

The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Succession Crisis

The Politics of Liberalisation and
Reform in the Middle East

MOHAMMED ZAHID

TAURIS ACADEMIC STUDIES
an imprint of
I.B.Tauris Publishers
LONDON • NEW YORK



Contents

<i>Tables</i>	x
<i>Abbreviations</i>	xii
<i>tits</i>	xiii
Framing Economic and Political Reform in the Middle East	1
1.1 Introduction	1
1.2 Contribution and significance of the study	4
1.3 Structure of the study	4
Shifting Sands: The Middle East between Authoritarianism and Democratisation	7
2.1 Introduction	7
2.2 Economic and political reform in the Middle East	7
2.2.1 <i>Socio-economic changes</i>	9
2.2.2 <i>The shift from authoritarianism to political liberalisation</i>	12
2.3 Civil society, Islamist politics and their challenge to the Arab State	16
2.4 Islamists and obstacles to change in the Middle East	26
2.5 The 'War on Terror' and US foreign policy towards the Middle East	30
2.6 Arab criticisms of US foreign policy post-9/11	36
2.7 Conclusion	39
Economic and Political Reform in Egypt after 1991	41
3.1 Introduction	41
3.2 Background: from economic crisis to economic reform	41

3.3	The Egyptian economy from the 1980s to 1991	44
3.4	Economic reform, 1991	47
3.5	Economic contraction — the Egyptian state and the rise of Egyptian NGOs	59
3.6	Economic crisis, the Egyptian state and political deliberalisation	64
3.7	Conclusion	67
4	The Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt: Growth and Development, 1928-1975	68
4.1	Introduction	68
4.2	The life and experiences of Hassan Al Banna	68
4.3	Factors relating to its expansion and growth	72
4.4	From political activism to confrontation	74
4.5	The turn to political violence and assassination	75
4.6	The Free Officers	78
4.7	Sadat and his search for legitimacy	81
4.8	Conclusion	83
5	The Muslim Brotherhood: The Transition from Piety to Politics	84
5.1	Introduction	84
5.2	Changing political discourse: from Hassan Al Banna to Sayed Qutb	84
5.3	Umar Al Tilemensani and changes in the Muslim Brotherhood	89
5.4	The rise of the new generation in the Muslim Brotherhood	93
5.5	The new generation in the MB: politics and party alliances	97
5.6	Conclusion	104
6	The Art of Politics: The New MB generation, the Syndicates and Power	105
6.1	Introduction	105
6.2	The Egyptian state and professional syndicates	105
6.3	The new generation of MB leaders, the syndicates and the Egyptian state	109
6.4	The consolidation of the MB in syndicate politics in the 1980s	112
6.5	The 1991 Gulf War	116

6.6	The MB's success in the lawyers' syndicate	117
6.7	The Egyptian earthquake	119
6.8	The Egyptian state's confrontation with the MB	120
6.9	The new generation: from syndicates to civilian alliances	126
6.10	Conclusion	128
7	The Politics of Succession in Egypt	129
7.1	Introduction	129
7.2	The economic and political grooming of Gamal Mubarak	130
7.3	The economic and political strengthening of Gamal Mubarak: the 2004 cabinet reshuffle and the 2005 presidential and parliamentary elections	135
7.4	The politics of succession in Egypt: Gamal Mubarak's challengers and competitors	138
7.5	The role of the Egyptian military in the political succession of Gamal Mubarak	143
7.6	The MB's influence on the political succession process in Egypt	145
7.7	Conclusion	151
8	Continuity and Discontinuity in Economic and Political Reform in Egypt	153
8.1	Introduction	153
8.2	Mubarak's electoral promises: economic and political transformation, or stagnation?	153
8.3	The political succession: economic and political implications	162
8.4	Gamal Mubarak and the orientation of the National Democratic Party	165
8.5	Egypt-US relations under Gamal Mubarak	166
8.6	Gamal Mubarak, the MB, and implications for the future process of political reform in Egypt	168
8.7	Conclusion	173
9	Conclusion	175
	<i>References</i>	181
	<i>Index</i>	201