

## **The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood - a normal conservative party?**

The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has had many incarnations in their 70 year history, being represented in many countries and having been through cycles of being violent and non-violent. In Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood is banned, but members run for Parliament as independents, as well as co-operating with other political parties. They have sought legitimacy as a political party in themselves, as well as running under the banner of existing parties.

In this essay, I want to examine the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's recent history to examine how they might behave were they to take significant power. Although the Mubarak government has done plenty to ensure that this will not happen, the MB currently holds 88 seats in the Egyptian Parliament - 20% of the seats, making them a significant opposition force,<sup>1</sup> and it is not impossible to imagine a situation where the MB holds 35% of seats and governs with other parties. I will look at their record of behaviour in Parliament (where they serve as independents, as the MB is banned in Egypt) as well as their statements of policy. In particular, I will discuss:

- their stated attitude to democracy and their actions in elections
- their stated attitude to freedom of speech and their actions in reference to press laws, the arts, and criticism of Islam
- their relationship with other confessional groups, such as Copts and secularists
- their attitude and actions on women and family law
- their attitude to day to day economic and social issues
- their foreign policy, especially as it concerns Israel.

These concerns are specifically raised in the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace document "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones" (hereafter, "Gray Zones").<sup>2</sup> The Brotherhood has made an official response to this paper; I hope to offer insight into their record of actions.

US conservatives, especially neo-cons, are given to lumping "Islamists" together in one undifferentiated group, making no distinction between the particular local characters of Hamas, Hizballah in Lebanon, Islah in Yemen or the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Jordan or anywhere else. As such, they tend to be critical of the Bush administration's actions to promote elections and greater democratisation in the Middle East, fearing that it will bring to power "Islamists" who will take power and immediately impose "sharia law" (without specifying what that may involve), and, more to the point, end further democratic development - encapsulated in the quote "one man, one vote, one time".<sup>3</sup> In addition to being suspicious of Islamists' commitment to procedural democracy, critics contend that Islamists' aims, to establish an "Islamic state" under sharia law, are

*inherently* incompatible with democratic politics even if the participants respect electoral procedure:

*Analysts who are more skeptical of the possibility of a democratic Islamism generally advance one of two arguments. The first is procedural: that although some Islamists have seemingly opted to effect change through the ballot box, they have chosen this method only because they do not yet have the power to use more forceful ones... For other critics, it is not the means Islamists employ but their goals that are suspect. Although democracy in its narrowest sense may be defined by observance of particular rules about how power is obtained and policies are made, its ultimate value lies in its pledge—however short it may fall in reality—to value and protect the rights of all citizens equally. It is at this more fundamental level that many scholars have found Islamism wanting, as they argue that all Islamists want to implement shari'a, and shari'a as historically practiced systematically discriminates against members of many groups, particularly women and non-Muslims.<sup>4</sup>*

Both of these views are exemplified by Steven Cook of the Council on Foreign Relations:

*While there is some evidence that the Muslim Brotherhood has revised its views concerning pluralism and democracy, the organization's main goal remains to establish an Islamic state based on a particular interpretation of shari'a. Islam and democracy are not mutually exclusive, but the Brotherhood's conception of an Islamic polity contradicts basic democratic principles. The participation of Islamists [in a power-sharing arrangement] risks replacing one type of authoritarianism with another...<sup>5</sup>*

In recent years, the Brotherhood have published position papers on a number of issues, including a 2004 document that sought to present the Muslim Brotherhood as moderate and to reassure foreign and local audiences of the Brotherhood's commitment to pluralism and human rights.<sup>6</sup> However, critics of the group wonder whether liberally-minded members of the Brotherhood are representative of the group as a whole, or just its acceptable face. Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh, a member of the Brotherhood's Guidance Council, confesses that "...we have some people on the left of the spectrum who are very moderate and think that we have to relinquish some values in order to communicate with society, something that will never happen. And we have others on the right of the spectrum who are very, very intransigent."<sup>7</sup>

When asked about their vision of democracy in Egypt, Brotherhood representatives frame their responses in Islamic terms. Current Supreme Guide Mohammed Mahdi Akef visualises "A rightly guided democracy... A democracy that is bound by God's laws. And our constitution says that Shari'ah is the primary source of legislation. Thus, our democracy assures man full freedom in a sense that he does not sanction what is deemed haram [unlawful] or prohibit what is deemed halal [permissible]."<sup>8</sup> The relationship between democracy and human rights is clearly informed by a conservative Muslim outlook. In a 1995 interview with then-Deputy Supreme Guide Mustafa Mashhour, he explained that "Our only reservation about democracy is that it gives sovereignty to the

people in everything. We are not against this, but this sovereignty must be within the framework defined by *shari'a*. The British parliament, in the late 1960s, for example, legalised homosexuality. For us, this would not conform to *shari'a*. Democracy is acceptable so long as it is in the best interest of the people."<sup>2</sup> Similarly, spokesman Essam El-Erian favours a commitment to procedural democracy: "Democracy is a way of managing political affairs. It doesn't deal with the culture of society or its moral judgements... We believe in democratic institutions like a written constitution, political parties, the separation of powers, and popular sovereignty. The main difference [with the democratic systems of the West] is the frame of reference (*marja'iyya*). The West advocates liberalism with no limits."<sup>11</sup>

The Brotherhood's participation in electoral procedures is a recent development, and some controversy has surrounded their actions in elections, both at the parliamentary level and in syndicates. The Brotherhood has been accused of rigging syndicate elections to eliminate its opponents, stacking the paid workforce of syndicates with Brothers, and using syndicate resources for Brotherhood activities.<sup>12</sup> When they have lost elections, they have complained about irregularities in the election, and were backed up in their complaints by independent observers. Conversely, these same observers accused the Brothers of vote-rigging.<sup>12</sup> While these elections suffered the violence common to Egyptian elections, MB supporters do not seem to have been strongly represented in the violence, or at least, certainly no more than supporters of other parties, including the ruling NDP.<sup>13</sup> Unfortunately, the problem with these antidemocratic activities is that they are not limited to the Muslim Brotherhood, although the hypocrisy may be worse given the Brotherhood's claim to be anti-corruption. As a result, Egyptians don't really have an alternative with completely clean hands. In addition, actions *against* the Brotherhood are numerous. Elections won by Brotherhood members are cancelled, their members and supporters harassed and arrested.<sup>14</sup>

Another important aspect of democracy is an independent judiciary. Egypt's judiciary is proud of its independence and often clashes with the ruling party. Judges who protested against electoral interference in the 2005 elections were subjected to disciplinary hearings by the Minister of Justice. During May 2005, Muslim Brothers, as well as Kifaya and other opposition movements, protested outside the courts where the hearings were held, resulting in hundreds of arrests.<sup>15</sup> Brotherhood MPs have also tried to introduce laws giving the judiciary greater authority and independence.<sup>16</sup>

Although improving judicial independence is a laudable aim, it is worth remembering that Islamists - not necessarily the Muslim Brotherhood - have used the courts to enforce laws in a way more consistent with sharia law, including a notorious incident against university professor Nasr Abu Zeid, who found himself denounced as an apostate and forcibly divorced from his wife (who, as a Muslim woman, could not be married to an apostate). I could not find evidence of specific Brotherhood involvement in the Abu Zeid case, but the general trend of "Islamization" of the courts is likely to be a source of tension in Egyptian society.

The Abu Zeid case arose over his having the temerity to suggest that it was necessary for Muslims to consider both the divine and human aspects of the Quran.<sup>17</sup> Given the role of

Islamists in this case - Abu Zeid fled Egypt in fear of his life, threatened by radicals who believe it their duty to kill apostates - it raises the issue of freedom of expression. What is the Brotherhood's record on this issue?

In El-Fotouh's response to the Gray Zones paper, he states that "...freedom of the media [is necessary], in all their wide-ranging, modern means, which provide to opinion makers important tools for expressing their views."<sup>18</sup> Egypt is ranked 143rd on press freedom watchdog Reporters Sans Frontier's 2005 Worldwide Press Freedom Index.<sup>19</sup> It has a number of independent newspapers and magazines, but also has a history of harassing and locking up journalists and forcibly closing opposition newspapers.

Recently, Egypt reformed its Penal Code in a way that was a mixed blessing for journalists - while jail sentences were dropped for most libel offences, potential fines were raised and new offences introduced.<sup>20</sup> The Brotherhood claim that they (in concert with other opposition MPs) deserve credit for the positive amendments because they took up the journalists' syndicate demands in Parliament.<sup>21</sup> The Brotherhood's official English-language site states that "These recently endorsed amendments... will deny the press the ability to fight corruption and stand up to any encroachment on freedoms. [Brotherhood MPs] warned that such tough financial penalties will be "a sword hanging over the journalists' heads" and disproportionate to their incomes. The natural outcome... will be either to keep silent before corruption or face the threat of closure of their press establishments once they fail to pay such high financial penalties."<sup>22</sup>

While their commitment to freedom of political speech is heartening, their attitude to artistic and philosophical speech is somewhat less so. Prior to their victory in the 2005 elections, political scientist Ahmed Thabet suggested that "In past sessions of Parliament, their contributions have been limited to hounding thinkers and trying to legislate against novelists, artists and movie makers."<sup>23</sup> Former Brotherhood MP Gamal Heshmat, in his memoirs, expresses pride in having caused the recall of three "steamy" novels published by Egypt's Ministry of Culture.<sup>24</sup> Reviewer Tarek Mansour points out that this incident is analogous to US debates over arts funding, which pitted the "Moral Majority" against allegedly "obscene" artists, as Heshmat's objection was to the government printing such books rather than a privately published novel.<sup>25</sup> However, as the recall of the novels followed the failure of the Brotherhood and its allies to ban the novel *A Banquet for Seaweed*, this incident can be interpreted as having a chilling effect on freedom of artistic expression.<sup>26</sup>

When secular writer Farag Foda, who was a strong objector to sharia law and Islamism as well as pro-Israel, was murdered, the Brotherhood's response was equivocal. They condemned the murder but excused it as "only to be expected . . . [because] many people could not tolerate this kind of talk and contain their rage."<sup>27</sup> However, they also sent high-profile Brothers Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh and Essam El-Erian to visit Nobel Laureate Naguib Mahfouz in hospital after he was stabbed by fundamentalist militants, and El-Fotouh visited Mahfouz on his 94th birthday<sup>28</sup>. These visits had the specific intention of reassuring Egyptians that the Brotherhood had moved on from its history of railing against intellectuals.<sup>29</sup>

On the Brotherhood's English-language website, a variety of views are presented on their attitude to the arts and film. Egypt has the biggest film industry in the Middle East, and artists complain of censorship both by the state and by 'religious extremists', without necessarily naming the Brothers.<sup>30</sup> The Brothers are nowhere near as extreme as some Islamists who believe that all music, film and visual art is *haraam*. Their criticism of the recent movie *The Yacoubian Building*, which contains consensual homosexual sex as well as homosexual assault, was comparatively mild, basically amounting to "Wouldn't the movie be better *without* the rude bits?"<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, they prefer events to be sex-segregated and for artistic endeavours to promote Islamic values. Deputy Guide Mohamed El-Sayed Habib, states that

*I think it is the [duty]of the people's deputies... to play their role in bringing to accountability those bodies or institutions that promote pornography, homosexuality or moral perversion under the guise of creativity. It is essential to subject those so-called creative works to examination and review by specialized and expert people in various fields. Ultimately, it is the judiciary that has the final say as to whether or not those works should be allowed.* <sup>32</sup>

What Habib suggests here is similar to Australia's Office of Film and Literature Classification. Although artists and intellectuals will have quite different ideas as to what constitutes artistic merit, there are few Western countries that do not have a censorship regime similar to what Habib describes here.

It is worth noting that the Muslim Brotherhood did not participate in the violent protests in response to the *Jyllands-Posten* cartoon controversy, although they did call for boycotts of Danish goods and appealed to the UN to ban "religious intolerance". They resent the West's double standards on free speech - "When Muslims say ridiculous things about the Holocaust, everyone condemns them. But it's not okay for us to be offended when someone insults our religion", says one Brother.<sup>33</sup>

Their relationship with other religions and secular parties seems to have improved in recent times. Brotherhood MPs cooperate with other opposition MPs on domestic issues,<sup>34</sup> keeping in mind that the ruling NDP hold the overwhelming majority of seats. Historically, the Brotherhood has allied itself with explicitly secular parties such as the Wafd<sup>35</sup>, as well as socialist and labour parties. Outside of parliament, the Brotherhood has cooperated with the secular Kefaya movement in street protests and calls for reform, although there has been tensions in this relationship

Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh affirms the necessity of freedom of association and the press in response to CEIP's "Gray Zones" paper, putting it in religious terms by stating that "Diversity in ideas and methods is both natural and logical. Islam considers this diversity and difference of opinion a positive trait that enriches human understanding and gives it breadth and depth. In politics, leftist parties put forth ideas on social justice that are worthwhile considering while liberals offers compelling views on freedom. Societies are broad enough to encompass all of these ideas so long as they do not conflict with the highest values anchored in the constitution."<sup>36</sup> In practical terms, "Freedom of association enables those who stand in the opposition to exert pressure on the authorities and helps

create a balanced political life." Supreme Guide Mohammed Mehdi Akef claims that if the Brotherhood takes power, any type of political party would be permitted. "I would set no regulations for the formation of new parties. Every Egyptian would have the right to form a political party, even if it is a party for the Druze or for people who worship the sun. Whoever finds that this party contradicts the constitution can take that party to court. The courts will decide whether or not this party contradicts the constitution and the basic norms of the society,"<sup>22</sup> says Akef. These comments sound good, but could be a problem given that constitutions may be changed. What happens if the Egyptian constitution says that sun-worshippers may not form parties?

The Brotherhood does not seem to have a consistent view on the rights of Coptic Christians in Egypt, although they have cooperated with Copts on some issues and opposed attacks on them. In 1997, then-Supreme Guide Mustafa Mashhour stated that Copts should pay the *jizya* tax and could not be trusted to serve in the army.<sup>23</sup> Since then, the Brotherhood have repudiated that view, but Copts remain suspicious. Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh says that he personally would accept a Coptic prime minister or president, but El-Fotouh is known to be one of the party's liberals. Human rights activist Ihab Sallam interpreted their 2004 policy document negatively - "...they do not have a liberal vision for dealing with others. In 2004, they released a document that seemed to suggest they believe in human rights, but if you read it carefully, it projects an us-versus-them world, with 'them' below 'us.'"<sup>24</sup>

On the position of women in society and public life, the Brothers are conservative, although not extremely so. A reporter for *Boston Review* remarked with some surprise that Brotherhood members were happy to shake hands with women, and statements on their website emphasise women's moral equality with men and their equal obligations, rewards and punishments in Islam.<sup>25</sup>

Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh, in his response to the "Grey Zones" paper, highlights the fact that women in the West have their own problems, and states that "The veiling of women in Islam accords with modesty and morality; the veil does not cover a woman's mind, personality, or humanity." He states unequivocally that women are entitled to hold any political position, including president - this conflicts with a Brotherhood publication dated January 30 2006, "The Role of Muslim Women in an Islamic Society", which states that "The only public office which it is agreed upon that a woman cannot occupy is the presidency or head of state."<sup>26</sup> This article, however, refutes many arguments against women's political participation in entirely Islamic terms. For instance:

*We do not call for immodesty and free mixing of the sexes. For the woman is bound by the Shari'a to abide by the Islamic dress code whether she goes out to take part in elections or to attend the sessions of the council in which she is a member or for any other purpose. It is a duty to set aside election centres for women, which are already in effect in most Islamic countries. Women should be allocated special places in the representative councils so that there will be no fear of crowding or intermingling.*<sup>27</sup>

The Brotherhood argues that, while women's first duty is to their family, most MPs are mature people who have completed their families. As such, once a woman's children are independent, it would be quite appropriate for a woman to serve in parliament. Women associated with the Muslim Brotherhood have run for Parliament, although it would be a lie to say this was common.<sup>43</sup> In 2000, Jihane al-Halafawi ran for the seat of al-Raml and in the 2005 election, Makarem El-Deiri, an assistant professor at Al Azhar university, ran for the seat of Nasr City, citing education, especially for women, as a campaigning point. Furthermore, an article on the Ikhwanweb.com site suggests that 25 women were asked to run as Muslim Brotherhood candidates, but refused because in doing so they risked imprisonment and assault, including sexual assault.<sup>44</sup>

Carrie Wickham, who has interviewed Islamists extensively, finds that

*A look at the programs, statements and voting records of Brotherhood leaders in Egypt, Jordan and Kuwait reveals that their commitment to democracy stops short of tolerating personal and civic freedoms which might threaten the core values of Islam... On questions of personal freedom, leaders of ... Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood voice particularly strong objections to homosexuality, abortion, sexual relations outside marriage, and immodest dress, arguing both that such behaviors are prohibited by Islam and that they represent an affront to the values of most citizens.*<sup>45</sup>

Given the success of the US Republican Party with so-called "values voters", it seems odd to object to Islamist participation in elections on the basis of their social conservatism. It is also worth noting that the liberal cause celebre Ayman Nour voted against divorce reforms that would make it easier for women to obtain a divorce, stating that "This law will instigate women to be corrupt. A woman could just get together with another man and agree to divorce her husband."<sup>46</sup> This makes US double standards on criticising the Mubarak regime on the issue of Nour's imprisonment, whilst not mentioning the detention of Brotherhood members, really striking.

Like political parties in every country, the Brotherhood confronts issues that affect the devout and secular alike. Garbage needs to be collected in even the most totalitarian regime. Prior to their presence in government, Brotherhood activists undertook projects such as surveying university students on their needs, providing items such as textbooks at affordable prices, and lobbying government ministers to provide services to syndicate members, such as affordable housing and medical care for teachers. They even set up trade exhibitions for scientific and consumer goods.<sup>47</sup>

In 1995, the only Brotherhood member to be elected to Parliament, Ali Sayed Fat'h El-Bab, described his agenda to Al Ahram Weekly as concerning labour laws, health, social insurance laws, infra-structure and services.<sup>48</sup> In more recent times, Brotherhood MPs have taken on such causes as bird flu, which threatened to devastate Egypt's poultry industry, by being photographed for newspapers eating fried chicken to demonstrate its safety.<sup>49</sup> The Brotherhood's even characterise their support for the Penal Code amendments as part of a greater task to manage unemployment, inflation, public transport and similar issues.<sup>50</sup>

Divisions exist within the Ikhwan on the subject of foreign investment. A recently-elected Brother describes their parliamentary priorities as "to reform the country from top to bottom by working within the existing institutions—be they Parliament, laws, civil society or the constitution. We are updating what's already there...to empower the people, not by trying to bring in foreign investment..."<sup>51</sup> One Brother, Gamal El-Kearney, demanded that the government explain why it was refusing to register Egyptian medicines in response to pressure from US pharmaceutical companies. Furthermore, rumours that "Jewish" companies planned to purchase a 35% share in an Egyptian medicine firm meant "the foreign dominance over the Egyptian medicine; a matter that has adverse impact on the Egypt's economy and people".<sup>52</sup> This last argument will be familiar to anyone who lived through the globalisation boom of the 1990s, or who has picked up an Ausbuy guide. In contrast, however, in the latest Parliament, Brotherhood MPs have criticised the Egyptian government for *not* creating an atmosphere conducive to foreign investment, resulting in falling growth rates, rising unemployment and foreign debt and underspending on health and education, and missing out on the benefits of globalisation.<sup>53</sup> In discussing economic policy, Brotherhood spokesman Essam el-Erian told US journalist Caryle Murphy that "I don't understand why a capitalist country like the United States is so opposed to us. We're the best economic friends they could have out here."<sup>54</sup>

A clue as to why the US is leery of the Brotherhood lies to the north of Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood does not recognise Israel. Its section on this issue on its English-language website is called "Palestine", sources left-wing websites and magazines such as CounterPunch which are strongly anti-Zionist, and features news items sympathetic to Hamas and banners saying "Boycott Israel". Their statement condemning the 2006 kidnapping of Fox News journalist Steve Centanni and cameraman Olaf Wiigof by Palestinian militants states that "the Palestinian people were in dire need of all journalists, especially the foreigners, to inform the world on the Israeli occupation's streak of murder and destruction in the Palestinian lands."<sup>55</sup> Brotherhood MPs call for cutting off ties to Israel, reducing ties to the US and sending weapons and soldiers to the West Bank and Gaza.<sup>56</sup> Current and former Supreme Guides have come under fire for denying the holocaust. Whilst not having any immediate plans vis-a-vis Israel in the latest parliament, in the long term, "We consider them [Israelis] an aggressive people who occupied a land unjustly. We will fight it by working on the progress of our nation. Ultimately, Israel would have no existence. At that point, if the Jews decide to live among us and share the same duties and rights as genuine citizens, they will be welcomed. However, they will never be able to live under an unjust aggressive state, God willing."<sup>57</sup> Brotherhood MPs even tried to limit a law giving some privileges to foreign drivers in Egypt to prevent Israelis from being included, although the parliament overrode them.<sup>58</sup> Unsurprisingly, they are very supportive of Hamas and also supported Hizballah in the recent Lebanon war. A US journalist described being recieved by the Brothers in their office, featuring posters of Sheik Ahmed Yassin congratulating him on his martyrdom.<sup>59</sup>

I believe that the Brotherhood's attitude to Israel is the sticking-point in their relations with the West. After all, the US's allies include Saudi Arabia, which is demonstrably more illiberal on all of the issues I have discussed in this paper - minority and women's rights, freedom of speech and association, democracy - than the Muslim Brotherhood in

both statements and record of action, yet the Saudis condemned Hizballah's kidnapping of Israeli soldiers and has acted as a mediator in the Israel-Palestine conflict. In many respects, the Muslim Brotherhood is, while not fully acceptable to liberals, nevertheless not significantly worse than many regimes and parties whose existence the US and the West generally respect. It is very reasonable for minorities and intellectuals in Egypt to be concerned about the Brotherhood's agenda, and I do not wish to paint them as angels. However, if the US in particular is serious about democracy in the Middle East, excluding the Muslim Brotherhood from Egypt's democratic processes does not seem to be the way to meet that goal.

- 1 Shehata, Samer and Stacher, Joshua (2006), "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament", *Middle East Report*, n. 240, [http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata\\_stacher.html](http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata_stacher.html), accessed 19/10/06
- 2 Brown, Nathan J., Hamzawy, Amr, and Ottaway, Marina (2006), "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones", Carnegie Papers Middle East series, No. 67, March 2006, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Herbert-Quandt-Stiftung, Washington
- 3 Debate: "Democracy Is about More Than Elections". (2006). *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, p. 29. Participants included Daniel Pipes, Joshua Muravchik, Michael Rubin, Robert Satloff with Patrick Clawson as convenor.
- 4 Langohr, Vickie (2001), "Of Islamists and Ballot Boxes - Rethinking the Relationship Between Islamisms and Electoral Politics", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, n. 33, p. 592
- 5 Cook, Steven (2006), "The Promise of Pacts", *Journal of Democracy*, v.17, n.1, Baltimore, p. 70
- 6 Glain, Stephen (2006), "The Brotherhood", *Boston Review*, v. 31, n. 3, May/June 2006, <http://www.bostonreview.net/BR31.3/glain.html>, accessed 24/08/06; El-Hennawy, Noha (2006), "Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh", *Egypt Today*, March 2006, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6462>, accessed 03/10/06
- 7 "Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*
- 8 El-Hennawy, Noha (2006), "Around the Bloc", *Egypt Today*, March 2006, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6252>, accessed 03/10/06
- 9 Howeidy, Amira (1995), "Soldiers of the shari'a", *Al Ahram Weekly*, n. 247, 16-22 November 1995, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/parties/muslimb/sharia.htm>, accessed 15/10/06
- 10 Wickham, Carrie (2004) "The Problem With Coercive Democratization: The Islamist Response to the U.S. Democracy Reform Initiative", *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*, v.1, n.1, p.4
- 11 Fahmy, Ninette S. (1998), "The performance of the Muslim brotherhood in the Egyptian syndicates: An alternative formula for reform?", *The Middle East Journal*; v.52,n. 4; Academic Research Library
- 12 "Nobody is blameless", *Al Ahram Weekly*, No. 250, 7-13 December 1995. [http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/250\\_7.htm](http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/250_7.htm), accessed 15/10/06
- 13 "Violence mars round two", *Al Ahram Weekly*, No. 250, 7-13 December 1995. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/elect11.htm>, accessed 15/10/06
- 14 See, for example, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/507/eg5.htm>, accessed 15/10/06;
- 15 Shehata and Stacher, *op.cit.*
- 16 Ahmed, Hanaa (2006), "Closing Ranks", *Egypt Today*, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6938>, accessed 03/10/06
- 17 Murphy, Caryle (2002), *Passion for Islam*, Scribner, New York

- [18](#)El-Futouh, Abdul Monem Abu, "The Muslim Brotherhood Comments on "Gray Zones" Carnegie Paper" [http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/FutouhEnglishFullText\\_\\_5\\_.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/FutouhEnglishFullText__5_.pdf), accessed 19/10/06
- [19](#)Reporters Sans Frontiers, "Annual Worldwide Press Freedom Index 2005", [http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php?id\\_rubrique=554](http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php?id_rubrique=554), accessed 20/10/06
- [20](#)"Closing Ranks", *op. cit.*; Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Journalists Still Risk Jail Under Press Law", <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/07/11/egypt13712.htm>, accessed 20/10/06
- [21](#)"Closing Ranks", *op. cit.*
- [22](#)"Egypt MB: Amendments To Publication Law Are Disappointing", 11/07/06, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4734>, accessed 18/10/06
- [23](#)El-Hennawy, Noha (2005), "Look Who's Coming to Dinner", *Egypt Today*, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6186>, accessed 03/10/06
- [24](#)Masoud, Tarek (2006), "Dr. Heshmat goes to Cairo", *Foreign Policy*, n. 155, July-August 2006
- [25](#)*ibid*; Dorf, Michael (1993), "Artifactions: The battle over the National Endowment for the Arts", *The Brookings Review*, v.11, n.1, Washington.
- [26](#)Sid-Ahmed, Mohamed (2001), "The intelligentsia and politics", *Al-Ahram Weekly*, n. 517, 18 - 24 January 2001, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2001/517/op3.htm>, accessed 22/10/06
- [27](#)Campagna, Joel (1996), "From accommodation to confrontation: The Muslim Brotherhood in the Mubarak years", *Journal of International Affairs*, v.50 n.1, p278, 27pp.
- [28](#)El-Ghobashy, Mona (2005), "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 37; "Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*
- [29](#)"Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*
- [30](#)Brown, Guy, "The movie business in Egypt", <http://www.ameinfo.com/16692.html>, accessed 15/10/06
- [31](#)Lake, Eli, "Protest Erupts In Egypt Over A Gay Movie", *New York Sun*, republished at <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4728>, accessed 15/10/06. The mildness of their criticism could be related to the fact that *The Yacoubian Building* "offers a caustic criticism of the Mubarak regime."
- [32](#)Ikhwanweb FAQ, <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=WebPages&WebPage=FAQ&Lang=E>, accessed 21/10/06
- [33](#)Glain, Stephen (2006), "The Brotherhood: How far will Egypt's Islamists go?", <http://www.bostonreview.net/BR31.3/glain.html>, accessed 24/08/06
- [34](#)"Closing Ranks", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*
- [35](#)Campagna, *op.cit.*
- [36](#)"The Muslim Brotherhood Comments on "Gray Zones" Carnegie Paper", *op. cit.*

[37](#)"Around the Bloc", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*

[38](#)Murphy, *op. cit.*

[39](#)Glain, *op. cit.*

[40](#) "The Role of Muslim Women in an Islamic Society",  
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=3787>, 30/01/06, accessed 18/10/06

[41](#) *ibid.*

[42](#)*ibid.*

[43](#) El-Ghobashy, Mona (2005), *op. cit.*

[44](#) Taplin-Chinoy, Shahnaz (2006), "Arab Women in Politics: Between Repression and Islamism?",  
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4279>, 11/04/06, accessed 18/10/06

[45](#) Wickham *op. cit.*, p. 5.

[46](#)Sachs, Susan (2000), "Egypt Makes It Easier for Women to Divorce Husbands", *New York Times*,  
28/01/00, p.A8

[47](#)Al-Awadi, Hesham (2005), "Mubarak and the Islamists: Why Did the "Honeymoon" End?", *The Middle East Journal*, v.59, n. 1, Washington

[48](#) Khalil, Nevine, "Brotherhood's toe-hold in parliament", *Al Ahram Weekly*, No. 251, 14-20 December 1995, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/elect02.htm>, accessed 15/10/06

[49](#)Shehata and Stacher, *op. cit.*

[50](#)"Closing Ranks", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*

[51](#)Shehata and Stacher, *op. cit.*

[52](#) "Brotherhood's Information Request on Government Refusal to Register Egyptian Medicines",  
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=2548>, 31/12/05, accessed 18/10/06

[53](#) "Investment Level Falls in Egypt",  
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=3825>, 04/02/06, accessed 18/10/06

[54](#)Murphy, *op. cit.* p. 129.

[55](#)"MB Demands Immediate Release of Foreign Journalists Held In Gaza",  
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=5110>, 25/08/06, accessed 18/10/06

[56](#)"The View from Cairo", transcript, NOW with Bill Moyers, PBS, aired 12/07/02,  
[http://www.pbs.org/now/printable/transcript\\_egypt\\_print.html](http://www.pbs.org/now/printable/transcript_egypt_print.html), accessed 19/10/06

[57](#)"Around the Bloc", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*

[58](#)"Closing Ranks", *Egypt Today*, *op. cit.*

[59](#)Remnick, David (2004) "Going Nowhere: Letter from Cairo", *The New Yorker*, 12/07/04, v.80, n.19, pp. 74-83.

# Bibliography

## Books

Murphy, Caryle (2002), *Passion for Islam*, Scribner, New York

## Journals

Debate: "Democracy Is about More Than Elections". (2006). *Middle East Quarterly*, vol. 13, no. 3, p. 29. Participants included Daniel Pipes, Joshua Muravchik, Michael Rubin, Robert Satloff with Patrick Clawson as convenor.

Al-Awadi, Hesham (2005), "Mubarak and the Islamists: Why Did the "Honeymoon" End?", *The Middle East Journal*, v.59, n. 1, Washington

Langohr, Vickie (2001), "Of Islamists and Ballot Boxes - Rethinking the Relationship Between Islamisms and Electoral Politics", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, n. 33, p. 592

Cook, Steven (2006), "The Promise of Pacts", *Journal of Democracy*, v.17, n.1, Baltimore, p. 70

Glain, Stephen (2006), "The Brotherhood", *Boston Review*, v. 31, n. 3, May/June 2006, <http://www.bostonreview.net/BR31.3/glain.html>, accessed 24/08/06

Wickham, Carrie (2004) "The Problem With Coercive Democratization: The Islamist Response to the U.S. Democracy Reform Initiative", *Muslim World Journal of Human Rights*, v.1, n.1, p.4

Fahmy, Ninette S. (1998), "The performance of the Muslim brotherhood in the Egyptian syndicates: An alternative formula for reform?", *The Middle East Journal*; v.52,n. 4; Academic Research Library

Masoud, Tarek (2006), "Dr. Heshmat goes to Cairo", *Foreign Policy*, n. 155, July-August 2006

Dorf, Michael (1993), "Artifacts: The battle over the National Endowment for the Arts", *The Brookings Review*, v.11, n.1, Washington.

Campagna, Joel (1996), "From accommodation to confrontation: The Muslim Brotherhood in the Mubarak years", *Journal of International Affairs*, v.50 n.1, p278, 27pp.

El-Ghobashy, Mona (2005), "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers", *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, 37

## Reports

Brown, Nathan J., Hamzawy, Amr, and Ottaway, Marina (2006), "Islamist Movements and the Democratic Process in the Arab World: Exploring the Gray Zones", Carnegie Papers Middle East series, No. 67, March 2006, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and Herbert-Quandt-Stiftung, Washington

El-Futouh, Abdul Monem Abu, "The Muslim Brotherhood Comments on "Gray Zones" Carnegie Paper"

[http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/FutouhEnglishFullText\\_\\_5\\_.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/FutouhEnglishFullText__5_.pdf), accessed 19/10/06

Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Journalists Still Risk Jail Under Press Law", <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2006/07/11/egypt13712.htm>, accessed 20/10/06

Reporters Sans Frontiers, "Annual Worldwide Press Freedom Index 2005", [http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id\\_rubrique=554](http://www.rsf.org/rubrique.php3?id_rubrique=554), accessed 20/10/06

## Newspapers and magazines

" 'Nobody is blameless' ", *Al Ahram Weekly*, No. 250, 7-13 December 1995. [http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/250\\_7.htm](http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/250_7.htm), accessed 15/10/06

"Violence mars round two", *Al Ahram Weekly*, No. 250, 7-13 December 1995. <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/elect11.htm>, accessed 15/10/06

Ahmed, Hanaa (2006), "Closing Ranks", *Egypt Today*, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6938>, accessed 03/10/06

El-Hennawy, Noha (2006), "Abdel Monem Abou El-Fotouh", *Egypt Today*, March 2006, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6462>, accessed 03/10/06

El-Hennawy, Noha (2006), "Around the Bloc", *Egypt Today*, March 2006, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6252>, accessed 03/10/06

El-Hennawy, Noha (2005), "Look Who's Coming to Dinner", *Egypt Today*, <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=6186>, accessed 03/10/06

Howeidy, Amira (1995), "Soldiers of the shari'a", *Al Ahram Weekly*, n. 247, 16-22 November 1995, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/parties/muslimb/sharia.htm>, accessed 15/10/06

Khalil, Nevine, "Brotherhood's toe-hold in parliament", *Al Ahram Weekly*, No. 251, 14-20 December 1995, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/1995elec/elect02.htm>, accessed 15/10/06

Lake, Eli, "Protest Erupts In Egypt Over A Gay Movie", *New York Sun*, republished at <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/Home.asp?zPage=Systems&System=PressR&Press=Show&Lang=E&ID=4728>, accessed 15/10/06

Remnick, David (2004) "Going Nowhere: Letter from Cairo", *The New Yorker*, 12/07/04, v.80, n.19, pp. 74-83.

Sachs, Susan (2000), "Egypt Makes It Easier for Women to Divorce Husbands", *New York Times*, 28/01/00, p.A8

Sid-Ahmed, Mohamed (2001), "The intelligentsia and politics", *Al-Ahram Weekly*, n. 517, 18 - 24 January 2001, <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2001/517/op3.htm>, accessed 22/10/06

**Online**

<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/>