander its gains by allowing the people to vote 'no'. The Brotherhood mobilized its supporters by portraying the referendum as a choice between Islam and secularism and by warning voters that opposing the amendments would be paramount to rejecting Article 2 of the 1971 constitution, which describes Sharia as the principle source of legislation (International Crisis Report 2012). The Brotherhood adopted slogans such as "Voting yes, with Allah" or "Voting no is siding with the Copts" (Makeen 2011). By playing the religion card, the Brotherhood made sure that its supporters felt a kind of moral duty to come out and support the amendments. As a result of their mobilization tactics, 77.3 percent of the voters came out in support of the changes (International Crisis Report 2012).

Freedom and Justice Party: the Political Arm of the Muslim Brotherhood

Despite its earlier position, on May 18, the Brotherhood formally submitted a request to establish its party, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), with 9,000 founding members (Anani 2011). Many discussions were held inside the Brotherhood about the nature of the relationship between the party and the Brotherhood as a *jamaa* (organization). The Brotherhood position was that the two entities would be completely separate (Al-Bayoumi 2011); however, it was clear that the party was going to be tightly controlled behind the scenes by the Brotherhood. In addition, the FJP leaders were all appointed by the Guidance Office. Supreme Guide Mohamed Badie prohibited

Brotherhood members from joining any party other than FJP (Brown 2011). The Brotherhood also wrote the party's platform and approved its bylaws (Brown 2011).

The Muslim Brotherhood in Parliament

The parliamentary elections approached, the Brotherhood's position toward their participation changed. As mentioned earlier, during the revolution, the Brotherhood was keen to show that it was not trying to dominate the political scene saying it would only nominate candidates for 35 percent of Parliament (Saleh 2011). However, by April 2011, the Brotherhood increased this figure up to 50 percent and by October it went full out for power. It announced that, through its association with the Democratic Alliance for Egypt, it would be nominating candidates for all available seats (Egypt Independent 2011). Further, the Muslim Brotherhood offered its most powerful candidates on the individual seats and also put a leading Muslim Brotherhood's figure on top of every party list. The rest of each list was composed of relatively unknowns. Their calculation proved to work: Reserve your strong candidates, who have local support, in the districts for the individual seats where name recognition and services matter and strengthen the appeal of your list with famous figures (Tadros 2012). In the polls, the FJP powered to victory with its coalition taking 235 seats, representing 47.2 percent of the total. This made the Brotherhood the largest bloc in the parliament. It turned out to be a disastrous election for the revolutionary and youth groups, and for all the secular parties, who were left with almost nothing (Tadros 2012).

The parliament did not produce much legislation, but the discussions that took place within its walls along with the statements made by its members, are considered valuable material for analysis. For example, in order to discuss the parliament's approach to the issues of women, minorities and marginalized groups, one must first examine the

composition of this parliament and how these groups were represented in it. The parliamentary election law did not stipulate a quota for women or other groups. Moreover, the law did not require placing the names of female candidates in the top third of electoral lists, merely stating that the latter should include at least one female candidate. Consequently, most electoral lists, even secular ones, placed the names of their female candidates at the bottom of the list. In fact, secular electoral lists did not nominate many women as candidates, with the highest percentage of female candidates reaching a mere 16% on the lists of the Revolution Continues Alliance (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). In fact, in 2012, the percentage of female representation amounted to a mere 2% in the People's Assembly, despite women having widely participated in the elections, both as candidates and as voters (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). Indeed, 984 women ran as candidates in the People's Assembly elections, as part of electoral lists or competing for individual seats in spite of the number of women eligible to vote reaching 23.5 million (Abul Komsan 2012). However, women were present at polling stations and actively participated in the voting process reflecting the fact that the absence of quota requirements for women was not the only problem. The approach of political parties and coalitions to the very notion of female candidates, and the extent of their trust in women's capabilities are equally problematic. Further, Coptic participation in parliamentary elections was positive as well. The late Pope Shenouda III had called on Copts to participate and choose their candidates on the basis of patriotism, not religious affiliation (al-Shorouk Newspaper 2011). However, the urging of their church was not the only reason for the participation of Copts in parliamentary elections and the earlier referendum. In fact, the main reason may well be that, since the January 25 Revolution, Copts joined street protests and participated in political life, formed

movements and took part in the activity of political parties. Additionally, their participation may have stemmed from the fear that their rights and freedoms would suffer, should political Islam seize power. Saint Mark's Coptic Orthodox Cathedral in Alexandria, the seat of the Coptic Papacy, estimated the rate of participation of Copts in parliamentary elections at about 70%, which it considered unprecedented (Al Masry al-Youm newspaper 2011). Yet, no more than eleven Copts obtained seats in the People's Assembly (six of them elected and five appointed by SCAF), which constituted a mere 2% of the overall number of seats. Despite the fact that Pope Shenouda III urged Christian Copts to vote in the parliament, a number of Islamist's MPs refused to stand up to honor his death, while several others left the chamber ahead of the ceremony (Al-Akhbar 2012).

Regarding women's rights, only one single law was passed in May 2012, namely, the law regulating health insurance for working women (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). On the other hand, there were numerous proposals to amend laws granting women certain rights were rejected under the pretext that such laws were at odds with the principles of Islamic law, and were the making of the former First Lady Suzanne Mubarak. The first such proposal was made in March 2012 when a representative of the People's Assembly Legislative Committee presented a draft law to revoke Article 20 of a law passed in 2000. The latter, known as the "no-fault divorce law" (*khul*), regulates certain personal status law issues and litigation procedures (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). The proposal was referred to the Al-Azhar University to determine its consistency with Sharia and was recognized by Al-Azhar as consistent with Sharia (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013), and the proposed amendment was rejected. This was followed by a string of draft laws demanding the amendment of laws

concerning women. Thus, in April 2012, one Islamist member of Parliament presented a draft law to change the age of custody. Certain articles of Egyptian personal status law regarding guardianship had been amended in 2005, and the age until which the mother could hold child custody had been raised to 15 years. The Salafist MP demanded that the age of custody be lowered to 7 for boys and 9 for girls (Diab 2012). In a related but unprecedented occurrence, a female member of Parliament from the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) presented a draft law to amend Article 242 of the Penal Code, which criminalizes female circumcision (female genital mutilation). The FJP members of Parliament demanded that the law merely ban female circumcision outside of hospitals, and require a specialized medical consultation indicating the need for circumcision (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). In a statement, the same member of the Parliament claimed to have put forward a proposal to revoke the sexual harassment law. She justified this by claiming that women cause sexual harassment by displaying their naked flesh, and that the men who engage in it are therefore not at fault (El-Garf 2012). Another al-Nour Party member of the Parliament later presented a draft law to revoke the law criminalizing female circumcision. However, the party withdrew their proposal from the Proposals and Complaints Committee on the grounds that the member of Parliament had failed to consult with the head of al-Nour's parliamentary group before presenting it to the People's Assembly (Al Masry al-Youm 2012). The al-Nour Party also put forward a draft law to lower the marriage age from 18 to 16 years of age. It justified this by claiming that citizens in remote areas wished to marry off their daughters at a younger age, and that legislators should respect their wishes (Abboud 2012). While showing a great deal of legislative interest in women's issues, Islamist members of Parliament never presented draft laws to resolve the problem facing

the country. Although these issues raised a lot of criticism about the credibility of the parliament, the turning point was the appointment of the constituent assembly that had been established to draft the new constitution.

The Fight for the Constitution

With the parliamentary election victory, the Brotherhood had abandoned its ultra-cautious approach. Keen to get the constitution writing process completed before the presidential elections, in order to ensure that real power lay with the parliament, the Brotherhood rushed into appointing the Constituent Assembly right after its victory. Out of the 100 places in the Constituent Assembly, 75 percent went to Islamists from the Brotherhood or the Salafis. Women only made up 6% of the Constituent Assembly and Copts, as well as other marginalized groups such as people with disabilities, were not represented at all (*Al-Shorouk Newspaper* 2012). Furthermore, out of the 100 seats, the Brotherhood insisted that 50 be given to members of Parliament with most of those parliamentarians appointed coming from the FJP. The Brotherhood also drew up a reserve list, which was 75 percent Islamist nominees (Revkin & Auf 2012). Twenty-five members of the Constituent Assembly representing the non-Islamist element, walked out on the grounds that the body was not sufficiently representative (*Al-Ahram Weekly* 2012). They included not only liberals and secular members, but also representatives from the Coptic Church and from Al-Azhar, Egypt's official Muslim establishment (*Al-Ahram Weekly* 2012). Brotherhood Secretary General, Mahmoud Hussein declared that it did not matter whether or not the Constituent Assembly was representative or not because, as a body, it would gather suggestions from all the Egyptians (*Christian Science Monitor* 2012). "If anyone boycotts its meetings, they will be replaced by others elected as reserve," said FJP Secretary General and head of the Constituent Assembly, Saad el-

Katatni (Hussein 2012). The Brotherhood seemed to believe that its win at the polls meant it had been mandated by the Egyptians to provide an Islamic future for the country through the writing of this new constitution. Further, Khairat al-Shater claimed that the elections had proved that Egyptians were demanding an Islamic state (Kirkpatrick 2012). “The people are insistent... All institutions should revive their cultures, their training programs and the way they built their individuals in the light of this real popular choice,” he added (Kirkpatrick 2012). The Constituent Assembly was thus the target of a large number of lawsuits calling for its invalidation and dissolution. As a response to the way in which the Brotherhood handled the appointments to the assembly, on April 5th, 2012, the Administrative Court officially suspended the Constituent Assembly (*Sout al-Omma Newspaper* 2012). As a result, Katateni issued a decision on April 18, 2012 charging the People’s Assembly’s own Constitutional Affairs Committee with the task of preparing a draft law, that would clearly define the standards for electing another formal body to draft the constitution (Majeed 2012). On June 12, 2012, the members of the second Constituent Assembly were elected (Majeed 2012). However, the second serious blow for the Brotherhood came after June 15 when the SCAF formally dissolved the parliament and stationed security forces around the building to bar members of Parliament from entering the chambers (*Al Jazeera* 2012). The suspension of the committee and dissolving of the parliament came as serious blows for the Brotherhood in its efforts to consolidate its elections gains. It made winning the presidency a necessity.

Presidential Elections

Despite its earlier claims that they would not nominate a candidate for the presidency, as the situation on the ground changed, the Brotherhood changed position and announced its entrance in the race for presidency. The Freedom and Justice Party

announced that it was nominating its powerful Deputy, Khairat al-Shater, for the upcoming presidential elections. Later however, al-Shater was included in a list of ten presidential candidates banned from standing the post (*BBC* 2012). Following the decision of the Supreme Presidential Electoral Commission (SPEC) to disqualify and exclude him from the race, al-Shater said, "We are ready and willing to go back to the squares of liberation again to complete the march of the revolution. We are ready and willing to pay an even greater price for liberation of this homeland and in order to combat and prevent gangs of old guard cronies from replicating the corrupt system of governance. The revolution will go on until a new system of government reflexive of the people's wishes and aspirations is established" (*Ikhwanweb* 2012). He blamed the decision of the Electoral Commission on Mubarak's regime and said, "Those are fighting hard against any new system that would achieve the demands of the revolution of building a democratic system based on the peaceful transfer of power, rights of citizenship and respect for minorities as well as building effective political institutions, and the launch of the Egyptian renaissance project that will fulfill the aspirations of all Egyptians" (*Ikhwanweb* 2012). The reason for al-Shater's disqualification was because of criminal convictions since in 2008 al-Shater had been convicted of money laundry and funding a banned group, the Brotherhood (*Al-Ahram* 2012). In response, the Brotherhood soon fielded a backup candidate Mohamed Morsi. Morsi joined the Brotherhood while studying for his PhD in the United States. He rose through the Brotherhood's ranks and in 2000 was elected as a member of People's Assembly and served as the Brotherhood parliamentary bloc until 2005, when he became leader of the Brotherhood's political division (*Al-Jazeera* 2012).

The Muslim Brotherhood in Power (2011- 2013)

The massive popular uprising that erupted in Egypt on January 25, 2011, produced a change that no one could have predicted just a few weeks earlier. What was notable in the revolution was that it was not driven by any overriding ideology. It represented the coming together of people from all walks of life united by their shared desire to bring down the corrupt authoritarian regime. However, the success of the uprising was not a function of people's power alone, rather it hinged on the support of the Egyptian military, the only institution in the country capable of forcing Mubarak to step down. Despite the Brotherhood being the largest and most established opposition movement in the country, it was the secular youth who seized the moment and risked their lives to try to bring change to Egypt. Such groups shared some common characteristics. First, they were independent of Egypt's political parties. Second, many of them were led by urban, educated, technically savvy youth with liberal backgrounds. As Egyptian youth flooded into Tahrir Square to demand change, the Brotherhood appeared to be in shock of the events taking place. The history of the Egyptian 2011 uprising, however, is not the focus of this paper, my aim here is to offer a brief sketch of some of the key factors that triggered it and the Brotherhood involvement to explain their rise to power.

The Brotherhood had never been a revolutionary movement. It has always maintained that it was not seeking to overturn established order but rather that it preferred to concern itself with reforming society from under to prepare it for the eventual establishment of Islamic state (Pargeter 2013). As Egyptian researcher Nabil Abdl-Fattah observed, "The Brotherhood is afraid of aggravating security forces against them and at the same time afraid of missing the opportunity to participate in this widely anticipated protest against the regime" (Fahmy 2011). The Brotherhood's decision to support the

general demands of the protest and permit its member to participate in it as individuals, without granting the event their official endorsement, reflected such conflicting priorities. Still, it is undisputable that the uprising gave an unprecedented boost to the Brotherhood, which quickly emerged as the country's most powerful civilian actor. On January 28, as the protests grew in magnitude, the Brotherhood reached the conclusion that its own fate hung in the balance, knowing that it would be the first target of the regime if the uprising failed. "Our only card is the mobilization in Tahrir Square. It has been our life insurance against the swing of the pendulum if the regime gets back on its feet," one of the leaders of the Brotherhood said (Tammam & Haenni 2011). The Brotherhood abandoned its earlier caution and ordered its members into the streets after noon prayers (Tammam & Haenni 2011). The Brotherhood's presence in the demonstrations starting from January 28 gave the uprising a new momentum. The Brotherhood, however, was well aware that underneath the newfound spirit of national unity, there were still plenty of young activists in Tahrir square who were anxious about the Brotherhood and its intentions. As one young liberal activist puts it, "They [the Brotherhood] want it to be Islamic like Iran and this. But we do not want it like that. We are liberal" (Sennott 2011). The Brotherhood's sudden call for Mubarak's downfall and its willingness to talk in the name of people prompted some protesters to accuse the Brotherhood of muscling in and of trying to claim the revolution as its own. "The Muslim Brotherhood wants to steal the success of this revolution... They do not represent us," one of the protesters proclaimed (Murphy 2011). The Brotherhood was careful to assert that it was not calling for change in order to take power itself. "We have said clearly we have no ambitions to run for the presidency, or posts in a coalition government," Mohamed al-Beltagy, the Brotherhood spokesman said (*RIA Novosti* 2011). By February 11, Mubarak stepped down. In the next part, I shall

discuss how the Brotherhood emerged as the dominant force till they came to power starting with constitutional amendments, the parliament, and eventually the presidency.

After Mubarak's removal, once again the Brotherhood was quick to stress that it was not hungry for power and that it had no intention of dominating the post-Mubarak political arena. In a statement after Mubarak's departure, the Brotherhood declared that it would neither nominate a candidate for president nor seek a majority in the parliament (*Ikhwanweb* 2011). "We are also not targeting to have a majority in the upcoming parliament. This is time for solidarity, unity, we need national consensus," said Essam al-Ariyan, a member in the Brotherhood Guidance Office (Keath & Hendawi 2011). Despite all their earlier claims, the Brotherhood still believed it could maneuver itself gradually into a position of power. However, the Brotherhood jumped at the chance to participate in the committee of legal experts established by SCAF, which comprised a small and a select group tasked with drawing up a set of recommendations for amending the constitution ahead of parliamentary elections. Sobhi Saleh, a Brotherhood senior member, was appointed to the committee that was headed by Tariq a-Bishri, the former head of Egypt's administrative court, a known Brotherhood sympathizer. The most crucial element for the Brotherhood was it would have a say in when the country's new constitution was to be drafted (Habib 2012). Most political groupings in Egypt wanted a new constitution before the parliamentary and presidential elections took place, however, it was crucial for the Brotherhood, as the most organized force on the scene that the parliamentary elections take place as soon as possible and that the constitution would be written by the new parliament (Habib 2012). Because their previous experience and their strong mobilization network, the Brotherhood knew that it would stand a good chance at winning at the polls and would thus be able to dominate the whole constitution drafting

process and ensure that the resulting document had a strong Islamic spirit. On March 19, the proposed constitutional amendments were put forward to the people in a referendum (Trager 2011). Many political groups were desperate for the amendments to be rejected because they wanted the constitution to be drafted before the elections, however, having gotten the SCAF to agree to its transition plan, the Brotherhood was not going to squander its gains by allowing the people to vote 'no'. The Brotherhood mobilized its supporters by portraying the referendum as a choice between Islam and secularism, warning voters that opposing the amendments would be rejecting Article 2 of the 1971 Constitution, and in essence rejecting Sharia as the principle source of legislation (International Crisis Report 2012). The Brotherhood adopted slogans such as 'voting yes, with Allah' or 'voting no is siding with the Copts (Makeen 2011). By playing the religion card, the Brotherhood made sure that its supporters felt a kind of moral duty to come out and support the amendments. As a result of their mobilization tactics, 77.3 percent of the voters came out in support of the changes (International Crisis Report 2012).

Despite its earlier position regarding forming its own political party, on May 18, the Brotherhood formally submitted a request to establish its party, Freedom and Justice Party (FJP), with 9,000 founding members (Anani 2011). A lot of discussions were held inside the Brotherhood about the nature of the relationship between the party and the Brotherhood as a *jamaa* (organization). The Brotherhood decision was that the two entities would be completely separate (Al-Bayoumi 2011); however, it was clear that the party was going to be tightly controlled behind the scenes by the Brotherhood. The FJP leaders were all appointed by the Guidance Office. Supreme Guide Mohamed Badie prohibited Brotherhood members from joining any party other than FJP (Brown 2011).

The Brotherhood also wrote the party's platform and approved its bylaws (Brown 2011). Now with the FJP as the Brotherhood political arm, as the parliamentary elections approached, the position of the Brotherhood on their participation changed. As mentioned earlier, during the revolution, the Brotherhood was keen to show that it was not trying to dominate the political scene saying that it would only nominate candidates for 35 percent of seats in the parliament (Saleh 2011). By April 2011, the Brotherhood notched this figure up to 50 percent and by October it went full out for power. It announced that, through its alliance with the Democratic Alliance for Egypt, it would be nominating candidates for all available seats (Egypt Independent 2011). The Muslim Brotherhood offered its most powerful candidates on the individual seats. It also put a leading Muslim Brotherhood's figure on top of every party list. The rest of each list was composed of relative unknowns. Their calculation proved correct: Reserve your strong candidates, who have local support, in the districts for the individual seats where name recognition and services matter and strengthen the appeal of your list with famous figures (Tadros 2012). In the polls, the FJP powered to victory with its coalition taking 235 seats, representing 47.2 percent of the total. This made the Brotherhood the largest bloc in the parliament. It turned out to be a disastrous election for the revolutionary and youth groups, and for all the secular parties, who were left with almost nothing (Tadros 2012).

The parliament did not produce much legislation, but the discussions that took place within its walls and the statements made by its members are considered valuable material for analysis. In order to discuss the parliament's approach to the issues of women, minorities and marginalized groups, one must first examine the composition of this parliament and how these groups were represented in it. The parliamentary election law did not stipulate a quota for women or other groups. Moreover, the law did not

require placing the names of female candidates in the top third of electoral lists, merely stating that the latter should include at least one female candidate. Consequently, most electoral lists, even secular ones, placed the names of their female candidates at the bottom of the list. In fact, secular electoral lists did not nominate many women as candidates, with the highest percentage of female candidates reaching a mere 16% on the lists of the Revolution Continues Alliance (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). In 2012, the percentage of female representation amounted to a mere 2% in the People's Assembly, despite women having widely participated in the elections, both as candidates and as voters (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). Indeed, 984 women ran as candidates in the People's Assembly elections, as part of electoral lists or competing for individual seats (Abul Komsan 2012). Moreover, the number of women eligible to vote reached 23.5 million (Abul Komsan 2012). Women were present at polling stations and actively participated in the voting process. This reflects the fact that the absence of quota requirements for women is not the only problem. The approach of political parties and coalitions to the very notion of female candidates, and the extent of their trust in women's capabilities are equally problematic. Coptic participation in parliamentary elections was positive as well. The late Pope Shenouda III had called on Copts to participate and choose their candidates on the basis of patriotism, not religious affiliation (al-Shorouk newspaper 2011). However, the urging of their church was not the only reason for the participation of Copts in parliamentary elections and earlier in the referendum. In fact, the main reason may well be that, since the January 25 Revolution, Copts have joined street protests and participated in political life, forming movements and taking part in the activity of political parties. Additionally, their participation may have stemmed from the fear that their rights and freedoms would suffer, should political Islam seize power. Saint

Mark's Coptic Orthodox Cathedral in Alexandria, the seat of the Coptic Papacy, estimated the rate of participation of Copts in parliamentary elections at about 70 percent, which it considered unprecedented (*Al Masry al-Youm Newspaper* 2011). Yet, no more than eleven Copts obtained seats in the People's Assembly (six of them elected and five appointed by SCAF, which constituted a mere 2% of the overall number of seats. Despite the fact that Pope Shenouda III urged Christian Copts to vote in the parliament, a number of Islamist's MPs refused to stand up to honor his death, while several others left the chamber ahead of the ceremony (*Al-Akhbar* 2012).

In terms of women's issues, a single law was passed in May 2012, namely, the law regulating health insurance for working women (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). On the other hand, there were numerous proposals to amend laws granting women certain rights under the pretext that such laws were at odds with the principles of Islamic law, and were the making of the former First Lady Suzanne Mubarak. The first such proposal was made in March 2012. A representative of the People's Assembly Legislative Committee presented a draft law to revoke Article 20 of a law passed in 2000. The latter, known as the "no-fault divorce law" (*khul*), regulates certain personal status law issues and litigation procedures (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). The proposal was referred to the Al-Azhar University to determine its consistency with Sharia. The no-fault divorce law was recognized by Al-Azhar as consistent with Sharia (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013), and the proposed amendment was rejected. This was followed by a string of draft laws demanding the amendment of laws concerning women. Thus, in April 2012, one MP from the Islamists presented a draft law to change the age of custody. Certain articles of Egyptian personal status law regarding guardianship had been amended in 2005, and the age until which the mother could hold

child custody had been raised to 15 years. The Salafist MP demanded that the age of custody be lowered to 7 for boys and 9 for girls (Diab 2012). In a related but unprecedented occurrence, a female MP from the Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) presented a draft law to amend Article 242 of the Penal Code, which criminalizes female circumcision (female genital mutilation). The FJP MP demanded that the law merely ban female circumcision outside of hospitals, and require a specialized medical consultation indicating the need for circumcision (Egyptian Center for Women's Rights 2013). In a statement, the same MP claimed to have put forward a proposal to revoke the sexual harassment law. She justified this by claiming that women cause sexual harassment by displaying their naked flesh, and that the men who engage in it are therefore not at fault (El-Garf 2012). Another al-Nour Party MP later presented a draft law to revoke the law criminalizing female circumcision. However, the party withdrew their proposal from the Proposals and Complaints Committee on the grounds that the MP had failed to consult with the head of al-Nour's parliamentary group before presenting it to the People's Assembly (*Al Masry al-Youm* 2012). The al-Nour Party also put forward a draft law to lower the marriage age from 18 to 16 years of age. It justified this by claiming that citizens in remote areas wished to marry off their daughters at a younger age, and that legislators should respect their wishes (Abboud 2012). While showing a great deal of legislative interest in women's issues, Islamist Members of Parliament never presented draft laws to resolve the problem facing the country. Although these issues raised a lot of critic about the credibility of the parliament, the turning point was the appointment of the constituent assembly that had been established to draft the new constitution.

With the parliamentary election victory, the Brotherhood had abandoned its ultra-

cautious approach. Keen to get the constitution writing process completed before the presidential elections to ensure that real power lay with the parliament, the Brotherhood rushed into appointing the constituent assembly right after its victory. Out of the 100 places in the constituent assembly, 75 percent went to Islamists from the Brotherhood and the Salafis. Women only made up 6% of the Constituent Assembly and Copts, as well as marginalized groups such as people with disabilities, were not represented at all in the Constituent Assembly (*Al-Shorouk Newspaper* 2012). Furthermore, out of the 100 seats, the Brotherhood insisted that 50 be given to parliamentarians. Most of those parliamentarians it appointed were from the FJP. The Brotherhood also drew up a reserve list, which also comprised 75 percent Islamist nominees (Revkin & Auf 2012). Twenty-five members of the constituent assembly, who represented the non-Islamist element, walked out on the grounds that the body was not sufficiently representative (*Al-Ahram Weekly* 2012). They included not only liberals and secular members, but also representatives from the Coptic Church and from Al-Azhar, Egypt's official Muslim establishment (*Al-Ahram Weekly* 2012). Brotherhood Secretary General, Mahmoud Hussein declared that it did not matter whether or not the constituent assembly was representative or not because as a body it would gather suggestions from all the Egyptians (*Christian Science Monitor* 2012). "If anyone boycotts its meetings, they will be replaced by others elected as reserve," FJP Secretary General and head of the constituent assembly, Saad el-Katatni said (Hussein, 2012). The Brotherhood seemed to believe that its win at the polls meant it had been mandated by the Egyptians to provide an Islamic future for the country through the constitution. Khairat al-Shater claimed that the elections had proved that Egyptians were demanding an Islamic state (Kirkpatrick 2012). "The people are insistent.. All institutions should revive their cultures, their

training programs and the way they built their individuals in the light of this real popular choice,” he added (Kirkpatrick 2012). The Constituent Assembly was thus the target of a large number of lawsuits calling for its invalidation and dissolution. As a response to the way in which the Brotherhood had handled the appointment to the assembly, on April 5th, 2012, the Administrative Court suspended the constituent assembly (*Sout al-Omma Newspaper* 2012). As a result, Katatani issued a decision on April 18, 2012 charging the People’s Assembly’s own Constitutional Affairs Committee with the task of preparing a draft law, that would clearly define the standards for electing another formal body to draft the constitution (Majeed 2012). On June 12, 2012, the members of the second Constituent Assembly were elected (Majeed 2012). The second serious blow for the Brotherhood came after June 15 when the SCAF formally dissolved the parliament and stationed security forces around the building to bar MPs from entering the chambers (*Al Jazeera* 2012). The dissolving of the parliament case was later transferred to the Constitutional Supreme Court, which approved the dissolving of the parliament. The suspension of the committee and dissolving of the parliament came as serious blows for the Brotherhood to consolidate its elections gains. It made winning the presidency a necessity.

Despite its earlier claims of not nominating a candidate for the presidency, as the situation on the ground changed, the Brotherhood announced entering the race for presidency. The Freedom and Justice Party announced that it was nominating its powerful Deputy, Khairat al-Shater, for the upcoming presidential elections. However, later al-Shater had been included in a list of ten presidential candidates banned from standing the post (*BBC* 2012). Following the decision of the Supreme Presidential Electoral Commission (SPEC) to disqualify and exclude him from the race, al-Shater said, "We are ready and willing to go back to the squares of liberation again to complete

the march of the revolution. We are ready and willing to pay an even greater price for liberation of this homeland and in order to combat and prevent gangs of old guard cronies from replicating the corrupt system of governance. The revolution will go on until a new system of government reflexive of the people's wishes and aspirations is established (*Ikhwanweb* 2012)." Further, al-Shater accused the Electoral Commission of being biased against him as a result of talks held between the commission and the SCAF (*Al-Tahrir Newspaper* 2011). "Those are fighting hard against any new system that would achieve the demands of the revolution of building a democratic system based on the peaceful transfer of power, rights of citizenship and respect for minorities as well as building effective political institutions, and the launch of the Egyptian renaissance project that will fulfill the aspirations of all Egyptians," al-Shater added (*Ikhwanweb* 2012). According to *al-Tahrir Newspaper* (2011), the Presidential Elections Commission considered al-Shater's recent statements an insult to its work as a superior judicial commission. The reason for al-Shater's disqualification was because of criminal convictions. In 2008 al-Shater had been convicted of money laundry and funding a banned group, the Brotherhood (*Al-Ahram* 2012). In response, the Brotherhood soon fielded a backup candidate Mohamed Morsi. Morsi joined the Brotherhood while studying for his PhD in the United States. He rose through the Brotherhood's ranks and in 2000 was elected as a member of People's Assembly and served as the Brotherhood parliamentary bloc until 2005, when he became leader of the Brotherhood's political division (*Al-Jazeera* 2012).

In early May, at the beginning of the presidential race, the tone of the Brotherhood campaign was more religious than later on in the campaign when there was an emphasis that the Brotherhood, FJP and Morsi were not separate from each other.

Early in Morsi's campaign, during a speech addressing workers in Mahalla (one of Egypt's industrial cities), Morsi asserted that the major goal of the Brotherhood, the FJP and their presidential candidate was the advancement of Egypt, hence the advancement of the whole Islamic nation, and that the entire Brotherhood will be at the service of the homeland and the people who trusted the Brothers and their organization (Ikhwanweb, 2012). Morsi also asserted that Egyptians would be choosing their president in fully transparent elections, without the least intervention, and that his goal was the advancement of Egypt in all electoral fields. He added that over 84 years, the Brotherhood never weakened or backed away from their responsibilities, mission, and the concerns of the Egyptian citizen. Morsi had a reputation for faithfully carrying out organizational policy and consistently toed the party line. "He does not challenge any organizational decision ... he has not criticized the leadership," said Ibrahim El Houdaiby, a former member of the Brotherhood. "He's not an independent leader" (Kick 2012). Not only did Morsi bring to the race the reputation as a loyal and obedient member of the Brotherhood, but also he brought to the race a reputation as an enforcer of Brotherhood rules of obedience, even in politics. When a group of young online activists known as the Brotherhood bloggers argued that the platform Mr. Morsi oversaw contradicted the group's stated commitment to pluralism, Mr. Morsi met with a group of them at his office (Kirkpatrick 2012). He told them, "This is the Muslim Brothers' interpretation of Islam, and this is Islam, and it's nobody else's business," recalled Mohamed Ayyash, a former Brotherhood blogger who helped organize the meeting (Kirkpatrick 2012).

Morsi was not considered a charismatic leader. At campaign rallies, he sometimes looked uncomfortable being the center of attention. But some voters say that was not

important with an organization like the Brotherhood to back him. The organization itself emphasized his platform, which focused on economic development and security, more than his person (Chick 2012). Hana Khalaf, a resident of the mostly low-income Imbaba area in Cairo who voted for Morsi, said she chose him because he was the Brotherhood's candidate, and she thinks the organization had what it takes to improve life in Egypt (Chick 2012). During the first round of the vote, the Brotherhood also promoted Morsi by casting him as the only truly Islamist candidate in the race (Kirkpatrick 2012). That resonated with some. Asked why she voted for Morsi as she exited a polling station during the first round, Iman Azza had a simple answer, "Because he said he's going to apply sharia" (Chick 2012). The religious message however, that raised concerns among Egyptians was evident in Morsi's first rally speech on May 13, 2012. Addressing his supporters in front of the Muslim Brotherhood headquarters and broadcast on Egyptian television stations Misr 25 (owned by the Muslim Brotherhood), he said,

"In the 1920s, the Egyptians said the constitution is our Quran. They wanted to show that the constitution is a great thing. But Imam Al-Banna, Allah's mercy upon him, said to them 'No, the Quran is our constitution.' The Quran was and will continue to be our constitution. The Quran will continue to be our constitution." Then he added, "The Prophet Muhammad is our leader. Jihad is our path. And death for the sake of Allah is our most lofty aspiration. Above all—Allah is our goal." He continued, "The shari'a, then the shari'a, and finally, the shari'a. This nation will enjoy blessing and revival only through the Islamic shari'a. I take an oath before Allah and before you all that regardless of the actual text of the constitution . . . Allah willing, the text will truly reflect the shari'a, as will be agreed upon by the Egyptian people, by the Islamic scholars, and by legal and constitutional experts. . . . Rejoice and rest assured that this people will not accept a text that does not reflect the true meaning of the Islamic shari'a as a text to be implemented and as a platform. The people will not agree to anything else" (*Misr 25* 2012).

However, the language of the campaign changed after the results of the first round. After winning the first round of the elections with 25%, Morsi ran in the second round against Ahmed Shafiq (last Prime Minister in Mubarak's

government) who got 24% of the votes. On May 31, Morsi campaign coordinator, Ahmed Abdel-Aati announced that the campaign slogan changed to “Our Strength, in Our Unity,” to reflect the vision of the next stage of the campaign (Ikhwanweb 2012). He explained that this change reflected the campaign’s increased focus on building bridges of cooperation between campaign workers and all the Egyptian people, “masters of the great Egyptian revolution”, especially all honorable patriots from all political orientations and the electoral campaigns of patriotic candidates and revolutionaries (*Ikhwanweb* 2012). He added that Morsi’s campaign hopes the coming days would witness a remarkable development in the elections, with all hues of Egyptian society coming together in support of a nation-wide project that represents the aspirations of the people of Egypt, who sacrificed for a new, modern, post-revolution Egypt, strong “Egypt of the renaissance” (*Ikhwanweb* 2012). In a television interview on May 28 for *Al-Mehwar*, Morsi explained that Egypt needed to hold the interests of the country above all else, pointing out that if developments on the scene called for sacrifice for the homeland, every individual, every citizen had to meet the call. Further, he reiterated that Christians were partners in the homeland, just as Egyptian as the whole nation. “They have the same rights, established by the law for all Egyptians, including the right of belief and worship. Also, Islam commands us to protect churches just as we protect mosques” (*Al-Mehwar* 2012). He added that the contrived crisis about church construction was setup like a time-bomb by the former regime but there would be no problem for building churches in modern Egypt, if he emerged the winner of the presidential race. “As a rule, I do not pay attention to any criticism directed at me personally. But I believe criticism should

be constructive, so as to enrich democracy,” Morsi said (*Al Mehwar* 2012). Furthermore, Morsi reiterated that Islamic reference meant a modern State in which the nation is the source of authority, and the people choose who represents or governs them. “The principles of Sharia do not conflict with the modern civil State, which is built on the rule of law, and educating young people to moral virtue,” he added (*Al-Mehwar* 2012). Before the announcement of the results of the elections, after a delay by the Election Commission, a Brotherhood member, threatened that if Shafiq won, they would burn Egypt in what would be a bloodbath, Judge Ibrahim Darwish said (*Al-Masry al-Youm* 2013). Following the second round, with a voter turnout of 52%, on 24 June 2012, Egypt’s Election Commission announced that FJP candidate Morsi had won Egypt's presidential elections by a narrow margin over Shafik. The commission reported Morsi took 51.7% of the vote versus 48.3% for Shafik (*BBC* 2012). Morsi was sworn in on 30 June 2012. In his speech to the Egyptian people from Tahrir Square, Morsi stressed he was “president of all Egyptians.” He emphasized the importance of national unity saying,

“Social justice, freedom and human dignity are our basic slogans. These are the main goals for which the revolution was started in all the squares of Egypt on 25 January 2011 and the strong voices, which demanded them, still do so in every expression of our ongoing revolution. The revolution will continue until it realizes all its objectives. Together we will complete this process. The Egyptian people have been patient for long, enduring tyranny, oppression, marginalization and forgery of their will and elections. Today you have become the source of authority and the world bears witness to your endeavor for a better future” (*The Guardian* 2012).

As soon as Morsi became president, he issued his own decree ordering the People’s Assembly, previously dissolved by the military, to reassemble. He wanted the Supreme Constitutional Court to reverse their decision and respect the elected assembly

until the new Constitution was approved. New parliamentary elections would be held 60 days after the constitution would be drafted (*Al-Ahram* 2012). However, Egypt's Constitutional Court stood by its decision that dismissed the parliament based on constitutional violations in the election process (*Al-Jazeera* 2012). Katatani, speaker of the dissolved Parliament, declared the elected parliament would in fact assemble, in defiance of the Constitutional Court (Bradley 2012). Head of the Republican Center for Political Research in Cairo, Sameh Seif Al Yazal, described Morsi's decision as "an insult to the hegemony of the judicial system in Egypt" (Bradley 2012). The Brotherhood called for demonstrations in support for the elected legislature. Morsi met with youth leaders in a news conference and promised to appoint a politically inclusive cabinet in exchange for their support in confrontation with the military, however, his request was denied (Bradley 2012). Despite the presidential order allowing the People's Assembly to function as normal, several liberal and leftist parties rejected the decree and announced they would refrain from participating in the parliamentary sessions (*Al-Ahram* 2012). This decision was likely, however, to please the Muslim Brotherhood, which won the largest share of seats in parliament in elections earlier this year (*CNN* 2012). Eventually, Morsi had to back down on his decision since he did not have the blessing of anyone but the Islamists. In another confrontation with the judicial system in Egypt, on July 31st, Morsi issued a degree that freed Islamists jailed under Mubarak Regime, which included members of al-Gama'a al-Islamiya, jailed during the group's armed insurrection against the state in the 1990s, and Islamic Jihad, the movement behind the 1981 assassination of President Anwar Sadat (Perry 2012). His decision intended to satisfy some of the Islamist hardliners, whom he promised during the election he would implement Islamic law (Perry 2012). But his decision brought criticism from activists who questioned his

priorities, believing he had not moved far or fast enough to secure proper justice for thousands of others jailed by military courts since Mubarak was deposed (Perry 2012). Nabil Abdel Fattah, a political analyst said, "Morsi is paying off a political debt" (Perry 2012, 2). On October 6th's national celebrations commemorating the 1973 war with Israel, Aboud and Tarek al-Zomor, who were involved in the assassination of Sadat, were sitting in the second row right behind Morsi, an insult to a lot of Egyptians who consider Sadat a war hero.

On July 24, 2012, President Morsi appointed Hesham Qandil, previously irrigation minister in the outgoing government of Kamal Ganzouri, prime minister of Egypt (*France24* 2012). Qandil's appointment garnered different reactions. Questions about his religious and political affiliations surfaced. Qandil expressed that he had no affiliation with any group. Further, a spokesperson for Morsi described the new PM as an "independent patriot, who had not belonged to a party either before or after the uprising against Mubarak" (Perry 2012). Critics also argued that Qandil had "little political or economic experience to lead the cabinet as his experience is confined to the scope of his expertise in water resources and irrigation" (El-Sayed 2012). However, there were strong implications of the new PM's religious nature. "New Prime Minister Hisham Qandil's facial hair is stirring debate in a nation where beards have traditionally been viewed as a symbol of Islamist hardliners. It used to be a sign of religious piety. Now it is a sign of political sway. A reminder of how things are evolving very fast in Egypt," Demardash (2012) said. In an attempt to assert his authority as president and challenge the military, in August 2012, Morsi fired the head of the SCAF and Defense Minister Tantawi and transferred the powers of the SCAF as well as their legislative authority to the presidency (*Al-Ahram* 2012). Morsi also annulled SCAF-issued decrees that reduced his executive

power (Freedom House 2012). This constitutional decree gave him the right to form a new Constituent Assembly. A few days later, Qandil announced the names of the new Egyptian cabinet where eight ministers belonged to the Brotherhood Freedom and Justice Party (*BBC* 2012). The presidency team was no different and was dominated by Muslim Brotherhood and its affiliates from the El-Nour Party. The names of the President Assistant and Consultancy Committee were announced in August where ten out of the seventeen consultants were Islamists with six members from the FJP party and four from Al Nour Party. Further, at least two of Morsi's assistants belonged to the International Brotherhood (Essam El Haddad and Hussein el-Kazzaz). Yasser Ali, spokesmen of Morsi said that the presidential team represented "different colors of political spectrum" (*Al-Ahram* 2012). However, the new government raised some concerns among Egyptians of the Islamization of Egypt, or what people referred to as *Ikwannat al-dawla* (Ikhwanization or Brotherhood-ification of the country), which will later become even more apparent with Morsi's decisions.

Drafting the constitution was one of the main methods for the Brotherhood to assert their powers over the country. Even though Morsi promised in his earlier campaign that he would re-appoint the Constituent Assembly to be more inclusive and represent different sects of the Egyptian society, after he became president, he issued a decree that would prevent any authority in Egypt to dissolve the Constituent Assemble (*Al-Masry al-Youm* 2012). On November 22, capitalizing on international and domestic praise after helping to facilitate a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas, Morsi issued a presidential decree that made his decisions above judicial review and immunized the Constituent Assembly and Consultative Council from judicial dismissal (Freedom House 2013). The new edicts gave the president near absolute power and immunity from appeals in courts

for any decisions or laws he declared until a new constitution and parliament was in place (Godfrey & Beaumont 2012). The decree polarized opinion between the Brotherhood and their supporters and their leftwing and liberal opponents. Revolutionary groups made calls for open-ended sit-in until the decree was removed (*Al-Youm7* 2012). On December 2nd, to delay the hearing on the constitutional panel, Islamists sieged the Constitutional Court. Hundreds of Brotherhood members protested outside the Supreme Constitutional Court, prevented judges from entering the courthouse and forced them to delay a hearing on the constitutional panel (El Tabei 2012). In protest, thousands of people marched towards the presidential palace to protest the decree that granted Morsi extraordinary powers ahead of a planned referendum on the constitution that was opposed by the demonstrators (Hussein 2012). According to a BBC report, marchers chanted, "The people want the downfall of the regime", and held placards bearing slogans of "No to the constitution" (2012). A few hundred protesters also gathered near Morsi's house chanting slogans against his decree and against the Muslim Brotherhood (Hussein 2012). Security police forces clashed with the protesters but eventually withdrew after Morsi left the palace and the numbers of the protesters swelled (*BBC* 2012).

Two days later, clashes erupted again, but this time, it was the Muslim Brotherhood militants that attacked the protestors, breaking down their tents and beating them. One Brotherhood supporter showed up on television holding a box of cheese found in one of tents saying "*Gibna nesto ya maafnin*" (Cheese you rotten bastards) accusing the protestors of eating western cheese (*Al Barnameg* 2012) In a mosque across from the presidential palace, anti-Morsi protestors were taken and beaten and tortured, including children. One of the detainees inside the mosque, Yehia Zakaria, an ex-Egyptian diplomat, said that he was beaten up badly and some of the Brotherhood members stood

on his face repeating, “You are the enemy of Allah.” Zakaria was bleeding badly from the head and when he asked one of the young Brotherhood members to help him, he refused claiming the General Guide al Murshed al-am Badia instructed them not to help him. Zakaria also claimed that Beltagy, the prominent FJP member, was in contact with members of the Brotherhood members inside the mosque (*Vito Newspaper* 2012).

Further, another testimony from a young man present when the Brotherhood attacked the demonstrators, said,

“Muslim Brotherhood members were kidnapping people and beat them here. Journalist El Hussein was killed here. The Coptic man who was injured: they banged his head against this glass wall and the glass broke. Then they had to take him to an ICU. Someone was almost slaughtered here. They arrested more than 15 people and they would tell them: say you are supporting Morsi and we shall release you. But nobody would repeat after them, so they would beat even more. They used everything in beating us, slippers, stones, wood, Pepsi bottles. They even beat a woman here. This kiosk over there, they stole its contents” (Al Nadeem Human Rights Center Report 2012-2013, 87).

After 16 hours of clashes, seven people were dead and more than 800 injured.

Morsi made no mention of this in an address to the nation. “Turning a blind eye seemed to be Morsi’s approach,” El-Rashisi (2013) said in *‘Egypt: The Misunderstood Agony.’* Essam El-Aryan, Brotherhood FJP member and one of the members on Morsi’s presidential consultancy team described the protests as “acts of thuggery hiding behind political forces” (*The Guardian* 2012). Mohamed ElBaradei, a leading opposition advocate of reform, accused Morsi’s supporters of a “vicious and deliberate” attack against peaceful demonstrators (Hussein 2012). In his speech addressing the nation in response to current events, Morsi said, “I won’t tolerate anyone working to overthrow a legitimate government” (*Reuters* 2012). He accused the foreign-funded opposition of trying to incite violence against his legitimacy (*Reuters* 2012). Morsi supporters were shouting, “Defending Morsi is defending Islam” (*The Guardian* 2012). Along the same

line, pro-Morsi supporters gathered in El Nahda Square in Cairo where the Muslim Brotherhood set a stage for radical Islamists to address the crowd, claiming that the fight for the constitution was a fight for Islam and accusing anyone against the constitution as infidel. The event took place under the slogan of “*Melyouniyat al sharaya wel shari’a*” (a million march for legitimacy and *Shari’a*). Islamists were clever in using the two words *sharaya* (legitimacy) and *Sharia* interchangeably and some people ended up using them as if they carried the same meaning. Speeches at the event were more of a show designed to threaten anti-Morsi protestors and promote the new constitution as the “Constitution of Islam,” and arguing those who were against it were infidels. Speakers at the event were mostly Islamists hardliners. Among the speakers were Mohamed El Zawahri, Mohamed Hassan, Hazem Abu Ismail, Tarek al Zumor, Safwat Hegazy, Essam El Aryan, Mohamed El Beltagy and Yasser El Borhamy just to name a few (*Rasd TV* 2012). In an interview with Time magazine, Morsi, when asked about freedom of expression, claimed

“I’m very keen on having true freedom of expression. True freedom of faith. And free practice of religious faith. I am keen and I will always be keen on [transfer] of power. I’m an elected President. My chief responsibility is to maintain the national ship to go through this transitional period. This is not easy. Egyptians are determined to [move] forward within the path of freedom and democracy, and this is what I see. Justice and social justice. Development with its comprehensive overall meaning. Human development. Industrial productive development. Scholarly research. Political development. International relations balanced with all different parties, east and west. We are keen in Egypt, and I am personally keen right now, on maintaining freedom, democracy, justice and social justice. The Muslim Brotherhood do not say anything different from that” (Stengel, Ghosh & Vick 2012).

Despite all of Morsi’s talk of democracy, freedom, equality and justice, the constitution was vague addressing these issues. The new Egyptian Constitution that was drafted mainly by the members of the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies, the Salafis, was adopted in December 2013 by an overwhelming 63.8 percent of Egyptians. It was

criticized as being too Islamist and undemocratic for allowing the religion to play a role in the functions of the state and by permitting the cleric to intervene into lawmaking process and leave the minority groups without proper legal protection. The new constitution actually preserves an article from the old constitution declaring that the principles of Islamic law, Sharia, is the main source of legislation. However, there is a new article 219, which defines the principles of Sharia as those of the four schools of Islamic jurisprudence under Sunni Islam. As a new addition, the principles of sharia were designated to be defined by the court (*Al-Ahram* 2012). Moreover, Islamic University of al-Azhar was given a role of consultation regarding anything that relates to sharia. In addition, the phrase on equality between men and women was removed and it was replaced by the vague expression of equality among all Egyptians with an addition that the state would help women balance work and family life. Further, the constitution gave autonomy to the Egyptian military by protecting it from legal and parliamentary oversight (*The New York Times* 2012). During the drafting of the constitution, Coptic Christians and secular liberals withdrew from the process claiming it had been hijacked by the Muslim Brotherhood and its allies (Beaumont 2012). Moreover, articles that were passed included one prohibiting the insult or slander of any person, which could prove troublesome for free speech. However, the rights of expression, the press and belief were included and passed. The right of religious practice was also included, but extended only to Judaism, Christianity and Islam (*Al-Masry al-Youm* 2012). In addition, as a response to the violence that was erupting in Egypt, United States Spokesman Patrick Ventrell said that as a democratically elected leader Morsi had a "special responsibility... to bridge divisions, build trust and broaden support for the political process" (*BBC* 2012). Morsi's Brotherhood supporters said that the new constitution would secure democracy and

encourage stability. Muslim Brotherhood leader Mohamed Badie (*BBC* 2012), on his Twitter account, called on Egyptians to "begin building our country's rebirth with free will... men, women, Muslims and Christians." But opponents accused the president and the Brotherhood, of pushing through a text that favors Islamists and does not sufficiently protect the rights of women or Christians. The constitution also addressed freedom of expression in contradictory terms and left media professionals exposed to excessive punishments under the law, including prison sentences for malpractice. In addition, the constitution did not replace the Press Law or the Penal Code set in place by the Mubarak regime, and both helped in the oppression of journalists through prosecution (Abou Bakr 2014). Amnesty International said the draft "raises concerns about Egypt's commitment to human rights treaties," specifically ignoring "the rights of women (and) restricting freedom of expression in the name of religion" (El-Tabei 2012).

Protests against Morsi and the Brotherhood continued as Morsi appointed new members of the Brotherhood to the government. The attempts of Morsi to grip power deepened the political crisis and increased state polarization. Under the policy of "*Ikhwan-ization* of the state bureaucracy," Muslim Brotherhood supporters were appointed to posts throughout the state bureaucracy, not only in political and senior positions. Loyalty to the Muslim Brotherhood was the main criterion for filling public positions. One of the clearest examples was the president's appointment of a pro-Morsi campaigner as the head of the official Information and Decision Support Center, even though he was a dermatologist with no research or management experience (*Al-Youm* 2013). In January, Morsi rebuilt his cabinet, replacing 10 ministers and amplifying the Islamist presence in the government (Hausloler 2013). Following the appointment of Brotherhood activist Salah Abdel Maqsood as the country's new information minister,

another decision to appoint 53 new editors was made by the Shura Council. This decision angered the current editors, members of the Supreme Press Council, the 7,000-member journalists' union and protest activists. They viewed the decision as another step in the Muslim Brotherhood's attempt to take over the press. The new appointees are not solely Brotherhood-supporting journalists; as a matter of fact, most of them are rather veteran and relatively unknown journalists. Still, all of the new editors will undoubtedly be indebted to those who appointed them, even if they themselves aren't Brotherhood supporters (Bar'el 2012). The Muslim Brotherhood came under heavy criticism after its Shura Council moved to replace chief editors of Egypt's state-run newspaper, *Al-Ahram Newspaper*. Journalists staged small protests and columnists left their columns blank in protest of attempts by the Brotherhood to control the papers instead of reforming them (*Associated Press* 2012). Opposition considered the changes in the cabinet as further consolidation of the Islamist control of top government positions. At least three of the new ministers are long serving members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Mahmoud Ghozlan, a Muslim Brotherhood spokesman justified Morsi's decision to the West claiming, "When Democratic Party candidate wins in the United States, does he appoint Republicans? Would they appoint their rivals? On the contrary, Morsi has been far more conciliatory" (Hausloler 2013). In May 2013, Qandil announced more changes in the cabinet strengthening the Muslim Brotherhood in the government, however, both the ministry of defense, ministry of interior and foreign affairs ministry stayed untouched. In another attempt to take control of the state, Morsi appointed seven governors that hailed from the Brotherhood (*USA Today* 2013). However, it was the appointment of the Luxor governor that provoked the people the most. Morsi appointed a member of the hardline Islamist group Gamaa Islamiya to the governorship of Luxor, a tourist city in which

militants associated with the group killed 58 tourists in 1997 (Kingsley 2013). The symbolism of the appointment enraged Egypt's sidelined non-Islamist opposition, who saw it as further evidence that Morsi was unconcerned about the country's increasing polarization (Kingsley 2013). "Is it unimaginable that those who plotted, participated or played any role in the massacre of Luxor, become the rulers even if they renounced and repented it," Tharwat Agamy, the head of Luxor's tourism chamber said (Kingsley 2013). However, after international criticism of the incident, the appointed governor backed away from accepting the post. In May, to consolidate their power, the Brotherhood backed Shura Council approved in principle a draft law on the judiciary that would force into retirement 3,500 judges who were over the age of 60, allowing the promotion of new judges affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood (*Al Youm7* 2013). The law also abolished many of the General Assemblies of the Courts authorities intended to protect the independence of the judiciary, and gave these authorities to the minister of justice who is a member of the Brotherhood (*Al Youm7* 2013). To take further control over the judicial system, Morsi dismissed the General Prosecutor, although according to Egypt's Judiciary Law, the president did not have the authority to remove him. The General Prosecutor refused to leave office and judges and members of the general prosecution rejected Morsi's decree. However, the general prosecutor was eventually forced to leave (*Daily News Egypt* 2014). In preparation for the new parliamentary elections that were to be held towards the end of April, the Brotherhood needed to make sure that they asserted their control over the parliament just like they did in 2011-2012. In April, the pro-Brotherhood Shura Council approved the draft law on parliamentary elections despite criticism from the opposition. The law divided electoral districts in a new way that distributed opposition (non-Islamist) voters among different districts. It also gave the

president the right to change some procedures during the electoral process and removed the representation of women and Copts granted under the previous law. In response, the Constitutional Court blocked the law and asked the Shura Council to revise it (Kingsley 2013).

Freedom of speech laws did not witness a significant change under Morsi's regime even though the Press Freedom Index issued by Reporters without Borders showed a minimal improvement in Egypt's ranking to 158 from 166 in 2012 (Abou Bakr 2014). These gains were particularly through an increase in independent television stations and other media and the ban of Morsi's pretrial detention of journalists (Freedom House 2013). Further the report stressed that the country has maintained a "deplorable" ranking at the bottom of the 179 countries on the list, with physical attacks on journalists, trials and lack of transparency (Abou Bakr 2014). Media workers faced significant restrictions during 2012, and they argued that the draft constitution lacked sufficient protections for a free press (Freedom House 2013). Media advocacy groups reported attacks on journalists covering the December protests against the draft constitution, including targeted assaults on several reporters (Freedom House 2013). In fact, while covering clashes between supporters and opponents of Morsi escalation on the street in December, Al-Husseiny Abu Deif, a reporter for Al-Fagr newspaper, was shot dead. Abu Deif's family was quite vocal in accusing Muslim Brotherhood supporters of targeting him because of his investigative work focused on the group and its leaders (Abou Bakr 2012). It also resulted in the injury of several others such as "Mohamed Azouz of Al-Gomhuria, Osama Al-Shazzly of the private daily Al-Badil, Ahmed Abd Al-Salam of the private daily Al-Alam al-Yawm, Sahar Talaat of Radio France Internationale, Ahmed Khair Eldeen of ONTV, and freelance journalist Mohamed Saad." Along with two

foreign reporters who were also attacked (Al Youm 7 2013). Under Morsi, more state media employees were subjected to professional investigation than in the entire 18 months of SCAF rule, especially those who gave airtime to critics of the president and his government (Freedom House Report 2012). Physical attacks against journalists did not decrease in 2013 and in fact, dozens of journalists were assaulted by security personnel while covering protests, and threats to journalists through civil groups affiliated with the Muslim Brotherhood saw a notable increase (Freedom House 2013). The Committee to Protect Journalists (CPJ), in its annual report released on 30 December 2013, rated Egypt the third most dangerous country in the world for journalists, following Syria and Iraq (Abou Bakr 2014). Considering that Syria is in a civil war and the extremely tense situation between Iraq's various factions, Egypt's position raised many questions on the current journalist environment. While thousands of Egyptians celebrated the third anniversary of the 25 January Revolution in Tahrir square, Daily News Egypt reporter Basil El-Dabh experienced a "citizen arrest" for recording the celebrations. The angry mob questioned his presence, roughed him up along with a female freelance journalist and then handed them to the police, who later released them (Abou Bakr 2014). On the other side of the square, in Talaat Harb Square, Fady Ashraf and Abdel Halim AbdAllah were covering a peaceful protest that was forcibly dispersed by the police using teargas and birdshot. Ashraf was hit with birdshot, but not injured (Abou Bakr 2014).

In addition to physical threats to the media, censorship, both official and self-imposed, is widespread (Freedom House 2013). Furthermore, defamation remains a criminal offense. In October 2012, media owner and talkshow host Tawfik Okasha was sentenced in absentia to four months in prison on charges of defaming Morsi. A number of other media figures, including Islam Afifi, editor in chief of Al-Dustour, and Hanan

Youssef, deputy editor in chief of Al-Messa, also faced defamation charges following negative coverage of Morsi and his allies (Freedom House 2012). Newspaper al-Masry al-Youm (2012) said authorities have removed al-Dustour from newsstands. The paper has been fiercely critical of Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood. The lawsuits also accuse the paper of inflammatory coverage of recent sectarian violence (Freedom House 2012).

However, attacks were not confined only to field journalists and in March 2013, when pro-Morsi Islamists held a sit-in at the Media City facility, home to independent television stations, many journalists and opposition politicians were physically assaulted by pro-Morsi protesters (Aboulenein 2013) and stopped from going to their work inside the media city. The Muslim Brotherhood-affiliated Facebook page “We are the Muslim Brotherhood youth, learn about us” and carried the calls to surround Media City and posted the addresses of former presidential candidates Amr Moussa, Hamdeen Sabahy, Khaled Ali as well as television host Bassem Youssef and opposition leader Mohamed ElBaradei (Aboulenein 2013). The calls to surround media city came as several Muslim Brotherhood members and other Islamists accused the media of being biased against them in their coverage of clashes in front of the Muslim Brotherhood’s headquarters in Mokattam. “Burning Hypocrisy City [media city] is a revolutionary action.. glory to peacefulness...we reject violence and avoid it. We will meet on Sunday inside the [television channel] CBC studios” Abdel Rahman Ezz, a member of the Brotherhood youth said (Aboulenein 2013).

In addition, censorship and restrictions on freedom of expression were not just on journalistic outlets, but even cultural outlets suffered from heavy censorship under Morsi’s government. One of the first acts of the censorship authority under Morsi’s administration was to ban the import of the history book, “*A History of the Modern*

Middle East”, by Martin Bunton and William Cleveland. The authority failed to cite the reason for its decision, although the book was reportedly used at the American University in Cairo (Daily News 2013). Next, in October of that same year, the censorship authority rejected a film script by Amr Salama about positive discrimination of Copts in Egypt on the grounds that it would incite religious discrimination. In November, the authority proposed changes to director Mohamed El Sharkawy’s play Ashekeen Torabek, due to scenes that criticized the regime, but after much media attention the play was staged without any changes. In March 2013, director Amir Ramses’s documentary, Jews of Egypt, was banned from being screened by Egyptian National Security, which later relented, and the film was ultimately shown in cinemas. The year 2012 also witnessed attacks on media figures, including television personalities Khaled Saleh and Youssef Al-Hosseini. Saleh filed a lawsuit in which he accused Freedom and Justice Party members of inciting violence against media personalities. In October 2012, Tawfiq Okasha was accused of insulting the president, but was later found not guilty. In November 2012, the satellite TV Dream Channels were forced to stop broadcasting by the Egyptian Radio and Television Union (ERTU), and TV anchor Lamees El-Hadedy was investigated for contempt of religion. In March and April, comedian Bassem Youssef was accused of insulting the president and Islam, and the government threatened to shut down the channel on which the show is broadcasted. The music scene received its share of difficulties, in one instance a concert in Minya was cancelled because part of the performance included Christian hymns. A Freedom and Justice Party lawyer issued a complaint against Sawy Culture Wheel for hosting “devil worshippers,” when they staged a heavy metal concert last September. In October, the musician syndicate cancelled some concerts at the venue of musicians who were not affiliated with the organization,

damaging the underground music scene. Visual art was not immune to criticism either; in December 2012 cartoonist Doaa El-Adl and Al-Masry Al-Youm were sued by Salafi lawyer and Secretary-general of the National Centre for Defence of Freedoms Khaled Al-Masry, citing that El-Adl's cartoon of Adam and Eve was insulting. In January 2013, Sawy Culture Wheel refused to exhibit the cartoons of Samah Farouk because they criticized the Muslim Brotherhood. In May 2013, Morsi appointed Alaa Abdel Aziz as minister of culture, who proceeded to remove some prominent intellectuals from their positions, leading to an uproar within the artistic community. Notably, the latest removal was of Dr. Ines Abdel Dayem, the head of the Cairo Opera House, which triggered a strike at the house, and led to a sit-in at the Ministry of Culture and another sit-in in Alexandria, where Abdel Aziz's dismissal was demanded. Staffers also closed the curtain on all performances. For the first time in the opera house's history, the opera *Aida* — composed by Giuseppe Verdi and debuted to the world in 1871 in Cairo— was cancelled in protest. Singers instead held up posters on stage that said, "No to Brotherhoodization" (AP 2013). The row has opened a new front in the politically divided country, with performing artists joining a chorus of others who say they are fighting attempts by the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamist allies of President Mohammed Morsi to impose their control (AP 2013). In the case of the Opera House, those fears were fueled by comments by an ultraconservative lawmaker in parliament this week. Nour Party member Gamal Hamid called for the abolition of ballet performances in Egypt — which are usually held at the opera house — describing it as "immoral" and "nude art" (AP 2013).

Incitement against religious minorities continued during Morsi's rule and was never punished. High-ranking Islamist leaders, sometimes in Morsi's presence, incited hatred against non-Muslim minorities and even against non-Islamist Muslims (Freedom

House 2012). Sectarian bloodshed has increased in recent years, with Christians suffering the brunt of the violence. In February 2012, eight families were evicted from their homes in the village of Sharbat after violent skirmishes over a rumored affair between a Christian man and a Muslim woman. In September YEAR, several Christian families fled their homes in Sinai following threats from suspected Islamist militants and a shooting at a Christian-owned shop. Throughout 2012, minority religious communities expressed concern that Islamist political power would render them more vulnerable to abuse. Coptic members of the constituent assembly resigned, claiming that their interests were not represented in the process. The referendum results reflected a sectarian divide, with very few Copts voting in favor of the charter (Freedom House 2013). In April 2013, Coptic Christians were under siege as Islamist mobs attacked Cairo Cathedral; hundreds of Coptic Christians were under siege inside Cairo's Coptic cathedral, the main and largest cathedral in Cairo, as Islamists mobs attacked. Following the funeral service for five Copts, thousands of Christians poured out on to the street and began chanting slogans against President Mohamed Morsi (Beach 2013). President Morsi issued a statement in which he said he had spoken to Pope Tawadros II, the leader of the Coptic Church, and had given orders for the cathedral and citizens to be guarded. He said protecting the lives of Muslims and Christians was a state responsibility and added, "I consider any attack on the cathedral as an attack on me, personally" (Beach 2013). However, no investigations were carried out regarding the attacks. One man was killed and out of the 84 injured, eleven were police officers. "I'm worried about the situation in Egypt," said Makram Girgis as he sat on the steps leading up to the imposing cathedral building (Beach 2013). "The Muslim Brotherhood and extremist groups here want us to leave. They don't accept Copts. But this was our country, ever since the time of the

pharaohs,” he said (Beach, 2013). In another incident of sectarian violence but this time towards Shiite in Egypt, in June 2013, a mob led by Islamist Sunni sheikhs attacked a group of Shiites brutally killing four in Cairo. The killings came at a time of heightened sectarian tension between Sunni and Shiite Muslims, fueled by Syria. The killings however were not caused by the conflict in Syria, but they happened a few days after Morsi participated in an Islamist-organized rally at the Cairo International Stadium in support of fighters in Syria. In addition, Egyptian Salafists had been leading calls for a jihad in Syria describing Shiite as *khawaregh* (Infidels). Egyptian Shiite, with more or less than 3 million in Egypt, blamed Morsi for the bloodshed (Goodenough 2013). “Salafi sheikh’s insulted Shias and incited hate against those Egyptian Shia Citizens...Morsi had not refuted the insults and incitement, despite claiming to represent all Egyptians,” Bahaa Anwar, a Shia activist said (Goodenough 2013). High-profile members of the Brotherhood and Sunni clerics were among the attendees, some also speaking at the event (Goodenough 2013). During his address to tens of thousands of his supporters at the Cairo International Stadium, Morsi announced new policies towards Syria, the boldest of which was the decision to sever diplomatic ties, close the Syrian embassy in Cairo and withdraw Egypt’s diplomatic mission from Damascus (Hamzawy 2013). However, new policies toward Syria were not previously discussed with the Foreign Minister nor the Army. Morsi claimed that Egypt had begun arranging an urgent summit with Arab and Islamic countries to support the Syrian people, however, according to Deputy Secretary General of the Arab League Ahmed Ben Heli, the Arab League had not received any official request to hold the summit (El-Behairy 2013). “Cutting relations with Syria was a political bargain with Salafis to gain their support against opposition protests on 30 June... severing ties should not come amid abhorrent sectarianism which

Morsi seemed to promote,” Hamzawy, a former member of Parliament and professor of political science, said (El-Behairy 2013). “This presidency proves its failure every day, ending it through early presidential elections has become an absolute necessity,” Hamzawy added on his Twitter account (El-Behairy 2013). “The speech was more of a show to threaten those who will protest on 30 June,” said Heba Yassin, media spokesperson for opposition coalition Al-Tayar Al-Sha’aby (El-Behairy 2013). “Speakers accused opposition groups of infidelity and the president did not refute these accusations,” she added (El-Behairy 2013). Only the president’s supporters attended the conference although Morsi claimed to be the president for all Egyptians. Morsi also highlighted what he described as attempts “by loyalists of the old regime” to tear apart the growing stability in Egypt and push the country towards chaos. “They want to challenge the will of the people, which produced the elections, and will continue to build state institutions,” he said (El Behairy 2013). He added that some people planned to use violence “out of misunderstanding of the concept of freedom” (El Behairy 2013). For the first time, following this event, the army announced that it would intervene if needed. Egyptian army chief Abdul Fatah al-Sisi delivered a lecture warning that the military may be required to intervene in the political process, citing sectarian tensions but also a deepening rift between Morsi’s Muslim Brotherhood and its opponents. Morsi’s opponents were planning protests at the first anniversary of Morsi’s inauguration. Opposition groups planned to hold mass rallies to demand Morsi’s resignation on June 30. Organizers of a petition drive launched on May 1, known as the *Tamarod* (“rebel”) movement, collected 22 million signatures from Egyptians for Morsi’s resignation ahead of June 30. The petitions were going to be submitted to Egypt’s Constitutional Court on June 30, alongside the planned demonstrations (Kingsley 2013). The Tamarod Campaign

, which started on May 1st, exclusively focused on collecting signatures. They collected 22 million signatures, which is 7 million more than the votes Morsi got in the presidency elections. They were requesting early presidential elections. "How do we trust the petitions?" declared Muslim Brotherhood member Ahmed Seif Islam Hassan al-Banna in an interview with AP (2013). "Who guarantees that those who signed were not paid to sign?" The opposition accused Morsi of trying to monopolize political power in the country, by proposing an openly Islamist constitution, stuffing the bureaucracy with his associates, and banning the courts from overruling his decisions (RT 2013). In return, Morsi's more radical Islamist supporters have openly urged the president to initiate a crackdown on dissent, calling protesters "thugs" (RT 2013). In its own preemptive show of strength the Muslim Brotherhood and allies held a large rally in Cairo on June 21st. Morsi supporters rallied in Nasr City in what they called the "Antiviolence Friday Protest." They carried out military-style drills with sticks, shields, nunchuks, and other weapons (Freedom House 2013). Speakers threatened that the opposition would be "smashed" in the streets on June 30 and that it would be a bloody day for those who would protest against Morsi. For the two weeks before June 30, Islamists leaders stated that the date would bring an end to the opposition and begin an Islamic revolution. They made explicit threats against opponents of Morsi's rule (Freedom House 2013). A statement issued at the end of the event, and released afterwards by the Islamist group, stated, "We are here to say very clearly and decisively, to the first elected civilian president, the Egyptian masses are fully behind you; they support and stand by you wholeheartedly" (Goodenough 2013). The statement also warned that Morsi's supporters "will not allow anyone to flout the will of the people or circumvent the ballot box" (Goodenough 2013). In response to the tension rising in the country, Morsi gave a two-

hour speech on June 26, which made the situation much worse. In his speech, he strongly attacked the opposition, offered no solutions or initiatives to resolve Egypt's political crisis, and implied that he would use military trials against his opponents. He also stated that "one year is enough," implying that the year of freedom for the opposition and the media was all they were going to get (Freedom House 2013). After an estimated 30 million people went down in the streets on June 30 2013, the army chief Sisi met with Morsi and Qandil twice and asked Morsi to step down (Hendawi and Michael 2013). But Morsi kept returning to the mandate that he won in the June 2012 balloting, and wouldn't address the mass protests or any of the country's most pressing problems, according to one of the officials (Hendawi & Michael 2013). "Over my dead body!" Morsi said (Hendawi and Michael 2013). In his last address to the nation on July 2nd, Morsi warned that any deviation from the democratic order approved in a series of votes would lead Egypt down a dangerous path (Saleh & AlSharif 2013). "The price of preserving legitimacy is my life, legitimacy is the only guarantee to preserve the country," he said (Saleh & AlSharif 2013). He vowed to stay in power and urged supporters to fight to protect his legitimacy (Hendawi & Michael 2013). In a message aimed as much at his own militant supporters as at the army, he said: "We do not declare *jihad* (holy war) against each other. We only wage *jihad* on our enemies (Saleh & AlSharif 2013)." Right after the speech, violence erupted in the streets again. The Brotherhood's political wing called for mass counter- demonstrations to "defend constitutional legitimacy and express their refusal of any coup" (Saleh & AlSharif 2013). Condemning a coup against their first freely elected leader, tens of thousands of Muslim Brotherhood supporters took to the streets, clashing with opponents in several towns. But they were dwarfed by anti-government protesters who turned out in the hundreds of thousands across the nation

(Saleh & AlSharif 2013). However, according to a Reuters reporter, the biggest pro-Morsi rally in Cairo appeared to attract around 100,000 supporters, (Saleh & AlSharif 2013).

In the end, Morsi found himself isolated, abandoned by allies and no one in the army or police willing to support him (Hendawi & Michael 2013). Morsi had been at odds with virtually every institution in the country, including the leading Muslim and Christian clerics, the judiciary, the armed forces, the police and intelligence agencies (Hendawi & Michael 2013). The Police members, for the first time in Egypt's history, joined the anti-Morsi protests chanting "*Al-shaab wel shorta eid wahda* (people and the police on hand united)"(Youm7 video 2013). Many police officers were attacked by Islamists and killed in the few months before June 30. Therefore, Morsi, trying to find a way out of the crisis, called for outside help through western ambassadors (Hendawi & Michael 2013). "We knew it was over on 23 June. Western ambassadors told us that," A Brotherhood spokesman said. "US ambassador Anne Patterson was one of the envoys," he added (Hendawi & Michael 2013). Patterson was reported as trying to communicate with Sisi, demanding dialogue with the Muslim Brotherhood and concessions to them, but Sisi rejected her demands asking her to stop interfering in Egyptian internal affairs . His foreign policy aide and Brotherhood member, Essam el-Haddad, telephoned western governments to put an optimistic spin on events, according to a military official (Hendawi & Michael 2013). Haddad was also issuing statements in English to the foreign media, saying that the millions out on the streets did not represent all Egyptians, and that the military intervention amounted to a textbook coup (Hendawi & Michael 2013). Morsi searched for allies in the army, ordering two top aides, Asaad el-Sheikh and Refaah el-Tahtawy (first cousin of Ayman al-Zawahri who served as chief of staff at the

presidential team), to establish contact with potentially sympathetic officers in the 2nd Field Army based in Port Said and Ismailia on the Suez Canal in order to find a bargaining chip to use with Sisi, according to security officials with firsthand knowledge of the contacts. However, Sisi, on learning of the contacts, issued directives to all unit commanders not to engage in any contacts with the presidential palace (Hendawi & Michael 2013). According to *Al-Ahram* newspaper, Morsi was offered safe passage to Turkey, Libya or elsewhere, but he declined. He also was offered immunity from prosecution if he voluntarily stepped down (2013). Soon after, Sisi placed him under "confinement" in the Republican Guard headquarters. At 5am troops began deploying across major cities. Republican Guards assigned to the president and his aides walked away at midday and army commandos arrived. That evening, Sisi announced Morsi's removal (Hendawi & Michael 2013).

Muslim Brotherhood and International Reactions

The demonstrations that began on June 30 in Egypt against the Muslim Brotherhood government and Morsi attracted millions of Egyptians. About 33 million protestors took the street, making it the largest demonstrations in the history of the world (CBC News 2013). Thousands of Morsi's supporters gathered in Rabaa square and Al Nahda square vowing a "day of rejection" (BBC 2013) as anti-Morsi protesters poured into the streets. After Morsi's ouster, the army commander Sisi said that the army would not take "arbitrary measures against any faction or political current" and would guarantee the right to protest, as long as demonstrations did not threaten national security (BBC 2013). "Peaceful protest and freedom of expression are rights guaranteed to everyone, which Egyptians have earned as one of the most important gains of their glorious revolution," he added (BBC 2013). Gehad Haddad, the Muslim Brotherhood spokesman

said that the movement refused to co-operate with the new leadership and demanded the immediate release of Muslim Brotherhood detainees and reinstatement of Morsi; the Brotherhood would only take part in peaceful, people-led protest, he added (BBC 2013). But the Brotherhood claims of peaceful protesting were used only when addressing Western media or officials. According to Michael Rubin (2012) in his article “*Whitewashing Islamists*,” the discrepancy between what the Brotherhood tells its own and what its leaders say to the Western audience is part of the “organization’s DNA.” “I must speak in a way that is appropriate for the ear hearing me. We must know how to speak to those who do not share our history,” Taraq Ramadan, al-Banna’s grandson said (Rubin 2012). The Muslim Brotherhood used particular language and themes when addressing English language audiences that starkly contrasted with the message they delivered in Arabic to their supporters (Basyouni 2013). When addressing international audiences, the key themes in the Muslim Brotherhood discourse consistently were that of liberty, democracy and legitimacy. A narrative of victimhood was invoked against the might of the Egyptian army and police. In contrast, the language used by the group’s leaders when addressing its supporters in Arabic was laden with emotional Islamist rhetoric, including references to martyrdom and violence (Basyouni 2013). From Rabaa, Islamist cleric Safwat Hegazi threatened Egyptians and challenged el-Sisi to clear the sit-in, adding that such a move would be done “on our dead bodies” and that “we are ready to be martyred in the thousands, our coffins are ready” (Egyptian People News TV 2013).

Violent campaigns against civilians started before the ouster of Morsi in Rabaa on June 21st as discussed earlier in the paper, but escalated after the ouster of Morsi. Hate speech as well as incitement continued to emerge from Rabaa’s sit-in. Al-Qa`ida flags have also been present throughout the Brotherhood’s protests before and after Morsi’s

removal (CBC 2013). In a video, two Morsi supporters at the site of the Rabaa sit-in threatened el-Sisi, specifically mentioning their will to “destroy Egypt by turning into suicide (martyrdom) groups en masse” (Rasd 2013). Remarkably, the woman in the clip also threatens to “set fire” to Egypt’s Christians (Rasd 2013). Copt homes were destroyed in Upper Egypt by Morsi supporters, who called Christians *infidels*. According to a Washington Post report, Islamists assaulted Coptic Christians since the 2011 revolution but the attacks intensified after the ouster of Morsi. Islamist mobs torched schools and businesses owned by Christians, looted churches and even paraded captive nuns through the streets in a display of rage (Solovieva, 2013). “The Muslim Brotherhood were the ones who called for aggression (against Christians). They are responsible. Either they are in control or they burn Egypt,” said the Rev Khalil Fawzy, a pastor at the largest evangelical congregation in the Middle East. Since the ouster of Morsi till mid August 2013, 44 churches were burned and more than 20 other Christian institutions were robbed (Solovieva 2013). However, one of the most shocking assaults occurred at a Catholic school in a province south of Cairo when Islamists captured three nuns and several school employees. Islamists “paraded us like prisoners of war,” said Sister Manal, the school principal. After six hours of abuse, they escaped from the mob after a Muslim woman who taught at the school sheltered them in her home (Solovieva 2013).

Thousands of Morsi’s supporters remained camped in Rabaa and El Nahda sit-ins, which the government declared a threat to national security and pledged to disperse (Reuters 2013). So why would the Egyptian government consider two peaceful sit-ins, as claimed by Brotherhood members and Western media, a threat to national security? Western coverage of events in Egypt portrayed Rabaa as peaceful sit-ins ignoring a lot of the violence that was taking place inside Rabaa. Partially, it was because of the

Brotherhood skills in knowing how to address the Western media. El-Haddad's twitter feed has repeatedly stressed the group's non-violent nature, "#MBs organizational capacity, discipline and commitment 2 non-violence ensures its peacefulness. Our peacefulness is our strength," he tweeted on August 15 (Basyouni 2013). In another interview after Morsi's impeachment, he said, "It's democracy at the end of the day. We're all different as human beings and that's why we have to agree to the rules of democracy that govern these differences" (Basyouni 2013). Even conservative senior Brotherhood member el-Beltagi authored an opinion piece to the Guardian newspaper on August 21 where he condemned the brutal and humiliating actions of the Egyptian army but maintained that the Muslim Brotherhood was "committed to peaceful protests and has pledged never to resort to violence in response to violence perpetrated against it... we believe that our peacefulness is a more powerful weapon than all the killing machines employed by the army and the police" (Basyouni 2013). Both el-Haddad and el-Beltagi were present at Rabaa sit-ins and –el-Beltagy took the stage many times to address the crowd however, the language he used was different from what he used with the Western media. "Say goodbye to your mother, father, and wife, because you will sacrifice your soul to defend Muhammad Morsi's legitimacy," el-Beltagy said from the stage in Rabaa (Basyouni 2013).

On the ground in Rabaa and El-Nahda sit-ins, things were far from being non-violent. Eleven bodies bearing signs of torture were reported to have been found (Egypt Independent 2013) near Rabaa, and testimonies continue to emerge of kidnappings, torture (Al-Youm7 2013), and killings there. This included the murder of Ahmed Zileikha, a man drawn to the Rabaa protests after hearing that the Brothers were giving out money and free meals in exchange for attendance at the sit-in and participation in

Islamist chants. His friend, who was beaten himself, recounted the story of his friend's murder at Rabaa from his hospital bed (ONTV 2013). Another man recounted being beaten and having his finger severed by protesters at Rabaa for allegedly stealing a cell phone (ONTV 2013) with footage taken from the hospital where he was getting treatment. Women have also been met with violence at the sit-in; the husband of a woman reportedly kidnapped by two female Brotherhood supporters, accused of being a journalist, beaten, and abandoned on the sidewalk attested to the vicious attack against her (Al-Masry al-Youm 2013). A journalist, Tarek Wajeh, reported his assault and the seizure of his camera in Rabaa, even after he was made to erase all photos he had taken there, and another journalist, Shehab Abdelrazek, was also dragged into a tent and beaten with wooden sticks on his head, back, and legs (Amnesty International 2013). Members of a human rights delegation reported being evicted from Rabaa after meeting with hostility and attempted assault from known Muslim Brotherhood activists (Al-Ahram 2013). In addition, an Amnesty International report (2013) states, "anti-Morsi protesters... were captured, beaten, subjected to electric shocks or stabbed by individuals loyal to the former President." Karam Hassan, a 48-year-old resident of Giza, was abducted by Brotherhood supporters on July 2, 2013; his "body was discovered by his mother in Zenhom Morgue on 10 July. It was covered in bruises and had burn marks on the chest, back, arms and both legs. He had also been stabbed in the chest and had a fractured skull. Ahmed El Kelhy, Karam's neighbour, who was with him when he was abducted, said that armed Muslim Brotherhood supporters were shooting live rounds at the residents. He pointed at two bullet holes in buildings and a bullet-ridden pick-up truck (Amnesty International 2013)." Further proof of the Muslim Brotherhood threat lies in a July 29 announcement from the main stage of another pro-Morsi sit-in at Nahda Square,

which declared that “elements of al-Qa`ida and the Salafi Jihadists had joined the [Brotherhood’s] protest” (Dawood, Khaled & el-Tohamy 2013). In a rather disturbing display of militancy, children as young as four years marched in the Rabaa sit-in carrying funeral shrouds and bearing signs declaring their willingness to seek “martyrdom” (ONTV 2013). When asked why they were doing so, they indicated that they were given the signs by the adults at Rabaa and told to carry and march with them (ONTV 2013).

Violence in Sinai intensified after the toppling of Mr Morsi, suggesting that events in Egypt's core were closely linked to those in its periphery (Joshi 2013). After Morsi's ouster, violence by jihadi groups escalated into a full-fledged insurgency, with increasing shootings, bombings and al-Qaida-style suicide attacks against troops and police in Sinai (Al-Ahram 2013). According to Khaled Zaafarani, former member of the Brotherhood, the Muslim Brotherhood blessed all the militant operation of *ansar beit al makdes* (Jerusalem fighters) in Sinai against the Egyptian army (Al Watan 2015). He further claimed that Brotherhood members met with the group after Morsi ouster in Areish. He added that the Muslim Brotherhood supported *ansar beit al makdas* financially and logistically during Morsi’s presidency. The *jihadist* freed when Morsi came to power went to Sinai and they met regularly with Khairat el-Shater (Al Watan 2015). Sisi claimed leaders of the Brotherhood had warned him a few weeks before Mr. Morsi’s ouster “that they would be bringing people from all over the world” to fight Egyptian citizens, from “countries like Afghanistan, Iraq, Syria, and Libya” (Kirkpatrick 2013). Addressing the continued violence in Sinai that targeted Egyptian military and security forces, which left dozens of soldiers dead, Brotherhood leader Mohamed el-Beltagy stated in an interview “What is happening in Sinai is in response to that military coup, it will stop once al-Sisi ends the coup” (Al-Nahar TV), implicitly admitting to the

Brotherhood's controlling influence over and possible involvement in these events. On January 30, 2015, Sisi blamed the Muslim Brotherhood for attacks that killed at least 30 people in North Sinai and declared that Egypt was "fighting the strongest secret organization" in the world (Kirkpatrick 2013). During his year as president, Egypt's Mohamed Morsi cultivated ties with Islamic radicals, making them a key support for his rule by pardoning dozens of jailed militants, restraining the military from an all-out offensive against *jihadis* in Sinai and giving their hard-liner sheiks a platform to spread their rhetoric (Ahram 2013). The attacks spread outside the restive peninsula with bombings and assassinations in the capital, Cairo, and other parts of the country. During Morsi's final days in office, the Brotherhood's most powerful figure, deputy leader Khairat el-Shater, threatened in a meeting with el-Sissi that removing the president would prompt militants to take up arms against the state, according to el-Sissi's account of the meeting (Ahram 2013). In November 2013, Morsi warned that Egypt would not be stable until he is returned to power (BBC 2013). Morsi accused Sisi of "treason against God" and "treason against the whole nation by driving a wedge among the people of Egypt" (BBC 2013). Morsi warned that Egypt would not regain its stability until "the military coups is eliminated and those responsible for shedding Egyptians' blood are held accounted" (BBC 2013). So why did the Brotherhood that suffered from repression all through its 80 years history reject conciliation and instead, escalated violence?

Having an international network that can support its cause on the ground could be one of the main reasons why the Brotherhood refused all earlier attempts to avoid violence. Their insistence that Morsi should be reinstated as a president and the release of their members from prison seemed as an impossible demand giving the situation on the ground. According to Yahya Hamid, Brotherhood member and minister of investment in

Morsi's government, "It's no secret that there are many initiatives that seek to end the ongoing campaign of political arrests, and to release Brotherhood members from junta prisons, on condition they recognize the existing regime and accept a ceremonial political role within the existing regime" (Ikhwanweb 2015). Hamid points out, "The Brothers certainly reject these initiatives, not for any partisan or political purposes, but because the Brotherhood understands that Arab revolutions came to totally change previous mechanisms and regimes and the parliaments of the past, which had been used by the ruling classes to give a false appearance of democracy in Arab countries" (Ikhwanweb 2015). The Muslim Brotherhood keeps claiming that they are the guardians of the January 25th revolution that toppled Mubarak, despite the fact that they did not take part in the revolution until later stages when they knew that the momentum on the ground was getting stronger and Mubarak would have to go.

The assurance from the West was motivating the Brotherhood in their decision not to conciliate. According to Muhammad Hassanein Heikal, the Arab most respected political commentator, and for over 50 years, an Egyptian political insider, said in an interview in *Youm7* (2013) newspaper on July 4, 2013, Patterson had assured the Muslim Brotherhood's Qandil, that "there are many forms of pressure, and America holds the keys to the Gulf." In the days leading to June 30, Patterson called on Egypt not to protest. She claimed, "Egypt needs stability to get its economic house in order, and more violence on the streets will do little more than add new names to the lists of martyrs" (Pollak 2013). She met with the Coptic Pope and asked him to urge Christians not to oppose the Brotherhood (Ibrahim 2013). Patterson resisted opportunities to criticize Morsi's government as it implemented increasingly authoritarian policies. In her interview in May with Al-Ahram, Patterson repeatedly dodged pointed questions about Morsi's

leadership. She asserted “The fact is they ran in a legitimate election and won” (Al-Ahram 2013). When asked about her response to problems such as a controversial IMF loan, to the rise of incidents of sectarian violence and sexual harassment under Morsi’s regime, Patterson carefully commented indicating how careful the Obama administration to seek a balance between strengthening ties with the Islamists government and criticizing its authoritarian behavior (Hudson 2013). In anticipation for her visit in October 2013, a Brotherhood source said that Ashton’s, EU foreign policy chief, visit to Egypt would bring great progress to the reconciliation attempts. Under Ashton's previous initiative, the Muslim Brotherhood would have recognized the interim roadmap announced by el-Sisi after Morsi's ouster (Al-Ahram 2013). The Brotherhood had consistently rejected the new political settlement and demanded Morsi’s reinstatement. According to el-Erian, “Morsi's reinstatement is still a condition to successful negotiations” (Al-Ahram 2013). Patterson demanded from Sisi the release of all Muslim Brotherhood members held for questioning and when her request was rejected, she threatened him that Egypt will turn into another Syria and live through a civil war (Al Fagr 2013).

Despite the fact that demonstrations on June 30, 2013 attracted about 33 million protestors (CBC 2013), reports from Cairo that appeared on Western media focused on projecting an image of polarization. Rallies opposing the Muslim Brotherhood were represented as being balanced out, and in some cases even outnumbered, by the demonstration in favor of Morsi. The likelihood of violent clashes were carefully embedded within the news as a main characteristic of the current situation in Egypt. However, what was exceptional about June 30 and the later July 26 demonstration was that it included Egyptians from all walks of life (liberals, leftists, Islamists, police forces

in uniforms, judges, clerics from Al-Azhar, reverents from the Coptic church and Sufis). They protested peacefully, yet audaciously, denouncing the Brotherhood's rule. Still, what made June 30 different was the participation Hizb el-Kanaba (couch party) in the demonstrations. Hizb al-Kanaba represented the majority of Egyptian society that was never part of the political sphere and did not join demonstrators on January 25. In January 25 revolution, people chanted "Bread, Freedom and Social Justice," and later it turned into demands for Mubarak to step down; however, demonstrators on June 30 had only one demand, "Brotherhood must go." Wickham (2013) argued that the success of the uprising on January 25 was not a function of "people power" alone, it hinged on the support of the Egyptian military, the only institution in the country capable of forcing Mubarak to step down. The same thing happened on June 30, the Egyptian military was behind the success. The only difference between January 25 and June 30 is that when the military asked Mubarak to step down, he did, but Morsi refused and claimed that the army would have to kill him first. Still reactions to June 30 from Western governments were different, June 30 was portrayed as a coup d'etat by the media even though some government officials tried to avoid using the term and instead used military interference.

Leaders in Europe and elsewhere expressed dismay at the coup, which saw the Egyptian military topple Morsi. Some are warning that it set a "dangerous precedent" that could happen again. Leaders across Europe expressed concern over the development, which saw the ouster of a democratic government just one year after Morsi took office (Spiegel Online 2013). United Kingdom Foreign Secretary William Hague said "We don't support military interventions as a way to resolve disputes. We always condemn military intervention in democratic systems. What we want and what we support is a democratic future for Egypt" (Alexander 2013). Prime Minister David Cameron's

remarks also went along the same line but showed more concerns about the repetition of the Egyptian experience again in the future. "It is the problem with a military intervention, of course, that it is a precedent for the future. If this can happen to one elected president, it can happen to another. That's why it is so important to entrench democratic institutions and for political leaders - for all their sakes and the sake of their country - to work on this together to find the compromises they haven't been able to make in Egypt over the last year," Cameron said (Alexander 2013). "It is not for this country to support any single group or party. What we should support is proper democratic processes and proper government by consent," he added (Spiegel 2013). Germany's response was more towards concession and the fast transition to constitutional order. German Foreign Minister Guido Westerwelle said, "This is a major setback for democracy in Egypt. It is urgent that Egypt returns as quickly as possible to the constitutional order. There is a real danger that the democratic transition in Egypt will be seriously damaged" (Alexander 2013). "I call on all those responsible in Egypt, to act calmly, to meet each other halfway and to seek ways out of this serious crisis of state together," he added (Spiegel Online 2013).

International reactions came also from other non-European countries. In a statement released by the White House regarding June 30 demonstrations, Obama said Washington "is deeply concerned by the decision of the Egyptian Armed Forces to remove President Morsi and suspend the Egyptian constitution." The president called "on the Egyptian military to move quickly and responsibly to return full authority back to a democratically elected civilian government as soon as possible through an inclusive and transparent process, and to avoid any arbitrary arrests of President Morsi and his supporters" (Spiegel Online 2013). He also added that the United States believed that the

Egyptian people are the ones entitled to determine their own future (Alexander 2013). “We will continue to encourage the Muslim Brotherhood, leaders from that group, to participate in the process. We know this is not going to be an easy process, but that’s what we’ll continue to encourage,” State Department spokeswoman Jen Psaki said (Rogin & Lake 2013). “I think that it’s safe to assume that Ambassador Patterson is very engaged in this process, as are a number of other officials, but she’s also engaged with a broad range of officials on the ground” (Rogin & Lake 2013). After Morsi’s ouster, the US decided to delay the delivery of four F-16 fighter jets to Egypt (BBC 2013). The Pentagon spokesman George Little, justified the decision based on current situation in Egypt. “The decision is a way for the US to signal its displeasure with recent events in Egypt,” Kim Ghattas, BBC correspondent in Washington said (BBC 2013). The African Union announced it would suspend Egypt from all activities (BBC 2013). The response from Turkey, however, was even stronger because of the tight relationship between Erdogan and the Egyptian Brotherhood. Foreign Minister Ahmet Davutoglu described the military coup as "unacceptable." He said, "You can only be removed from duty through elections, that is, the will of the people. It is unacceptable for a government, which has come to power through democratic elections, to be toppled through illicit means and even more, a military coup," he added (Spiegel Online 2013).

After Morsi’s ouster, Egypt became a shrine for diplomats from the US and EU to meet members of the Muslim Brotherhood. Top US and EU diplomat flew to Cairo to urge its interim government, military and politicians to move toward an elected civilian government after the army coup that ousted President Mohamed Morsi (Mohamed 2013). On July 14th, U.S. Deputy Secretary of State William Burns arrived in Egypt's capital of Cairo on Friday evening to help facilitate a peaceful political transition, official news

agency MENA reported (2013). By sending Burns to Cairo, the United States dispatched one of its top diplomats who speaks Arabic and has an extensive experience in the Arab world. Burns would stress U.S. "support for an inclusive democratic process where all political streams and sectors of society are represented, the need to transition to a democratically elected government as soon as possible, and the immediate need for all political leaders to work to prevent violence and incitement" (Mohamed 2013). In early August, Burns flew back to Cairo where he was joined by officials from the European Union and others in the region, "who share our goal for a successful transition in Egypt" (Hendawy 2013). US Deputy Secretary of State William Burns and EU envoy Bernadino Leon, visited Muslim Brotherhood high-ranking member Khairat e-Shater in jail to discuss the situation on the ground (Reuters 2013). Al Masry al-Youm reported that el-Shater said that he would only talk with the envoys in the presence of Morsi since he (Morsi) is the legitimate president (2013). Burns was not the only US official to visit Egypt though. Earlier in July, Senator John McCain and Senator Lindsey Graham met with officials there to press for a quick return to civilian life (Sayah & Martinez 2013). McCain who had previous meetings with Muslim Brotherhood members, said that the ouster of Morsi is a coup d'etat and pressed the Obama administration to suspend aid to Egypt (Strauss 2013). Late in July, Ashton met with Morsi in prison. After meeting him for two hours, she said that Morsi was "well" and had access to information, in terms of TV, newspapers and they were able to discuss the situation in Egypt (Al Jazeera 2013). She refused to talk about the substance of their meeting saying, "I told him that I was not going to represent his views" (Al Jazeera 2013); however, she said that he was in good health and detained with two of his advisors in a military place and that he was well taken care of and that the place he was detained in was in good condition. "I looked at the

facilities,” she added. She also claimed that Morsi, “I think, (was) pleased to see me”(Chappell 2013). On her second visit to Egypt, Ashton met Muslim Brotherhood figures during her three-day visit. She has visited the country twice since Morsi was ousted from the presidency in July (al Ahram 2013).

In August 2013, after several warnings to both Rabaa and El-Nahda sit-ins, the Egyptian military and police forces evacuated both sit-ins using force. A safe passage was given for those who wanted to leave, but the crack down resulted in the death of 632 people. The National Council for Human Rights (NCHR 2014) report concluded that clashes began during the dispersal of the sit-in when armed protesters shot and killed a policeman. It also concluded that the majority of protesters who took part in the sit-in were peaceful protesters, adding that such peaceful demonstrators constituted the majority of the death toll at the dispersal, estimated by the council to be 632 (Taha 2014). At the time of the dispersal, which lasted for over 12 hours, the NCHR reported violations committed both by the police forces, which carried out the dispersal, and a number of armed protesters. The council accused security forces of “failing to exercise self-restraint” during the dispersal and of the “disproportionate use of force”, despite the justified use of weapons (Taha 2014). There was a strong international reaction to the dispersing of the camps. US Secretary of State John Kerry said the events were "deplorable" and "a real blow to reconciliation efforts". He said the unrest "ran counter to Egyptians' aspirations to peace and democracy” (BBC 2013). "Violence is simply not a solution in Egypt," he said (BBC 2013). "It will not create a roadmap for Egypt's future. Violence and continued political polarization will further tear the Egyptian economy apart” (BBC 2013). A statement issued on behalf of EU foreign policy chief Catherine Ashton said, "We reiterate that violence won't lead to any solution and we urge the

Egyptian authorities to proceed with utmost restraint” (BBC 2013). Senior EU diplomats met after the crackdown in Brussels to discuss military aid to Egypt (AP 2013). EU governments debated how to use “their economic muscle” to force Egyptian government to end the crackdown (Reuters 2013). The EU is a major source of aid, loans and business for Egypt, including European sun-seekers vacationing in the Red Sea resorts (AP 2013). French President Francois Hollande summoned Egypt's ambassador and said, "everything must be done to avoid civil war." In a statement issued after the meeting, Hollande also said he "condemned in the strongest way possible the bloody violence in Egypt and demanded the immediate end to the repression” (AP 2013). "The liberation of prisoners, while respecting the ongoing judicial procedures, could constitute a first step toward renewing negotiations," Hollande added (AP 2013). In Europe, several governments called for aid cutbacks. Dutch Foreign Minister Frans Timmermans said in a letter to his country's parliament the deaths of about 900 people in Egypt should have "concrete consequences." "The Netherlands wants the EU to consider cutting aid and conditions for resumption," he said (Reuters 2013). Austria's Foreign Minister Michael Spindelegger told ORF television aid should be frozen "until democratic conditions are in place again” (Reuters 2013). Other than aid, foreign ministers will discuss any military support provided by individual European governments to Egypt and, possibly, trade breaks included in a decade-old broad cooperation deal with Cairo. At the time, EU trade with Egypt ran around 2 billion euros a month (Reuters 2013). Going into the EU meeting, Swedish Foreign Minister Carl Bildt deplored the violence in Egypt, saying "primary responsibility rests with the regime forces” (BBC 2013). He called it "an unprecedented wave of repression and violence" and added, "It's very important that Europe speaks up” (BBC 2013). He said he would not argue for a suspension of aid, but

"we are clearly not sending taxpayers' money to people responsible for massacres" (BBC 2013). After meeting with the Qatari foreign minister, the German government announced that Chancellor Angela Merkel stated her country would "re-evaluate" its relations with Egypt. Germany also froze its aid to the country as events unfolded (DW 2013). EU member states agreed to suspend export licenses for any equipment that could be used for repression in Egypt, but humanitarian aid continued. French Foreign Minister Laurent Fabius said on French television that no options would be off the table (AP 2013). As part of the sanctions on Egypt, EU countries issued travel advice on Egypt. The German Foreign Ministry urged its citizens to refrain from traveling to Egypt, extending a previous warning to include Red Sea beach resorts around Hurghada and Sharm El-Sheik (Citation).

President Barack Obama canceled joint U.S.-Egypt military exercises, saying America's traditional cooperation with Egypt "cannot continue as usual" while violence and instability deepen in the strategically important nation (AP 2013). The U.N. Security Council called on the Egyptian government and the Muslim Brotherhood to exercise "maximum restraint" and end the violence with these UN views expressed by the council president, Argentine Ambassador Maria Cristina Perceval after an emergency meeting (AP 2013). However, the Taliban condemned the violence and called for the restoration of Morsi as president. In a statement signed by The Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan, the name under which the Taliban ruled Afghanistan until later ousted by a U.S. invasion, they also called on international organizations to "take practical steps to stop the violence and not be satisfied with only condemning this barbaric incident" (AP 2013). Turkish officials kept up their criticism of the military government's crackdown, with President Abdullah Gul saying that "all that happened in Egypt is a shame for Islam and the Arab

world” (GW2013). Both Turkey and Egypt recalled their ambassadors for consultations as their relationship worsened (GW 2013).

Meanwhile since the crack down and the continuous international support, the Muslim Brotherhood continued its attack on the Egyptian government internationally and continued its desire to influence events in Egypt. They refused any efforts made earlier by the Egyptian government. Amr Darag, a member of the Brotherhood's political arm, the Freedom and Justice Party, said his party saw no way to reconcile with the current government as long as Morsi remained detained and his group subjected to a security crackdown (El Deeb 2013). "It is not about parties and personalities. It is about the future of democracy in Egypt," Darag said (El Deeb 2013). "How can there be reconciliation when the elected legitimate president is detained and we don't know where he is?" Darag added (El Deeb 2013). Brotherhood members who fled Egypt found exile in Qatar, Turkey and London. With media outlets broadcasting their cause from Turkey and London, the Brotherhood found no reason to reconcile and kept fighting for the legitimacy of Morsi's government. Rabia, Misr al An, Al Sharq and Mukemmelin transmitted from Istanbul. Muhammed Nasir, a commentator on Misr al An TV, said the "revolutionary youth are watching the residences of police chiefs" and warned their wives to "keep your spouses under control, otherwise your children will be orphaned" (Tastekin 2015). Nasir called on the Egyptian youth to "give up peaceful actions against bullets. It is time to start violent struggle" (Tastekin 2015). Rabia TV reported that a group calling itself the Revolutionary Youth Leadership warned foreigners in Egypt to leave the country by Feb. 11. The group reportedly asked foreign companies and diplomatic missions to end their operations in the country (Tastekin 2015). In another effort by the Egyptian government to control the Brotherhood media outlets, Egyptian foreign ministry

called on European countries, including the UK, to “monitor extremist websites that incite violence and terrorism, and to halt broadcasting channels linked to the Muslim Brotherhood” (Sultan 2015). The UK rejected Egypt's request to shut down “pro-Muslim Brotherhood news media” operating from the British capital, pledging to respect the principle of freedom of speech (Sultan 2015). The UK hosts *Alarabi* and *Al-Hewar* TV stations and *Al-Araby Al-Jadeed* newspaper, which are linked to the Muslim Brotherhood and accused by Egyptian authorities, politicians and media of being tools to incite and promote terrorist activities in Egypt (Sultan 2015). In another effort of the Muslim Brotherhood to gain its legitimacy, the Brotherhood stepped up their activities from Turkey in an attempt to tip the power balance in the Middle East for its favor (MEMRI 2015). Since the June 30 incident, Turkey became the regional hub for the Muslim Brotherhood’s international organization. Istanbul played host to many meetings planning steps to be taken against the military-backed Egyptian government after the ouster Morsi (Abdel Kader 2013). These Ankara sponsored events were part of Turkey’s attempt to outlaw “the foreign legitimacy” of the new Egyptian leadership (Abdel Kader 2013). Many reports showcase Turkey’s role in supporting the Brotherhood with weapons and activists, including the Turkish Intelligence officer Irshad Hoz who was arrested in Egypt (Abdel Kader 2013). In this context, Istanbul hosted two main conferences; the first was on July 10, 2013 and held at a hotel near Ataturk airport, and featured leaders from the Muslim Brotherhood’s international organization, such as Youssef Nada (the offshore tycoon who is one of the main supporters of the Brotherhood), Rashed al-Ghanoushi and Mohammad Riyad al-Shafaka, as well as representatives from the Hamas movement. This conference was held in the shadow of a globally popular conference held by the Turkish Saadet Party to support democracy (Abdel Kader 2013). The second meeting was

a cover-up for the Muslim Brotherhood meeting in Lahore and it adopted an action plan to face what happened in Egypt. This meeting also studied the repercussions of what happened to the Brotherhood in Egypt on its brother organizations in Tunisia, Sudan, Jordan and Algeria. Further, it discussed the obstacles to their free movement in the GCC (Gulf Cooperation Countries) (Abdel Kader 2013). The meeting witnessed a large attendance from the Brotherhood's international membership, including participants from Morocco, Malaysia, Mauritania, Libya, Somalia, Syria and Kurdistan-Iraq. In parallel, Istanbul hosted another meeting on September 25 and 26, and the Brotherhood participated as members of the "Islamic Parliamentarians Union" and "Parliamentarians for Transparency" (Abdel Kader 2013). Parliamentary sessions of the dissolved 2011-2012 parliaments are also being held in Turkey. The Muslim Brotherhood's Freedom and Justice Party deputies held a parliamentary session in December 2014 and declared that all decisions by the "coup regime" are invalid, marking a new arena of political struggle against Egypt by the Brotherhood via Turkey (Tastekin 2015). On their English *Ikhwan* web on December 19, 2014, the Brotherhood announced, "Egypt's legitimate lawmakers hold a press conference to announce resumption of parliament sessions in exile, in Turkey's capital Istanbul" (Ikhwanweb 2014)). The death of King Abdullah of Saudi Arabia gave hope to the Brotherhood that now Sisi would be isolated and that Turkey's current position, that the Egyptian government is illegitimate, would gain traction (Tastekin 2015). One TV station with ties to the Brotherhood aired the comment, "With the death of King Abdullah, Sisi's spine is broken" (Tastekin 2015). Most of the Brotherhood members that fled Egypt found refuge in Qatar and Turkey.

"We, the Muslim Brotherhood, do not only seek a safe haven," Abdul Sattar said. "We also seek to find a safe location from where we could struggle against the bloody and

brutal military coup against us in Egypt and run our activities free of pressure” (Arsu 2015).

The other big ally of the Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East, apart from Turkey, is Qatar. Qatar has been one of the key backers of the Brotherhood for decades. Qatar has used *Al Jazeera* to express public support for the Brotherhood, hosted its leaders in Doha, and given it financial support (Khatib 2013). Qatar wasted no time when the Muslim Brotherhood took power and started pumping money into Egypt. Contrary to other Gulf countries, Qatar promised to increase its investments to \$18 billion under the Muslim Brotherhood government (Al-Akhbar 2013). Relations between Egypt and Qatar have been strained since the military ousted Morsi. According to the BBC (2014) Morsi is being tried for having "handed over to Qatari intelligence documents linked to national security... in exchange for \$1m (£610,000)." However, the problem between Qatar and Egypt extended beyond the two countries and into the Libyan borders. Qatar has been the main supporter of Islamists in Libya and supplied them with weapons and funds. In November 2011, Libya's United Nations envoy, Mohamed Shalgam, claimed, "There are facts on the ground, they [Qatar] give money to some parties, the Islamist parties. They give money and weapons and they try to meddle in issues that do not concern them and we reject that" (Khatib 2013). The official Qatari explanation of the country's relationship with radical Islamists was aired in an interview by the Emir of Qatar with *Al Jazeera* on 7 September 2011, he said "He believed radical Islamists whose views were forged under tyrannical governments could embrace participatory politics if the promise of real democracy and justice of this year's Arab revolts is fulfilled. If so, the Qatari ruler said, "I believe you will see this extremism transform into civilian life and civil society" (Khatib 2013). However, unlike the Emir's claim, these extremists turned

into ISIS supporters now. Recently, in Libya 21 Egyptian Coptic workers were kidnapped and beheaded by Islamist radicals in Libya. Despite the presence of other nationalities in Libya, since Morsi's ouster, Islamists radicals have been killing Egyptian Coptic Christians in Libya. Given the relationship between Qatar and the Brotherhood and Qatar and the radical Islamists in Libya and the killing timing (after the ouster of Morsi), it seems like these events cannot be separated.

In London, the Cordoba Foundation, under the leadership of Anes al-Tikiry, the current Cordoba Foundation chief executive and the key political lobbyist for the Muslim Brotherhood in Britain (Gilligan 2013), held a conference in London titled "Islam and Democracy Conference -- Clarity and confidence for Muslim communities in the midst of growing uncertainty and fears" in February 2015 (Cordoba Foundation 2015). The conference examined, amongst other things, the growing interest and critique of political Islam following the Arab Spring, with particular focus on the Muslim Brotherhood (Cordoba Foundation 2015). In another effort to gain legitimacy and reinstate Morsi's government, the Muslim Brotherhood proposed a scenario for Morsi's reinstatement through US interference. Mohamed Soudan, head of foreign committee in the former FJP, claimed that if "Washington wants to get security back to Egypt, it will interfere to change the regime and will ask us (the Muslim Brotherhood) to settle the situation in the Middle East" (Al-Youm7 2015). His proposal included the release of all prisoners and the reinstating of Morsi as the legitimate president of Egypt (Al-Youm7 2015). Further, Sudan was part of the delegation that visited the US state department on January 29th, 2015 when the State Department hosted a delegation of Muslim Brotherhood-aligned leaders for a meeting about their ongoing efforts to oppose the current government of President al-Sisi (Kredo 2015). Maha Azzem, a member of the Brotherhood who resides

in Turkey, confirmed that the anti-coup delegation had “fruitful” talks with the state department (Kredo 2015). Patrick Poole, a terrorism expert and national security reporter, said the meeting between the Brotherhood delegation and the State Department “could be a sign that the Obama administration still considers the Brotherhood politically viable, despite its ouster from power and a subsequent crackdown on its members by Egyptian authorities” (Kredo 2015). The State Department admitted that it misled reporters about a recent delegation of Muslim Brotherhood leaders and allies who were hosted for a meeting with officials at Foggy Bottom (The Conservative Tee House 2015). State Department spokeswoman Jennifer Psaki claimed (January 2015) that the controversial delegation of key Brotherhood leaders and allies had been “organized and funded by Georgetown University,” which was later denied by the Georgetown University (The Conservative Tee House 2015). The State Department meeting was attended by deputy assistant secretary for democracy, human rights, and labor and other State Department officials (The Conservative Tee House 2015). Psaki went on to say that the Obama administration remains comfortable entertaining the Brotherhood (The Washington Free Beacon 2015).

CHAPTER FOUR
CASE STUDY MOROCCO

Party of Justice and Development (PJD) in Opposition

The Party of Justice and Development is the offspring of Movement of Unity and Reform (MUR), one of the two main Islamist movement organizations in Morocco (Wegner 2009). The PJD was described as a political organization dealing with all political issues of the country and defending Islamic causes in the institutions, whereas the MUR was meant to focus on *da'wa* (vocation/mission) and education (Wegner 2009). Its inclusion occurred at a moment of political reforms, among them two constitutional reforms that attributed more power to political parties and Parliament but did not affect the authoritarian nature of the political regime (Wegner & Pellicer 2009). The Islamist organization, which gave birth to the PJD emerged from the Islamic Youth Association, an organization founded around 1970. In 1975, Islamic Youth was banned after the assassination of Omar Benjelloum, a prominent Marxist intellectual. In 1981, the majority of the activists of the banned Islamic Youth organization formed a new organization, the Islamic Group, which later became Movement of Unity and Reform (MUR). A reformist vision and a thorough approach to society developed and became part of MUR in the mid 1980s (Tozy 1999). MUR published a charter to clarify its goals in the late 1980s. Some of the goals of the organization were renewing the understanding of religion, advocating the implementation of Sharia, achieving a comprehensive cultural renaissance, and raising the education and moral levels of the Moroccan people (Shahin

1998).

Unlike other Islamist movements in Morocco, MUR expressed its intention to work within the monarchial framework. MUR supported participation in the formal political process (Albrecht 2005). It reformed its position regarding the use of violence and democratic principles before participating in the political process (Wegner & Pellicer 2009). “We did not stand a chance outside the system...we had to choose the path of support and reform from within,” Abdelilah Benkirane, one of the founders of MUR, said (Zeghal 2008, 167). In 1996, MUR was legalized and joined forces with existing party MPDC, which in 1998 became Hizb al-Adalah wal Tanmiyyah (Party of Justice and Development) also known as the PJD (Mekouar 2010). Therefore, since 1998, PJD has been operating in Morocco as a political party. At the beginning of its initiation, PJD was almost completely dependent on MUR for financial, logistical, man-power, propaganda and infrastructure resources and in addition, the majority of party leaders came from MUR (Wegner 2004). In the 1997 national elections, the party was fully dependent upon the financial, mobilization, and propaganda support of the MUR, which was rationalized as being the MUR’s “comprehensive support to the party” (Perkeli 2012). This situation was justified by PJD’s member, Mustafa Ramid, who explained that the PJD would not have been able to make arrangements for the elections of 1997 without the role of the MUR (Perkeli 2012). The party’s program was declared in the MUR’s newspaper, *al-Raya*, by publishing the entire nomination list, as the MUR’s activists went door-to-door to promote the party. In the 1997 national elections, 141 people were nominated, of which 107 were from the MUR (Perkeli 2012). The nine people elected as members of parliament were all affiliated with the MUR. However, in the 2002 legislative elections, the number of MUR-affiliated nominees decreased, nonetheless, nearly half of the

nominees came from the movement (Wegner 2004). In the 2002 election, 143 people were nominated, of which 65 were from MUR. Out of 42 people who were elected as members of parliament, 23 were with the MUR (Perkeli 2012).. Hence, the early years of the PJD demonstrated the lack of party autonomy from its outside social movement organization. The party's dependence over the movement waned, but was not cut off over time, as the PJD began to be more institutionalized by forming its offices at the local, provincial and national levels (Perkeli 2012). The two organizations were linked by consultation, cooperation and coordination and by their joint objectives and principles. As a result, their relationship was considered to be a 'partnership' (Wegner 2004).

Due to the separation between the MUR as a movement and the political party, there have been considerable changes introduced to the PJD charter, which limited the powers of the General Secretariat and established more transparent competences for all the bodies. Moreover, the procedure for selecting candidates to elections became more standardized (Wegner 2004). Financially, PJD depends almost completely on its membership and members of parliament, which enable internal participation within the party (Wegner 2011). Members of parliament paid at least 22 percent of their salary to the party (Wegner & Pellicer 2009). Consequently, party survival depended on its members (Boubekeur & Amghar 2006). In addition, the Moroccan laws forced PJD to be transparent in its internal matters. The party was obliged to disclose detailed agendas, information on leaders and membership base and all of its financial operations (Boubekeur & Amghar 2006). Independent human resources were gained through new party members who were not affiliated to the MUR. By 2004, the PJD had increased its membership to between 12,000 and 15,000 members (Wegner & Pellicer 2009). Within the nation-wide Congress of PJD the representation of grassroots members has been

constantly on the rise, which allowed lower and middle cadres to assert themselves in decision-making bodies of the party. PJD also created specific structures such as a youth council, women organization and development forum, which trains MPs and cooperates with professionals on agenda-setting. A unique feature of PJD is their degree of representation by the youth. Currently there are almost 40 per cent of all candidates in elections who are 40 years and younger (Wegner 2004). PJD has around 15 to 20 percent women representation within the party. This is partially to comply with the Moroccan Parties law, which gives a 15 percent quota to women (Daoudi 2011). Current internal composition of PJD copies plurality of views of the Moroccan society. These ideological differences are a result of how the party emerged, as a mosaic structure allying cadres from hundreds of Islamic associations (Zeghal 2008). While the core of their supporters is comprised of ideological voters who prefer more Islamic values in politics, second most distinctive group of voters are those who value PJD's transparency, integrity or simply the fact that they are new to the government game (Wegner 2011).

Since its inception, Moroccan party PJD traded its security for compliance with the regime. The main strategy of PJD was thus maintaining presence in Parliament and avoiding challenging the regime. In the 1997 national elections, PJD participated in 43 percent of the electoral districts. This number was increased to 60 percent of the districts in the 2002 elections (55 districts out of 91), which was still a lower percentage than the other parties (Perkeli 2012). This restricted version of participation was justified by the prominent member of the PJD, Othmani, who stated, "The party resorted to this strategy due to 'domestic and international factors;' the party does not want to sweep away any votes, as it believes in [maintaining a] gradualist method. This method fosters the party's transition from being a small scale party in the 1997 elections, to the medium scale party

it is in 2002 elections” (Perkeli 2012). Despite the regime’s attempts to marginalize and disadvantage the PJD, in the 1997 national elections, the MPDC won nine seats out of 325 and further increased this number to 42 seats in 2002, 46 in the 2007 elections (Hamzawy 2008), and 107 seats out of 395 in 2011 elections. Abdelilah Benkirane, the current Prime Minister, admitted that political participation provided the PJD with a greater comprehension of the inner dynamics of politics, namely the political organs, which played the key roles in controlling the decision-making process, and the institutions, which functioned as instruments of the regime incumbents (Perkeli 2012).

Before it was recognized as a political party, PJD demonstrated its renunciation to the use of violence and its support of the Moroccan constitution, which entails to the king full executive power and presents him as the highest religious authority (Pruzan-Jorgensen 2010). Many political analysts of the Moroccan political system argue that PJD is a conservative organization that focuses much on the socio-cultural issues such as corruption, prostitution, alcohol, and homosexuality; however, when it comes to the political prerogative and religious legitimacy of the regime, PJD remains fundamentally complacent (Pruzan-Jorgensen 2010). To illustrate the extent of its support to monarchy, prominent leaders such as anti-monarchist Mustapha Ramid and Ahmed Raysouni, were both forced to withdraw their candidacies to top internal positions due to their radical views (Mekouar 2010) Former Secretary-General of PJD Othmani (2004 – 2008) even asserted that despite the need for extensive reforms of Moroccan system, the king’s concentration of powers has a positive effect on political system (Sater 2009). This behavior can be further illustrated by PJD’s decision to participate in elections based on qualitative rather than quantitative criteria, as it feared being too successful in elections (Wegner 2007). Thus in the initial phase, PJD was unwilling to project an image of

hegemonic party (Willis 2004). Since 2002, PJD has been much less preoccupied with ideological and religious issues when communicating with public and in the last decade, they have been given more space to formulate concrete public policies. Their election program in 2007 offered a unique insight into PJD's current political thinking. Instead of promoting Sharia or an Islamic frame of reference, the electoral platform mentions only protection of Moroccan Islamic identity (Hamzawy, 2007, 3). Further, PJD uses the slogan "authenticity, development and justice" instead of using religious based slogans since they believe the later are not appropriate for the Moroccan people (Tamam, 2007).

In its first five years of political activism, the PJD developed policies and resorted to a political discourse, which was profoundly in line with MUR. Instead of focusing on vote seeking as a political party, PJD placed enormous emphasis on the protection of the Muslim identity of the Moroccan people and acted against any policies deemed as conflicting with the Islamic principles and the Islamic character of the society. The MUR explained in its report entitled, "*Political Vision*," that the organization does not embrace Western democracy as their model (Perkeli 2012). For the MUR, Western democracy depends on material philosophy, liberalism and the deification of human beings (Perkeli 2012). The report also called for resisting any form of dictatorial rule, which aims to monopolize political power. Instead, the report stated that the MUR aims to work toward political pluralism and the rotation of power within the framework of respecting the Moroccan people's religious principles (Perkeli 2012). In this context, Islamic references formed the limits of the PJD democracy discourse. In addition to its limitation on democracy discourse, PJD stand on other issues such as individual freedom, education and morals was heavily influenced by its Islamist identity. Party members put religious issues on the forefront of their legislative debates (Hamzawy 2008). The

foundations of the PJD's main treatise rested upon the opposition to Western cultural, social and political influence, all of which were regarded as the remnants of past colonization (Perkeli 2012). The PJD members argued that after independence, the 'deteriorating' impact of Westernization did not cease, but instead persisted with the implementations of the secularists-Francophone elites (Perkeli 2012). Hence, the PJD set the goal for the moralization of the public sphere, stripping the administration of corruption, and bringing the laws in line with Islamic principles (Perkeli 2012). In its five-year performance pamphlet in 1999, an important place was given to the section entitled, "The Promotion of the Islamic identity of Morocco" (Willis 2007). As part of efforts to moralize the public sphere, the PJD presented various propositions to the government in order to hamper the consummation of alcohol. These propositions included the restriction of the places where alcohol was sold, making it even more difficult to obtain permission to sell alcohol, restricting the consumption of alcoholic drinks to the hotels catering to foreign tourists, impeding all direct and indirect advertisement of alcohol, and aggravating the penalties related to its misuse (Willis 2007). In addition to alcohol, the PJD politicians did not hesitate to correct the deviations its members reported witnessing on the beaches. The party deemed the moral degradations on the beaches to be against Islamic injunctions. The PJD believed that the government had the responsibility to fight against those situations, which do not respect modesty on the beaches (Perkeli 2012). Further, since gambling is not permissible in Islam, casinos were also targeted by the PJD (Perkeli 2012). In regards to education, according to PJD, the French-dominated educational spheres greatly contributed to the Westernization of Morocco's youth (Willis 2007). In this regard, the PJD worked within various parliamentary committees to re-formulate the education system. As part of

shaping the public life in line with Islam, the party also campaigned against the staging of a Moroccan pageant show, “Miss Rabat” in April 1999, criticizing it as being “against Islam” and besmirching the honor of women. Members of parliament complained also about the content of some television shows especially the ones that contained dancing. The PJD also took a strong stance against the organization of music festivals in various cities around the country due to their deteriorating and corrupting morality (Willis 2007).

However, since 2002, PJD has become less preoccupied with debates on ideological and religious issues. PJD members of parliament have become particularly active in recent years, focusing their legislative efforts on significant economic and social issues such as corruption, unemployment, and poverty (Hamzawy 2007). Most significantly, PJD have succeeded in formulating a functional separation between Islamist *dawa* (proselytizing) activities and politics, thereby transforming themselves into pure political organizations guided by an Islamist frame of reference and run by professional politicians, leaving *dawa* to the broad social movements that gave birth to them, MUR (Hamzawy 2008). As PJD became more independent from MUR, their stand on democracy, women and minority groups has evolved. This can be illustrated in the differences between the 2002 and 2007 election manifesto. One of the main differences is in the order in which certain are raised and discussed. To start, the 2007 manifesto paid more attention to socioeconomic issues than the 2002 manifesto. Clearly this shift in focus is in response to the concerns of many ordinary Moroccans and an attempt to win their votes. But, perhaps more importantly, it forms part of a more significant shift in how the PJD presents its political program and the seeming centrality of Islam within it (Hill 2011). Indeed the 2007 manifesto was less Islamist in tone. Obviously, it still emphasized the importance of safeguarding and strengthening the Moroccan society’s

Islamic heritage and character and the need to ground the country's politics and legal system in religion (Hill 2011). However, Islamic references appeared briefly in relation to the other information that was included. The 2007 manifesto was framed in such a way as to make it a less overtly Islamist document.

The greater detail of the 2007 manifesto, along with its relative reduction in emphasis on Islam, is evident in its proposals on democracy. The 2002 manifesto made overall statements on the best ways to strengthen Moroccan democracy, such as constitutional reform, fixing the country's political culture, increasing personal freedom, and strengthening civil society. And it also insisted on the preservation of Morocco's Islamic nature and that Sharia should form the bedrock of its legal code (PJD 2002 Election Manifesto). On the other hand, the 2007 manifesto was much more explicit on the constitutional changes that the PJD was proposing. These comprised giving responsible political parties and the press greater legal protection, setting up trade unions and making the judiciary more independent. Yet more significantly, it also sought to reduce the king's powers by calling for the prime minister's authority to be extended and parliament's rights of oversight and law formulation increased (PJD 2007 Election Manifesto). No mention is made of Islam's centrality to democracy or its role as a guiding doctrine. These stipulations hint not only at the PJD's greater confidence, its willingness to challenge the king's powers, albeit indirectly, but also at the ongoing development of Morocco's political culture, which now permits such challenges to be made (Hill 2011).

The PJD's views on women's rights and those of ethnic minorities, have also undergone similar evolutions. The 2002 manifesto's section on women opens with a long list of factors that together define their position in Moroccan society. It then concludes

that their current status delays the country's economic and social growth before outlining the PJD's proposals for improving this situation. The manifesto's main recommendations relate to education, reducing female illiteracy and legal rights, reforming the Moudawana, curbing polygamy, allowing women to divorce their husbands, providing them with better protection against physical abuse and granting them greater control of their personal finances (PJD 2002 Election Manifesto). Again, when addressing these issues, the 2007 manifesto was much more detailed in its recommendations and concentrates on recognizing the work that women carry out both inside and out of the home. The PJD's increased acceptance of women's public work, as shown through its calls for the improvement of nursery and facilities, more flexible working arrangements and equal pay for both sexes, was notable (PJD 2007 Election Manifesto). It shows, along with the other modifications it made to its 2007 manifesto, the party's willingness to adapt and evolve. Such instincts appear to run counter to the accusations of dogmatic conservatism frequently leveled against it and the Islamist movement as a whole. And then there is the content of the changes themselves (Hill 2011). The same can also be said of its views on Morocco's ethnic minorities. In contrast to its 2002 manifesto, which only briefly calls for Amazigh (Berber) culture and language to be paid greater respect by the media and society (PJD 2002 Election Manifesto), the PJD's 2007 program sets out a range of specific measures the party would introduce to make them equal to Arabic and Arab customs and traditions (PJD 2007 Election Manifesto). As well launching more Amazigh courses at universities and developing a strategy to promote its teaching throughout the rest of the country's education system, the PJD promised to accord Amazigh constitutional recognition and give oversight to its protection to a new dedicated directorate within the Ministry of Culture (PJD 2007 Election Manifesto). The evolution

in the ideology of the PJD towards issues such as democracy, women, and ethnic minorities shows that PJD has moved more, not less, into line with liberal democratic ideals.

In addition, the PJD stand on Sharia also evolved through the years. For the PJD, Sharia is understood through its appropriation of the particular era and society in which it operates; thus they reject literal interpretation of religious texts (Daadaoui 2011).

Prominent theoretician of MUR Ahmed Raysouni argues, “religious understanding is in the hands of the people and thus its interpretation cannot be inscribed in one written document as a law of the state. Interpretation must always be in line with the basic principle of sharia, which is *maslaha* (collective good) (Zeghal 2008, 189).” He also firmly rejected the calls for an Islamic state, which he sees as in clear contradiction to democracy (El-Sherif 2011). This leaves family law as the only thing left in Morocco regulated by Sharia. PJD members argue that one of the party’s priorities is gradual empowerment of women in the country. However, the party has so far engaged only in advocating laws against violence on women, laws advocating equality of women and men in the workplace and a gradual ban on the work of underage women (Wickham 2013). Current leader Benkirane also argued that PJD had no intention of attacking those who drink alcohol or dictating to women what they should wear (Wickham 2013).

Party of Justice and Development in Power: Accommodation and Continuation

Following the same path as it started, with the awaking of the Arab Spring, PJD showed its renunciation to the use of violence and its support to the Moroccan constitution, which entails to the king full executive power and presents him as the highest religious authority (Pruzan-Jorgensen 2010). Further, they refused to take part in the demonstrations against the King. In the aftermath of the Arab Spring, Morocco King

Mohammed VI announced major political reforms, including a new constitution that eliminated many of the entitlements and privileges he previously enjoyed (Tawil 2013). He announced the transfer to a parliamentary government. He redirected the people's anger directed against him and his government, towards the formation of a parliamentary government chosen by the people. So now, the people should be held accountable and not the king (Khashoggi 2014). During the subsequent elections in November 2011, JDP came to power. The voter turnout in Morocco was 45 percent and the PJD won the most seats, 107 of 395 seats, with at least 16 held by women. However, the rise of the Islamists in Morocco did not bring turmoil (Tawil 2013). In Morocco, reforms have been proposed, debated, passed, and have begun to be implemented without regime change, and through largely peaceful demonstrations. These reforms are part of an ongoing process that has made Morocco a model of reform and stability for decades.

Following the Arab Spring, PJD made it clear that it has no ties to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood. The PJD leader, Abdelilah Benkirane, who is currently the head of the Moroccan government, once said in a public statement: "Our party does not belong to the Muslim Brotherhood movement; we come from their school [of thought], but we have no organizational relationship with them. We have our own evolutionary path, our own thinking and our own institutions" (The National 2013). Mr Benkirane said his party was elected in 2011 not to "ask men to grow a beard and women to wear hijab" but rather to serve the Moroccan people. "My innermost conviction is that the people did not vote for us ... so we would subject them to our own understanding of Islam; they voted for us so we would do something to solve their problems ... Our goal is not to Islamize society, because society is already Muslim" he added (The National 2013). He also acknowledged that if his party failed there are other parties who can take over. The PJD

won the election in 2011 under the slogan “reform within continuity.” While it remains premature to judge the success or failure of this experiment, a preliminary assessment of the new cabinet's achievements indicates that the party has not yet pushed for the deep institutional reforms needed to enact change in governance. It seems that the logic of continuity has overpowered the logic of reform, or at least restricted it to a bare minimum (Manar 2013). Choosing to work within the formal political system generated both opportunities and constraints for PJD moderation. The opportunities might be summarized as the possibility to cooperate with the system and formal institutions, which contributed to the abolition of the uncompromising Islamist image in the eyes of political rivals. They were forced to compromise their ideology to some extent in order to guarantee their perpetuity in the formal politics.

CHAPTER FIVE

TRANSNATIONAL ISLAMISTS AND MODERATION

In chapter 3, I discussed the history of the Muslim Brotherhood starting from the birth of the movement through the Brotherhood's rise to power after the fall of Mubarak to their fall after the deposition of Morsi on June 30, 2013. In short, chapter five discussed the rise and fall of the oldest and strongest, Islamist social movement in modern history. The historical analysis gave a comprehensive overview of the Brotherhood evolution over the years from a *dawa*-based (missionary) movement to a political party, from opposition to power, from repression to being the repressor. The examination revealed that the Brotherhood has changed over time, but the key question here is did the Brotherhood, as a transnational social movement, moderate over time? Much of the literature on contemporary Islamists groups, as discussed earlier in chapter one, seeks to identify whether or how the participation in the formal political domain have contributed to the moderation of their goals and strategies. However, according to Wickham (2013), the concept of moderation suffers from high degree of imprecision. I can refer to both an end and a process. In addition, it does not really tell us "moderate" in comparison to "what?" Further, it refers to both behavioral changes such as renouncing violence and/or changes in values, goals, and world-views (Wickham 2013). But when we are looking at analyzing the moderation of an Islamist social movement like the Muslim Brotherhood, we cannot expect a linear process of behavioral or ideological change. The Brotherhood may moderate its official rhetoric and practice in some areas,

while retaining or even radicalizing them in others. The Egyptian Brotherhood stand on Sharia is a good example here. Over time, the Brotherhood changed their rhetoric regarding the application, and role of, *Sharia* law. It does not mean that there has been as constant linear change; however, their rhetoric has changed with time. In Chapter four, I presented an overview of the historical development of the JDP in Morocco and how it was the offspring of MUR. I looked at PJD separation from MUR and how that affected the ideology and behavior of the party. I also looked at their rise to power and how they stayed in power after the second wave of uprising in the MENA region that toppled the Islamists in Tunisia and Egypt. After reviewing both the historical context of the Muslim Brotherhood and PJD in the previous chapter, in this chapter I will use the moderation assessment criteria discussed in chapter 4 to see how the MB and PJD moderated over time without looking at moderation as an end, but rather as a process that happens over time. I am also not assuming that moderation is a linear process. In the following, I present my findings in a more analytical manner, where I will apply the moderation assessment criteria to both the Muslim Brotherhood and the JDP of Morocco to test and highlight the relation between transnational Islamists groups and moderation. I will test to see the correlation between the Brotherhood as a transnational movement and its level of moderation. On the other hand, this will be compared to JDP as a non-transnational group and how it affected its level of moderation. I will also look at the transnational Islamist movement desire for self-preservation and behavioral moderation. This chapter is divided into two main parts, the first part tests my theory and then in the second part, I conclude with my theory discussion. To examine my first hypothesis I am looking at the time frame after January 2011 since this is when both the Brotherhood and PJD came to power. As for the second hypothesis I am looking at the time frame prior to

January 2011. The tables below gives an overall direction whether the Brotherhood moderated or not at a certain point. This gives an overall view. However, since as I mentioned earlier, I am not looking at moderation as a end but as a process that is not linear, so these tables do not give the detailed analysis.

Renouncement of Violence

Even though the main focus of the Muslim Brothers was the reform of the society from the bottom up, al-Banna and other leaders embraced the concept of *Jihad*. Beyond the concept of *Jihad* as struggle, the Brotherhood viewed it as the legitimate use of force, both as a method to enlarge the territory under Islamic rule and as means to defend the Muslim community when it was subjected to the rule of unbelievers and was vulnerable to external threats. Friction with the government and its alienation from the political order made the Brotherhood more actively hostile to the government. Under these circumstances, el-Banna started *al-nizam al-kass* (the special section) or also referred to as *al-jihaz al-sirri* (the secret apparatus), a unit of the most dedicated and active members on whom could be placed the primary burden of serving God and the message of the Brotherhood. The secret apparatus was rationalized as an instrument for the defense of Islam and the Brotherhood. In 1948, the secret apparatus assassinated a prominent judge. In addition, a secret apparatus weapons cache was discovered and confiscated just outside of Cairo. In response, some members of the Secret Apparatus assassinated the Prime Minister. At the beginning of the initiation of the Brotherhood, al-Banna denounced violence, however, he focused on physical training for all members. Further, Al-Banna justified violence against the colonizers. In addition, after things starting going bad with the government, he resorted to violence. Again during Nasser era, the Brotherhood resorted to violence after realizing that they will not be part of the new political system.

In October 1953, a member of the secret apparatus attempted to assassinate Nasser. In addition, the Brotherhood university students clashed with the police. However, the jihadist ideology was mostly emphasized at Nasser time through the ideas and writings of Sayed Qutub. His writings took on a far more radical and revolutionary tone subsequent to his prison experience, leading him to declare that Egyptian society was in a state of *jahiliyya*, or ignorance of God, and that leaders of the regime were apostates, or not true Muslims, and could be overthrown by force. Under the concept of *takfir*, to charge with being an infidel such people are no longer considered Muslims and thus are considered legitimate targets. After Nasser's death, the Brotherhood renounced violence. Al-Hudaybi was a moderate voice, rejecting the concept of *takfir* and shunning the use of violence in his book, *Duah la Qudah* (Missionaries, not Judges). His successor, Umar Tilmisani, who took over after al-Hudaybi's death in 1972, completely renounced violence as a domestic strategy altogether as a result of Sadat's allowing their increased participation in the political process. "If what is meant by *haraka* (movement) is to confront the regime by force and violence, then we believe that this is a futile use of the people's strength which benefits no one but the enemies of this country," Tilmisani said (Kepel 1993, 125). Since then, despite the repression of different regimes, the Brotherhood resisted the use of violence. The Brotherhood learned through its previous experience that violence usually brings more repression from the government. Up until January 25th the revolution renounced violence and tried not to intimidate the governments. In fact, they kept a steady relationship with Sadat and Mubarak, with some setbacks, but still they renounced violence and did not respond violently. PJD renounced violence since its initiation. MUR (The movement associated with PJD) reformed its position regarding the use of violence and democratic principles before participating in

the political process. After January 2011 and the rise of Muslim Brotherhood and PJD to power, violence was used by members of the Brotherhood and police forces against civilians. It was also used against governmental institutions like the Supreme Court and media city sieges, police officers, army officers, judges, the general prosecutor and many other cases where the Brotherhood militants were used. Violence also was used against civilians in Rabaa and El Nahda sit-ins where human rights reports indicated torture cases, which led sometimes to death. Violence and intimidation were also used against anti-Morsi supporters and Coptic Christians. However, violence was also insinuated in speeches made by Morsi supporters and members of the Muslim Brotherhood. PJD continued refraining from violence.

Imposing Sharia law

Al-Banna laid the foundation of the ideology of the Society and the substance of its appeal for the next ten years and beyond. These ideas were, essentially, a definition of how the Muslim Brotherhood conceptualized Islam with the insistence on 1) Islam as a total system, complete unto itself, and the final arbiter of life in all its categories; 2) an Islam formulated from and based on its two primary sources, the revelation in the Quran and the wisdom of the Prophet in the Sunna; and 3) an Islam applicable to all times and to all places. During Nasser's era, the Brotherhood repeatedly called for the application of Sharia. In 1976, the Brotherhood's efforts to promote the Sharia rule took two forms: first, pressing for an upgrade of the status of Sharia in Article 2 from "a primary source" to "the primary source" of legislation; and second, repeatedly petitioning parliament for the immediate repeal of laws that allegedly contradicted Sharia principles and, as such, violated the constitution itself. Brotherhood leaders elected to parliament took pains to stress that their participation did not imply their support for a democratic system in which

personal opinions of legislators trumped the Laws of God. In the 1984 Parliament, the Brotherhood continued to push for the application of Sharia and succeeded in making it a major focus of discussion for the People's Assembly and in fact, several sessions on the issue were held. A general consensus was reached in these sessions on the necessity of applying the Sharia in a gradual manner, beginning with the cleansing of the existing laws, that is the removal of elements of conflict with the Sharia rulings. In the 1987 Parliament, Brotherhood deputies repeatedly expressed their exasperation at the slow pace of the government's progress toward the application of Sharia and challenged the NDP majority to justify delay. Muhammad Tawfiq Qassim argued before the parliament in 1988, "Only the Creator knows what is best for his creations. Hence submission to the Sharia is not a choice; rather it is an obligation." Mashhour argued that through its representation in the parliament, the Brotherhood could achieve a "complete transformation in the thinking of all toward God and Sharia". The Brotherhood continued to rally for the application of Sharia law all through its history and in 2007, in their draft platform, the draft stressed on the Brotherhood's commitment to the eventual application of Sharia. JDP position on applying Sharia law evolved through the years. As they got more separate from MUR, their stand on imposing Sharia softened. This can be seen through the late 1990s parliamentary remarks where they devoted most of their effort to demanding the application of Sharia. However, as we move into the 2002 elections, their demands became more directed toward democracy as a way to apply Sharia. But their focus sifted and became more on democracy and welfare in the 2007 elections. This can be seen through the elections drafts of 2002 and 2007 discussed in chapter 4. For PJD, Sharia is understood through its appropriation of the particular era and society in which it operates; thus they reject literal interpretation of religious texts. Even MUR prominent

theoretician, Ahmed Raysouni argued, “religious understanding is in the hands of the people and thus its interpretation cannot be inscribed in one written document as a law of the state. Interpretation must always be in line with the basic principle of sharia, which is *maslaha* (collective good)” (Zeghal 2008, 189). He also firmly rejected the calls for an Islamic state, in clear contradiction to democracy. After January 2011, and the rise of both the Muslim Brotherhood and PJD to power, the Brotherhood imposed Sharia law in the constitution the way they saw it. Sharia was always part of the Egyptian constitution, however, it was phrased as “the principles of Sharia” as a source of legislation. The Brotherhood fought so hard to form the constitutional assembly to guarantee that the flavor of the new constitution will be more Islamic. They also wanted to make sure to remove the part that says “principles of Sharia” and make it “Sharia,” however, that would have made major difference in legislation later since the phrase “principles of Sharia” means “general guidelines”; however, the single word “Sharia” would be more open for interpretations of law makers. Also in his speech, as part of his presidential campaign in May 2012, Morsi said, “Sharia, then Sharia, then Sharia and that Sharia is our constitution.” The PJD maintained its position as prior to coming to power and did not try to impose Sharia on the Moroccan people.

Use of Religious Rhetoric to Advance their Cause

In the parliamentary elections of 1987, the Brotherhood formed an alliance with the Socialist Labor Party and Liberal Party to form the Islamic Alliance under the banner “Islam is the solution.” During the campaign period, which witnessed the greatest public displays of pro-Islamist sentiment in the history of the Egyptian parliamentary elections, the Brotherhood blanketed the country with posters carrying messages such as “Give your vote to Allah, Give it to the Muslim Brotherhood”. Until the 2000s, the

Brotherhood used more religious rhetoric in its campaigns, in parliament sessions and when addressing crowds. In contrast, PJD used the slogan “authenticity, development and justice” instead of using religious based slogans since they believed the former more appropriate for the Moroccan people. After rising to power, the use of religious rhetoric was used heavily under the Brotherhood. Everything was associated with Islam and Sharia. Campaigning for elections, promoting decrees, anything they needed to promote was done through religious rhetoric, which ended up making a crack in the Egyptian society whereby anyone against the Brotherhood was against Islam. The Brotherhood’s use of religious rhetoric was highlighted after they came to power. Even though it was not used when they were addressing Western media or Western officials, it was heavily used when addressing the people in Egypt or other Arab countries. Badia, the General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, went as far as describing Morsi’s impeachment as destroying al-Kaaba (the holy Muslim destination for pilgrimage in Makah). This speech linked Morsi’s supporters fight for Morsi to fighting for Islam. In promoting the Constitution in December 2012, the Brotherhood members and some of their extremists sheikhs claimed that they had visions of Morsi sitting with Prophet Mohamed. Egypt was never a polarized society, however, when the Muslim Brotherhood came to power, their framing of their legitimacy as something holy and Islamic, made everyone else *adew al-Allah* (enemy of God). In the aftermath of Morsi’s speech at a Syria conference, four Shiite were brutally slaughtered by extremists who claimed that they were defending Islam. The war on Islam became the common language used to defend the legitimacy of the Brotherhood. PJD maintained its moderate prior position even after coming to power.

Support for the Democratic Alteration of Power through Free and Fair Election

The Brotherhood supported participation in the electoral since the 1940s under the vision of al-Banna. All through their history, they participated in elections in student unions, associations, parliamentary and unions. Al-Banna was against the idea of having a political party because he believed that partisan politics caused division in the society and further, parties are a western innovation to weaken societies. Still the Brotherhood participated in different elections all through their history, with the exception of Nasser's time when they were banned and crashed. However, PJD always worked through the system as a political party participating in elections. After coming to power, the Brotherhood did participate in elections, but after Morsi became president, he refused to accept the electoral process or step down even though millions of people went down in protest asking him for early elections. The Brotherhood knew how to mobilize people to ballot box. Their experience during Sadat and Mubarak with mobilizing supporters gave them the advantage of producing the primary candidate after the fall of Mubarak. Morsi was considered to be the envoy of the Muslim Brotherhood at the presidential palace as people voted for him simply because he was a Brotherhood member. However, after parliamentary elections and maneuvers of the Brotherhood, their credibility decreased. As they approached the presidential elections, Morsi barely won with very small margin, less than 2%, even though he was running against Ahemd Shafik who was the last prime minister of the Mubarak government and a person heavily associated with the old regime. A lot of people voted for Morsi just because they did not want Shafik. After one year in power, the Brotherhood knew that they had no chance of winning in elections if they ran again. As people went down in millions calling for early elections, the Brotherhood could have saved the country and accepted the challenge by going to the ballot boxes again, but they knew that this time they had no chance in winning. For that reason, the

Brotherhood refused to give up and as Morsi told Sisi when asked to call for early elections “on my dead body.” Morsi even said in his last speech addressing the people, “...you will have to take my life before I step down.” So even though the Brotherhood used elections, it was not because they believed in democracy, rather it was they knew how to mobilize and get people to vote for them. However, when that was no longer a possibility, they refused to go to the ballot boxes again. On the other hand, the PJD claimed that they knew that if people went against them, they have to go back to the ballot boxes.

Greater Toleration of the Expression of Values and Perspectives (Arts, Literature, Film, Music)

The literature on the Brotherhood does not give much detail on their stand regarding cultural appreciation, however, members of the parliament during Sadat and Mubarak era demanded the shut down entertainment places, and directed the media, especially television, to protect “our sons and daughters and our wives.” The Brotherhood never really showed appreciation for music, art and literature as they considered most of it as non-Islamic. However, after coming to power in 2011, the Brotherhood’s attitude regarding culture was more expressive. The Brotherhood had no toleration for art, music and literature. Censorship of movies, music, programs, press were common. In contrast, the PJD maintained its position as prior to taking power whereby censorship of movies, plays, cancelling of music concerts was more common. But one of major demonstrations of censorship in Egypt was the firing of the director of the opera house. Following her dismissal, a case was filed in court to stop the ballet performances as they were encouraging nudity and contained sexual scenes. For the first time in the history of the Egyptian opera, the opera *Aida* was cancelled by the state and in response, the employees

protested until the new Brotherhood Minister of Culture was dismissed. For the Egyptian people, art and music are a valuable part of the culture and the opera house, which is the largest and oldest in the Arab world, is a symbol of Egypt's history. The Egyptians also are aware of the fact that the old opera house was burned down by Muslim Brotherhood members during the Nasser regime, so for many it's closing was another reminder of the past. On the other hand, PJD also rejected music and art in the late 1990s when they were more dependent on the MUR and therefore affected by their views. However, as they separated from MUR, their stand on art and culture changed. After 2011, PJD had no negative stand on toleration of values and perspective and encouraged music and art.

Individual Rights and Freedom / Equal Citizenship

In November 1979, the parliament was not in session; Sadat used his executive privilege to issue a new personal status law expanding the rights of women in marriage and divorce, a move that provoked bitter opposition from the Brotherhood. In 1985, Brotherhood deputies in the parliament, together with senior figures in the state religious establishment lobbied hard for the repeal of the progressive reform of Egypt's Personal Status Code that Sadat had issued by decree. However, in the same period, they condemned the extension of the country's Emergency Laws and protested the restrictive nature and laws governing the formation of political parties and the licensing of newspapers and journals, which they claimed, failed to guarantee all Egyptians citizens a voice in the country's affair. The Brotherhood's new emphasis on public freedoms and citizenship rights exhibited a clear instrumental logic, given that the primary victim of existing restrictions was the Brotherhood itself. The 1990s also witnessed some changes within the Brotherhood's position on women and non-Muslim minorities. For example, in 1994, the Brotherhood issued a statement "The Muslim Woman in Muslim Society,"

which asserted that the Quranic verses establishing the authority of men over women applied only to domain of the family and should be understood as a component of the reciprocal obligations of husband and wife (Wickham 2002). Further, while emphasizing the crucial roles women play in raising children and managing the home, it endorsed their right to work and participate in public affairs. The statement said women had the right to vote and to run as candidates in legislative elections finding nothing in Sharia that prohibits them from doing so (Wickham 2002). The statement, however, stated that women must be over forty, at which time most women have already completed the task of raising children. The statement also advised women to wear Islamic dress and to avoid any improper mixing with men (Wickham 2002). The second striking statement concerned non-Muslim minorities “Statement to the People” in 1995. The statement emphasized the Brotherhoods’ support of full citizenship rights for Egypt’s Coptic Christians, noting that they have the same rights and duties as Muslims; however, Coptic citizens should be barred from top positions in the army to ensure complete loyalty in confronting Christian states and should be expected to pay *jizya* (the tax historically paid by minority religious communities in return for their protection). In 2007, the Brotherhood released a new draft party platform as an attempt to demonstrate what a Brotherhood manifesto would look like. While affirming the citizenship rights of women and Coptic Christians, the platform barred them from running for presidency. Again, in the late 1990s, PJD was still under the influence of MUR and their stand on women rights was vague. However, they were against women not covering their heads and the wearing of swim wear on the beaches. But in 2002 election proposals, the rights of women on the agenda; however, it was in the proposal of the 2007 parliamentary elections, where the party explicitly addressed women rights as equal to men as discussed in chapter 6. They

also recognized minority groups and their languages. PJD members argued that one of the party's priorities was gradual empowerment of women in the country. However, the party had so far engaged only in advocating laws against violence on women, laws advocating equality of women and men in the workplace and the gradual ban on the work of underage women, but that changed in the 2007 election proposal where women were given equal rights. Current leader Benkirane also argued that PJD had no intention of attacking those who drink alcohol or dictating to women what they should wear. After January 2011, attacks on Copts and the harassment of women in Egypt were intense under the Brotherhood. In fact, one of the tools of violence used by the state against Morsi protestors was rape. Members of the Brotherhood would abduct female protestors from Tahrir square and rape them. In addition to sexual harassment, women rights in the 2011-2012 Constitution, drafted by Islamists, were vague. In contrast, PJD maintained its position as prior to taking power regarding women rights and minority groups.

Working within State Institutions

Up until 2011, the Brotherhood worked within state institutions. However, they were opposed to registering the Brotherhood as a charitable organization. They thought about starting their own party, but their request was denied by different regimes. However, after January 2011, they were allowed to have their own party-a political arm for the Muslim brotherhood. They did not respect court orders as made clear when Morsi ordered the dissolved parliament to hold its meetings after becoming president. Currently, the dissolved parliament is holding sessions in Turkey. Brotherhood supporters did hold siege of governmental institutions like the Supreme Court and media city. In addition, Morsi's advisor Essam el-Haddad met with Iranian intelligence to start an intelligence apparatus outside the Egyptian military control. El-Shater, the most

influential member of the Brotherhood, gave orders to police officials asking for information without having an official position in the government. By the end of Morsi's year in power, most of the country's institutions were not cooperating with him. On the other hand, PJD announced from the first day that they would be working within the country's institutions.

Looking at the previous criteria, when it comes to behavioral moderation, the Brotherhood moderated in refraining from violence, participated in elections, and worked through state institutions. However, when considering ideological moderation, the Brotherhood's stand on applying Sharia did not change. Their stand on individual rights and freedom also remained the same. They still looked at women and Coptic Christian as different from the rest of the society. While they may have acknowledged equal citizenship, the Brotherhood's claim that they cannot run for the presidency demonstrates inequality, for example. As can be seen in the case of Morocco, PJD had to count on its local context only for survival since it has no transnational ties. As their leader said "if we fail, there are other parties". They understood their national context and rejected the idea of imposing Sharia and refrained from the use of religious rhetoric since it would not resonate with the Moroccan people. Accordingly, PJD is a national party associated with a national movement MUR, and as such, they had to moderate both on the behavioral and ideological level to survive within the system. Interestingly, after coming to power in 2011, the Brotherhood did not work with state institutions. They did not respect court orders. They did not respect law whereas PJD maintained its position as prior to taking power and respected the national institutions. They continued to work within the system not against the system.

Conclusion

As illustrated above, the international community used all kind of pressure against Egypt after June 30, 2013. However, the international community did not respond to what was happening in Egypt when the Muslim Brotherhood was in power. As violence escalated in Egypt during the year when the Brotherhood was in power, the international community was silent. The West turned a blind eye to events in Egypt between 2011 to June 30 2013. On the other hand, envoys from Europe and United States visited Egypt several times after the impeachment of Morsi and met with the Brotherhood members both in prison and outside of prison including the Ashton meeting with Morsi in July. The events of June 30, 2013 were framed by the West as a coup, unlike those of January 25, 2011, which were framed as a revolution. The network of the Muslim Brotherhood in Europe and the United States had developed influence and connections with Western governments after September 11, 2001, where they began to be considered as allies to the West in fighting terrorism. Members of the Muslim Brotherhood in The United States, Britain, and Germany were considered as consultants and sometimes used by Western governments to communicate with terrorist groups, for example, as mentioned earlier in chapter 3, when Anas el-Takriti, an Iraqi Muslim Brotherhood member in England and the son of the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood branch in Iraq, helped in setting a British journalist free from terrorist groups in 2003. This link between the Brotherhood and the West made the West turn a blind eye on events in Egypt when the Brotherhood was in power. This support from the West allowed the Brotherhood abuse their power and not moderate or have an inclusive government. Instead, the Brotherhood wanted to control all institutions by the *ikhwan-ization* of the institutions. It also made room to establish a parallel intelligence apparatus parallel to the military with the help of Iran. The excess use of violence between 2011 and June 2013 by Brotherhood militants resulted in a

chaotic situation in the country. When Morsi issued a decree in December to put all his decisions above the law, and people went down in thousands to protest, the West did not react. This gave the Brotherhood even more confidence to continue using their power to take control of all the institutions in the country. Even after Morsi's impeachment, the support from the West with all the sanctions and pressure on Egypt gives hope to the Muslim Brotherhood that they can still come back to power. In January 2015, they met with members of the State Department and White House officials to discuss their struggle against the coup in Egypt and, according to Brotherhood members, the meeting was "fruitful." They are still promoting their cause in Europe and meet with officials. They broadcast their television channels and promote their cause from Turkey and Britain. They are also holding sessions in Turkey with the dissolved 2011-1012 Parliament and find refuge in Qatar and Turkey. So why would they moderate if they can have alternatives and still put pressure on the Egyptian government? As a transnational social movement, they have a network in every country where they control mosques and Islamic institutions. They can mobilize Muslims in the West if they decide to do so. On the other hand, PJD as a non-transnational party had to moderate and work within the system because they do not have the same transnational network that can help them promote their cause. To sum up, the Muslim Brotherhood, as a strong transnational movement, overall, was less moderate in its behavior and ideology than Moroccan PJD. Desire for self-preservation moderated their behavior before obtaining power. They have moderated their behavior to be part of the political system, however no ideological moderation was observed. On the other hand, in Morocco, PJD had to moderate both its behavior and ideology to maintain its position within the political system. After getting to power, the Brotherhood, did not experience any behavioral or ideological moderation.

Using their transnational network, the Muslim Brotherhood is able to promote its cause to the international community, which results in more pressure on the Egyptian government. Up until today, they have a parliament and delegations that meet EU and Whitehouse officials. As a transnational political movement, the Muslim Brotherhood are less likely to moderate and go back to be part of the political system in Egypt cause they can put pressure through EU an US government.

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