

Ulrike Bechmann | Wolfram Reiss (Hg.)

Anwendungsorientierte Religionswissenschaft

Beiträge zu gesellschaftlichen und politischen Fragestellungen

9

Cornelis Hulsman (Ed.)

FROM RULING TO OPPOSITION

Islamist Movements and Non-Islamist Groups in Egypt 2011–2013

Anwendungsorientierte Religionswissenschaft

herausgegeben von Ulrike Bechmann und Wolfram Reiss

Cornelis Hulsman (ed.)

From Ruling to Opposition

Islamist Movements and Non-Islamist Groups
in Egypt 2011-2013

With contributions of:

Jayson Casper

Nicholas Gjørvad

Quinta Smit

Eline Kasanwidjojo

Tectum Verlag

This book is mainly based on interviews with Islamists in Egypt.
The interviews are accessible at Arab-West Report:
<http://www.arabwestreport.info/en/project/interviews-islamist-movements-2013>.

Anwendungsorientierte Religionswissenschaft

Beiträge zu gesellschaftlichen und politischen Fragestellungen

Band 9

Ulrike Bechmann | Wolfram Reiss (Hg.)

Cornelis Hulsman (ed.)

From Ruling to Opposition

Islamist Movements and Non-Islamist Groups in Egypt 2011-2013

© Tectum Verlag Marburg, 2017

ISBN: 978-3-8288-6739-0

(Dieser Titel ist zugleich als gedrucktes Werk unter der ISBN 978-3-8288-3837-6 im

Tectum Verlag erschienen.)

ISSN: 2194-8941

Editorial Reviewers:

Anna Hager

Sanna Plieschenegger

Wolfram Reiss

Eva Ritt

Language Editors:

Jenna Ferrecchia

Catherine Volkmann

Quinta Smit

Matthew Sparks

Nicholas Gjørvad

Interview Transcript Editors:

Lina Ashour

Mahmoud Magdy

Mohammed Abdelsalam Radwan

Mohamed Ayman Ebrahim

Umschlaggestaltung: Rita Kämmerer

Bibliografische Informationen der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek

Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Angaben sind im Internet über <http://dnb.ddb.de> abrufbar.

Contents

Abbreviations..... 11

Notes on Transliteration..... 11

Glossary (*Cornelis Hulsman*)..... 12

Foreword (*Ambassador Mona Omar*)..... 17

Comments of Scholars on the Book..... 19

1 Introduction (*Cornelis Hulsman*)..... 23

2 The Political Participation of the Muslim Brotherhood (*Eline Kasanwidjojo*) 33

2.1 Introduction 33

2.2 Brief Historical Overview of the Muslim Brotherhood 35

2.3 Structure and Organization of the Brotherhood 38

2.4 Recruitment Process 39

2.5 The Idea of Political Participation 41

2.6 Leadership 46

2.7 Brotherhood Political Participation After 2011 48

2.7.1 The Freedom and Justice Party 48

2.7.2 The Political Project of the Brotherhood..... 51

2.7.3 Muslim Brotherhood Political Presence and the Ballot Box After January 25, 2011..... 52

2.7.4 Divisions Following the Revolution 54

2.7.4.1 Strong Egypt Party 54

2.7.4.2 Egyptian Current Party..... 58

2.8 The Brotherhood in Power and Their Fall from Power 56

2.8.1 Public Support for the Brotherhood..... 57

2.8.2 Challenges During Mursi’s Presidency 58

2.8.3 Political Decisions and Mistakes 59

2.8.3.1	Pluralism and Inclusivity	60
2.8.3.2	Presidential Decree.....	61
2.8.3.3	Christian Support	63
2.8.3.4	Economy.....	64
2.8.3.5	Security.....	64
2.8.3.6	Ethiopian Dam	65
2.8.3.7	‘Brotherhoodization’	66
2.8.4	After June 30, 2013	67
2.9	Conclusion.....	69

3	Salafī Political Participation and the “Islamic Project” (<i>Quinta Smit</i>)	73
3.1	Introduction	73
3.2	Defining Concepts.....	75
3.2.1	Salafism.....	75
3.2.2	Islamism	78
3.3	History and the January 25 Revolution: Becoming Politically Active	79
3.3.1	Before the January 25 Revolution.....	79
3.3.2	The Salafi Shaykhs and the January 25 Revolution	81
3.3.3	The Ideological Agenda of Salafī Parties.....	83
3.4	Tension Between Political and Religious Salafism	85
3.4.1	No United Salafī Movement.....	86
3.4.2	Dilemma with the Shaykhs	89
3.4.3	Mobilizing Support.....	90
3.4.4	Shaykhs’ Limited Knowledge of Economics and Politics.....	92
3.4.5	June 30 and the Struggle Between Political Pragmatism and Religious Purity	94
3.4.5.1	Al-Nūr Party and Political Pragmatism.....	94

3.4.5.2	Preservation of a Religiously Conservative Identity.....	95
3.4.6	The “Islamic Project”	99
3.4.6.1	The Constitutional Debate.....	99
3.4.6.2	2012 Presidential Elections.....	99
3.4.6.3	The Making and Breaking of Alliances.....	101
3.5	Product of the Revolution.....	103
3.5.1	A Revolutionary Environment and Support Base....	103
3.5.2	The Revolutionary Character of Salafi Political Parties	105
3.5.3	Implications of Being a Product of the Revolution.....	108
3.6	Conclusion.....	110

4 Al-Jamā‘a al-Islāmiyya: The Burden of History on Internal Transition (*Jayson Casper*) 113

4.1	Introduction	113
4.2	History	114
4.2.1	Hisba	115
4.2.2	State Response	115
4.2.3	Adoption of Violence	116
4.2.4	‘The Revisions’	116
4.3	Reconstitution.....	117
4.4	Politicization	118
4.4.1	Internal Democracy	118
4.4.2	Financing.....	119
4.4.3	Political Influence.....	120
4.5	Mobilization.....	121
4.5.1	Revolutionary Fervor	122
4.5.2	Nonviolent Advocacy	123
4.5.3	Joining a Social Islamism	124

4.5.4	Controversies in Mobilizing Practice.....	125
4.5.4.1	Militias.....	125
4.5.4.2	Rhetoric for the People.....	126
4.6	Philosophy.....	126
4.6.1	The Conception of Violence	126
4.6.2	The Conception of Democracy and Shūrā	128
4.7	Conclusion.....	130
5	Non-Political Islamists: The Jihādī Salafīs and the Situation in Sinai (<i>Jayson Casper</i>).....	133
5.1	Introduction	133
5.2	Jihādī Salafīs and Ideological Non-Participation	135
5.2.1	Restoring Jihād and Shari‘a.....	135
5.2.2	How to Restore Jihād and Shari‘a	138
5.3	Bedouins, Jihādis, and Geographical Non-Participation.....	140
5.3.1	The Security Sector and Bedouin Tribes	140
5.3.2	Militancy in the Sinai.....	143
5.3.3	Local Political Islamism	145
5.4	Conclusion.....	145
6	Non-Islamist Political Actors in Egypt (<i>Nicholas Gjorvad</i>).....	147
6.1	Introduction	147
6.2	Defining “Non-Islamist” Groups in Egypt	147
6.3	Non-Islamists before the Egyptian Revolution: Cooperation with Islamist Groups.....	149
6.4	Non-Islamists after the Egyptian Revolution	150
6.5	The NDP and the Fulūl	153
6.6	The Meaning of Fulūl	153
6.6.1	Political Involvement After 2011	155
6.7	Non-Islamist Parties	157

6.8	Non-Islamist Movements.....	157
6.9	Non-Islamists in Politics	159
6.9.1	Religion and Personal Freedoms.....	159
6.9.2	The Issue of Shari'a in the Constitution	160
6.9.3	Egypt or an Organization?	162
6.9.4	Religious Diversity in Egypt	163
6.9.5	Religion in Electoral Politics.....	165
6.10	Countering the Islamist Rule: Reflections of Non-Islamists	167
6.10.1	Uniting Non-Islamists	167
6.10.1.1	The National Salvation Front.....	167
6.10.1.2	Tamarrud	169
6.10.2	"Principles" Versus "Politics"	170
6.10.3	Reaching a Broader Audience.....	172
6.10.4	The Political Issue of Social Services.....	174
6.10.5	Mobilizing the Street	175
6.10.6	Time as an Ally?	176
6.11	Conclusion.....	177
7	Conclusion (<i>Cornelis Hulsman</i>)	179
Appendix 1: Organizations and Interviewees Mentioned in This Book..... 183		
Appendix 2: Index of Names of People		
Appendix 3: Chronology of Events		
Bibliography		
About the Center for Arab-West Understanding.....		
About the Authors.....		

Abbreviations

AWR	Arab West Report
FJP	Freedom and Justice Party
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IJMES	International Journal of Middle East Studies
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
SCAF	Supreme Council of the Armed Forces
SCC	Supreme Constitutional Court

Notes on Transliteration

There are a plurality of transliteration systems used for transliterating Arabic texts into English. To ensure consistency, this book uses the IJMES transliteration chart which transliterates the letter ‘g’ (Egyptian colloquial) with ‘j’ (Modern Standard Arabic). The names of places reasonably familiar to the English-speaking reader have been written in their familiar form (for example Tahrir Square rather than *midān al-taḥrīr*). Neither the IJMES wordlist for exceptions nor not adding diacritics to names has been applied for the sake of consistency. The article is *al-*. After the prepositions *li*, *bi* and *fi* the initial ‘a’ of the article is replaced by – (for example *bi-l-Waṭan*). Furthermore, no assimilation to sun-letters was applied. No hamza was used for the article. As for Arabic letterblocks containing more than one word, the different words are connected through – (for example *wa-bi-l-Waṭan*). No cases were used for single nouns since these are rarely written in modern Arabic publications. The cases in plural, however, have been used. We used the English plural for transliterated Arabic concepts (for example *muftī – muftīs*). To see a list of alternative spellings of names, please refer to Appendix I and II.

All Arabic words are in italics with the exception of personal names. No italics have been used in titles and sub-titles. Names of religious groups, currents and scriptures have been capitalized.

Glossary (*Cornelis Hulsman*)

This includes Islamic terms which had different meanings in traditional Islam and that have been partly altered in the discourse of Islamists.

akh al-ʿamal Working Brother; the fifth rank of membership within the Muslim Brotherhood.

al-Niẓām al-Khāṣṣ The militant wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, established in the late 1930s and active until around 1965 following massive arrests. The leadership of the Brotherhood made the political decision in the late 1960s to abandon local armed activism. This wing was known for its secrecy and violence. Many members were arrested in the 1960s and released by President al-Sādāt in the 1970s. Former *al-Niẓām al-Khāṣṣ* member Maḥdī ʿĀkif was Supreme General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood between 2004 and 2010 and nominated former *al-Niẓām al-Khāṣṣ* member Khayrat al-Shāṭir as his second deputy.²

Bahāʾī(s) Member(s) of the Bahāʾī faith, a monotheistic religion that emphasizes the spiritual unity of all human kind. Its founder was Muslim and most early followers came from Islam. Their claim of having a prophet after the prophet Muḥammad is not accepted by traditional Muslims.

daʿwa Call to Islam, spreading the word of Islam by education and preaching.

fatwā(s) Legal opinion(s) given by a recognized Muslim scholar. Traditional Muslims usually recognize different scholars as Islamist Muslims which may result in contradictory *fatwās*.

fulūl Literally: Remnants. Derogative term used by opponents of the Mubārak regime to describe those with a close association with the Mubārak regime.

¹ With the assistance of Prof. Abdallah Schleifer and Eildert Mulder.

² Pargeter 2013; Ashour 2014.

<i>Ḥadīth</i>	Sayings and actions attributed to Prophet Muḥammad, that play a canonical role as a basic commentary on the <i>Qurʾān</i> . This includes narration, descriptions of his deeds and manners, dress and physical attributes and approval or disapproval of the Prophet.
<i>ḥakimiyya</i>	Belief that all things in life are under God's sovereignty and hence this implies that everything, including law and institutions, has to be Islamic. In recent years this term has, in Islamists discourse, obtained the meaning that Muslim scholars can authoritatively determine – as instruments of God – how to apply this.
<i>ḥarām</i>	Forbidden under Islam.
<i>ḥisba</i>	The Islamic concept of accountability based on the <i>Qurʾānic</i> verse "Enjoin what is good and forbid what is wrong," giving the government the duty to coercively command right and forbid wrong in order to keep everything in order according to the <i>Shariʿa</i> . Islamists have made this the right of, giving any Muslim to bring another before the court for violating religious principles.
<i>jāhiliyya</i>	The pre-Islamic period (known as the time of ignorance). This term has been redefined by some Islamists as being applicable to Muslims whose actions and words are not approved by these Islamists.
<i>jihād</i>	Literally: "Striving in the way of God" or "struggle". The spiritual struggle against the ego is called 'greater <i>jihād</i> .' The term is also used for armed struggle against whoever is perceived as the enemies of Islam, which for radical Islamists can include other Muslims who are opposed to Islamists. This designation is not limited to one particular current in Islam.
<i>jihādī</i>	Jihadist, person engaged in <i>jihād</i> , contemporary term to describe Islamist fighters (only a few decades ago the term <i>mujāhid</i> was used by Islamists as well as non-Islamists fighting the Russians in Afghanistan).
<i>jihādī Salafī(s)</i>	Salafi who believes that <i>jihād</i> is an essential component of his beliefs.

<i>ijtihād</i>	Analogical reasoning in Islam to find a solution to a legal problem.
<i>Kīfāya</i>	Literally: Enough. Name of a protest movement founded in 2004, primarily against the expected transfer of power from president Mubārak to his son Jamāl.
<i>madhhab</i>	A traditional school of Islamic law.
<i>Maktab al-Irshād</i>	Guidance Council of the Muslim Brotherhood or <i>al-Jamā'a al-Islāmiyya</i> .
<i>mu'ayyid</i>	Supporter; the second rank of membership within the Muslim Brotherhood.
<i>muftī</i>	An Islamic scholar with the authorization to give <i>fatwās</i> , who has, in traditional Islam, received an official appointment by the state. Islamist groups have appointed their own <i>muftīs</i> since they do not recognize the <i>muftīs</i> that have been appointed by a non-Islamist state.
<i>muḥibb</i>	Literally: lover; follower, the first rank of membership within the Muslim Brotherhood.
<i>muntasib</i>	Affiliate; the third rank of membership of the Muslim Brotherhood.
<i>muntazim</i>	Organizer; the fourth rank of membership within the Muslim Brotherhood.
<i>murshid</i>	Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood. This term is an example of <i>Ṣūfī</i> terminology that has been adopted by Ḥasan al-Bannā for the Muslim Brotherhood.
<i>Nahḍa</i>	Literally: "Renaissance." Name chosen by the Muslim Brotherhood for their political, economic and scientific program in 2012. This name was earlier used for the secular cultural revival in the Arab world at the end of the 19th century and beginning of the 20th Century in which the core actors were Arab Christians. Christians focused on the Arabic heritage, Islamists aimed at connecting the Arabic and Islamic heritage.
<i>Qur'ān</i>	Muslims believe the <i>Qur'ān</i> is the compilation of God's revelations.

<i>Qutbī(s)</i>	Member(s) of the Muslim Brotherhood following the ideas of Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), called conservatives by Muslim Brothers and revolutionaries by scholars in traditional Islam.
<i>salaf</i>	Devout ancestors from the days of the Prophet Muḥammad.
<i>Salafī(s)</i>	Adherent(s) of ultra-conservative reform movement within <i>Sunni</i> Islam. It aims to apply the traditions of the “devout ancestors” (<i>salaf</i>) in modern times.
<i>Sharī‘a</i> <i>shaykh(s)</i>	Body of legislation derived from <i>Qur’ān</i> and <i>Sunna</i> . Islamic teacher or scholar. Plural in Arabic: <i>shuyūkh</i> . In this text we used English grammar to make it plural since it has become a word that has more or less been adopted into the English language.
<i>Shī‘ī(s)</i>	Adherent(s) of <i>Shī‘ī</i> Islam.
<i>shūrā</i>	Consultation.
<i>Shūrā Council</i>	Egypt’s upper bicameral chamber of Parliament (pre-2014).
<i>Sunna</i>	Collection of recorded words/actions of Prophet Muḥammad.
<i>Şūfī</i>	Person adhering to a mystical dimension of Islam that preferences spiritual rather than legal sensibility.
<i>Tablighī(s)</i>	Adherents of missionary Muslim group advocating a return to the values of Islam in the days of the Prophet Muḥammad.
<i>takfīr</i>	The act of branding a fellow Muslim of apostasy. In traditional Islam only the state, representing the <i>umma</i> , is allowed to do so. Yet, Islamists believe they, as the vanguard of the <i>umma</i> , can do so as well. Traditional Islam rejects this.
<i>takfīrī</i>	Deregatory designation of a Muslim who accuses another Muslim of apostasy. This designation is not limited to one particular current in Islam.
<i>tarbiyya</i>	Education.

<i>Tilmiṣānī(s)</i>	Member(s) of the Muslim Brotherhood following the ideas of ‘Umar al-Tilmiṣānī (1904-1986).
<i>umma</i>	The worldwide Muslim community.
<i>usra</i>	Literally: “family.” A term taken from Ṣūfism to denote a basic cell of the Muslim Brotherhood.
<i>Wasatīyya</i>	Literally: “middle” or “center”, term used by politically engaged Muslims to describe that they are moderate. This is mostly used as a self-description of Islamists who are more open to contacts with people outside their own circle. The term was in particular adopted by <i>al-Waṣaṭ</i> Party.

Foreword (*Ambassador Mona Omar*)

When I was asked to write a foreword to this valuable book, I thought it would take a long time for me to just read it, but as soon as I started, I could not put the book down until I finished reading it. Firstly, I was so impressed by the number of interviews, and the quality of the information presented: this book is an invaluable reference for researchers and political analysts on one of the most misunderstood subjects. That is to say, the role of Islamists, particularly the Muslim Brotherhood in contemporary Egyptian politics.

The text is incredibly comprehensive, including historical background, and a plurality of points of view, ranging from the most radical right-wing to the most liberal. I would like to especially note the academic value of the research conducted by non-Egyptians. The work reveals an objective image about the events that took place in Egypt during the very critical period of 2011-2013. This book is a cornerstone for any researcher or political analyst seeking to understand what went on in the Middle East and Egypt during this pivotal period of history.

It is certainly in line with the objectives of the Center for Arab-West Understanding (CAWU), an NGO that was established by Dutch sociologist Cornelis Hulsman with the aim of creating understanding between Arab countries and the world at large. CAWU hopes to dispel the numerous negative efforts to create divisions between these cultural spheres by using sincere reporting based on nuanced realities, on the ground interviews, and comprehensive explanations. CAWU calls for dialogue, not confrontation, as a mechanism for reaching an understanding between the Arab world and the West. In my view, dialogue is not an option with those who would use violence and acts of terrorism against any human being.

With regard to peaceful Islamists, they have to accept democracy in practice which entails accepting the choice of the majority of the people. In Egypt's case, the elected president who came to power following a people's revolution rejecting the Muslim Brotherhood. In this regard, what they call *hisba*, which is a Machiavellian style of operating, has to disappear from their philosophy, and violence has to be completely erased from their vocabulary.

In conclusion, this book is a must-read for anyone who wants to understand what happened in Egypt in 2013 through diverse, comprehensive, and first-hand information.

Ambassador Mona Omar

Assistant Minister of Foreign Affairs (2008-2013),
Chair of International Committee at the National
Council for Women, Board Member of Egyptian
Council for Foreign Affairs, Honorary Member of
the Center for Arab-West Understanding

Comments of Scholars on the Book

“For any serious student of the modern Middle East, From Ruling to Opposition is a very necessary corrective to the conventional coverage of Egypt in the critical and turbulent years of 2011 to 2013. Much of that coverage was lazy, buying into the simple narrative offered to journalists by fluent Muslim Brotherhood spokesmen. The extensive interviews with Egyptians of all political persuasions and the thoughtful reporting in this book dispels such false oversimplifications.”

Abdallah Schleifer
Professor of Political Science and Mass
Communication, Future University, Egypt

“The merit of this well-researched book lies in the fact that it addresses a critical dimension that is absent from most of the academic and media analyses of what happened in Egypt during the events that led to 30th of June revolution. This objective, outstanding and thoroughly researched historical study provides an in-depth analysis of a great number of interviews with many key involved actors. I can consider this work as an excellent refutation of a monolith in propaganda studies that weaponized information for activating and achieving a given political agenda. I do highly recommend this book for those who are interested in the areas of historical analysis, political science, media studies and crisis management.”

Dr. Hassan Mohamed Wageih Hassan
PhD Georgetown University, Expert International
Negotiation and Crisis Management, Professor of
Linguistics and Political Science, al-Azhar University,
Chairman of Political Science Department at Faculty of
Economics and Political Science, Future University, Egypt

“I highly recommend this excellent documentary work for those who want to learn about the rise and fall of the Muslim Brothers’ rule in Egypt.”

Prof. Dr. Hoda Awad
Professor of Political Science at the Misr International
University, Secretary of the Center for Arab-West
Understanding, Egypt

"The authors have an eye for the socio-economic reverberations of the time: the tensions between pragmatism and puritanism, and the various stages of relationship between the state and Islamist movements from containment to open conflict. The editor has a vast experience of Egyptian affairs from his work in the country from 1976 to the present."

Amr Sherif
Bureau Chief of the Middle East News Agency
(MENA) Bureau in Ankara, Turkey, 2013-2016

"This book is the product of a dedicated group of researchers. Objectively presenting a multiplicity of viewpoints and perspectives, the book provides an enlightening analysis of the critical period in contemporary Egyptian history from 2011-2013. This is required reading for all scholars of Egyptian history, Islamic Movements, and political Islamism. I recommend this book as a textbook for all future students wishing to understand the post-2011 period of Egyptian history."

Ebtehal Younes
Head of the Department of French language and literature, Faculty of Letters, Cairo University, Professor of French and Comparative Civilization, Founder and president of the Dr. Nasr Hamed Abouzayd Institute for Islamic Studies, Egypt

"This is an important academic work that describes the rise and fall of Islamists in Egypt in 2013. When the Islamists came to power, they could have used their position to work on consensus-building, but instead they tried to push their own views upon the political opposition. This move alienated many non-Islamists who initially supported them. The rejection of the call for early presidential elections led to Mursi's downfall. This book is a must-read for anyone who wants to understand the dynamics of this period. It describes a period in our recent history that we hope and pray will never be repeated."

Rev. Dr. Safwat al-Bayadi
Honorary President of the Protestant Community Council, 2015-today, Member of the Constituent Assemblies of 2012 and 2013, Founding member of the Center for Arab-West Understanding.

“This book is a unique contribution to our understanding of Egyptian Islamism after 2011. This research represents the first sustained effort to synthesise the perspectives of a broad range of Islamist actors on important political issues. This book is essential to anyone interested in the development of Islamist movements after the Arab uprisings.”

Dr. Jerome Devon

Research fellow at the University of Manchester
(UK) specialised in political violence and insurgencies.

