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Cornelis Hulsman (Ed.)/Diana Serôdio

THE 2014 EGYPTIAN CONSTITUTION Perspectives from Egypt

With a Foreword by H.E. Amr Moussa

Anwendungsorientierte Religionswissenschaft

herausgegeben von Ulrike Bechmann und Wolfram Reiss

Cornelis Hulsman (ed.) Diana Serôdio

The 2014 Egyptian Constitution

Perspectives from Egypt

Foreword by H.E. Amr Moussa, Chairman of the Constitutional Assembly of 2013

With contributions from:

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This book is mainly based on interviews with actors involved in the formation of the 2014 Constitution. The interviews are accessible at Arab-West Report: http://www.arabwestreport.info/en

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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 includes such stylistic functions as transliterating 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 midan al-tahrir). 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-Watan). 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-Watan). 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 (mufti - muftis). Some Arabic names have been given in the preferred spelling of the person. In case of universities we used the name they use in English (for example Zagazig University). To see a list of alternative spellings, please refer to Appendix I. 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.

al-Karāma Literally: Dignity. Name of leftwing nationalist political

party inspired by the thoughts of late president Jamal

'Abd al-Nāṣir

al-Nūr Literally: The Light, name of largest Salafist political party

al-Tajammu Literally: Assembly. Name of leftist political party

al-Wafd Literally: The delegation, name of the oldest political party

in Egypt, founded in 1918, banned between 1952 and 1978,

since then called New al-Wafd Party

Bahā $\tilde{i}(s)$ Member(s) of the Bahā'ī 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.

fulūl Literally: Remnants. Derogatory term used by opponents

of the Mubārak regime to describe those with a close asso-

ciation with the Mubarak regime.

Hisba The Islamic concept of accountability based on the

Qur anic 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 Sharī a. Islamists have made this the right of, giving any Muslim to bring another

before the court for violating religious principles.

House of

Representatives Egypt's unicameral chamber (post-2014)

infitāh Literally: Opening, term used for President Anwar al-

Sādāt's liberal economic open door policy in the 1970s

People's Assembly Egypt's lower bicameral chamber of Parliament (pre-2014)

Qur ān Muslims believe the Qur ān is the compilation of God's

revelations.

shaykh(s) Islamic teacher or scholar. Plural in Arabic: shuyūkh. In this

text we used English grammar to make it plural since it has become a word that has more or less been adopted in-

to the English language.

Sharī a Body of legislation derived from Qur ān and Sunna.

Shūrā Consultation

Shūrā Council Egypt's upper bicameral chamber of Parliament (pre-2014)

Shī a Major branch of Islam

Sunna Major branch of Islam, representing the vast majority of

Muslims worldwide

Sunni Adherent of the Sunna Islam, adjective for Sunna

Tamarrud Literally: Rebellion, name of a movement demonstrating

against President Mursī in 2013

Foreword (His Excellency Amr Moussa)

I am pleased that the Center for Arab-West Understanding has conducted this unique scientific study on the creation of Egypt's Constitution of 2014. I had the honor of leading the Committee of Fifty that was tasked with drafting it.

Through the constitutional referendum held on January 14 and 15, 2014, a large majority of Egyptians approved the amended Constitution which lifted the gloomy conditions that had been imposed upon the people's free will and thought. Conditions that had deprived them of a democracy that promotes self-determination in all aspects of their lives, whether political, economical, cultural, or social.

It goes without saying that I might agree or disagree with some of the opinions or comments that occurred in this comprehensive and comparative study, which has finally seen the light after one and a half years of the sustainable efforts of this venerable scientific Center.

This text is thorough in its analysis of complex constitutional and legal issues, resulting in an ambitious comparative work examining the differences between the Constitution of 2012 and the amended one of 2014. Additionally, this text provides an accurate assessment of the human rights conventions ratified in the Constitution, which have been endorsed to assert the State's commitment to implementing these conventions. Compared to previous Egyptian Constitutions of years past, the current one endorses an unprecedented guarantee of compliance to human rights.

Aside from the uniqueness of this research, the study is an indispensable foundation for further studies. Furthermore it is a reliable reference for researchers and experts, Egyptian and non-Egyptian, as they reckon the Constitution to be a general, universal document that reflects the aspirations and the ambitions of any nation and its societal developments envisaged for the future.

Finally, I am much obliged for the valuable effort of this study. I would like to take this opportunity to thank all members of the esteemed Committee of

Fifty that I had the honor to chair in drafting the current Constitution. Thus paving thus the right path, and laying undoubtedly and unquestionably, the horizons of freedom, democracy and development for the Egyptians: the sons and daughters of the country of the oldest of civilizations.

H.E. Amr Moussa, Chairman Constituent Assembly of 2013, Presidential candidate in 2012, Secretary-General of the League of Arab States, 2001-2011, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1991-2001