FROM GAMAL ABDEL NASSER TO ABDULFETTAH EL SISI; THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND DEMOCRACY IN EGYPT
CEMAL ABDÜL NASIR'DAN ABDÜLFETTAH EL-SİSİ'YE; MISIRDAKİ MÜSLÜMAN KARDEŞLERİN VE DEMOKRASİNİN TARİHSEL EVRİMİ

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ÖZET

Bu tez Mısır'da toplumu İslamileştirmek için 1928'de kurulmuş olan Müslüman Kardeşler'in geçirdiği siyasi ve ideolojik değişim ve gelişimi analiz etmektedir. Kurulduğu anda sahip olduğu ideolojinin siyasete karıştıktan sonra ve Mısır'daki siyasi durumun değişmesi ile çeşitli evrimler yaşamış olduğu dikkat çekmiştir. Bu çalışma, Müslüman Kardeşler hareketinin siyaseten egemen hale gelmesi ile iktidara muhalif olan yöndeki itibarının değişmesi ve iktidar konumuna evrimleşmesini incelemektedir. Böylece Mısır tarihinde ikinci defa özgür ve tarafsız seçimlerini gerçekleştiren Mısır halkının; bu harekete olan yaklaşımını da ölçebilme deneyimini elde etmiştir. Üçüncü olarak Morsi sonrası dönem incelenerek, Mısır'ın demokrasiye olan yaklaşımı incelenmiştir. Son olarak bu çalışma, Radikal İslama yönelik ılımlı İslam'ın öncülerinden Raşid Ghannoushi'nin yaptığı eleştrileri incelemektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: *Mısır, Müslüman Kardeşler, Muhammed Morsi, Kutb, Raşid Gannuşi, Demokrasi*

ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the political and ideological transformation of the Society of Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt from its foundation in 1928 up to Sisi period. It draws attention to the political and ideological evolution of the Society of Muslim Brotherhood after it enters to the political life and the conjuncture changes related to the politics. This thesis shows that, when the Muslim brothers hold the power rather than an opposition position within the politics, their dignity has also changed among the Egyptians. Through those social changes, Egyptians found a chance to measure the support that they give to the Muslim Brothers with the second free and fair elections. Thirdly, the approach towards the democracy in post-Morsi period. Lastly, this thesis analyses the critics from the perspective of Rashid Ghannoushi, who is one of the key leaders of moderate Islam today in Tunusia, towards the Radical Islam.

Keywords; *Egypt, Muslim Brothers, Mohammad Morsi, Qutb, Rashid Ghannoushi, Democracy*

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[1]*Yeditepe Üniversitesi, Fen – Edebiyat Fakültesi, Tarih Bölümü.*

Introduction

Middle East has been the cradle of most interesting and maybe the most significant struggles among the civilizations like Romans, Arabs, Ottomans, British, Jewish and so on. Its importance also reflected to the studies of historians. Political history beyond the Egypt has been one of the burning issues on the European and American political agenda ever since the British encounter to the region in the 19th century.

In my opinion, Egypt is the most interesting country in the Middle East because of the parallelism it has with Turkey. Egypt likewise Turkey, had a secularization period and democratization era with similar attempts made by Gamal Abdel Nasser. Egypt shows unique characteristics on the issue of democratization and evolution of a religious group because it never showed a tendency towards Sharia law on individual level and fundamental Islamic unity on state level until 1980 with a Constitutional amendment made in the Muhammad Anwar al Sadat. This secularization and democratization period was also the period of strengthening internal politics and strengthening of the opposition parties that later caused to the flourish many radical Islamist movements. The most well-known of them is the Muslim Brotherhood, which is established by the Islamic scholar Hasan al-Banna in 1928.

Moreover, Egypt is an important case to understand the basis of Islamist radical movements as being one of the sources of radical Islamism which is established as a social movement, but suppressed by Nasserist authority and later let to be evolve during the Muhammad Anwar El Sadat. During Hosni Mubarak era, the social political movement strengthened itself by using the olive branch that the President offered. We should not forget that, Hosni Mubarak was the President between 1981 and 2011 which is a quite long time for the Islamist radical movements to get strong enough to deal with the competition with other political leaders. In addition to that, it is known that Muslim Brotherhood has great networks to reach ordinary people especially to the students that later they become the actors of radical Islamist movements.

This research will be divided on three different periods. First of all, we will try to explain the Nasser period (1958-1970) and Nasserist view that separated from the Muslim Brotherhood on the basis of ideology and strategy. Then, we will mention the pro-Arab Spring period that started with the death of Nasser and lasted in 2011. The political and socio-economic developments in the country in question to 2000s will be detailed. Finally, we will analyze the Arab Spring story and post-Arab spring developments in the country.

THE IDEOLOGICAL TRANSFORMATION OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

2.1.   Hasan al- Banna Period

Hasan al-Banna was born close to Cairo, in a small town known as Mahmudiyya in 1906. He was under the influence of two important figures. One of them was his father, Sheikh Ahmad al-Banna, who was an İmam. His father's close relations with Islam is directly influence his son as well. The second important figure of al-Banna was his primary school teacher Shaykh Muhammad Zahran.

When he was only twelve years old, he started to be a member of communities. Because of his leading soul, he easily became the leader of that community known as "the Society for Moral Behaviour". "Not satisfied with this, some of the younger boys formed another group called the Society for the prevention of the Forbidden,

whose work was intended to reach deeper into the town life. One of their main activities was the composition and distribution of secret and often threatening letters, to those they regarded as living in violation of the teachings in Islam".[1] After a short time, he started to be interested with Sufism and experienced his very first dhikr in that time. In that way, he became a part of the mystic circle of the Order of the Hasaffiya Brothers. This situation led to the establishment of "Hasaffiyad Society for Charity" as a new organization. There were the main goals of that community: "to fight for the preservation of Islamic morality, and to resist the work of the Christian missionaries in the town".[2] When he became thirteen years old, he became the secretary of the organization. On the national bases, developments took place as well. The 1919 revolution took place when he was on was finishing the primary school. Finally, the campaign against to the England was resulting with the victory of Egyptians, which was their initial victory. This situation followed the increased wish of full independence of Egyptians. During this process, the Wafd Party which was established in 1919 and until 1952 it continued to be dominant over the Egyptian politics. Wafd Party is closed down after the Coup D'etat made by Free Officers, just as the Muslim Brothers is banned from the politics in the very same time. Hasan al-Banna was just thirteen years when those social and political evolutions took place. He wrote down his memories about the situation when he was a student in Teacher's Training School. "By now his whole Outlook was permeated with the teachings of Sufism and with those of the towering figure of Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali[3]. The medieval master's views on learning, derived by Banna from the İhya' Ulum al-Din, persuaded him of the futility of further education"[4]. In other words, under a Ghazalian influence his ideas took shape and this influence is reflected to his first preaching that he made. He left the Teacher's Training School at the age of sixteen and he entered to the Dar al-'Ulum on the same year. "Dar al-'Ulum had been founded in 1873 as the first Egyptian attempt to provide 'modern' higher learning sciences in addition to the traditional religious sciences which were specialities of the traditional and ancient university of Al-Azhar".[5] It was the starting point of a secular education system over the universities. During that period, Banna's ideology took shape as well based on that education system. Thus education based on two important principals on the idea of Banna: "classical Islamic learning and the emotional discipline of Sufism."[6] While he was studying on Islam, he also maintained to develop his intellectual knowledge on the other hand. He studied Sufism, read the life of Prophet and searched for historical, religious stories. The experiences and studies gave a great chance him to shape his ideas. Staying at Cairo, led him to stay backwards from the political agenda of Egypt. During that period, Egypt was on the way to experience a revolutionary process likewise Kemalist Revolution held in Turkey. Banna was also accepted as a threat a being a traditionalist. He was also aware of that, Egypt was under an occupation, but according to him the solution was Islam, not the revolution like took place in Turkey. For that reason, Banna entered into a group, which was known as Hasaffiya, but he believed that this religious group caused to a separation between the Muslims by based their vision on teachings and faith. Moreover, Mosque was not strong enough to bring the Muslims together. Those reasons caused to the creation of Muslim Brothers with the led of Hasan al-Banna. First of all, Banna brang some students from Alzhar University and Dar al-'Ulum together. Those students were willing to learn how to preach and guide. Those students later, became the founders of Muslim Brothers who traveled all across the Egypt and mobilized the Muslims. According to Mitchell; those students not only to carry the call to the message of Islam, but also, eventually, disseminate the idea of the Society of Muslim Brothers.[7][8]

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[1]*Richard P. Mitchell, Society of the Muslim Brothers, (New York, Oxford University Press, 1993), 3*
[2]*Mitchell, 2*
[3]*(A. D. 1058- 1111)*
[4]*Quoted in Mitchell, 3*
[5]*Quoted in Mitchell, 3*
[6]*Quoted in Mitchell, 3*
[7]*Quoted in Mitchell, 5*
[8]*Muslim Brothers are als known as the Brothers (al-Ikhwan),or the Society of Muslim Brothers (Jama'at al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun).*

2.2. The establishment of Muslim Brotherhood within İsmalia

The ideology of Banna was based on educated youth would teach the Islamic way of life, became his major concern. It was important for Banna, because according to Banna Western way of political life fragmented the Muslim society through bringing materialist philosophy and foreign traditions. For Banna, it was necessary to educate the Muslim youth with traditional way of Islam to bring the Muslims together. He saw that as his task to proceed. After his graduation, he was appointed to a state school and he remained to be a schoolmaster until 1946. According to Mitchell, power was separated on some segments of the society among the Egyptians.[9] The ulama, the shaykhs (leaders of Sufis), the elders who were the leading families and finally the clubs which meant religious and social societies. When Banna left Cairo and came to the Suez Canal Zone for his new job, he was aware of this social dynamic within the society. For that reason, he went to the coffee-houses, visited schools, mosques and powerful families. During that period, Banna worked within the Ismailia. Banna was welcomed in the City of Suez Canal because he was aware of the problems that the Egyptians face and he was providing solutions for those problems. Furthermore, he supported organizations such as Young Men's Muslim Association to be established in Cairo, who were calling for "return to the true Islam as it is found in the Quran".[10] Later, Sayyed Qutb deeply influenced by the ideology of Banna; especially the term of "True Islam". It was also the organization that the Muslim brothers will be based on. While he was working within the Ismailia, he also established the Muslim Brothers. Six members of the British Labour force camp came to visit Banna and requested him to establish it. During their visit to Banna, some noteworthy dialogues took place. Those believers came to say that, "We are brothers in the service of Islam, hence we are "the Muslim Brothers".[11] Muslim Brothers worked as other standard religious and social organization for three years. Within that time, their main goal was to increase their members. As time passed, Banna became more popular and strengthened its branches. Moreover, established some more new links and became stronger. They established schools, mosques, clubs and became as a social force through benefiting from the power space that the government and mosques could not fulfill. His popularity became national wide. Thus, he transferred to Cairo by Minister of Education in 1932. Until that time, he refused to attach with politics, but it was the time of him to comment about it now.

POLITICAL TRANSFORMATION OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

3.1. The rise of Muslim Brotherhood in Cairo

There are some measures that show how it started to rise. First of all, the number of members increased extraordinarily, the activities in scope enlarged. For instance, some general conferences started to be made periodically.

Five main conferences took place in 1933, 1934, 1935, 1936 and 1939. The first conference is accepted as the signal of the establishment of the Muslim Brothers institutionally on national scale. The initial problem was how to dealing with the Christian missionaries. "A letter was sent to King Fu'ad outlining the Society's belief in the urgency of bringing the activities of the foreign missionaries under control."[12] During this conference, the General Guidance Council is established as a decision-making body, which still remains today. In 1934,

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[9]*Quoted in Mitchell, 7*
[10]*Quoted in Mitchell, 8*
[11]*Quoted in Mitchell, 8*

the Second General Conference took place and a propaganda channel is established, which is owned by the Muslim Brothers. This press was a significant development to reach more people. This became the voice of the brothers. One of its main achievements was to put in place a system to secure independent financing (primarily through membership fees) and to establish a printing press[13] Furthermore, Hasan al-Banna took the title of the "General Guide" (al-Murshid al-amm) during this conference. The third conference was also very important within the history of Muslim Brothers. Membership classification has determined and this membership separated the Muslim Brothers from the communism based communities. The fifth conference outlined the perception of Islam of the Muslim Brothers;

1)   The kind of Islam in which the Brothers believe makes government an important cornerstone of their program;

2)   without the power to legislate, the voice of the reformer would be as 'a scream in the wilderness' ;

3)   thus, shirking the quest for governmental power is an 'Islamic crime' ;

4)   the Brothers do not seek power for themselves and reprepared to be the 'troops' of those who would carry this burden in an Islamic way;

5)   before anything can happen, there must be aq period during which the principles of the Brothers are spread.[14]

Twentieth century witnessed many wars. The World War Two is accepted as a turning point on the rise of Muslim Brothers. Within the international level, Egypt had a great importance for sustain of English power in Mediterranean. This situation is greatly affected the politics within the Egypt. Current government was supporting the Axis power. For that reason, Egypt forced the government to be changed. This situation caused to the rise of al-Wafd Party, which is the nationalist liberal party and it was against the British colonization within the country. Because of weakness of political culture, Egyptians had a lack of trust on any political movement. Within this context, Muslim Brotherhood started to criticise the English presence over the country publicly. Actually, Hasan al-Banna was not supporting to enter into politics, which would distort the goals of Muslim Brothers, but in the end they declared their candidates for the parliamentary elections in 1941 initially. On the other hand, the efforts of Muslim Brothers did not end with their victory, but rather the Wafd party made successful negotiations with the Palace and continued to hold the power. The Muslim Brothers ran for the 1945 elections, but in that time, they are blamed for a dupe. The end of World War Two brought more chaos to the country and within this chaos the secret organization of Muslim Brothers started to gain power through conducting with the struggles. The secret organization of Muslim Brothers is known as Secret Unit, which is also established by al-Banna and six members of the British Labour force camp in 1928. Jeep Case is very significant within the history of Egypt, which is a government-captures vehicle filled with documents that incriminated the Brothers for attacking Jewish property in Cairo allegedly to foment an Islamic revolution in Egypt.[15]

3.2.   Free Officers Revolution of 1952

Egypt's current political situation is deeply related to the Egyptian revolution of 1952 led by the "army officers" against the king who governed the country since the 1700s. Through the revolution, the king is overthrow and Gamal Abdel Nasser became the president by running for the elections in 1956, who was one of

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[12]*Quoted in Mitchell, 13*

[13]*Lia, Bryanjar, "The Society of the Muslim Brothers in Egypt: The Rise of an Islamic Mass Movement 1928-1942", Ithaca Press, (2010), pages 97-98.*

[14]*Mitchell, 308*

[15]*Goldschmidt, Jr "A Brief Historu of Egyot" Pennyslvania State Universitry, (2006), p.139.*

the leaders of the 1952 revolution. This chapter will be handled from the perspective of revolutionists.

The free officers were the young military officers, who were the sons of small peasant proprietors, minor government officials and petty merchants. Their patriotic duty was to avenge the disaster of 1948. The disaster of 1948 is the first Arab-Israeli War and it is resulted with the victory of Israel that caused to regime change for the participants. One of the most important influence of the defeat is the coup d'état against the King Faruq, who is also failed to inspire the popular loyalty. The leader of the free officers was Muhammad Naguib and Nasser was only one of the officers. Free officers had a six-point program: the destruction of British colonialism and removal of its Egyptian collaborators, the elimination of feudalism, the ending of the political control of the state by foreign capital, the establishment of social justice, the formation of a strong national army and the creation of a healthy democratic life.[16] Egypt was composed of both democratic and monarchical figures throughout 1922-1952. For example; there was a Constitution which allowed for an elected parliament, but the British had the power to influence the King to appoint or dismiss the government. In other words; "British leaders […] were negotiating with the Egyptian leaders about allowing the country independence while keeping it in the British sphere of influence".[17] The economic instability, political authoritarianism led to a domestic unrest and 1930s-1940s witnessed to the rise of political movements just as the Muslim Brotherhood. The 1952 intervention of the army was more than an intervention. It was a revolution and a regime change with one to another. Two of the military officers ruled the Egypt for twenty nine years: Gamal Abdel Nasser and Anwar Sadat. Within this context, Nasser became a President of Egypt in 1952 and for a time he presented the Arab world with the image of a dynamic leader who defeated the imperial powers and swept away the old ruling elite.[18] The monarchy was abolished and Egypt was declared to be a republic in 1953. In addition to that; 1923 Constitution was abolished, Parliament was dissolved and all previous political parties are banned just as the Vafd Party. He established Revolutionary Command Council, which worked as an executive branch of the government. It was a Nasser led organization and implemented all the laws. RCC's main rival for power was the

Muslim Brotherhood.[19] Actually in the early phase, there was a co-operation between the two but in 1954 the Muslim Brotherhood is accused for trying to assassinate Nasser and banned. For that reason, the organization was driven underground, but it was neither forgotten nor eliminated. Nasser gathers together the Parliament, but only let single political party. "A single political party was established, the Arab Socialist Union (ASU). […] The party served the state's efforts to maintain domestic support"[20] .Between 1949-1952, Muslim Brothers made some reforms on their policy. For example, rather than opposing against the government, they chose a new leader who is well known and respected by both sides, but after the death of Hasan al-Banna, this new leader could not fill the position of being a second Murshid of Ikhwan. This chaotic situation faced with the 1952 revolution. There were good relations with Muslim Brothers at first, but then when Nasser consolidated his power, he started to eliminate other Powers step by step. Although Muslim Brothers supported Nasser and Free Officers as much as possible, they rejected anything threatens their power. The opposite situation also took place. For instance, Muslim Brothers were excluded from the law about banning political parties. The confrontation between the Muslim Brothers and Free Officers emerged when the Muslim Brothers rejected to join the national front. This confrontation ended with the assassination of some members of the Muslim Brothers and the vice-president of Nasser. Brownlee, Masoud, & Reynolds explain the numbers as follows: "The regime sent 54 Muslim Brother Member to prison in 1955, and detained thousands without charge".[21] During this period, Nasser is attempted to be assassinated, but failed.

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[16]*Nathan J. Brown and Emad El-Din Shahin, Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East (United States of America: 2010), p. 203.*

[17]*William Cleveland, A History of the Modern Middle East (United States of America: 2009), p. 305.*

[18]*Cleveland, A History of the Modern Middle East, p. 301.*

[19]*Cleveland, A History of the Modern Middle East, p. 306.*

[20]*Rex Brynen, Pete W. Moore, Bassel F. Salloukh, Maries-Joelle Zahar, Beyond the Arab Spring (United States of America: 2012), p. 22.)*

[21]*Brownlee, J., Masoud, T., & Reynolds, A. , The Arab Spring: Pathways of Repression and Reform, (Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 64.*

3.3. Years in Prison Under the Rule of Nasser,

The assassination attempt of Nasser and fail, made Nasser's prestige, popularity and charisma to a higher degree in the eye of public. Nasser benefited from this situation well and consolidated his power through eliminating others as mentioned in the previous chapter. For the part of Muslim Brotherhood around 4.000 members were jailed and movement leaders were arrested and imprisoned for life, Hudaybi being one of them.[22] It was the inactive years of Muslim Brothers and Nasser filled this space easily with a lack of confrontation. While some members of Muslim Brotherhood are arrested, some are exiled to other Arab countries. Which provided a chance to them to increase the branches.

3.4. Reformation Period During Anwar al-Sadat Era

Nasser is dead in 1970 and Muhammad Anwar El Sadat acceded to power who was one of the military officer leaders in 1952 intervention and met with Hasan al-Banna. "Sadat proclaimed a <corrective revolution> in 1971 and gradually tried to reform some of Nasser's system without changing its essence. Sadat gradually de-emphasized socialism and promoted limited economic liberalization."[23] In addition, he supported a limited multiparty system and without legally recognizing, he allowed Muslim Brotherhood to reemerge as a social movement. Anwar Sadat saw the ASU as the main threat to the opposition groups. So he broke up the organization and established a new political party called as; National Democratic Party. It repeatedly won the Egyptian elections. Although the liberalization of the economy and political system, he maintained to rule through the Presidency. He owned a positive approach to the US in contrast with Nasser's foreign policy which was positive neutralism in the beginning of his presidential rule. He also signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1979 that led to the assassination of him by the Muslim Brotherhood in 1981. "Sadat did two things that effectively caused to his assassination: he fully participated into the 1978 Camp David Accords at the behest of president Jimmy Carter, which effectively made peace between Egypt and Israel and he began a crackdown on dissent of all kinds in 1981,in particular radical Islamists (Weaver,1999)- typically members of the Muslim Brotherhood."[24] The branches of in different Arab countries and exiled members always tried to provide a link and connection between each other. This assassination and referring the Muslim Brothers as a radical Islamist movement is analyzed in chapter 6. The transformation that took place after the Nasser's policy still affects the politics of current Egypt. After the assassination of Sadat; Hosni Mubarak came to power who was the vice-president of Sadat and former air force commander. Hosni Mobarak maintained most of his predecessor's policies. So he maintained close relations with the US. Moreover he continued economic reform and privatization. His authoritarian rule was not questionable. What do we mean by authoritarian rule is that; "leaders are not selected through free and fair elections, [...] a narrow group of people control the state apparatus and a few not held accountable for their decisions by the broader public, political rights and civil liberties are generally quite limited, [...] the absence of discrimination against cultural, ethnic, religious, or other minority groups; and transparent accountable, no corrupt government."[25]

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[22]*Hrair Dekmejian, Egypt Under Nasir, (University of London press,1972), p. 33-34.*

[23]*Nathan J. Brown and Emad El-Din Shahin, Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East (United States of America: 2010), p. 204.*

[24]*James Biesterfeld, J. Reid Meloy, Stalking, Threatening, and Attacking Public Figures: A Psychological and Behavioral Analysis, (The Oxford Press: 2008), p. 153.*

[25]*Michele Penner Angrist, The Making of Middle East Politics in Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East (United States of America: 2010), p. 4-5.*

3.5.   Hosni Mubarak Era: Rise of Muslim Brotherhood as a Political Force

This chapter analyses the political and socio-economic developments in the country in question of 2000s and the situation of Muslim Brothers within this context. Multiparty elections continued, always under conditions that ensured the overwhelming victory of the National Democratic Party. [...] In Egypt, the president has formed the party rather than having been selected by it".[26]   Husnu Mubarak maintained his domination on the rule till 2005. "The Egyptian Movement for Change is also known as Kefaya, was announced in 2004" and it pushed Mubarak to redefine the Constitution. Two main changes took place in the Constitution. For instance; multi-candidacy and ballot became legalized. The main goal of that Constitution is announced like to increase the participation of public into the politics, but obviously by adding some limitations, the reforms became unpractical. It is because the Constitution put some limitations to the political parties which want to participate to the elections as; minimum five years of background and 5 per cent seat distribution in the lastly participated election. In September 7 2005, the presidential elections took place and other candidates competed with Hosni Mubarak, but again Mubarak won the elections through obtaining 88 per cent of the total votes. The opposition, which was boycotting the elections, won a limited amount of seats in the elections. For example; Muslim Brotherhood obtained 88 representatives as a result of this election. "Since April 1998, the Egyptian government has frozen seven of Egypt's sixteen current legalized opposition parties."[27]   The restrictions on Egypt's multi-party system aim to block the rise of viable challengers to the NDP.[28]

In 2011, the uprisings flourished after the Libya occasions. There were many reasons for those opposition movements. We will examine those reasons on two basis. Initially, it is crucial to understand the internal reasons. First of all, although the economy was developed between 2005- 2010; some economic crises were in high levels. Almost half of the population with 85 million was living below the poverty level and unemployment was more popular among the young population. Moreover, money was losing value each and every day and there was a huge gap between the poor and rich. Police was using force to maintain the order stability against the opponents all the time and maybe the most important one is that; Mubarak's main goal was to succeed his son after his resign, but when we look at his son Gamal Mubarak, he did not have a military background. This ended with losing the support coming from the military. Throughout the Mubarak era, bribery and corruption was on very high levels. When we look at his foreign policy, there are two significant cases took place during the Mubarak era. First of all, Mubarak did not react against the attacks of Israel against Hamas and also Mubarak prevented the humanitarian aid to convey the helps coming from the other countries by keeping the borders close to Palestine. Secondly, when Iraq is intervened by the United States, Mubarak kept his silence. These two cases caused to an increasing anger and disagreement among the society against the rule of Mubarak. Although Mubarak took strong measures against any kind of civil society, but could not deal with the new kind of activists who are young and successful social media users. In other words, those protestors had a chance to reach millions of people within couple of moves in social media. For example, Khaled Said is dead in 2010 because of the torture made by the police in Alexandria. After that, young activists opened a page in Facebook in the name of "we are all Khaled Said". The main goal of those activists was not only finding support within the country. They were also arranging protests worldwide in support of Egypt. There were three main oppositions to the rule of Mubarak. The first group was Muslim Brotherhood which were Islamists, the second

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[26]*Nathan and Shahin, Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East, p. 205.*
[27]*These parties include Misr al-Fatih (Young Egypt), 'Adil Ijtama'i (Social Justice), Al-Ahrar, Sha'b 2D2im uqrati(Democratic Peoples), Al-'Amal, Wafaq (National Accord), and Misr (Misr Al-'Arab Al-Ishtaraki).*
[28]*Joshua A. Stacher, Parties over: The Demise of Egypt's Opposition Parties (Taylor & Francis, Ltd. : British Journal of Middle Eastern Studies,: Vol. 31, No. 2), p. 220.*

one was composed of Secular Activists and lastly there were Nasserist people who were Egyptian nationalists. All of these groups had one single common them that brought them together: getting rid of from the regime and authoritarianism. Just after 3 weeks of the flourish of rebellions against Mubarek, he left the Office in 11 February 2011. There are two important criteria shown that he cannot deal with the social corruption. First of all; a statement of Mubarek was very interesting. "Mubarak said he wants to die in Egypt - careful what you wish for!" Guapo Plethora, a user on micro-blogging site Twitter, wrote.[29] Secondly, the speech of military high officers made was very influential. They said that; military will not prevent if protestors demand for their civil rights and liberties. This speech encouraged people that they swarmed in the Tahrir square, which is a symbol of rebellions against the Mubarak rule. The resign of President was not enough for the Egyptians. They wanted Mubarak to be judged. For that reason, they pushed the military to arrest Mubarak and bring him to the Court. "Hosni Mubarak, was cleared of the murder of hundreds who called for his removal in 2011. A Cairo court ruled on Saturday that it did not have jurisdiction over what it judged to be politically motivated charges, and dismissed the case. Mubarak was also acquitted of several other corruption charges."[30] Even the head of Supreme Military Office, who took the power after the resign of Mubarak within the trial, claimed that; they took no order from Mubarak to intervene into the rebellions to prevent it. People became very disappointed when they saw that Mubarak is punished for only 25 years of imprisonment after thirty years of authoritarian rule. These occasions made the Egyptians to think on two things: first of all, the Judiciary was not independent, because judges were appointed by Mubarak himself. They were thinking that it was not possible to judge Mubarak without Egyptians electing the judges. Moreover, the military officers who were working under the Mubarak authoritarian regime had to be resigned as soon as possible. Because of those them, the neutrality of the trial actualized under the influence of Mubarak. "Egyptians lost much hope of obtaining either when they allowed the military to seize control of the transition process in February 2011 and to start making all the rules on its own."[31]

JANUARY 25 REVOLUTION

In May-June 2012 the presidential elections took place. There were two important candidates on the scene. One of them was Morsi who was known with his relations with the Muslim Brotherhood. The other candidate was Ahmad Shafik who was a senior commander in the Egyptian Air Force during the Mubarak era. Throughout the election campaigns, while Shafik is blamed Morsi if he comes the risks of the following would take place like stricter religious implementations. He used the cases of Iran where scarf if obligatory for women, Afghanistan where banks closed down and work of arts are banned, Saudi Arabia where women cannot drive, Tunusia where many attacks took place to the bars and clubs. On the other hand, Morsi had a stronger leverage which was if Shafik comes to power Egyptians would be possible loose what they gained after the 2011 uprisings and the former authoritarian regime would be repaired. "There were two prevailing schools of thought with regard to the Brotherhood's likely course. The first holds that the Brotherhood, […] , will seek an accommodation with the SCAF if not an outright deal. Indeed, even after the elections, the Brotherhood has continued to show a willingness to accommodate the military council, most recently by supporting the SCAF's timetable for leaving power in July when most other political forces were insisting on moving up its departure to April or even earlier. Some Brotherhood leaders have also shown growing disdain for the protest movement, echoing the military's

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[29]Aljazeera.com,. 2011. "Mubarak Concessions 'Insufficient". http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middlee-ast/2011/02/20112272918301323.html.

[30]Kingsley, Patrick. "Hosni Mubarak Cleared Of Conspiring To Kill Protesters In Egypt'S 2011 Uprisin'". (The Guardian, 2014). http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/nov/29/hosni-mubarak-cleared-conspiring-kill-protesters-egypt-2011-uprising.

[31]Brown, Egypt's Failed to Democracy, p.46.

rhetoric about 'anarchists' and 'stability.'"[32] Egyptians gave a chance to renewal rather than the older regime. So, Morsi won the elections. Morsi was the first President who is elected through democratic ways. "The things were needed for Egypt's post-2011 democratic developments: a broad agreement among elites on the rules of the transition, and a procedure that allowed people to express their will early without having all matters settled by backroom deals. Without general consensus on the rulers, spoilers would cover the landscape; without popular participation, there might be a stable outcome but it would not be democratic."[33]

POST-MORSI ABDULFETTAH AL-SISI PERIOD

Democratically elected Morsi was in trouble because he could not solve the problems between different interest groups. Liberals and seculars on the one hand, wanted military to make a coup d'état whereas religious branch within the society was supporting Morsi. When the revolts against the democratically elected President increased, in July 1, the military gave an ultimatum to Morsi to stop the disagreement. He had only 24 hours to deal with the conflict, and of course he could not succeed to solve it. As a result of that; "Fattah el-Sisi, who was the chief of the Egyptian Armed Forces, ousted President Mohammed Morsi amidst an uprising in 2013, launching a bloody crackdown that left 1,400 dead and 16,000 detained."[34] Sisi appointed Adly Mansour as the interim Egyptian president until the Presidential elections, but after a while in order to demand for presidential elections he said that; Mansour is failing to provide stability and made a coup d'état. Sisi was sure that he would be a President. For that reason he became the candidate for presidency and he quit from the military in March 2014. In May 2015, presidential elections took place and there was no strong opposition against Sisi, because "the Muslim Brotherhood, the winner of the last presidential election, is banned."[35] Sisi won the elections with 97 per cent. It is important that; only 40 per cent of the total voters went to the ballot. It is maybe because of that, they were tired of going to the ballot in every year. Since the 2011, the resign of Mubarak the voters went to the ballot for two Presidential elections, three times for Referendums and two times for Parliamentary Elections. Lastly, a new Parliamentary election took place which is very important because after the Parliamentary was closed down three years ago and there are lots of laws to be passed by the Parliament.

As a result of that election, Sisi became stronger by providing a majority within the Parliament. Once in office, Sisi promised he would restore security and improve the lives of millions of Egyptians.[36] For some people, he kept his promise by decreasing the unemployment, For some people, he kept his promise by decreasing the unemployment, providing some economic stability, but it is still in question whether if he will succeed in keeping his promise or not. "The struggle between the Brotherhood and military is not yet over."[37]

[32]*Khaled Elgindy, Egypt's Troubled Transition: Elections without Democracy (The Washington Quarterly: 2012), p. 101.*

[33]*Nathan J. Brown, Egypt's Failed to Democracy (Journal of Democracy: 2013), p.46.*

[34]*Jeremy Bowen, "Egypt Election: Sisi Secures Landslide Win"(BBC News, 2015) http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27614776*

[35]*Patrick Kingsley, "Abdel Fatah al-Sisi resigns from Egypt military to run for presidency" (The Guardian: 2014) Retrieved 3 December 2015, from http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/mar/26/sisi-resigns-egypt-military-run-for-presidency*

[36]*David Foster, "Has Egypt's Sisi delivered on any of his promises?" (Al Jazeera:2015) Retrieved 3 December 2015, from http://www. aljazeera.com/programmes/insidestory/2015/06/egypt-sisi-delivered-promises-150607201302172.html*

[37]*Bruce K. Rutherford, "Egypt after Mubarek: Liberalism, Islam and Democracy in the Arab World" (Princeton University Press: 2013), p.8.*

CRITICISM TOWARDS ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF MODERATE ISLAM

Most of the states are known as religious on the basis of accepting a particular religion as official religion by the countries in the region and takes Sharia as the source of law. This means, almost all the countries rule through the system that Islam or Judaism offers to the society. The system offers rules not only about how to rule the state, but rather it regulates the economy, builds the society or disperses it. Legitimacy in these countries based on religion. Democracy had been a long way in Europe, but what about the Middle East? Development of democracy is a new phenomenon since the 9/11 attacks held in America and it totally affected the politics in the Middle East region. On the other hand, religion has always been at the heart of the Middle East where struggles emerged among the countries when the democratization process took place within the internal politics among the countries. Scholars studied on the issue that whether if Islam is compatible with western political ideas like democracy or not. Secularization and democratization debates within Middle East countries caused to a division among the scholars. There are two main lines on that debate. Reformists on the one hand, and radicals on the other hand. Those lines show some common themes, but there are great differences on the basis of approaches to modernization and borrowing Western political concepts and models and the strategy to bring about the Islamic government.

This research will be divided on three different parts. First of all, we will try to explain the Reformist Movement who thinks like Rachid Qhannoushi (Ghannoushi) who is the leader of the Tunisian Islamist movement and then we will mention the opponent side of the Reformist Movement known as Radicalist Movement which is under the influence of Mawdudi, Sayyid Qutb, Hasan al-Banna. Muslim Brotherhood's ideology and strategy directly reflects the ideas and solutions of those peoples. Lastly we will compare and contrast the two opponent ideas towards Islam and democracy on the basis of their approaches.

6.1. Islamist Reformism

A close look into the history of Islamic revivalism exposes the variety of perspectives within the Islamic political thought. Islamic revivalism […] was that Muslim peoples had diverged too far from their faith, and that a return to the core values of their religion would restore the community's rightful dignity- along with political, social and economic control of their lives.[38] In this context, there are basically two main positions of thinking which have contributed to the latest rise of Islamism and which account for the discourses and strategies of present-day Islamic movements. It is once more two schools of thought that have put the basic principles of a more general debate on the compatibility between Western political systems and in the Islamic principles, each providing a different analysis of Islamic sources and tradition and therefore, arriving at different conclusions. Though these two perspectives have been acknowledged in several researches on political Islam,

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[38]*Jillian Schwedler, "Politics and Society in the Contemporary Middle East" (Colorado, United States of America: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2010): 123.*

they are categorized under changing means. Some scholars grouped them as 'moderates and radicals'[39], some as 'reformist/modernist and fundamentalists[40], some other call them 'inclusivist and exclusivist'[41]

This chapter will be focus on moderates, reformists/modernists or inclusivists. Islam, democracy and secularism represent some of the major concerns in the current intellectual discourse.[42] The goal of this reformist tendency has been to reinterpret many accepted Islamic axioms in light of new conditions in order to bring them closer to modern standards of rights, responsibilities, and behavior. In fact, the objective of reformist Muslims is to reconcile Islam and modernity or, as some have maintained, to native modernity in Muslims societies.[43] One of the most significant scholars of the reformist movement is Rachid Ghannoushi who does not close the doors of new ways of thinking within Islam and interpreting and reinterpreting the Islamic sources in the way of daily needs of the Muslim community. According to Rachid Ghannoushi Islam can be reconciled with Western Concepts such as Democracy and Human Rights. He says that; there are no acceptable bases for the idea of Islam and Christianity confrontation. Those two religions had a long term relations before the 19th century as well. However, as West took the superiority over military, economic and political, then the relationship between two changed. The respect of the West towards the traditions and way of life of Islam was a useful way to keep the tension minimal. It is important to keep it in mind that; west is not the eternal enemy of Islam World and although West is supporting authoritarian regimes within the region, one should not underestimate the contributions of the West on the basis of democracy. The approach of the west caused the emergence of some militant Islamist movements which declared Jihad against the West and those movements made it as a cause. For Ghannoushi; Islam is compatible to democracy and Islamic tradition can be accepted as the clue for it. He explains some concepts. One of those concepts is Shura. It is the basis of the Parliamentary democracy, is a consultation mechanism composed of representatives. Another concept is Ijma which is the basis of the consensual democracy. Rather than an authoritarian leadership, Ijma foresees the reconciliation of the political leader with the Muslims. Ijtihad as another concept which is the basic method of the Islamic tradition. It provides independently interpretation of the historical contexts according to its needs and while doing that it looks what is right and wrong. Through that, it provides to make[44] an interpretation whether Islam is compatible with Islam or not and making critics. There is no direct answer in Qur'an to that question, but İjtihad method is a tool to

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[39]Ahmad Mousxalli, "Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism" (Florida: University of Press), 1999).

[40]Shukri Abed, "Islam and Democracy", in Democracy, War and Peace in the Middle East, Ed. by David Granham and Mark Tessler (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995): 116-132.

[41]See Chapter 3 in Ahmed Mousalli, "Moderate and Radical Islamic Fundamentalism" : 86-102.

[42]Islamic Reformism: definition and prospects, 2013. Available from: <http://journal.georgetown.edu/islamic-reformism-definition-and-prospects-shireen-t-hunter/ >. [29 November 2015]

[43]Islamic Reformism: "Definition and Prospects", 2013. Available from: <http://journal.georgetown.edu/islamic-reformism-definition-and-prospects-shireen-t-hunter/ >. [29 November 2015].

[44]Alfred Stepan, Religion, "Democracy and the Twin Tolerations" in World Religions and Democracy (The Johns Hopkins University and Press, 2005) : 1-10.

interpret or reinterpret the needs of the Muslims taking into accounts the contemporary needs and demands of the Muslims. Ghannoushi invites the Muslims to open that gate to reform Islam according to the contemporary needs of the Muslims. He is also definitely against the usage of violence to advance the Islamist cause. As of being a reformist, Ghannoushi believes in bottom-up strategy rather than radical politics to Islamize the individual, then the family, then the society and finally the state. For him, there is nothing within the Islam as a limitation to become secular. Islamists should make political organizations and participate into the elections for the parliament and associations. He underlines that; democracy turns abode war (dar al-harb) into abode of peace. (dar al-Islam) Jihad is not an offensive expansionist strategy. Rather, nationally it is defensive strategy. Personally, it is spiritual struggle with the "self".

Stepan states that: according to Huntington "Western Christianity . . . is historically the single most important characteristic of Western civilization." So for Huntington West made an important contribution to democracy by separating the Church and State and they all satisfies Dahl's eighty institutional conditions But Alfred Stepan claims that; though West separated the two, states have varies of approaches towards religions as being a democratic state as well. These approaches take different forms. For example; there are democratic states, but also friendly to religion where there is no any official religion and there is a full of freedom to religion in private and public sphere. On the other hand there are some other states which are not secular, but friendly to all religions. So the state has an official religion. Germany and Austria have constitutional provisions in their federal system allowing local communities to decide on the role of religion in education. Germany does not have an established church but Protestantism and Catholicism are recognized as official religions.[45] People may give a tax to the Church if they want to do without an obligation. A similar approach may be accepted within MENA countries, but again democracy is an important feature. Although Secularism is not needed as can be understood from Stepan's point of view, democracy is inevitable a condition that must be met to provide a twin toleration between the religion and democracy. For him, there is no religion directly fits with democratic conditions, but what West did is the interpretation and reinterpretation of religious doctrines and texts. This is what also Ghannoushi shares with Stepan, but Ghannoushi's perspective differs from state to state in parallel with the context within the states. For example; Ghannoushi's [...] goal was for Tunisia to be "a civic state, not a religious state.[46]

As a result; reformist line of school underlines peaceful means of sustaining democracy and thinks that Islam is compatible with the democracy itself. Qur'an does not directly say that democracy is not applicable or other type of Western norms must be rejected. Islam does not close the gate of modernization in the approach of Modernists and Ghannoushi offers ways to succeed on that.8

6.3.   Islamist Revolutionarism

Radical Islamic theory is first emerged in the writings of Abul Ala Mawdudi who was the founder and leader of the Jamaat-I Islami in Pakistani. He greatly influenced the ideas of Hasan al-Banna who is the founder of one of the most influential revivalist organizations of the 20th century; Muslim Brotherhood. Hasan al-Banna was a scholar and he witnessed the Egyptian Revolution. He was one of the Egyptian nationalists with a lack of satisfaction of the Vafd Party because of its moderate way of reforms. Another important thinker is Sayyid Qutb who deepened the ideas of Mawdudi and made those ideas as the basis of the Revolutionary ideology for the contemporary Muslim Community.

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[45]*See same Chapter in Alfred Stepan, "Religion, Democracy and the Twin Tolerations" : 7.*
[46]*Alfred Stepan's interview with Rachid Ghannouchi and Hamadi Jebali, Tunis, 30 May 2011.*

Qutb shared three main ideas of Mawdudi. First of them is that; was the clash between the theoretical foundation of Islam (Hakimiyya and Tawhid). Both Mawdudi and Qutb believed that democracy can be applicable in Islam because it challenges the sovereignty of God. In Islam "the source of power is God, not the people".[47]Because democracy is based on the popular sovereignty and it underestimates the will of God, democracy may be accepted as a rebellion against God and his sovereignty. Since the sharia is a perfect, complete legal and moral system that no further man made legislation is possible.[48] Furthermore Qutb believes that democracy is a form of 'modern' jahiliyya. Qutb views secular democracy not only as a deliberate violation of divine laws, but also a reversion to the days of pagan ignorance (jahiliyya).[49]

Carrie Rosefsky Wickham states that; "beyond the general meaning of jihad as "struggle" , the Brotherhood viewed it as the legitimate use of force, both as a method to enlarge the territory under Islamic rule and as a means to defend the Muslim community when it was subjected to the rule of unbelievers […]."[50]

6.1.2. Comparison and Compare of Reformist and Radical Islamism

There are some similarities and differences between the reformist line and revolutionary line of thinking. There are five main similarities between the two. First of all; on the principle of the unity of God is in parallel in the two lines of thinking. Unity of God means that; God's rules should regulate all aspects of human life, private and public, political and non-political. A socio-political system in which God's laws (Sharia) can regulate one aspect of life but not some others cannot be considered an Islamic one. The principle seems to contradict with the Western principle of secularism, but as Alfred Stepan mentioned before a state can be democratic and yet religious. The second similarity is the principle of God's absolute sovereignty. Both an Islamic society and state should be guided by God-given laws and rules instead of man-made rules. Any system that is based on man's sovereignty instead of God is a deviation from the true path of Islam. This principles seems to be incompatible with the notion of popular sovereignty. The third commonality is the call for authenticity. All Islamist movements, whether reformist or radical, call for a return to authentic sources- Islamic traditions and principles- in order to establish a sound state and society. They call for stopping the imitation of the Western concepts, institutional and ways of life. The last comparable principle is the shura which is an assembly for consultation. All Islamists, even the radical revolutionary line of thinking, acknowledge the importance of popular will as the basis of an Islamic state. There are also two great differences which are on the approaches to modernization and borrowing Western political concepts and models and the strategy to bring about the Islamic state. According to reformists the political concepts of West as democracy, pluralism and human rights which are universal, can be accepted. Those principles are compatible with Islam just as they fit to Judaism and Christianity. Through selective reading of the Islamist doctrines those concepts may be easily become applicable. For example; Shura can be the basis of Parliamentary Democracy. However; the decisions taken by Shura are not binding. Reformists underlines that the decisions of Shura must be binding. Thus the consent of the rules is taken through the Shura. On the other hand; Revolutionarists disagree with that and totally takes an opposition on the idea if taking the concesent of the rules. Moreover they claim that; west is the eternal enemy of Islam. For that reason any type of political concept which is flourished in the west cannot be applicable. The second difference is on their strategies. Reformists support participation in the elections and on every level

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[47]*"Theoretical Paradigms of Islamic Movements", Political Studies XLI, 1993: 110.*

[48]*Esposito and Piscatori, " Democratisation and islam," Middle East Journal 45, 3 (Summer 1991): 436.*

[49]*Choueiri, Islamic Fundamentalism, 1990, p. 106.*

[50]*Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, "The Muslim Brotherhood: Evolution of an Islamist Movement", (Princeton University Press, 2013) , p.26.*

of political life. They believe this would make it possible a peaceful change toward the Islamic rule. In other words, moderate Islamists are those who seek to achieve an Islamized state and society through nonviolent means.51 Contrary to reformists, Radical Islamists employ decidedly undemocratic means, such as violence, to achieve their ends.[52]

CONCLUSION

Democratization process of Egypt took rise after the 9/11 attacks in United states, resulted with a fail because of the lack of democratic development within the Egyptian history and the pluralism.

This thesis showed that, how a religious organization transformed to a revolutionary one. A successful democratic development needed an agreement among the political elites and a strategy to consolidate the system. Nonetheless, Egyptian military has always been within the politics of Egypt that caused to many undemocratic developments as coup d'états. Throughout the process many military actors come to power. The effects of military can be seen from the very beginning of declare of the Republic. Nasser, Anwar Sadat, Hosni Mubarak, Tantawi, Mansour who is elected by Sisi and finally Sisi became the President. The only President of Egypt who is democratically elected by Egyptians was Morsi, and although he came with democratic free and fair elections, some of the very same electorates wanted military to make a coup d'état. The understanding of Egyptians on the basis of democracy is still problematic. The absence of democracy still on the table and Egypt is now in the hands of various power centers within the state: liberals, the Muslim Brotherhood, the Salafis and the military. Although the President Sisi abolished the Muslim Brotherhood, they are still alive. It may show a similar tendency with the Nasser era when he abolishes the organization from political life, but could not prevent the propagation from the political agenda and social life at all.

It is unknown that how Sisi will shape the future of Egypt, but it is obvious that the democratic transition of Egypt is a fail when we look at the situation in Libya.

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[51]*Janine A. Clark, "Islamist Movements and Democratic Politics" in Beyond the Arab Spring (Colorado: Lynne Rienner Punlishers, 2012): 119.*
[52]*See same Chapter in Janine A. Clark, "Islamist Movements and Democratic Politics" : 123.*

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