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**ISLAMIC MOVEMENTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST:
EGYPT AS A CASE STUDY**

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The Islamic challenge remains a central issue within the ongoing debate on the nature of Middle East politics. As the main opposition to government policies, the Islamic movements enjoy widespread popularity, especially among the lower echelons of those populations —people who are economically or politically alienated. Egypt has been a pioneer of Arab countries in many aspects of economic, political and cultural development. It has also been the pioneer in the rise of Islamic movements and the state's fight with these groups. The aim of this paper is to look at Egypt as a case study in Middle East's Islamist movements in general.

The first part of this paper looks briefly at nineteenth century Islamic reformers who had an impact on the development of modern Islamic movements. In the second part, the focus will be on the formation of the Islamic movements and their cadres and main ideologies. The third part looks at contemporary movements and their position in Egyptian society.

ISLAMIC REFORMISTS

Islamic reformism is a modern movement that came into the scene in the nineteenth century as a reaction to European supremacy and expansion. It was during this period that Muslim religious leaders and politicians began to realise that their state of affairs was inferior to that of Europe and was in steady decline. Although Islam has suffered many defeats by Europeans, it was in the nineteenth century that Muslims felt for the first time their weakness and decline and the need to borrow from their 'enemy'. This painful awareness made Muslim intellectuals think about the defects and the weaknesses they were suffering from and they started to search for a remedy.¹ On the one hand, Islamic reformists embarked on studies of Europe's pre-industrial phase in order to trace ways of building a strong state and economy. On the other, they sought viable cultural paradigms capable of checking the dominance of Europe. The Islamic reformist movement was an urban movement and tried to establish strategies for the development of the Muslim world. The frustration of the early reformists with the status quo did not entail a demonising of the West or even a rejection of modernisation per se. In their quest for progress, Jamal Al-Din Al-Afghani and Mohammad Abduh looked upon the West both as a model and as a rival. They perceived the challenge the Umma, the Muslim community, was facing as shaped by a need to readjust their worldview to the realities of the approaching new age. The Muslim people were given priority as citizens, whereas Islam as a normative system "assumed the role of a defensive weapon that had to be restored in order to stop deterioration and check the decline".² Rashid Rida had more radical views about society as being corrupt and the heads of Arab states as being the apostates of Islam and he supported the

implementation of Koranic punishments. These three reformists desired to bring back the glory of Islam by embracing *ijtihad*, rejecting the superstitions of popular religion and the stagnant thinking of the *ulama*. They aimed at “creating a synthesis of Islam and the modern West rather than a purified society constructed primarily along Islamic lines”.³ It is ironic that these reformists became the founding ideologues of the Islamic movements that demand strictly purified Islamic communities.

MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The ideas of Islamic reformists guided Hassan al-Banna, founder of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt in 1928. Al-Banna was born in 1906 in a small village, Mahmudiyya, about 90 miles west of Cairo. At the age of 20, he was appointed teacher of Arabic in a state primary school in Ismailiyya. Being the first son of a respected sheikh, he got an Islamic education and a complete knowledge of the Koran and Sunna at a very early age.⁴ He was an idealist teacher, going from village to village in the long summer holidays preaching and teaching the villagers how to be good Muslims. Although the Muslim Brotherhood was an urban movement, it had a lot of support from the countryside because of its founder’s efforts.

The creation of the Muslim Brotherhood was a challenge to the growing influence of the landed bourgeoisie in the country and the *effendiyya* class. This new class was created by the increase in education and government jobs. Central to their status was education rather than wealth. The *effendiyya* class included a wide range of groups from students to civil servants in the bureaucracy and teachers, clerks and, depending on their dress and education, some of the merchants and employees in the more traditional segments of the society. As Gerschoni and Jankowski note, “Precise lines are impossible to draw with a term as wide as ‘effendi’ but its range covered the bulk of the urban middle class and the petty bourgeoisie”.⁵ One characteristic of the *effendiyya* is important to note here: they retained through most of this period their rural origins. They were mainly the sons of the middle and large landowners, keeping their links to the rural and the local.⁶ Their aspirations and culture must be considered within this context.

In the period leading up to the 1952 Revolution, there was no political room for this growing middle class. As industry constituted only a small percentage of the economy and remained mainly in the hands of non-Egyptians, the agrarian bourgeoisie continued to be dominant both in economy and in politics despite the growing middle class (*effendiyya*).

The political scene was occupied with the struggles between the Palace, the Wafd Party and the British. The Wafd, under Sa’d Zaghlul, pursued the dual aims of securing independence from Britain and limiting the monarchy’s autocracy in the system. The nationalist forces represented by the Wafd consisted of the landowners, the rising capitalist class, religious leaders and affluent lawyers. However, its preoccupation with the power struggle, as well as that of the other groups, left the areas of political thought and action unattended. Parallel to the political chaos was the intellectual crisis caused by the impact of modernisation on Islamic society. Not only were the intellectuals not able to reach a consensus, but also the political leadership was not able to form an ideology and a synthesis of thought that would lead the population out of the chaos.

The main challenge to the system was presented by its inability to absorb the growing *effendiyya* class. The denial of their upward mobility, politically and socially, coupled with the Wafd’s inability

to deal effectively with the Palace and the British, alienated the new emerging group. This new class was left with one choice: looking for alternatives outside the system, the Muslim Brotherhood responded to their needs and aspirations.

The Muslim Brotherhood was formed as an urban middle class movement by the educated men of the time. According to research on members of the group that were brought to trial before the 1950s, it was found that they were generally civil servants, teachers, white collar workers, small merchants, businessmen and students; having only a few members from the rural areas.⁷

NASSER YEARS AND THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

The rise of the Free Officers to power by the September Revolution of 1952 increased the expectations of the Muslim Brotherhood. They thought that the Nasserites would be the secular wing of their own organisation.⁸ But soon, Islamic forces —still very powerful— were suppressed in the name of the Revolution and with which Nasser rallied the masses. The increasing opposition from the Brotherhood and the assassination attempt on Nasser in 1954 provided the regime with the excuse to crush the movement. Nasser saw the Brotherhood as composed of power seekers who were using religion for their own purposes. He claimed the Brotherhood sought rule by assassination in an era that had outlived such practices; reactionary religious groups such as the Muslim Brotherhood were neither genuinely political nor genuinely religious. Their ultimate aim was power and to realise it they adopted methods contrary to the spirit of Islam and the spirit of the age.⁹

By 1956, Islam was accepted as the state religion in the Constitution, Shari'ah courts were abolished, shifting the basis of legitimacy of the regime from the Shari'ah to secularism. By 1954, Nasser had executed the Brotherhood's leaders, imprisoned most of its members, sent some to camps and the remaining into exile in an explicit policy to erase them from the political life of Egypt.¹⁰

Ironically, the policy of purging Brotherhood members from the system and sending them to camps in the desert strengthened the movement. The Brotherhood's members started to be called martyrs for their radical opposition to the dictatorship of the state. Members that were sent into exile in the rich Gulf states formed economic networks that would finance their Islamic movement after the death of Nasser. A very strong Islamic ideology developed in the camps, the most influential of which was that of Sayyid Qutb. His ideas were gathered around the core argument of resisting the independent nationalist state. According to Qutb, the countries of the region that claim to be Muslim, are not really Muslim and they do not stem from Islam, but from the jahiliyya —the state of ignorance or barbarity which was seen in pre-Muslim Arabia, before Prophet Mohammed in the seventh century. To get rid of the jahiliyya, one must stop governance by man and return to the governance of God. Only after that, can a man reach real Islam.¹¹ Nasser's government hanged Qutb in 1966, but his policies spread very quickly and influenced many young people all over the Muslim world, including Turkey. He is still influential in Islamic movements.

The founder of al-Takfir wa al-Hijra, Shukri Mustafa, who was arrested in 1965, formulated another ideology that developed in exile. He said that the Brotherhood's older leaders in prison disillusioned him: he saw some break down under torture and some petty fighting, which he said strengthened his own ideas about Islam and made him formulate the policies of his own group, more radical than the Brotherhood.¹²

During Nasser's regime, the Brotherhood's power was brought under control while the masses

continued to be profoundly Muslim. The population at large accepted the revolution as long as it meant economic development.¹³ The regime managed to replace the Muslim Brotherhood in representing the middle classes. With land reform and an increase in government jobs under the policy of Arab socialism, the growing effendiyya class was incorporated into the ranks of the regime. As long as the state continued to deliver economically, Islamic movements were under control.

In the late 1960s we see the contours of two neatly defined camps in Egypt: the first group, gathered around Nasser and his regime, together with the Soviet bloc and the official Islamic establishment, were pro-revolutionary and progressive. The second group, composed of the Muslim Brotherhood, professionals and intellectuals, whose power was curbed by nationalisations and state ideology, that were anti-revolutionary.

The 1967 defeat in the third (Six-Day) Arab-Israeli War presented the Nasserite regime with its biggest challenge since its inception in 1952. It was a deadly blow that led to humiliation in the Egyptian population at large and triggered soul-searching for a new ideology that would take Egypt from the depths of this humiliation and defeat. Both the left and the right voiced aloud criticisms of Nasser. The Islamic groups' criticisms following the defeat were interesting: they said that the defeat was an indication of the total corruption of regimes that "deserted God and so were let down by God".¹⁴ To Islamists, the 1967 defeat was proof of the corruption and invalidity of the entire social, economic and political system. In an attempt to reverse his regime's eroding legitimacy within Islam, Nasser began to participate in religious ceremonies after the War and to use religious symbolism. Sadat intensified the state's use of Islamic symbols and this led to a strengthening of Islamic movements.

SADAT YEARS AND THE ISLAMIC MOVEMENT

Millions of people took the streets on 28th September 1970, when President Nasser died after a period of illness. Also the present leader of the Islamist Wasad movement¹⁵ said that he was on the street crying with his whole family "because Nasser gave everybody a chance, a hope for a better life, free education, health services".¹⁶

When Sadat came to power, he was faced with the strong Nasserite legacy. Trying to build his own regime and anticipating political opposition from the left (the Marxists, Nasserites and radical students) for his economic liberalisation policies, Sadat used Islam to oppress their powers. Sadat to a large extent contributed to the creation of Islamic militancy in his attempts to use the 'religious weapon' for his own political purposes. In doing so, he went too far, failing to realise that the Islamic movement had acquired an independent life and logic of its own.¹⁷

As Sadat began his presidency, he needed a new legitimising motive and a method for de-Nasserisation. The first thing he did was to decrease the power of the Nasserites by labelling them Marxists, atheists and agents of the Soviet Union. In order to purge Nasserite students from campuses, he used Muslim Brotherhood members and, in return, he released Brotherhood members from prison.¹⁸ In addition to the releases, Sadat encouraged the Muslim Brotherhood to revive its activities under a newly formed Islamic umbrella group, Jama'at al-Islamiyya. Although this group's members do not accept that the state encouraged their formation, saying they were formed against and not by the state, it is certain that the state did support the creation of such organisations as Sadat wanted to struggle with the "adventurous left."¹⁹ Sadat tried to get religious forces operational in political life. In 1975, he allowed the publication of two Muslim Brotherhood journals: al-Da'wa and

al-I'tisam, in which the newly released leaders found a chance to circulate their ideas. For example, the Sheikh of al-Azhar, which is a very important Islamic institution, is said to be the enemy of socialism and the left. He said in his book that communism is a heresy and a form of jahiliyya and therefore "cannot meet on the same soil" with Islam.²⁰ His views reflected those of the Sadat regime and the Saudi regime, which increased its influence through support of Islamic groups in the country, especially after the rise in the oil prices.

The issue of social justice is at the very root of militant Muslim movements. In the wake of the economic liberalisation policies (infatih) implemented under the Sadat regime, militant Islamic groups intensified their denunciation of social injustice and their attacks on excessive enrichment and corruption among the privileged class. Rapid urbanisation with insufficient industrialisation and shrinking credible employment opportunities can lead to economic dislocation, alienation and even revolt.²¹ The most important problem facing the Sadat regime was the country's demographic explosion. As a result of mass migration to the cities, especially in the 1970s, urban centres grew rapidly, the population of Cairo rose from four million in 1960 to more than eight million in 1979.²² This doubling of the population led to grave economic social and political consequences. The influx of cheap labour from the countryside depressed employment and lowered living standards among the unskilled masses. The new migrants to the city, felt mental discomfort when they arrived, anguish and 'lostness'. These new migrants sensed exclusion from the nation, being drawn in and then blocked by the society.²³ The large number of migrants made assimilation to the cities more difficult and the result was the 'ruralisation' of Cairo and other big cities, where Islam was the main unifying ideology. Islamic militant movements are the by-products of the socio-economic crisis, but above all, they stem from deficiencies in the political system. University graduates, if employed at all, would work in small private businesses, subject to inflation and low wages, and they would become hostile to those controlling the economic order, whose lifestyles were extremely luxurious and Western. Egypt, in the late 1970s, became a nation of two nations: one comprised of the depressed masses, the other of the middle and managerial classes. It is unfortunate to observe that Sadat and his ruling élite could not understand the seriousness of excluding the periphery from the considerations of the élite at the centre.

While the militant Islamist movements were gaining strength in the country, the regime was still not aware of their power. It was about mid-1981, that Sadat became aware of the power of these groups to act independently. Using Islam as a legitimising symbol and putting on a 'religious face' was not enough to satisfy the Islamic youth, who were witnessing the deepening economic crisis, lack of jobs, corruption and consumerism. Arresting more than 1500 people, most of whom were members of Islamic groups (accompanied by the secular opposition to check their power), Sadat was giving the message that the fundamentalists should behave themselves, if not another 5000 would be arrested.²⁴ It was barely a month later that the brother of an arrested militant assassinated Sadat; interestingly, the assassin was a member of Sadat's army. Following the assassination, Islamic groups in various parts of the country committed violent acts and these were checked quickly with vast arrests. From the 1981 assassination of Sadat onwards, Egypt has been under a state of emergency.

This assassination brought to mind questions about the strength of Islamic groups in the country. At this point, I would like to look at these organisations in more detail and try to grasp the socio-economic background of their members for our purposes. The first organisation is the Muslim Brotherhood, which can be regarded as the 'established' movement of political Islam. The

Brotherhood acts within the existing system and has been in Parliament since 1984 in coalition of Wafd. Its main aim is to increase pressure and change secular legislation. It has penetrated the boards of many associations and university associations. It mostly suffers from the age of its leaders, who are old for radical activism.

For our purposes, it is better to analyse the country's neo-fundamentalist Islamic movements that split from the Muslim Brotherhood and proliferated mostly because of the infitah policies of the 1970s. One of the important groups in Egypt is Al-Takfir wa al-Hijra, Repentance and Holy Flight, whose power became understood when it kidnapped the former minister of religious affairs and demanded the release of its imprisoned members. As this demand was refused, the organisation threatened to kill the minister and there was a bloody confrontation between its members and the police, which left many people dead and wounded around the country. The government was aware of the existence of the group from the mid-1970s onwards but governmental leaders thought they could tolerate it as part of a policy of purging the left wing. With this event, the power of the group came as a surprise and, after investigations, it was understood that around the country it had between 3,000-5,000 active militants.²⁵ The ideas of the group were formulated in the detention camps because several of its members were arrested as a result of a conspiracy against the Nasser government in 1965 and sent to camps in 1967. There they found the opportunity to gather in their cells, where they were isolated from the rest and discussed political and religious matters. They thought that the rulers who torture them because they are Muslims cannot themselves be Muslim, so the first basic concept emerged from here, takfir, meaning to judge someone an infidel. As a result of the 1967 war, these groups felt the need to change the system more deeply but they decided not to act very quickly and, isolating themselves from society emotionally and physically by going deep into the deserts, they waited for the right time for a victorious comeback to change the whole system. This is the Hijra part of the ideology.²⁶

Another group, the al-Jihad, is regarded as the most significant of the small organisations. It is responsible for the assassination of Sadat. It is extremely militant, its central belief being that Islam is full social and political order and it must be initiated through taking up swords against the unwilling ruler.²⁷ Members of al-Jihad generally take the law in their own hands in the countryside and prevent the mixing of sexes, prohibit the sale of alcohol and harass the Christian population. Their existence became known in 1978 when its members undertook anti-Christian sabotage. Rather than isolating themselves from society, as the Takfir did, this group's members are interested in infiltrating the state—the government and the army.

Generally, the typical social profile of members of militant Islamic groups is young, in early their twenties, of rural or small town background from the middle or lower classes with high achievement and motivation, upwardly mobile with science or engineering education. The characteristics of the 14 commanders of militant Islamic groups who were arrested in September 1981 are interesting. Their average age was 28, most of them were born in the countryside but they were active in the cities, where they had come for university education. Nine of them were born in Upper Egypt, three in the Delta and only one in Cairo. This indicates the developmental crisis and problems immigration brings. Four of them were physicians, four were civil servants, three were teachers, one was a private white-collar worker, one a technician and one a science student. This Islamic militant movement is not a peasant movement, but a militant movement of the petit-bourgeoisie. There is a high percentage of university students, especially in natural sciences, that contribute to the movements. Their belonging to such groups is a reflection of frustration over unemployment, which, since the

infatih, has become a common problem for the educated.²⁸

In the initial stages of the organisation, new recruits for the organisation were generally selected from close friends, university students or new graduates. After the base was formed, recruits were chosen from mosque worshippers. Those that appear to be deeply religious and regularly attend the mosque are invited to religious discussions after prayer during which the consciousness and political awareness of the potential recruit is assessed.²⁹ The mosque provides the most crucial element for Islamic groups: network and continuous interaction. Being a place that people visit five times a day and with the prominent members never missing a sermon, it plays the role of headquarters for Islamic groups. In Egypt, by 1991, there were 70,000 mosques, including public and private ones. 45,000 of these mosques were private and 10,000 of these were small mosques built under buildings that housed the headquarters of these organisations, acting outside the Awqaf Ministry.³⁰

1980S AND ONWARDS: THE RECENT STATE OF ISLAMIST MOVEMENTS IN EGYPT

The government's main task since the assassination of President Sadat in 1980 has been the crushing of Islamist movements. The policy of supporting moderate Islamists while trying to crush the militant ones has had an impact on the increasing level of religiosity in the society. While the government has been successful until now in its fight with the militants, it has contributed to the increasing religiosity of the masses. Each year more people fast, more women wear the veil and more people perform the hadj and other Islamic practises. The role of the state in shaping political discourse and ideology is present in these developments. First, the contribution of Sadat to the development of the Islamists in his fight against the leftists and the Nasserists and later the Mubarak regime's use of Islamic symbols to crush the militants has had a great impact in the development and enlargement of popular religiosity in the country.

The Muslim Brotherhood gained 12 parliamentary seats in 1984, when for the first time it entered elections in alliance with the Wafd, and 38 seats in 1987 out of a total of 455. The Muslim Brotherhood has managed to distinguish itself from the militant Islamist groups the government has been targeting. Being against the government and working to bring an Islamic order to society, they still provide the strongest alternative to the regime. Simultaneously, they are benefiting from the discourse of the government in countering the militants. This is working to increase their popularity. In the latest elections, the Muslim Brotherhood won 17 parliamentary seats while all the other political parties won 16 seats altogether. The rest of the seats in the 455-member Parliament were gained by the National Democratic Party, the government Party. Muslim Brotherhood members have been talking about government harassment intended to dissuade them from entering elections and to reduce the number of Muslim Brotherhood candidates.³¹ Such acts of the government are feeding Muslim Brotherhood claims that they are fighters for democracy and human rights.

The moderation of the Muslim Brotherhood is seen from their changing discourses. To the question of which school of thought is dominant in Egyptian Islamic movements today, especially in the Muslim Brotherhood, the respondents shy away from answering any leader's names but rather answer "the Islam". The underlying ideology is that Islam is good and suitable for Muslims and non-Muslims alike. In interviews with Muslim Brotherhood members and parliamentarians, the Brotherhood's advocated system was held to be the "Islamic way of life in its whole capacity". To claims that the Muslim Brotherhood does not have an alternative plan for development nor a clear

plan for society, they say they have the most perfect plan and strategy: the Koran “where all the details relating to life are cited”. If each detail is not openly given, the road to take is shown in the interpretations. Islam is taken as “a mission”; it is a da’wa, which all Muslims are ordered to spread. The function of man in society is to spread Islam and serve God within this context. Manmade laws are seen as “leading humanity to decadence”, while the God-made laws will “lead humanity to peace and eternal truth”. They see the underdevelopment of their state as a Western plot against Muslim countries. The Muslim Brotherhood is trying to push people towards real Islam. “We are struggling and hope we will succeed till death until Islam is controlling this world...there are difficulties but it is possible with effort and the will of God.”³²

Television programmes for the spread of ‘official’ Islam have contributed greatly to the increasing level of religiosity in the country. There are three or four programmes everyday about Islam, how to incorporate it into one’s daily life and its moral purity. These programmes affect children greatly. The media is one of the major factors determining trends in Egyptian society and increased religiosity is presently the trend in Egypt.³³ The independent sheikhs that preach especially at Friday prayers are influential. The criticisms that these people raise against the government are highly effective.

Despite the lower middle class backgrounds of the earlier supporters of the movements, the Islamic movements in the Middle East as a whole seem to transform themselves into a more progressive force, meaning different things to different classes. While for the poor the reasons revolve around economic explanations, for the middle classes it means stability, values and morality, and for the rich it is a solution to the “crisis of identity” that they are going through in all the vast changes.³⁴

For all segments of society, one thing seems to bring them together: opposition to the non-democratic practices of the state.³⁵ Arab states in general are counter examples to the assumption that economic liberalisation brings political liberalisation. Rather than empowering people, the liberalisation of the economy has ended up providing states with increased revenues. Despite a small, newly wealthy group that has some independence from the state, the state chooses to answer to their demands selectively, retaining its powerful stand. The standing of Islamic groups is as victims of the regime’s dictatorial rule —the groups being unable to set up parties, enter elections and propagate their causes make them advocates of democracy and pluralism. In a state of emergency, Islamic movements seem to be the only organisations that can provide opposition to the state establishment and that have the power to change the status quo in favour of the dispossessed. The social services they provide announce that they are already successful in providing what these people want and what the state is unable to deliver.

The Muslim Brotherhood’s and other Islamist groups’ opposition to Israel during the current al-Aqsa intifada contributes to the support these groups receive. With Israel’s withdrawal from Lebanon last summer, mainly because of continuous attacks, the Lebanese Hizbollah has been declared the victor. This has encouraged other Islamist groups fighting the Israelis to continue until Israel has withdrawn from the territories. Islamic Jihad and Hamas —founded within the ideology of the Muslim Brotherhood— provide continuous support for families, increasing their legitimacy and popularity.

1 Youssef Choueiri, *Islamic Fundamentalism*, 1997, p. 19.

- 2 Ibid., p. 31.
- 3 John Voll, 'Fundamentalisms in the Arab World: Egypt and the Sudan', in Martin E. Marty and Scott Appleby (eds.), *Fundamentalisms Observed*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, p. 356.
- 4 Interview with the brother of Hassan al-Banna, Gamal al-Banna, on 27 April 2001.
- 5 Israel Gerschoni and James P. Jankowski, *Redefining the Egyptian Nation, 1930 – 1945*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995, p. 11.
- 6 Katerina Dalacoura, *Islam, Liberalism and Human Rights*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1998, p. 97.
- 7 Nazih Ayubi, 'The Political Revival of Islam: the Case of Egypt', *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies*, Vol. 12, 1980, p. 495.
- 8 Gilles Kepel, 'Islamists Versus the State in Egypt and Algeria', *Daedalus*, Vol. 124, Issue 3, p. 110.
- 9 Thomas Lippman, *Egypt After Nasser: Sadat, Peace and the Mirage of Prosperity*, New York, Pragon House, 1989, p. 244.
- 10 Raphael Israeli, 'Islam Under Nasser and Sadat: Some Comparative Notes', in Metin Heper and Raphael Israeli (eds.), *Islam and Politics in the Modern Middle East*, Kent: Crom Helm Limited, 1984, p. 65.
- 11 Gilles Kepel, *op. cit.*, p. 111.
- 12 Saad Eddin Ibrahim, 'Egypt's Islamic Militants', *Merip Reports*, February 1982, 10.
- 13 Raphael Israeli, *op. cit.*, p. 66.
- 14 Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, London: Routledge, 1991, p. 77.
- 15 The Islamic Wasad group has applied to be a legally working political party in Egypt, but has been rejected twice. They are now waiting for a "suitable environment" for their third application. Its first members were members of the Muslim Brotherhood until 1996, when a group resigned and formed the Wasad movement. They claim to be a civil party, not an Islamic one with membership open to everybody, regardless of religion and sex. Interview with Abou Elela Mady, Leader of the Wasad group, 22 April 2001.
- 16 Interview with Abou Elela Mady, Leader of the Wasad group, 22 April 2001.
- 17 Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, p. 77.
- 18 Ibrahim Ibrahim, 'Religion and Politics under Nasser and Sadat', in Barbara Freyer Stowasser (ed.), *The Islamic Impulse*, Washington: Croom Helm, 1987, p. 126
- 19 Tal'at Fu'ad Qasim, interview with Hisham Mubarak, 'What Does the Gama'a Islamiyya Want?', in *Political Islam: Essays from Middle East Report*, London: I.B. Tauris, 1997, p. 315.
- 20 Ibrahim Ibrahim, 'Religion and Politics under Nasser and Sadat', *op. cit.*, p. 128.
- 21 Ibid.
- 22 Ibid, p. 129.
- 23 Michael Gilsean, 'Popular Islam and the State in Contemporary Egypt', in Fred Halliday and Hamza Alavi (eds.), *State and Ideology in the Middle East and Pakistan*, New York: Monthly Review Press, 1988, p. 187.
- 24 Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, p. 77.
- 25 Saad Eddin Ibrahim, *op. cit.*
- 26 Nazih Ayubi, *Political Islam: Religion and Politics in the Arab World*, p. 79.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Ibid., p. 162.
- 29 Saad Eddin Ibrahim, *op. cit.*, p. 13.
- 30 Cairo MENA, 29 September 1994 in Foreign Broadcast Information Service, Near East Section

30 September 1994, p. 17.

31 Interview with Muslim Brotherhood parliamentarian Mohammed el-Morsy, 30 April 2001. He said that 1000 of their supporters have been captured and put to jail and his own son was jailed for two months before the elections. This was all done to persuade him not to enter the elections; a tactic used by the government to suppress the movement. He also noted that another candidate from Zigazig, where he was elected as well, was the Dean of the Education Faculty and government forces imprisoned him just before the elections because he was a Muslim Brotherhood candidate.

32 All these comments were repeatedly made in interviews in April 2001 in Cairo. The most useful of these discussions were with the Muslim Brotherhood parliamentarian from Zigazig, Mohammed el-Morsy, on 30 April 2001, and the head of the Doctors' Syndicate, who is a prominent Brotherhood member and potential leader, Abdel Monem abu al-Futuh, on 24 April 2001.

33 Interview with Dr Ola Abuzeid of Cairo University and Nabil al-Fattah of Al-Ahram Centre for Strategic Studies.

34 Interview with Prof Hassan Hanafi, 21 April 2001.

35 In the interviews conducted, the leaders of different political parties on different sides of the political spectrum maintained the Egyptian state was dictatorial, paranoid, xenophobic and corrupt.
