

The History of the Muslim Brotherhood

The Political, Social and Economic Transformation of the Arab Republic of Egypt

Michelle Paison

We in the West find it incomprehensible that theological ideas still inflame the minds of men, stirring up messianic passions that can leave societies in ruin. We had assumed that this was no longer possible, that human beings had learned to separate religious questions from political ones, that political theology died in 16th-century Europe. We were wrong.¹

Islam is no longer exclusively a religion, but an ideology that provides a total framework for all aspects of political, social, economic, and cultural life in the Muslim world. Although Islam has continuously demonstrated the theme of resurgence throughout its history in response to the internal and external forces that challenge Muslim faith and society, the assertion of Islamism has strongly reemerged. Discontent is evident through the gradual movement towards Islamist ideology, whether or not the idea of Islam strongly resonates among the populous. Individuals, despondent from the suppression of alternatives from oppressive regimes, look towards change. Organizations, such as the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, provide clear examples of the greater trend developing throughout the region of the Middle East and North Africa. The political power and social influence held by the Brotherhood capitalizes on the Arab Republic of Egypt's failure to support its peoples. Subsequently the dissatisfied population turns to a movement that has the ability to provide the necessary services for survival; Islamism. This increasing development is pushing moderate, mainstream Islam into the realm of radicalism through means of desperation.

Part of the emergence of neorevivalism, the Muslim Brotherhood, established by Hassan al-Banna in 1928, saw the Islamic community at a critical crossroads and insisted that Muslims would find strength in the total self-sufficiency of Islam.

Our duty as Muslim Brothers is to work for the reform of selves, of hearts and souls by joining them to God the all-high; then to organize our society to be fit for the virtuous community which commands the

good and forbids evil-doing, then from the community will arise the good state.²

The Muslim Brotherhood initially began as a twofold movement for the reform of both the individual and social morality.³ Through its considerable political significance the Brotherhood broadened its goals and grew in strength and number through the support of the populous in order to challenge the secular leadership within The Arab Republic of Egypt.⁴ A Sunni religious movement, the Muslim Brotherhood stresses that Islam is a comprehensive ideology for personal and public life, and subsequently the foundation for Muslim state and society. These principles provide the community with the basic services for a healthy livelihood, while remaining consistent with the teachings of the faith. Using revivalist logic they called for a return to the Qur`an and the *Sunna* and the practice of the early community to establish an Islamic state and system of government through means of preaching the unity of *din*, religion, and *dawla*, the state. According to the principles of the Brotherhood no distinction is to be drawn between religious and secular law, or the citizen and the believer thus establishing a single state and society governed by Islam.⁵ Through the creation of various organizations such as medical clinics, hospitals, charitable societies, cultural associations, and schools the Muslim Brotherhood is able to display the ways in which Islam fits into the structures of everyday life.⁶

The founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hassan al-Banna, provided an organization that prepared people with means of political expression as well as a positive direction towards social advancement through Islam. The movement called attention to the notion that a society devoted to salvation produces virtuous citizens willing to relinquish individual gain to the collective group. This allowed the finest people to emerge as societal rulers, justifying the individual's attainment of power through the belief that one is merely serving the greater good of Islam and its peoples.⁷

Born in 1906 within the providence of *Buhrya* in Egypt, Hassan al-Banna was raised in a strict religious setting.⁸ Despite the fact that his father was an *Imam*, Banna held an early interest in Sufism and was a member of the *Dhikr* circle as well as the *Hasafiyyah* Sufi Order until his departure for Cairo, Egypt in the year 1923.⁹ Egypt, the most populated nation in the Arab world, was an intellectual center that set a precedent for the remainder of the third-world nations as the first to experience sustained modernization and Westernization post-colonialism.¹⁰ Hassan al-Banna was deeply impacted during his training in Cairo at the *Dar al-Ulum* upon witnessing the un-Islamic practices that were ramped in his nation's capital.

No one by God knows how many nights we [Banna and comrades] spent reviewing the state of the nation... analyzing the sickness,

and thinking of the possible remedies. So disturbed were we that we reached the point of tears.¹¹

After graduating from the *Dar al-Ulum* in 1927, Banna embarked on a teaching career in the state school system while simultaneously fostering ideas for a collective action in the service of Islam. Banna vowed to become “a counselor and a teacher” giving himself to both children and adults in order to teach the “objectives of religion and the sources of their well-being and happiness in life.”¹² In reaction to the secular movement of Westernization, Banna aspired to provide an alternative path to modernization and material development. Throughout the centuries that were molded around colonialism, promoters of modernization assumed that science, technology, urbanization and the prospect of education would “disenchant” the charmed world of believers.¹³ However,

[l]iberalism and Western-style democracy have not been able to help realize the ideals of humanity. Today these two concepts have failed. Those with insight can already hear the sounds of shattering and fall of the ideology and thoughts of the liberal democratic systems... Whether we like it or not, the world is gravitating towards faith in the Almighty and justice and the will of God will prevail over all things.¹⁴

Adhering to the prospect of God’s omnipotence, Hassan al-Banna together with six friends founded *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimoon*, the Muslim Brotherhood, in the year 1928. The Brotherhood took the oath to be “troops [*jund*] for the message of Islam...brothers in the service of Islam; hence, we are the Muslim Brothers.”¹⁵ The group emulated modern, political components, incorporating these ideals slowly into the rise of Islam. This task was made easier through use of the various outlets the movement controlled including its own youth groups, schools, and media, all of which focused upon improving the aspects of society that Banna demanded change from.¹⁶ Banna assumed the title of the *Murshi-e-Aam*, or Supreme Guide, the highest position within the organization. The membership of the Muslim Brotherhood is arranged in hierarchal order where roles and responsibilities are skillfully allocated in order to implement Islamic order in Egyptian life.¹⁷

In the year 1932 the Muslim Brotherhood’s headquarters were moved to Cairo in order to include a larger cross section of Egyptian society intending to incorporate civil servants, urban leaders, students, and peasants. Hassan al-Banna’s philosophy revolved around establishing credibility within the diverse masses. He emphasized the idea that God, Allah, demands that his followers step away from the developing trend which calls for believers to

surrender to humility or accept a submissive role out of despair; “For when we work for mankind in God’s way, we work harder for ourselves, we are for You and no one else, Beloved, nor shall we ever be against You, even for a day.”¹⁸ Banna stressed the concept that when mankind accepts defeat and mistreatment, Allah is the one who is truly being mistreated. This assertion targets the group of individuals that yearn for God’s blessings and salvations; Muslims. Banna aimed to steer Muslim society away from the aspects of society that added stress to the relationship between Muslims and God, which he defined as:

...the civilization of the West, which was brilliant by virtue of its scientific perfection for a long time, and which subjugated the whole world with the products of this science to its states and nation, is now bankrupt and in decline. Its foundations are crumbling, and its institutions and guiding principles are falling apart. Its political foundations are being destroyed by dictatorship: and its economic foundations are being swept by crises.¹⁹

Hassan al-Banna aspired to mend these failures grounded in Western ideology through the straight path of Islam.

Realizing the impossibilities of merging the consensus of all Muslims in the major points of contention within both religious and the societal life, through use of the Muslim Brotherhood, Banna strove to discover the sociological aspects that are imperative to uphold the existence of the faith. Believing that the concept of *jihad*, the internal and external effort to secure the future of the faith, is a religious duty that every Muslim has responsibility in performing, Banna painted an image of a society in which all members live moral and righteous lives under the banner of Islam:

We believe that Islam is an all embracing concept which regulates every aspect of life, adjudicating on everyone its concerns and prescribing for it a solid and rigorous order it does not stand helpless before life’s problems, nor the steps one must take to improve mankind... There he will understand what the Qur’ān is about and, we will see right there the mission of the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁰

The Muslim Brotherhood promised to provide the Egyptian society with the means necessary to stand independently, without the influence of the West, through the use of Islam and the path that God provides.

Hassan al-Banna was not only critical of the West and the debilitating ideals it deposited upon the Arab and Muslim world, but also of the state of the third-

world and its inability to create its own successes. Banna called upon the message of the Muslim Brotherhood to relieve the East from this tumultuous relationship:

The disease afflicting these Eastern nations assumes a variety of aspects and has many symptoms. It has done harm to every expression of their lives, for they have been assailed on the political side by imperialist aggression on the part of their enemies, and by factionalism, rivalry, division and disunity on the part of their sons. They have been assailed on the economic side by the propagation of usurious practices throughout all their social classes, and the exploitation of their resources and natural treasures by foreign companies...while through imitation of the West, the viper's venom creeps insidiously into their affairs, poisoning their blood and sullyng the purity of their well-being...But God and the believers will not tolerate this. Brother this is the diagnosis which the Brotherhood make of the ailments of this *Umma*, and this is what they are going in order to cure it of them and to restore it is lost health and strength.²¹

The rejection of Western imperialism directly paralleled the development of the movement's rapid growth, indicative of the Brotherhood's popularity. Within twenty years the group's membership totaled two million people and the movement had established approximately 2,000 branches across the country.²² The organization, and centralized pyramidal structure of the Muslim Brotherhood, attributed strongly to the successes of the movement. The group "reinterpreted Islamic history and tradition to respond to the sociohistorical conditions of the twentieth century."²³ This continued extension of the network and its connections to religious, district, and local organizations and institutions further propagated the movement and its ideals, propelling the Muslim Brotherhood headfirst into the future of the state.

On February 12, 1949, Hassan al-Banna was assassinated by the secret police in broad daylight on the overpopulated streets of Egypt.²⁴ After Banna was killed, the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood landed in the hands of competent men such as Hassan al-Hodaybi who was elected as *Murshie-Aam* of the movement. The Brotherhood chose an outsider, the respected judge al-Hudaybi, to succeed Banna in order to prevent a single faction from dominating the group.²⁵ Nevertheless, one of the most important men within the movement, as well as one of the most influential men of his time, was Sayyid Qutb.

As Hassan al-Banna is viewed as the founder of the movement that is the Muslim Brotherhood, Sayyid Qutb is considered to have been the creator of its dogma. Qutb influenced the minds of the peoples through his

writings, which are considered to be essential reading to discuss any aspect concerning the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁶ Qutb was born in 1906 in the district of Egypt called *Assiut* and began his official education at *Tajhizia Darul Uloom*, a secondary school in Cairo. He completed his education at Cairo University in 1933 where he earned a bachelor's degree in education.²⁷ Upon his appointment as the inspector of Schools in the Ministry of Education he embarked upon the study of the modern system of education and traveled to the United States. This visit proved to be a catalyst in Qutb's life as he encountered "the dreadfulness of materialism". Returning to Egypt in 1945, he joined the Muslim Brotherhood. His brilliant work began to be noticed as early as 1952 when he was placed in charge of the movement's Department of Propagation of the Message and was the editor-in-chief of the official journal of the Brotherhood called *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimoon*, or the Muslim Brotherhood.²⁸

Utilizing his position as editor, Sayyid Qutb publicly opposed the Anglo-Egyptian Pact that Gamal Abdel Nasser, the first president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, entered into with the British government in July of 1954. The military reacted to Qutb's opposition statements by banning *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimoon* in September of that same year.²⁹ The conflict that arose concerning the movement's official journal frightened the military and authoritarian regime who began to fear that the movement's influence on the masses would corrode its own chance of remaining in power. The following year, in 1955, Sayyid Qutb was arrested and sentenced to fifteen years in prison where he wrote some of his most influential works including *Fi Zilal al-Qur'an (Under the Shade of the Qur'an)*, a commentary compiled under the extreme suffering he encountered within the Egyptian prison system.³⁰ Released at the request of the former president of Iraq, Abdus Salam Arif, only to be imprisoned again, Qutb was hanged August 29, 1966, along with two other prominent Muslim Brotherhood leaders, Muhammad Yuseuf Awash and Abd al-Fattah Ismail. Qutb's death occurred shortly before the publication of his book *Ma Alim Fil Tareeq (Milestones)*, which is still read as an invitation, calling the people to a revolution in the name of Allah against all of those who suppress His will.³¹

Despite the tremendous loss suffered by the Muslim Brotherhood upon the death of Sayyid Qutb, his writings remain influential to this day. His most prominent, and well-read works are those concerning a *jahil* (ignorant), society, unjust "because their way of life is not based on submission to God alone."³² Such societies are a result of man's exploitations of his fellow man. Islam is a religion which advocates "a universal declaration of the freedom of man from servitude to other men and from servitude to his own desires."³³

Those living a *jahilyyah* lifestyle, namely in a state of ignorance, seek power through domination and mistreatment of others. Therefore, as Sayyid Qutb prescribed within his powerful writings and Hassan al-Banna epitomized through example, Islam must fight against this society from two fronts: the individual and the collective.

At the individual level, one is called to purge from within all the evil that influence mankind because “[o]ur primary purpose is to know what way of life is demanded of us by the Qurʾān ... We must free ourselves from the clutches of *Jahili* traditions and leadership. Our mission is not to compromise with the practices of *Jahili* society, nor can we be loyal to it... Our foremost objective is to change the practice of this society.”³⁴ At the collective level the fight against evil must continue through Islamic movements such as that of the Muslim Brotherhood. Such a struggle is legitimized through the idea of *Jihad*, promoted by Banna and Qutb, for Islam is:

a declaration of the freedom of man from servitude to other men and as such it recognizes that conflict is essential in human interaction for the *Dar al-Islam* (House of Islam) is the place where the Islamic state is established with the implementation of the *Shariah*. The rest of the world is *Dar ul-Harb* (House of War) with which Muslims can have only two relations: either to have peace with it on the basis of a contractual agreement or be at war with it.³⁵

Providing this juxtaposition makes the notion of rebelling against what is considered to be “evil” a simplistic notion that further permeates the “us” versus “them” mentality so prevalent within the colonialist society. This mindset capitalizes on the resentment of the rising regime and further propagates the movement through community involvement.

Gamal Abdel Nasser overthrew Egypt’s constitutional monarchy in a military coup on July 23, 1952.³⁶ The Free Officer’s movement opposed the British occupation in the Arab Republic of Egypt and called for the end of foreign domination that controlled Egyptian politics, economy, and culture. Nasser remained in power from 1954 to 1970.³⁷ Nasser initially emphasized the shift towards “Authoritarian-populism,” an ideology that emerged during the era of decolonialization in the region of the Middle East and North Africa as a product of a nationalist reaction against imperialism.³⁸ The Muslim Brotherhood played a prominent role in overthrowing the monarchy of King Farouk in conjunction with the Free Officer’s Revolution. Based on their efforts the Brotherhood soon began exerting pressure on Nasser’s regime to implement Islamic order and uplift society from the morass of indignity and subjugation that were the vested interests of the imperialism from which

they successfully seceded.

The Muslim Brotherhood provided a considerable amount of support to the revolutionary current running through the country. The movement was originally welcomed into the revolution due to the prominence Banna placed on liberating the country from the quagmire of humiliation established through Egypt's suppression. However, the group became one of the revolution's main victims after being officially outlawed as an opposition party when a member of the Brotherhood attempted to assassinate Nasser in the year 1954. This single action was the first significant challenge the group faced, thus providing the Brotherhood with momentum in order to propel the movement into the forefront of the political landscape.³⁹

By the mid-1950s, all independent political groups were prohibited. Those that survived the repression were forced underground, limiting their access to the general public. Although Nasser claimed to represent the oppressed *sha'b*, or people, a disproportionate amount of state resources and funding were channeled into the urban, educated youth. Nasser believed this demographic population to be the greatest threat to his regime; therefore, he reasoned that appeasing them would sedate political efforts.⁴⁰ Attempting to ease the frustrations of the deprived youth, Nasser utilized the ability of the authoritarian regime to generate powerful disincentives for political participation. Based on the reality that efforts are futile within such demanding regimes and imprisonment is probable, why is the high-risk activism demonstrated through the labors of the Brotherhood attractive?

While the tangible entity of the Brotherhood was purged by Nasser, the ideology of the movement remained. Not to be annihilated by the means of torture, imprisonments and executions, the members of the Muslim Brotherhood endured. After Nasser's death on September 28, 1970, his successor Anwar Sadat reversed several of his predecessor's policies. This included the act of solidifying his hold on the popular power by reaching out to Islamists by releasing many from prison. The Brotherhood acted on its temporary freedom and in its attempt to unify the nation created a new slogan: "Religion is for God and the Nation is for all."⁴¹ This statement concentrated on the movement's upward mobility and functioned to aid Sadat in his quest to utilize religion as a means toward reaching the people. The Muslim Brotherhood would remain illegal, but individual members were granted limited access to the public sector if they agreed to renounce the violent overthrow of the regime. This included the ability to form Islamic Societies and the right to run for election to parliament.⁴²

Under Sadat's regime, the Muslim Brotherhood consolidated its position and embarked upon a phenomenal reemergence that Sadat continued

to use to his advantage, thus beginning a process of “de-Nasserization.”⁴³ Sadat declared Nasser’s rule as “the reign of materialism and atheism.”⁴⁴ Regardless of the fact that Sadat was as opposed to the Islamic movement as his predecessor, he sought the help of the Brotherhood to legitimize his rule in order to combat the left-wing opposition and pro-Nasser groups. By 1972, tremendous pressure had been placed on Sadat by the movement for the Islamization of Egypt. The movement coveted the imposition of *shariah* penalties in cases of crimes such as adultery and theft. The rising tide of Islam could no longer be contained. Fearful of losing power, Sadat began to arrest and ban official publications, such as *al-Dawa*, for publicly criticizing his regime. The government proceeded to take control of over 40,000 privately owned mosques; all prayer leaders were required to register with the state, which prohibited Friday sermon without clearance from Ministry of *Waqfs*, or Religious Affairs.⁴⁵

The late 1960s to the early 1970s proved a turning point in the spread of religious revivalism. Religion became a visible force for several reasons; Muslims began to experience a loss of identity powered by a sense of failure. Exemplified through the 1967 war, the Middle East was in a state of decline despite its independence from colonial rule. “What has gone wrong in Islam?” it was asked; and in searching for an answer, it was concluded that Islam had not abandoned Muslims, but it was the Muslim people who had failed Islam. Muslims must return to Islam, to the straight path that Muhammad had established in the seventh century. The newfound sense of pride and power that developed from the Arab-Israeli War, the oil embargo, and the Iranian Revolution of 1979 led to a quest for a more authentic identity rooted in an Islamic past.

The Muslim Brotherhood continued to capitalize on the notion of Islam as a force. Movement leaders began to publicly promote a greater amount of values and commitments as the basis for political action. The massive ideological practice was designed to capture the hearts and minds of political recruits through the use of *da’wa*. This “call to God” promotes the new age activists’ conception of Islam. *Da’wa* claims that the duty of every Muslim lies in the participation in reforming the Islamic society.⁴⁶ This concept was made successful within the sociopolitical environment of *sha’bi* neighborhoods, where crowded apartment-style building lined the narrow, unpaved streets of the city. Islamic activism concentrated its efforts at institution building. Activists’ outreach focused around these particular neighborhoods based on the need for aspects of societal advancements, such as adequate schools, hospitals, and youth clinics, that were insufficient or simply not being provided by the regime.⁴⁷ Although the individuals that professed the *da’wa*

generally lacked any kind of formal religious training, the interpretation and profession concerning the idea of Islam as a viable force for change was infinitely appealing to the people of the religion. Revolving around the idea that believers must begin by reforming themselves, the movement would expand into the reformation of society. The Muslim Brotherhood began to cover broader sectors of the city and embarked upon enlightening fellow Muslims on the responsibilities that Islam has to the community.

The form of recruiting that the Muslim Brotherhood most frequently utilized was intimacy. By reaching out to friends and family structures, a foundation of familiarity was established. Islamic recruitment is based on pre-existing societal ties while at the same time fostering a new kind of solidarity based on shared values.⁴⁸ Such values were propagated through individual attention and recruitment, and were used to establish a parallel means of involvement through the use of Islamic institutions. The Muslim Brotherhood spread Islamism through lectures, lessons and various media, including books, newspapers, magazines and tapes. The most important source of effective transmission, though, remained the Islamic mosque. The Brotherhood highlights that the religion of Islam calls for individuals to assume responsibility for the condition of the *umma*, or community. The mosque was viewed as the ideal setting to establish the belief that the full application of Islam is possible only through the establishment of an Islamic state.⁴⁹

The setting of the mosque demonstrated valuable features that aided in the Brotherhood's objectives. Amidst the prayer of the elders and the intense devotion made visible through attendance, the religion provided unity within the community. The believer could readily conform to the conviction that only through the return to Islam can the Muslim society regain the power to confront the suppressive regime. The gathering space the mosque provides bestows sanctuary to various age groups that seek its influence. The Brotherhood called for Muslim youths to place themselves in an atmosphere where they will be constantly reminded of the rewards and punishments of the afterlife. This was accomplished through evening prayer and Friday services. As *Duties of the Muslim Youth*, a pamphlet by Dr. Magdi al-Hilali, says, "The afterlife will influence his world and concentrate our concerns into one united concern, and that is the fear of the Day of Judgment."⁵⁰ Aiding in the advancement of Islamic principles were several brilliant techniques including the production of pamphlets; the thirty to sixty pages of Islamic rhetoric were designed to be read in a single sitting. These brochures employed Hassan al-Banna's original speeches, which converged the concept of how a full commitment to Islam would translate into practice

and would reform society.

The various pamphlets targeted the youth and called for the transformation of the present generation into a “generation characterized by a sense of Islamic belonging and adherence to its principles.”⁵¹ The practice of pamphlet distribution proved so effective, confirmed through a sizeable popular uprising, that the group carried on a “full scale pamphlet war with the government, printing and distributing as the occasion arose.”⁵² The government acknowledged the danger that lay within the pamphlet: the threat of application of Islamic principles to the totality of an individual’s life. Upon the individual’s submission, the Brotherhood became equipped to spread the message to others, extending the faith to peers, and completing the seven stages set forth by the teachings within the pamphlet. Demonstrated through the presentation of the *da’I*, or one who presents the *da’wa*, Islamist movements make it an obligation to reform society.⁵³ As *Duties of the Muslim Youth* explains, “Human nature is intent on self-aggrandizement and vanity and love of the world and hatred of death, on greed and lustful desire and envy. This God has asked us to struggle against it.”⁵⁴ Islamist outreach designed and proceeded to change the direction of the youth by promoting new values, identities and commitments. The Muslim Brotherhood influenced not only how the individuals within the faith path of Islam should pursue their goals, but instituted what their goals should be. The movement thus began to facilitate change through the implementation of a Muslim society utilizing programs in education, charity and social activities.

Transferring religious beliefs through a well-defined system broadens the scope of religious authority and redraws the boundaries of a political community. Islamist movements adhere to the belief that all modern socio-political ideologies, being man-made, elevate the sovereignty of the individual over the Divine and therefore cannot succeed in forging a truly just society. As Ray Takeyh and Nikolas Gvosdev put it, “The influence of Islam is determined by the fact that this religion is in essence a national phenomenon ... insofar as the bulk of the population are Muslims, it is only natural that the influence of Islam on the sociopolitical life ... is significant.”⁵⁵ Islamism sees itself as a complete and total ideology rooted in the Islamic experience and the desire for a spiritual renewal. Although morality is an essential component of any religious influence, Islamism is geared towards political action. Takeyh and Gvosdev go on to say, “Islamism is the sum total of intellectual, economic, cultural, and political activities which spring from the comprehensive Islamic viewpoint, in order to support them in theory and apply them in practice in all spheres of life with the objective of establishing a new political and cultural identity”⁵⁶.

The military officers that seized power in Egypt in the year 1952 guaranteed advancements within the Egyptian society, including complete national sovereignty, economic growth and social justice. These demands required political unity and consensus throughout the community of leaders. Fearing resistance to the political programs at hand, the Free Officers dissolved all political parties by the following year. The Muslim Brotherhood was originally exempt from this ruling due to its status as a “non-political,” religious association.⁵⁷ Beginning in the 1970s and accelerating into the 1980s, a significant change took place regarding the political orientation of the educated youth in Egypt. The Islamist movement began calling for political freedom and social justice by promoting opposition activism within universities. As its approach materialized, the movement then spilled into wider arenas of public life.⁵⁸ Islamic activism assumed the role of gradual institution building, which channeled citizens into opposition politics. The authoritarian power had previously silenced its youth by the stringent economic, political, and ideological principles incorporated by the Nasser regime. The end of Nasser’s era was marked with economic recession, military defeat and political crisis, providing the Muslim Brotherhood with the ideal setting to parade into the political scene. The formerly silent population found its voice through the reaction against the regime’s failures to deliver what had been promised to it, and it found its means of rebellion through the movement of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The most significant aspect of revivalism since the late 1970s is that it had become part of moderate, mainstream life within society. The cry for Islam was met by the educated and the uneducated, the young and the old, the peasants and the professionals, women and men. Islamism serves as a catalyst for change. Islam provided a sense of identity as well as a common set of religious-cultural values and legitimacy that effectively mobilized the population to revolt. By the mid-1980s, the Muslim Brotherhood, still the largest organization of the Islamic movement’s reformist wing, submitted a list of candidates in the election for leadership within the country’s national professional associations and succeeded in gaining a controlling majority on the boards of several associations.⁵⁹ The prospect for mobilization found within the victories of these individual members seemed conducive to the concurrent revolt of a large number of graduate students who found themselves blocked from upward mobility. Lack of promised jobs was a primary reason for this support. However, the frustration of the youth did not automatically give rise to Islamic activism. The reason Islamist groups were able to assemble themselves into the political arena in a semi-open authoritarian regime proved to be the language of political theology which

enabled millions to pursue the goal of sheltering the whole of humanity under God's authority.⁶⁰ Muslim leaders had used Islam as a political instrument over the centuries, and the political scene of the twentieth-century world of Islam was no different.⁶¹

Nevertheless, the argument remains that Islamism is a hollow ideology, capable of formatting rebellion and channeling unrest and popular support but fundamentally flawed in terms of providing a workable template for governance.⁶² Radical Islamism certainly destabilizes and disrupts a society by utilizing violence and terror. Its ideologies are ineffective concerning its long-term objectives. Such groups are unable to wield enough power in order to construct viable political and economic institutions based solely on their utopian views of Islam. In the popular mindset, Islamism can be any application of Islamic principle to social or political life. The fundamentalist or Islamist label has been "attached to groups as diverse as Hamas, in Israel/Palestine; Hizbollah in Lebanon ... the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Jordan and Syria."⁶³ Radical Islam is a distinct political force that provides an idealistic message that rejects the status quo and employs violence to further its political and social agenda. Understanding the differences between the ideology behind Islamism and the vehement practice found within fundamentalism is one of the most urgent intellectual and political tasks of the present time. The case of contemporary Islam is "suffused with anger and ignorance as to be paralyzing. All we hear are alien sounds, motivating unspeakable acts. If we ever hope to crack the grammar and the syntax of political theology," we must educate ourselves in the variants that separate radical Islamism and Islamist creed.⁶⁴ Where radical movements have taken control, their authority is increasingly being undermined by a crisis of legitimacy based on their inability to deliver on the promise of a just and fair society. However, the Muslim Brotherhood, as a moderate "extremist" movement, possesses the facilities to seize control over the modern state and construct an effective alternative to the present model of governing. The Brotherhood proved themselves capable in meeting both the political and economic problems faced by the Muslim world, including the tribulations of lack of economic development, the need to modernize the infrastructure, and the desire to extend the basic social and political freedoms.⁶⁵

Gamal Nasser did not deny Islam a place within the political structure of his regime. The former president of Egypt attempted to gain the support of pious Muslims by incorporating Islamic precepts into his governing ideology:

We are endowed with a spiritual force and faith in God and a sense of

brotherhood, which fit us to open a chapter in the history of mankind like that chapter which our forefathers opened 1,300 years ago. Why should we not once again give the world a message of peace and mercy, of brotherhood and equality.⁶⁶

Nasser incorporated the concept of Islam into his “pan-Arabist” ideology. The perception behind Arab nationalism brought the president into direct encounter with Islamism. The president evoked the religion of Islam as the common bond between individuals concerning both historical and religious commonalities, which played a role in shaping Arab unity. Nonetheless, the Muslim Brotherhood “opposed Nasser’s Arabism as an anti-Islamic attempt to draw distinctions within the *umma*” and it criticized the lack of attention to classical Arabic, the language of the Qur’ān.⁶⁷ Despite his attempt to exploit the group’s tenets, Nasser continued to suppress the Brotherhood and its rising power and influence over the people of the Arab Republic of Egypt.

The authoritarian regime closely monitors the activity of the legal opposition parties, preventing them from developing into effective vehicles of political representation and thus challenging the existing power. When the reign of Nasser came to an end, Sadat implemented the 1977 Political Parties Law, excluding parties based on class, religious or regional affiliation. This action was performed with the unstated intention to curb the two groups with the greatest capacity for political mobilization and the greatest capacity to be overwhelming threats to his regime, the Nasserists and the Muslim Brotherhood.⁶⁸ The populace’s reaction demonstrated in response to this ruling is accredited with Egypt’s transition to a multiparty system. The distrust stemming from the confining nature of the government lasted until Sadat’s successor, Hosni Mubarak, exhibited the commitment toward expanding the freedom of opposition parties, whose number expanded to thirteen by the mid-1980s. Despite remaining banned, the Muslim Brotherhood was allowed to partake in the 1984 and 1987 elections under the Wafd and Labor parties or as independent candidates.⁶⁹ Nonetheless, the multiparty system created by Nasser’s successors did not generate the extent of freedom necessary for the Brotherhood to enhance its political ideologies through the current regime. Due to the stipulations and restrictions that the party continued to endure, it turned to an extensive list of professional associations to stimulate its political advance.

In 1984, the Brotherhood infiltrated the country’s political system through what it referred to as the “Islamic Trend.” The Islamic Trend is a comprehensive group that represents the overarching political and social

philosophy of the religion.⁷⁰ The Brotherhood began entering a series of elections as an organized bloc beginning with the Doctors' Association election. Shortly thereafter, the group ran a list of candidates in the Engineers', Dentists', Scientists', Pharmacists' and Journalists' Association elections, among others.⁷¹ The growing support for the Islamic Trend was not the simple result of election-day maneuvers. Its successes were primarily due to the new relationships forged by Islamists on the periphery and then sustained by Muslim Brotherhood leaders as elected association officials. The proliferation of these grassroots societies attempted to institutionalize the Islamic movement through legal and formal organizations.⁷²

Changes wrought by the Islamic leadership, upon its initial occupation of a seat majority on the associations' executive boards, were both practical and symbolic. The former style of leadership had changed; the public was presented with an approachable group serious about its well-being. Simultaneously, the Egyptian government sought to co-opt the Brotherhood by complying with several of its demands. In 1985, the National Assembly agreed to revise Egypt's legal secular code. This development would bring the country toward compliance with Islamic law by imposing censorship guided by Islamic ideals on the media and expanding the program of religious education in the nation's schools.⁷³ Two years later, in 1987, the Islamist Alliance, comprised of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Labour Party and the Liberal Party, was formed to contest elections within Egypt, developing an active role as the major opposition party.⁷⁴ These two factors concurrently contributed to a growing Islamization of political dialogue within Egypt, leading to future successes in the various elections and a greater amount of public involvement.⁷⁵

Egyptian society is formally depicted as a culture of alienation, and the absence of public opinion data may be the hardest form of evidence proving the political estrangement present. This setting of extreme alienation is an outcome of continual low voter turnout in parliamentary elections as well as a general lack of popular affiliation with established, approved parties. This trend of laxity adds to the discernment that the Egyptian political ethos has increasingly been characterized by isolation, defeatism and indifference. However, alongside the increase in the Brotherhood's popularity emerged an increasingly heightened, receptive populace. The people responded positively to the nature of the Islamist message within the political sphere. This massive increase in participation is indicative of the Egyptian society's perception of morality as the savior of a population within a state of decline. As leaders of large public institutions, the Islamic Trend officials utilized their high status and continued to cultivate and maintain a relationship with

government ministries and local government authorities in order to provide strong Islamic influence within the state discussing issues important to the general public and their future. A young engineer expressed his view during the Engineers' Association election in 1991:

I voted for the Islamic Voice. They are the only [political] trend in the elections -- either you elect them or you elect individuals. The communists and the leftists are in general not accepted. I support the Islamic trend, as especially the *Ikhwan*, because they are moderate, far from extreme, and they have a future-oriented point of view.⁷⁶

The Brotherhood vowed to enforce this public accountability through the application of religious law. Rather than a straightforward emphasis on jobs and other material benefits, the idea behind lasting change through religion resonated powerfully in this process of outreach.⁷⁷ The outreach proved to be a success, based on the hold that the Muslim Brotherhood gained within the Egyptian people's daily lives through social, business and educational networks. The movement emerged from the 1980s as a leading force in Egyptian society; the thousands of professionals within the associations that connected to the Muslim Brotherhood "volunteer[ed] their time providing social, educational, and health services for the poor through private voluntary organizations" in order to further implement themselves within the infrastructure of the Egyptian people.⁷⁸

In contrast to the valuable advantages made available by the Brotherhood, the multiparty system that was created by Nasser's successors could not offer effective representation of the country's educated youth. Most graduates did not become involved in political affairs. In contrast to the dominant pattern of political attention, a surprising majority of graduates became active in the minority wing of the Islamic movement. The Muslim Brotherhood possessed the ability to aggregate citizens' newfound sympathies and channel them into electoral campaigns at national-level organizations. The Professional Associations gave the Brotherhood activists an opportunity to hone their leadership skills and broaden their base of support.⁷⁹

Against the backdrop of a seemingly out-of-touch military bureaucratic state, the Islamic Trend portrayed itself as the successor to a more human and responsive political tradition that would be traced back to the exemplary rule of the rightly guided caliphs of the first Islamic state.⁸⁰ The Islamic Trend was a servant of public interest; "a state within a state."⁸¹ The movement was creating new models of political leadership and community involvement on the ground that it was "creating islands of democracy in a sea of dictatorship."⁸²

This viewpoint sought to slowly build a parallel society, based on Islamic ideals, by the power of example through infiltration of the various systems and networks that reached out to the majority. The group became closer to the political center within the state from the bottom up. Islamic mobilization on the periphery was not subject to centralized coordination and control within the government. The Brotherhood's move from the periphery to the center of governmental politics enhanced the movement's political influence; however, it also exposed the organization and its leaders to new risks.

The question surrounding the degree of connection between the acts of mobilization and significant political change varies, remaining an inconsistent aspect in the search for societal involvement and government compliance. In Egypt, state entitlements began to lose value, and society's outreach for organization developed a migratory tendency toward "nonpolitical" groups and organizations. This erects the ideal setting for the production of collective political action. The Muslim Brotherhood is viewed as a "proto-party," meaning that it has the ability to form a secure bridge between individuals that mobilize on the periphery and the electoral competitions close to the political center, thus becoming an effective mode for leadership and a viable source to revolutionize the Egyptian community.⁸³ Muslim ruling classes have sought to safeguard their power and privileges through the dated influence of colonialism, neo-colonialism, and imperialism. The Brotherhood seeks to implement changing policies despite the internal political corruption and decadence that plagued the Muslim world. The movement aspires to reduce the power of the ruling elite and the characteristics that it associates with control. The Brotherhood vows to transcend the superpower hegemony that keeps the Muslim world divided through the one force that remains free in spite of its misuse: Islam.⁸⁴

By the early 1990s, Egypt's professional associations remained among the major sites of Islamic political experimentation. The continual, overt support of the populace enabled the Muslim Brotherhood to reach its height in 1994. The growing trend of political moderation began to be displayed through the government's attempt to channel the movement rather than repress it. Mubarak's regime began taking tentative steps necessary to permit the growth of Islamization and its permeation into the country's legal and educational systems.⁸⁵ Remaining true in form to the constant changing values that characterize the delicate relationship between the government and the movement, Mubarak's regime detained 81 of the Muslim Brotherhood's leading activists in 1995.⁸⁶ This increased risk involved with Islamic activity created a powerful deterrent to the movement, which enabled the government to once again monitor the movement and manipulate the group's activity

within the state.

The governing body made an attempt to transform the Brotherhood's image from that of a moderate and responsible group pursuing the greater good of humanity to that of a radical, violent organization by televising the court trials of the accused members of the movement.⁸⁷ Also acting as an obstacle was that the arrests prevented some of the group's most prominent members from running in the ongoing local elections. Despite the obstacles involved with the government's negative media campaign to repress the Brotherhood, the movement demonstrated its force by winning seventeen seats in the lower parliament in the 2000 parliamentary elections. Coincidentally, this happened to be the same number of seats won by all other opposition political parties combined.⁸⁸ The Muslim Brotherhood currently maintains the largest opposition bloc in the parliament.

Islamic movements like the Brotherhood cannot be compared to other nationalist political movements. They do not claim to seek power and position as an end but rather as a means of attaining the objective of the total transformation of state polices through use of the religion of Islam.⁸⁹ The achievement of the Brotherhood's political independence was accompanied by the rise of authoritarian regimes making promises to deliver the masses from a long history of expulsion by the foreign elite set up by one-party political systems. The programs launched by state-led development in order to generate and repair economic growth and improve living standards through high levels of political and ideological conformity were met with uninspiring reactions alongside the Brotherhood's continued successes.⁹⁰ Political theology possesses a powerful attraction to the Egyptian people. Its breadth in all aspects of daily life aids in the introduction to different ways of thinking about the conduct of human affairs. This comprehensiveness recovers the nature of the individual soul and its effect on society as a whole. In order to escape the destructive fervor of subsisting regimes, political theology centers around the existence of God. "Millions of people in the Muslim orbit believe that God has revealed a law governing the whole of human affairs and this belief has shaped the politics of important Muslim nations and also the attitudes of a vast number of believers."⁹¹

The Brotherhood exists in part because of its commitment to seeking a fundamental change in both existing political and social instructions. The Muslim Brotherhood's activity also falls into the realm of social movements. These movements can be defined as "collective challenges based on common purposes and social solidarities, in sustained interaction with elites, opponents and authorities."⁹² Such associations are contained within Social Movement Organizations (SMOs). SMOs provide institutional resources

for collective action and protest, linking members through organizational structures.⁹³ The development of the movement begins, once again, by reaching out towards the periphery, referring to social, cultural, and economic groups, as well as institutions and networks, that enable citizens to participate in various aspects of public life. A misleading division of the government on which the Brotherhood continuously focused was the existing institution of education. Although Nasser and his regime provided priority to universalizing primary education and eradicating illiteracy, they ignored the ever-increasing problem of the lack of higher education. The country's growing need for manpower, in order to keep up with the rapid state-led growth, required implementing effective social change through the education system. Islamism exploded onto the global scene in the wake of the failures of other ideologies, such as nationalism, in order to attempt to solve the social and economic ills of Muslim society.⁹⁴

By 1964, the regime began a program offering a free university education. The program began by establishing an institute policy guaranteeing every university graduate a government position. At the time the policy was implemented, it subsisted to fill exiting gaps within the government and was not meant to become a permanent fixture in the social planning of the regime.⁹⁵ In 1966, the economy entered into a period of retrenchment due to the Arab-Israeli war. Graduates became frustrated with the government's lack of fulfillment in the area of promised jobs.⁹⁶ With the guarantee to combat poverty and provide full employment, the Muslim Brotherhood assured a basic social standard of living and promoted mutual aid and assistance among Muslims. By the late 1960s, a drastic increase was seen among the activity in the underground Islamist cells. Political activism at the university level slowly began to reappear. These groups made vague pronouncements, such as the idea of redefining the education system. These assertions served to mobilize the masses but did not have the foundation to effectively reshape the economy.⁹⁷ Even so, "[a] privatized economy is consistent with classical Islamic economic theory and is well-established protection of market and commerce. The Islamist parties have been among the most persistent critics of state restrictions on trade and measures that obstruct opportunities for middle-class entrepreneurs."⁹⁸ Therefore the moderates, who believe in peaceful means and acceptance of democratic principles, established the present force within the ranks of the Islamist social and economic change. The moderates joined the ranks of the Islamist movement, escalating the greater influence of Islam as a feasible power within Egypt.

By the early 1980s, the expectation for the promise of employment was waning. The educated youth's hope for the government to follow through on

its agenda decreased after witnessing the failure of the regime to deliver on its pledge of job opportunities. The government was no longer able to absorb all of the eligible youth within the framework of administrative positions. Unwilling to rid of the program completely, the regime lengthened the time between graduation and appointment until the waiting period approached 10 years.⁹⁹ This large misgiving forced individuals, graduating with college degrees, to accept jobs traditionally associated with a different social class. The ensuing discontent produced a “new middle class,” or so-called “lumpen elite,” characterized by white-collar employment and middle class lifestyle. This class of society eventually became the main base of support in the Islamist movement.¹⁰⁰

The overextension of the Egyptian state system of populist entitlements was originally designed to increase the power of the state. In turn, it actually created an “aggravated constituency available for mobilization by Islamic groups.”¹⁰¹ Because of Egypt’s rapid expansion of the education system in the late 1970s, the number of workers entering the labor market with both intermediate and university degrees increased from 400,000 to 500,000. Despite the fact that the number of graduates increased by 7.4 percent each year between 1976 and 1986, the labor force only grew 2.2 percent.¹⁰² The government continued to attempt to turn out government jobs for graduates, this time by decreasing the wages of current government employees, which fell more than 55 percent, between 1973 and 1987.¹⁰³ This forced the existing employees to hold second or even third jobs to provide the necessary means for survival. The upheaval generated extreme displeasure among the populous and created a desire to look elsewhere for an establishment that would effectively serve basic needs. In an attempt to engage the inhabitants of Egypt, this “rule of law” in effect amplified the political alienation through the inability to secure economic development and job creation.¹⁰⁴

The state’s continued unresponsive nature in dealing with the problems of chronic underemployment offered an opening to the Muslim Brotherhood to capitalize on the misfortune of the people of Egypt who were suffering both at the hands of the economy and at the government’s unwillingness to mend the matter.¹⁰⁵ The aftermath of the Gulf War affected the Egyptian economy further by eroding the average Egyptian’s living standard by a significant 20 percent inflation rate while the budget deficit remained at approximately 18 percent of the gross domestic product.¹⁰⁶ Egypt’s external debt doubled during the decade between 1980 and 1991, to cover over two thirds of the country’s gross national product, which at the time was \$40.6 billion. In 1991, the Supreme Council of Universities created a more difficult standardized testing system in an attempt to reform the government

program for employment after education. The new test constricted the level of the institution into which an individual would be accepted based on his performance. Although this served to lessen the percentage of individuals obtaining the highest-level degree, the core pillars of the existing system, including free education and guaranteed employment, remained intact.¹⁰⁷ Nasser left a legacy that included the appealing prospect of free higher education and guaranteed employment. He promised the country a new, developing middle class. Nevertheless, the faulty programming of the regime produced a dissatisfied society whose grievances Islamist groups converted into political advantages.

The idea behind the community turning towards the Brotherhood for individual advancement creates a parallel unit to that of the government; this counterpart is called the Islamic sector. This sector encompasses a largely independent, competitive component based around the progression of cultural, religious, and service-oriented aims of Egypt. The philosophy behind the Islamic sector was propagated during the late 1970s, through Sadat, self-described as the “believer president.”¹⁰⁸ Sadat aimed to utilize Islamic legitimacy through the means of spreading Islam as a path towards unity as projected by the Brotherhood. However, Sadat’s reign ended in an attack on the Islamic movement as a whole due to their rise in popularity. The Brotherhood’s status made the president wary of their increasing power within the state. Sadat’s error forced President Mubarak to attempt to accommodate the nonviolent, mainstream Islamic movement as a means of “defusing tensions and consolidating his own position.”¹⁰⁹ This was done through the use of the Islamic sector in order to reach out to the people and satisfy their requests. Through the sector, the government was able to make use of the Islamic movement by way of offering the disenfranchised youth an idiom of dissent and a sense of community. A 1993 United States National Intelligence Estimate predicted, “Islamic fundamentalist terrorists will continue to make gains across Egypt, leading to the eventual collapse of the Mubarak government.”¹¹⁰ The Islamic sector was predicted to be the mode of transportation to this long-term goal of independence.

The Islamic sector is divided into three general categories utilized by the Muslim Brotherhood. These areas include purely religious establishments such as the private mosques; society-enhancing organizations such as the Islamic voluntary associations, which include welfare societies, cultural organization, health clinics, and schools; as well as for-profit commercial and business enterprises such as Islamic banks and investment companies.¹¹¹ Countrywide, the Muslim Brotherhood runs 22 hospitals, and it has schools in every governorate in Egypt. The organization additionally runs numerous

care centers and training programs for the unemployed. “We work in both rural and urban areas ... The goal is to reach out to the most marginalized people in society.”¹¹² The sector used each of these separate entities to permeate its movement within the society of Egypt. Its message could be propagated through the subtle arena of advancement that provides the populous with elements necessary to achieve success. Despite the physical establishments that encompassed the Muslim community, the Islamist economic programs were limited to slogans such as “God will provide” and the “Qur’an will feed the hungry.”¹¹³ Both vague and meaningless, the obscurity of the sayings was indicative of the ability the Brotherhood possessed to provide a path towards the actual progression of the Egyptian economy. Unfortunately, the formation of political ideology was equally muddled at this time. Despite the group’s efficiency in providing social welfare services, Islamic law merely offered powerful symbols in the life of the majority of Egyptians. Regrettably, the group had yet to address pertinent, critical issues to the progression of the state such as political empowerment, corruption, or one-party rule.

After being propelled from the working relationship with the government in May 1995, the Muslim Brotherhood released a statement in response to President Mubarak’s accusation that “violence is always an integral part” of the movement’s methods.¹¹⁴ The Muslim Brotherhood insisted that it “is in no way involved in violence and denounces all forms of terrorism, calling on those who commit the sin to return to the correct path of Islam.”¹¹⁵ The Brotherhood has made extreme efforts to obtain legitimacy as a peaceful political actor within the state.¹¹⁶ This peaceful means of control provides an explanation for the successes of Islamic outreach. Such accomplishments can be found though the set of diplomatic, external conditions that proved to be conducive to the movement. This included the passive act of targeting experiences and beliefs of graduates for recruitment purposes. Recruitment revolved around the credibility and effectiveness of the movement’s agents, as well as modes of transmission and reinforcement through intensive, small-group solidarity.¹¹⁷ The Muslim Brotherhood stressed the idea of change by persuasion, through the acquisition of a cohesive force of passionate individuals committed to the development of Islam as a means of change. The effective nature of this notion is seen fully through early involvement:

The Islamic groups get to the students now when they are young - in preparatory school and in high school. They get to them when they are young and impressionable, telling them this is *haram* (forbidden)

and that is *halal* (permitted).¹¹⁸

Pursuit of the youth and recent graduates is necessary in order to promote the idea of civic obligation as the goal of the Islamist message. The obligatory nature behind the Islamic message was bolstered by the culture of alienation present in Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood acted as an alternative to political and societal advancement; “The appeal of Islamic ideology was magnified under socioeconomic conditions in which conventional routes of self advancement were blocked.”¹¹⁹ The movement of recruitment that supports the basic structure of the Muslim Brotherhood provides an emphasis on social justice and gives the Egyptian society a voice to display the moral outrage that resonates amongst present-day society.

The main result of recruitment within the Islamic outreach program was to expedite new forms of social interaction at the local level. “Through preaching good citizenship and national pride, economic good sense and the proper length of a gentleman’s beard; ethical questions transformed society.”¹²⁰ The Muslim Brotherhood assisted in societal advancements by providing their “supported public” with the organization of Islamic seminars, plays, and public prayer sessions; “Why waste time going to a film, when we can go to the mosque and take religious lessons?”¹²¹ Reaching out to the youthful populous by providing such amenities, as well as continuous support on the community level, caused expectations regarding education, career advancement, and material wealth to diminish along with the graduates’ feelings of disappointment and frustration. Although not all societal pressures were alleviated, the religious ideology that surrounded the movement provided an outlet for the frustration and inadequacies of the current living situation; “We struggle but we regard it as a test of our faith.”¹²² In many ways the Islamic outreach programs shifted the blame from government officials onto the morality of present society.

The Muslim Brotherhood established that contemporary problems were not the result of government resources, but of societal values. Islamic outreach reshaped popular political culture by altering the individual’s relationship to the authoritarian state; “The committed Muslim is not afraid of anything except God.”¹²³ The Islamic movement offered a “solution” that extended to the most basic human needs through lessening the frustrations associated with the regime and promoting life goals through Islam. The constant call to every Muslim to contribute to the task of Islamic social and political reforms produced a more aware society focused around extensive issues. However, the mobilization also created a counter-society detached from the mainstream social and political order except that of Islamic inspired ideals.¹²⁴ The access to public expression of opinion shaped the

members of the movement and produced an interest critical to continued involvement. This led towards the “micro-mechanisms of mobilization,” or the appeal to the recruits and their participation through benefits. Such benefits include the obtainment of a visa or job, the emotional satisfaction from the formation of a bond of trust with like-minded individuals, or the simple factor of having an arena to voice opinions. “By introducing new values and developing new repertoires of personal and collective action, movements can pave the way for broader instances of citizen engagement in public affairs.”¹²⁵ Islamism was embraced by many as a “way of navigating the shoals of modernization,” for it appealed to the pride that had dominated much of the world.¹²⁶ This theory suggests that Muslims would reenter the Islamic Golden Age, attracting those followers currently despondent with the current situation and gaining additional members and support through the want for social development and modification.

Egyptian society reaches out to the Islamically motivated schools, hospitals and banks, considering the government of President Hosni Mubarak, of the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). The NDP shows signs of weakness and ineffectiveness through means of social services.¹²⁷ Mubarak’s regime has proven adept at thwarting foes that would challenge the president’s rule. Egypt has changed its constitution to allow the opposition to contest presidential polls, yet a ban remains on religious political parties. Despite the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood is outlawed as a political party in Egypt, its candidates, allowed to run as independents to evade the constitutional ban on religion-based parties, gained a fifth of the seats in the 2005 parliamentary election.¹²⁸ According to many political observers, the Brotherhood’s devotion to social work was the primary strength behind its remarkable results in the parliamentary elections that were held in late 2005. The group captured 88 seats in the People’s Assembly, up from the mere 15 seats occupied by members of the movement in the outgoing assembly.¹²⁹ The government produced constitutional amendments billed as reforms in response to the Muslim Brotherhood’s recently released political program, the first comprehensive document outlining the group’s policies on social, economic, and political issues. These amendments were constructed to quell the group from advancing any further. The government’s desire to contain and weaken the movement is alarming to the idea of democratic change in the region. Given the popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood, real democracy in Egypt will not thrive unless the group gains a seat at the political table.

As the country’s largest political organization, the Muslim Brotherhood’s electoral assent in Egypt’s professional associations and transformation into a major Islamist political force links the social and cultural proximity from

the Islamic Trend more closely to the government. The dialogue concerning the new political programs and social services are attached to a platform limited in detail and inundated in the call to return to the righteous morals and Islamic accountability missing from Egyptian life.¹³⁰ The Brotherhood recently levied its power to allow business hours to be interrupted for prayer. This small act does more than bolster religious ideals within the workplace. The physical act of praying creates equality among all present as every employee from the manager to the janitor stand in a single line facing Mecca in unity with Allah. This proves that the Muslim Brotherhood understands that successful ideology requires a resonated message, credible messengers, and effective mechanisms of transmission leading to the implementation of Islam in the public sector.

Recent government detentions and legal changes have attempted to neutralize the Muslim Brotherhood, the country's last surviving major political movement, even further. At the age of 79, Hosni Mubarak is preparing his son Gamel to be the top contender for his successor. Mohammed Mahdi Akef, the current supreme guide or highest leader of the Muslim Brotherhood, stated that "[t]yranny has reached unprecedented limits from any previous regime."¹³¹ However, Mohamed Abdel-Fattah Oman, a lawmaker from the ruling party, provides a contrasting viewpoint saying, "[t]he Muslim Brotherhood represents the framework for future violence."¹³² Muslim Brotherhood officials estimate that the party includes approximately 200,000 members, 167 of which remain in prison. Among those presently imprisoned include the political architects behind the Brotherhood's surprise success in 2005, which placed the movement's political division on the path towards changing the regime peacefully. In order for a stable future, the Brotherhood needs to maintain the success found within the 2005 parliamentary election, which brandished 75 percent of the candidates set forth by the Brotherhood as elected officials, despite the amount of tempering by the governing body.¹³³

Although the state has proven adept at thwarting the foes that challenge the rule of Hosni Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood—Mubarak's main surviving opponent—ran as independents and gained over a fifth of the total seats in the 454-member parliament.¹³⁴ The group remains legally banned under the nation's 24-year-old Emergency Law, which severely limits political activity in Egypt. It is also constantly under heavy pressure with over 500 of its members having been imprisoned and six of its leaders on trial under emergency laws in military courts, facing charges of money laundering and terrorism.¹³⁵ Despite this fact, the group is presently a significant force in the state of Egypt.¹³⁶ Based on the government's fear concerning the Islamic rise

to power, the regime has been displaying severe crackdowns in recent days as the Brotherhood continues its attempt at “cleansing the existing political order.”¹³⁷ Most recently, this included the arrest of a Muslim Brotherhood official, Khairat al-Shater, the No. 3 leader in the Muslim Brotherhood hierarchy. At 3 A.M. during the summer of 2007, military officials broke open the door of al-Shater’s home to arrest the individuals inside. “The Brotherhood are good people. ... We believe in peaceful change and the regime is crushing us.”¹³⁸ These so-called “dawn visitors” have played a decade long cat-and-mouse game between the Egyptian state and the world’s oldest Islamist organization. The concept that the most populous Arab country is oppressed by an authoritarian regime with little hope for significant change is frightening for any person who desires a democratic change in the Middle East and North Africa.

The Muslim Brotherhood has consistently attempted to position itself as a moderate force in Egypt political life. Despite the continuous ban since the year 1954, the movement has provided the country with clinics, youth camps, and other services that have earned the organization support among the poor and provided a civic model for armed violence-based Islamic movements such as Hezbollah and Hamas. The Muslim Brotherhood draws political support among Egypt’s middle class through its continuous, dominant presence in technical and professional unions. As the movement aims to establish a greater amount of political power, Mubarak’s regime has responded with constitutional amendments, which focus around the Brotherhood in order to quell the movement’s stronghold within the governmental sector in the upcoming election bid. Mubarak’s age makes the matter more urgent, as a change in power could result in the dominance of Islam over a weak regime.

A key factor in the recent revisions is that since making peace with Israel in 1979, Egypt has been the No. 2 recipient of U.S. foreign aid.¹³⁹ Contrasted with the 1970s, when Egypt’s crumbling socialist economy had been battered by recent wars with Israel, the country is now a capitalist success story consistently widening the wealth gap.¹⁴⁰ Although Mubarak allowed other candidates to challenge his reelection bid, Egyptian leaders “feel that democratization means that they will leave their chairs and leave their positions, and they are not able to pay this cost.”¹⁴¹ Nonetheless, Habib denied that the Muslim Brotherhood had any desire to lead the country after Mubarak, as “presidential candidacy is not on our agenda.”¹⁴² However, Hassan al-Banna consistently discussed the Muslim individual, the Muslim family, and the Muslim society, as well as the society in which a Muslim government can be formed.¹⁴³

The Muslim Brotherhood is larger than a political party. It currently performs the activities of the Islamic call including involvement in politics and economics as well as social and cultural issues.¹⁴⁴ The political-party program established by the Muslim Brotherhood was distributed in late September 2007. The program was initially issued among a group of politicians and intellectuals to offer their views and to comment on its content. The program gives rise to questions concerning the group's political agenda.¹⁴⁵ The idea behind raising a political party occurred when the group decided to fight the People's Assembly elections in 1984.¹⁴⁶ Resurfacing again in 1989, the notion behind establishing a political party was discussed "when the Shura Council, which is the highest body of the Muslim Brotherhood, met and adopted a decision to establish a party."¹⁴⁷ The plan was reiterated in the early-1995 Shura Council meeting as a means towards establishing a power strong enough to secure the release of the large number of members confined in prisons, detention centers, and military courts. The latest attempt occurred in mid-January 2007, when Akif announced the Brotherhood's existing intention to establish a political organization. Many critics view the program as a retreat from the party's ideology. They believe that the platform shows a tremendous amount of regression in comparison to the series of documents previously issued by the movement, including their document on reform issued in March 2003. These inconsistencies increase the possibility of the Muslim Brotherhood coming under wide-scale attacks from various angles in the coming age.

The Brotherhood's goal is to implement "religious" functions within the state for morality to prevail. Using the values concerning "zeal and protection of religion," the group strives to protect the future of the Islamic state and secure the practice of religious rights. The movement has threatened to remove any factors that interfere with their objectives.¹⁴⁸ Emphasizing the sacred image of the Brotherhood while simultaneously endorsing political practice creates a double standard that could potentially harm the group's credibility.¹⁴⁹ Also dangerous to the growth of the program is the use of certain terms implemented within the platform. More than once within the program, the Brotherhood uses the phrase "Islamic state." This is an elastic term that arouses numerous doubts regarding the Brotherhood's stance on the nature of the relationship between the nation-state and the "theoretic state."¹⁵⁰ The ambiguous usage of this expression leaves room for the Brotherhood to implement rulings through the use of diverse methods.

Despite the fact that the Muslim Brotherhood clearly laid out its political endeavors, it neglected to formulate a well-defined and clear stance surrounding the issue of the equality of the individual within Egyptian

society. Based on Islamic ideology, it is the nature of the party to establish the principle of citizenship focusing around the idea of non-discrimination. The Islamic *shariah* states that no form of intolerance should take place between citizens based on their race, sex, or religion. Under the Brotherhood's political program the Egyptian people would choose rulers in a nature that integrates pluralism. The nation, *umma*, would act entirely as the source of authorization in regard to the appointment of leaders. Although the Brotherhood supports the right of the people to elect the members of the government, the program claims that non-Muslims lack the knowledge of the faith that should be present within such positions. Therefore, non-Muslims should be exempt from this task. This notion is stated in a clear circumvention of the principle of absolute equality, which was earlier approved and supported by the program.¹⁵¹

In addition to the issue surrounding voting, the Supreme ruler is also an exception to the laws of equality. The program deems it necessary for the leader to be a Muslim male because “seven or eight million Egyptians will have no right to assume the post of the president” based on religious differences or gender.¹⁵² The special section within the political program entitled “Issues and Problems” disengages from the symbolic notion of “accommodating women in that section,” and instead views them as “problems ... for the stance of the movement concerning the eligibility of women to assume the post of head of states appears to be in line with the historical stance of the movement which categorically rejects it.”¹⁵³ According to the Brotherhood, religious and military duty “contradicts with her nature.”¹⁵⁴ The established blueprint continues to contradict itself by recognizing the “equality between men and women in terms of their human dignity” and then warning against burdening women with obligations that go against “their social and other humanitarian roles.”¹⁵⁵

Not only does this detailed political platform bar women and Christians from becoming Egypt's president, but it also establishes the idea of appointing a board of Muslim clerics to oversee the government—an element similar to that of the Islamic state. This step of the program calls for the formation of a branch of religious scholars who will be chosen in national election to advise both the parliament and the elected president. The platform affirms that the parliament will hold the faculty to overrule this board. However, this power is void when concerning issues backed by “proven texts” of Islamic *shariah* law, another vague phrase that could be applied to a wide range of issues, creating another regime controlled by one man or authority.¹⁵⁶ President Mubarak has publicly vowed to perpetually prevent the Muslim Brotherhood from operating as a political entity, for he believes that the implementation

of Islam into the nation of Egypt would be an “assassination to the civic state.”¹⁵⁷

The retreat from modernity established through this platform dismayed pro-democracy activists within the region. Numerous individuals had cautiously supported the Brotherhood in hope that its members were becoming more moderate. This optimism was based on the group’s prior claim that it was indeed a reform movement, vying for a democratic playing field and an end to the autocratic rule of the Mubarak regime.¹⁵⁸ Issam al-Aryan, one of the Brotherhood’s leading members, stated that the Egyptian people “need a multi-party system which governs by the will of the people,” a phrase constantly reverberated by the members of the movement.¹⁵⁹ This proclamation bounces off the disagreeing ideas found within the political program.

To enact the Brotherhood’s political program, the group must acquire a legal and constitutional license for the party. This proves difficult on several levels. Most significantly, President Mubarak’s refusal to grant political status to the movement is a substantial obstacle. However, within the state’s constitution, political parties have the right to be established by all Egyptian citizens. Second, “His eminence the guide said that [the Brotherhood] would not apply to the Political Parties Affairs Committee because this committee is unconstitutional.”¹⁶⁰ The Brotherhood established a political program in order to create a party with the knowledge that the government must approve this party. Why embark on a journey one is unwilling to finish? Regardless of whether His eminence wishes to request the right to institute the party, the regime will not let the Brotherhood found a political party based on more than Mubarak’s logic but also because “anything the government suspects has a popular base and which might have foundations among the average Egyptians will certainly be rejected, especially if such a party depends on Islamic principles.”¹⁶¹ The movement insists that it “will certainly preach the genuine concepts of Islam but will not force anyone to wear the *hijab* or any other costume.”¹⁶² Steven Cook, an expert on Egyptian politics at the Council on Foreign Relations, believes that the Brotherhood has “clearly embraced the procedures of democracy, but it’s unclear that they have internalized the principles of democracy,”¹⁶³ thus limiting the extent of the movement’s effective nature within the Arab Republic of Egypt. To fully envelop the idea of democracy equality must be prioritized.

During the late summer months of 2007, Muhammad Habib, the first deputy guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, suggested that there had been significant progression in the “developments involving the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Egypt and the unprecedented differences

between this movement and the Egyptian authorities, as well as the idea of establishing a new political party and many issues connected with the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt.”¹⁶⁴ It is still apparent that the government desires to contain and weaken the movement. This is evident through the regime’s actions in establishing recent constitutional amendments. Although the amendments are billed largely as reforms, they transparently are intended to stop members of the Brotherhood from advancing any further in their political aspirations before the upcoming election for the upper chamber of parliament.¹⁶⁵ The continued, aggressive roundup of the members of the Muslim Brotherhood creates a stronger desire to publicize the political program. This program is indisputably the first truly comprehensive document that the Muslim Brotherhood has produced throughout the 77-year history of the association. In it, the movement outlines its policies on social, economic, and political issues.

The decision to draft this program is the result of a change in the relationship between the movement and the state.¹⁶⁶ The Muslim Brotherhood officials realize that within the current environment of the state, the group has zero chance of becoming a political party. The numerous constitutional amendments, adopted earlier this year, are viewed as a direct attempt to isolate the Muslim Brotherhood further from the formal political system. Habib says the movement will be “cautious” and absorb the government’s pressure “like a sponge. ... We organize in a manner that if certain individuals are arrested there are others to run the program.”¹⁶⁷ The increase in arrests, in conjunction with the degree of Mubarak’s control, is becoming increasingly dangerous to the Brotherhood. “It is true there is corruption in this country, and that there is a link between wealth and power,” stated Mustafa al-Feki, of the ruling National Democratic Party, “but the link between politics and religion is more dangerous.”¹⁶⁸ This justifiable statement reveals the concept that a religious state could indeed present a greater threat to the public than does the authoritarian regime. One must question the extent of responsible power that the Brotherhood can offer the public. The Muslim Brotherhood’s headquarters is littered with posters saying, “Allah is our goal, the Messenger is our leader, the Qur’an is our constitution, Jihad is our path and death in the service of Allah our highest hope.”¹⁶⁹ Has the Muslim Brotherhood, however, truly crafted a political program that can be implemented beyond the slogan “Islam is the solution”?

The majority of Islamists’ primary concern is to stimulate a moral, social, and political renewal of the Muslim community. “Under these oppressive, tyrannical regimes, little hope is left for the future. So, we wish to see the continued growth of human rights, the development of civil society and

the prevalence of peace, which ultimately will assure the future of Islamic movements.”¹⁷⁰ The citizens within the Islamic movement reject the issue of violence and are committed to a strategy of incremental reform through legal channels. Islamists aim to employ religion to guide modern society towards the collective return to religion. Equally important in recognizing and understanding the quest for the restoration of Islam is to prevent confusion of Islamists with traditionalists. Islamists do not automatically assume that a rejection of modernity and a return to pre-modern Muslim society is the solution. The Muslim Brotherhood embraced technology since its founding and functions as a “modern-style party organization, using schools, youth groups, news media, national congress, and social service provision to mobilize hundreds of thousands of active members.”¹⁷¹ The rise of the movement in response to local conditions of political, social, and economic exclusion must be understood on its own terms and not grouped with Islamic militants and their ideals.

Islamic movements are categorized by their call to *jihad*, which again is comprised of two critical parts. Although it is recognized that the struggle to fight against the unrighteous should be met by all pious and faithful Muslims through non-violence, the more important aspect of *jihad* remains to be the inner struggle. The effort to live one’s life entirely through the implementation of Islam is upheld as the most important piece of the Islamist movement. This facet must be assumed before continuing the endeavors of the *da’I* through the recruitment process. The progression of gradual increase in the process of bestowing Islam from the individual- to the community-level stresses the necessity of the person to first obtain fullness within Islam. Simultaneously, *jihad* capitalizes on the immorality of the authoritarian regime and its inability to control the state apparatus. The failure of government programs, due to lack of integrity, should be met by the labors of society to reform it. The anger of the people is reflected in the rise of a frustrated system of education and underemployment, which creates a shift towards Islamism as a chance for survival.

Oppression and frustration are motivating thousands upon thousands of individuals to join the surge represented by the rise of Islamism. The consistent swell of Islamism resides behind the terms “cultural identity” and “political economy.”¹⁷² The cultural identity of the Muslim is currently threatened by various ideals concerning democracy and private enterprise. One could argue, “the rise of Islamic activism is a reaction to the domination of Muslim societies by the West.”¹⁷³ As Western influence pervades into both the economic and political domains of Muslim societies, it consequently affects Islam’s cultural domain. Through Islamism, Muslims are attempting

to reclaim their Islamic heritage as a positive and authentic source of identity and value. Political economy concurrently leads individuals to blame the authoritarian regimes, who have dominated the region since the process of decolonization. The regime failed to provide economic growth, social equality, and political rights.¹⁷⁴ The rise of activism, in both cases, is portrayed as a collective protest against the conditions that prevail in much of the Muslim world. Islamist movements, such as the Muslim Brotherhood, often begin as broad-based coalitions dissatisfied with the status quo. The use of Islam is employed as a vehicle of mobilization to create a just Islamic order, assisting in the renewal of societal values. The failures of the Muslim world are intrinsically linked with Westernization, economic modernization, socialism, nationalism, and the oppressive, authoritative nature of the majority of governing bodies in the area. When searching for a means to provide stability in a region of discontent, commonalities surface among diverse groups of individuals through acceptance of basic principles, such as Islam.

The Islamic strategy must constantly be marginalized. In order to gain public support Islamism is forced to regulate its stance, thus bringing in moderates who may not adhere strictly to the beliefs within Islam. Nevertheless, these individuals so desperately crave change that they are willing to achieve it through any means that proves effective. The Islamic legacy is dedicated to “legitimizing the political (and economic) power of that class or elite which happens to be in control” and responds to the secular movements within the Muslim world.¹⁷⁵ Hassan al-Banna maintained that Islamic societies could only overcome their social, political, and economic problems by returning to the earliest source of the Islamic tradition. He called for the return to the Qurʾān and the *Sunna* of the Prophet as the primary sources for the reestablishment of an Islamic system of government.¹⁷⁶

There’s a pretty slogan, “Islam is the Solution” [*al-islam huwa al-hall*, the campaign slogan of the Muslim Brotherhood] I say in all frankness: Yes, Islam is the solution to all political, economic, and social problems. But it demands calm, reflective planning and is far from application until we have calmly, rationally ascertained the means we desire.¹⁷⁷

The involvement of the moderates aid in legitimizing this logic and guide the direction of the Muslim Brotherhood.

Two scholars on opposite ends of the political spectrum, Daniel Pipes and Edward Said, came to a similar conclusion concerning their observations

of the Muslim world: Radical Islamism, although it will continue to inspire militant opposition and terrorist attacks, cannot provide a working, alternative model for organizing society. Islamism is inherently weak and has generally not fared well within the various places where it has been used to attempt to acquire power.¹⁷⁸ Islamic movements have been most successful as opposition forces. By implementing religious ideology on the surface level, Islamist parties speak of legitimacy yet do not possess the means necessary to produce the promised just and moral order. In order to uphold political power they must secure the compliance of the populations they hope to govern, by generating a stronghold that will remain secure while producing positive outcomes.

The Muslim populace is not calling for a utopia, but merely an open political and economic system through an “Islamic Awakening.”¹⁷⁹ Seeking to balance reverence for Islamic values with the individual’s desire for self-expression, the Muslim Brotherhood embraces the limits on personal freedom consistent with the notion of preserving community stability. “Even though an Islamic democracy will resist certain elements of post-Enlightenment liberalism, it will still be a system that features regular elections, accepts dissent and opposition parties, and condones a free press and divisions of power between branches of the state.”¹⁸⁰ The separation from an unclean, sinful world reinforces the worldview that it is not merely the radicals that are fighting for a new Islamic order. With such an attitude of disdain for the realities of modern life and the traditional forms of Islam, the traditionalists are rarely the majority even among Islamists.

To understand the present conflict in the Middle East one must come to know the origins of Islam. Through scholarly and media sources the Western misconception categorizes Islam as radical. If Islamist groups remain, though, suppressed individuals will attempt to utilize extremist principles in order to remain within the political sphere. Subsequently, the ideas projected by the West will be realized. As seen through the example of the Muslim Brotherhood, conventional followers of Islam will be forced into the category of Islamists in order to achieve the changes necessary for survival. The important question to consider is one that democracy fears: is the link between wealth and power less dangerous than the link between politics and religion? The future of the Middle East is clouded by this tentative relationship. “All we have is our own lucidity, which we must train on a world where faith still inflames the minds of men”¹⁸¹. Respect for pluralism is all one can hope for.

-
- 1 Mark Lilla. *The New York Times Magazine*. "The Politics of God." August 19, 2007: Section 6.
 - 2 Ray Takeyh and Nikolas K. Gvosdev. *The Rise and Fall of Radical Political Islam*. (Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2004.) 8.
 - 3 Owen, Roger. *State, Power and Politics in the Making of the Modern Middle East*. New York: Routledge, 2000. 183.
 - 4 Quintan Wiktorowicz. *The Management of Islamic Activism*. (New York, NY: State University of New York Press, 2001.) 4.
 - 5 Takeyh, 9.
 - 6 Wiktorowicz, 2,
 - 7 Takeyh, 9.
 - 8 Asaf Hussain. *Islamic Movement in Egypt, Pakistan, and Iran*. (London: Mansell Publishing Limited, 1983.) 3.
 - 9 Hussain, 3.
 - 10 Takeyh, 59.
 - 11 Richard P. Mitchell. *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*. (London: Oxford University Press, 1993.) 5.
 - 12 Mitchell, 6.
 - 13 Lilla, 55.
 - 14 Lilla, 50.
 - 15 Mitchell, 8.
 - 16 Takeyh, 60.
 - 17 Hussain, 4.
 - 18 Hussain, 6.
 - 19 Hussain, 4.
 - 20 Hussain, 6.
 - 21 Hussain, 5.
 - 22 Hussain, 7.
 - 23 John L. Esposito. *Islam: The Straight Path*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1998, 151.
 - 24 Hussain, 4.
 - 25 Robert S. Leiken and Steven Brooke. "The Moderate Muslim Brotherhood." *Foreign Affairs*. March/April 2007.
 - 26 Hussain, 9.
 - 27 Hussain, 9.
 - 28 Hussain, 9.
 - 29 Hussain, 9.
 - 30 Hussain, 9.
 - 31 Takeyh, 60.
 - 32 Hussain, 10.
 - 33 Hussain, 11.
 - 34 Hussain, 11.
 - 35 Hussain, 12.
 - 36 Takeyh, 60.
 - 37 Carrie Rosefsky Wickham *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism, and Political Change in Egypt*. (Columbia University Press, New York, NY, 2002.) 21.
 - 38 Wickham, 22.
 - 39 Mitchell, 96.
 - 40 Wickham, 23.
 - 41 Mitchell, 112.
 - 42 Takeyh, 62.
 - 43 Hussain, 13.
 - 44 Hussain, 13.
 - 45 Hussain, 14.
 - 46 Wickham, 120.
 - 47 Wickham, 123.
 - 48 Wickham, 131.
 - 49 Wickham, 140.
 - 50 Wickham, 142.
 - 51 Wickham, 140.
 - 52 Mitchell, 148.
 - 53 Wickham, 146.
 - 54 Wickham, 147.
 - 55 Takeyh, 2.
 - 56 Takeyh, 9.
 - 57 Wickham, 29.
 - 58 Wickham, 31.
 - 59 Wickham, 2.
 - 60 Lilla, 30.

61 Hussain, xi.
62 Takeyh, xi.
63 Takeyh, xiii.
64 Lilla, 30.
65 Mitchell, 303.
66 Takeyh, 60.
67 Roy Anderson, Robert Seibert and Jon Wagner. *Politics and Change in the Middle East: Sources of Conflict and Accommodation*. New Jersey: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004. 137.
68 Wickham, 64.
69 Wickham, 77.
70 Dr. Israel Elad Altman. "Current Trends in the Ideology of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood." *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*. January 2006. 9.
71 Wickham, 184.
72 Wiktrowicz, 2.
73 Takeyh, 63.
74 "Muslim Brotherhood." *The Islamic World: Past and Present*. http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com/article/opr/t243/e241?_hi=3&_pos=2#
75 Takeyh, 63.
76 Wickham, 199.
77 Wickham, 84.
78 Takeyh, 69.
79 Wickham, 202.
80 Wickham, 203.
81 Wickham, 203.
82 "Muslim Brotherhood."
83 Wickham, 207.
84 Hussain, xi.
85 Takeyh, 70.
86 Wickham, 214.
87 Wickham, 215.
88 Wickham, 3.
89 Hussain, xiii.
90 Wickham, 11.
91 Lilla, 50.
92 Wickham, 5.
93 Wiktrowicz, 3.
94 Takeyh, 14.
95 Wickham, 28.
96 Wickham, 32.
97 Takeyh, 11.
98 Takeyh, 69.
99 Wickham, 37.
100 Wickham, 37.
101 Wickham, 37.
102 Wickham, 42.
103 Wickham, 47.
104 Dennis R. Hoover. "Law & Order, Religion & Order." *The Review of Faith & International Affairs*. Volume 5. 3 (2007): 1.
105 Takeyh, 64.
106 Takeyh, 64.
107 Wickham, 50.
108 Wickham, 95.
109 Wickham, 104.
110 Takeyh, 64-5.
111 Wickham, 104.
112 Social programmes bolster appeal of Muslim Brotherhood".
113 Takeyh, 67.
114 Takeyh, 67.
115 Takeyh, 68.
116 Jeffrey Azarva and Samuel Tadros. "The Problem of the Egyptian Brotherhood." *Middle Eastern Outlook*. 30 November 2007.
117 Wickham, 151.
118 Wickham, 154.
119 Wickham, 159.
120 Lilla, 35.
121 Wickham, 165.
122 Wickham, 168.

123 Wickham, 170.
124 Wickham, 175.
125 Wickham, 213.
126 Takeyh, 15.
127 "Social programs bolster appeal of Muslim Brotherhood." "UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs." 22 February 2006. <http://www.irinnews.org/report.aspx?reportid=26150>
128 Black, 1.
129 "Social Programmes bolster appeal of Muslim Brotherhood."
130 Wickham, 189.
131 "Cairo Moving More Aggressively To Cripple Muslim Brotherhood; Government Seen Eliminating Opposition as Transition Loom." The Washington Post. 1 October 2007: 1.
132 "Cairo Moving More Aggressively To Cripple Muslim Brotherhood." 1.
133 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." BBC Worldwide Monitoring. 19 August 2007: 2.
134 "A Summer of Discontents: Egypt." The Economist. 11 August 2007.
135 "Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Parliamentary Elections."
136 Andrew England. "Islamists under fire draft first political programme." Financial Times. 25 August 2007: 1.
137 Owen, 184.
138 Ian Black. "Egypt: A country in crisis as fearful government cracks down on Islamist opposition: Mubaraks obsession with Muslim Brotherhood deals blow to multipart politics." The Guardian (London). 19 July 2007: 1.
139 "Cairo Moving More Aggressively To Cripple Muslim Brotherhood," 2.
140 "A Summer of Discontents: Egypt." 1.
141 "Cairo Moving More Aggressively to Cripple Muslim Brotherhood." 2. (Hafez Abu Seada Se'da)
142 "Cairo Moving More Aggressively To Cripple Muslim Brotherhood." 2.
143 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
144 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
145 "Arabic paper views Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood party program as 'retrograde' step." BBC Worldwide Monitoring. 29 September 2007: 1.
146 "Arabic paper views Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood party program as 'retrograde' step." 1.
147 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
148 "Arabic paper views Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood party program." 2.
149 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
150 "Arabic paper views Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood party program." 2.
151 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
152 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
153 "Arabic paper views Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood party program." 2.
154 Michael. 3.
11 October 2007. 3.
155 Michael, 2.
156 Maggie Michael. "Egypt's Brotherhood party details platform akin to that of Iran."
157 Michael, 1.
158 Michael, 1.
159 "Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Parliamentary Elections."
160 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
161 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 1.
162 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 3.
163 "Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Parliamentary Elections."
164 "Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood Leader views moves to create political party." 3.
165 Black, 1.
166 England, 1.
167 England, 2.
168 Black, 1.
169 Black, 1.
170 "Is This the Mideast's Future?" (Mohammed Mahdi Akef: Interview). Newsweek (July 2, 2007): 38.
171 Takeyh, 7.
172 Wickham, 6.
173 Wickham, 7.
174 Wickham, 7.
175 Takeyh, 3.
176 Takeyh, 5.
177 Takeyh, 13.
178 Takeyh, 157.
179 Leiken, 3.
180 Takeyh, 164.
181 Lilla, 55.