5-1-2014

Is The Muslim Brotherhood Today The Same As The One That Existed Under The Autocratic Regimes In Egypt And Jordan?

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Introduction

This article examines the founding of the Muslim Brotherhood by Hasan al-Banna during the early 20th century in Egypt. I will trace the development of the Brotherhood from a small welfare society in one city in Egypt to an organization that spans the Middle East. The paper will examine the factors that led to the expansion of the Brotherhood and whether and how the principles of the founder, Hasan al- Banna are in evidence in the Brotherhood we see today.

Part I will discuss the founding of the Brotherhood and the life and early Islamic influences on the founder, Hasan al-Banna. Part II will discuss al-Banna's move to Cairo as a young man and the influence that it had on the expansion of the Brotherhood. Part III will discuss the relationship of the Muslim Brotherhood and the Egyptian government under 3 leaders of the late 20th century including Nasser, Sadat and Mubarak. This section will also discuss the influence of Sayyid Qutb and how his vision was at odds with the then assassinated founder, Hasan al-Banna.

Part IV will discuss the Muslim Brotherhood in today's Egypt. In Part V, I will examine the history of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan. Part VI will state my outlook for the Muslim Brotherhood today and in the future, and Part VII will summarize my conclusions. My conclusion is that the Muslim Brotherhood today has adapted to the changes in Egyptian and Jordanian society and has remained true to the founding principles of Hasan al-Banna.

I. Founding of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

1. Life of Hasan Al-Banna

" O ye Muslims! This is the period of formation. Form yourselves and the nation will be created!" [1] (Words of Hasan Al-Banna)

Hasan Al-Banna

To answer the question posed by this paper, we must begin by examining the life of the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan Al-Banna. Al-Banna was born in October, 1906, in the province of Buhayra, in the small town of Mahmudiyya, which was about 90 miles northwest of Cairo. He was the eldest son of Shaykh Ahmad Abd al-Rahman al-Banna al-Sa'ati (1881 – 1958), a local imam and mosque teacher in the provincial town of al-Mahmudiyya, in the district of Rashid.[2] His father was the author of various works on the hadith [3] and had been educated at Azhar University [4] Shaykh Ahmad al-Banna was widely respected for his religious learning and his piety.[5] In his youth, the Shaykh left home to study at the Religious Institute of Alexandria. [6] He also worked in a watch shop, which was a meeting place for prominent Islamic scholars. [7]An important debate taking place in the shop at

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[1] BRYJAR LIA, THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – *1942*, 21 (1998).

[2] Id. at 22.

[3] A Hadith is a saying or an act or tacit approval or disapproval ascribed to the Prophet Muhammad. Merriam-Webster, http://www.Merriam-webster.com (last visited April 1, 2013).

[4] Al-Azhar University is a university in Cairo, Egypt founded in 970 as a madrasa, or center of Islamic learning. It was one of the first universities in the world, and it is today the center of Arabic literature and Islamic learning in the world. Merriam-Webster, http://www.Merriam-webster.com (last visited April 1, 2013).

[5] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 22 (1998).

[6] id.

[7] id

that time was about the new Salafiyya [8] movement. The Salafiyya was an Islamic reform movement which advocated Islamic renewal and reinterpretation (Ijtihad) [9] by returning to the Islam of the Prophet and the first generation of Muslims.[10] Today, it has become a strict and conservative branch of Islam. Shaykh Al-Banna made valuable contacts in Islamic circles during this time, which proved helpful when his son went to Cairo in 1923.[11]

2. Early Islamic Influences

Hasan grew up in an atmosphere of piety and learning.[12] He began his formal education at a kuttab school, which is an Islamic elementary school.[13] His teacher, Shaykh Muhammad Zahran. was among the first, after his father, who profoundly affected his development.[14] Two important elements influenced Hassan in his youth.[15] The first was Sufism[16] and the other was nationalist fervor following the Egyptian uprising against the British is 1919.[17]

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[8] Salifiyya originates in medieval religious texts. The concept of salafiyya derives for the word "al-slaf al salih" which means " the venerable ancestors" or " the venerable predecessors". In the religious sense, this is supposed to mean the generation of Muslims which came immediately around and after the death of the Prophet Muhammad and who led a life in exact accordance with true Islam. About.com, http://www.about.com (last visited April 1, 2013).

[9] Ijtihad is the endeavor of a Muslim scholar to derive a rule of law from the Quran and Hadith without relying on the views of other scholars. The Free Dictionary, http:///thefreedisctionary.com (last visited April 1, 2013).

[10] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 22 (1998).

[11] Id. at 25.

[12] id.

[13] RICHARD P. MITCHELL, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS*, 2 (1969).

[14] id.

[15] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 25 (1998).

[16] Sufism is defined by its adherents as the inner, mystical dimension of Islam. Sufi's believe they are practicing ihsan (perfection of worship) as revealed by Gabriel to Muhammad, "worship and serve Allah as you are seeing Him and while you see Him not yet truly He sees you". Sufi's consider themselves as the original true proponents of this pure, original form of Islam. They are strong adherents to the principles of tolerance and peace. They are against any form of violence. Merriam-Webster, http://www.Merriam-webster.com (last visited April 1, 2013).

[17] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 25 (1998).

It may be helpful to examine the relationship between the British and Egypt that al – Banna experienced as a child. The British conquest and colonial occupation began in 1882. [18] Egyptians resented having their national identity reshaped by the British.[19] Egypt became nominally independent in 1922, after protest and a major uprising in Alexandria.[20] However, British control of the Egyptian military and influence on Egyptian politics lasted well beyond that date.[21] Egyptian Muslims resented the laws and administrative rules imposed on them by the British Christians.[22]

In his memoirs, Hasan recalls that as a twelve-year old boy he was attracted to the dhikr[23] ceremony of the al-Hassafiyya Sufi order, in which he later became a fully initiated disciple.[24] As he grew up, al-Banna regularly attended the weekly meeting of the order at the house of a local shaykh where books on Sufism were studied.[25] The fact that Sufism is a tolerant form of Islam that does not advocate violence came to play an important role as the Muslim Brotherhood developed. Sufism can be described broadly as the intensification of Islamic faith and practice, or the tendency among Muslims to strive for a personal engagement with the Divine Reality. [26]

In general, Sufi's have looked at themselves as Muslims who take seriously God's call to perceive his presence in the world and the self.[27] "They generally stress inwardness over outwardness, contemplation over action, spiritual development over legalism, and cultivation

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[18] *JUAN COLE, ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 50, (2009).
[19] id.
[20] id.
[21] id.
[22] id.
[23] Dikhr is a classic Sufi practice of repeating the names of God, which is often performed after prayers. It is an Islamic devotional act, typically involving the recitation, mostly silent, of the names of God and of supplications taken from hadith texts and Quranic verses according to Sunni Islam. Sunnah.org, http"www.sunnah.org..
[24] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 25 (1998).
[25] id.
[26] Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com (last visited April 10, 2013).
[27] id.

of the soul over social interaction."[28] "Theologically, Sufi's speak of God's mercy, gentleness and beauty more than of the wrath, severity, and majesty that play defining roles in both fiqh (jurisprudence) and kalam (apologetic theology)."[29]

Hasan's spiritual attachment became a dominant part of his young life. In his own words, he "was completely engrossed in prayers and devotion to mysticism"[30]. Al-Banna developed a strong spiritual and emotional inclination during his exposure to Sufism. [31] Elements of Sufism became central parts of Hasan Al-Banna's leadership of the Society of the Muslim Brothers. [32] Hasan al-Banna and his friends formed a new reform society, the Hassafi Welfare Society.[33] During this time, he also participated in associations that promoted Islamic values and counteracted the activities of Christian missionaries operating in Egypt.[34] The experience from these associations was further developed when Al – Banna and his friends formed a new reform society called the Hassafi Welfare Society, which was a precursor to the Muslim Brotherhood.[35] Its goals were to build the moral character of people and check the missionary activities of the three young women from the Christian Biblical Mission. [36]According to al-Banna, these women were "preaching Christianity in the guise of nursing". [37] Al-Banna thought that by providing medical care, the missionaries were actually preaching Christianity. It is my view that al-Banna resisted influences, especially from Christian missionaries that he viewed as a violation of the teachings of Islam.[38]

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[28] Oxford Islamic Studies Online, http://www.oxfordislamicstudies.com (last visited April 10, 2013).

[29] id.

[30] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 25 (1998).

[31] id.

[32] id.

[33] id.

[34] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 39, (2010).

[35] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 27 (1998).

[36] id.

[37] id.

[38] RICHARD P. MITCHELL, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS*, 2 (1969).

3. Building the base for the Muslim Brotherhood

Upon finishing primary school, al –Banna was able to persuade his father to allow him to become a school teacher. [39] His father would have liked him to continue his studies at the al-Azhar teaching mosque but Hassan insisted on his teaching career. [40] So in 1923, at the age of 17, he traveled to Cairo to complete his education at the teacher training college of Dar al-Ulum. [41]"Al-Banna's arrival in Cairo coincided with the period of intense political and intellectual ferment which marked the 1920's in Egypt".[42] " His perspective of the state of religion in Egyptian society was dramatically broadened". [43] During his four years of studies in Cairo (1923 – 1927) he was exposed to influences of secularism and Westernization.[44] He had experienced none of this in the Egyptian countryside. Al-Banna was shocked by "the wave of atheism and licentiousness"[45] that was prevalent in the Egyptian capital.[46] "In order to combat this situation, he organized students from Al-Azhar and his own college to preach not only at the mosques but also in cafes where the local workers gathered."[47] This strategy of preaching in cafes was very important to the development and spread of his organization.

Upon graduation from college, Al – Banna's first job as a schoolteacher was in the Suez Canal town of Ismailiyya.[48] There he continued his preaching in mosques, religious associations and coffee shops.[49] It was here that he began the Muslim Brothers' Society in the

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[39] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 39, (2010).

[40] id.

[41] id.

[42] RICHARD P. MITCHELL, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS*, 4 (1969).

[43] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 27 (1998).

[44] Id. at 27-28.

[45] HASAN AL-BANNA, MUDHAKKIRAT AL-DA'WA WAL-DA'IYA CAIRO: DAR AL –SHIHAB, 53, (1966).

[46] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 39, (2010).

[47] id.

[48] id.

[49] id.

late 1920's.[50] The society's initial goal was to teach members the correct understanding of Islam according to Sufi practices.[51] Sufi practices were an important influence on Al – Banna and the newly formed Muslim Brothers'. [52]

In the first three years of the life of the Society its primary goal was the growth of its membership in an around Ismaliyya.[53] Banna and his selected deputies pursued this goal by direct contact with the people by touring the countryside on weekends and during vacations.[54] They preached in mosques and other meeting places of the people.[55] The use of mosques gave the group legitimacy in the eyes of the people and the direct communication with them in their homes added a personal touch.[56]

Out of a growing conviction that the " Mosque alone did not suffice" to bring faith to the people he organized a group of students from the Azhar University and from Dar al –Ulum college who were willing to train for the roles as preacher and spiritual guide.[57]. They offered services to the mosques and what they called "the people's institutes" as they called them, which were coffee houses and other popular meeting places.[58] Many of these students left Cairo after their training and to take various jobs in the Egyptian countryside with two purposes.[59] They were to call the people to the message of Islam and to spread the idea of the Society of Muslim Brothers.[60] The Muslim Brothers also participated in the building of a mosque in Ismailiyya with loans from local merchants, which was completed in 1931.[61] 1931

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[50] .BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 39, (2010).
[51] *id.*
[52] *id.*
[53] RICHARD P. MITCHELL, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS*, 9 (1969).
[54] *id.*
[55] *id.*
[56] *id.*
[57] *id.*
[58] Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, 9 (1969).
[59] *id.*
[60] *id.*
[61] *id.*

was the first year that Al –Banna referred to himself as the President of the Society of Muslim Brothers.[62]

In the summer of 1932, Al- Banna requested and received a transfer to Cairo.[63] The Muslim Brothers joined with the Cairo based Society for Islamic Culture to form the first branch of the Muslim Brothers in Cairo. [64]

II. Cairo: The Rise to Power 1932 -1954

"Verily, I can sense the first indications of success and I can smell the perfume of victory from this renaissance in " spiritual guidance" which has spread to the souls of the youth and created sincere propagandists among them."[65]

Hasan al –Banna

1. From Community to Movement

In 1932, al-Banna was transferred to Cairo, and the capital also became the new headquarters of the Muslim Brothers' Society. [66]At this time the organization grew quickly both in Egypt and abroad.[67] The Society went from a local welfare society consisting of three branches in 1931 into a potent organization of more than one hundred branches in 1936. [68] During the 1930's Hasan al-Banna formulated an important part of the Society's ideology thorough a series of articles published in the Society's newspaper.[69] These writings marked a watershed in

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[62] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 39 (1998).
[63] RICHARD P. MITCHELL, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS*, 9 (1969).
[64] Id. at 10.
[65] See HASAN AL-BANNA, 'AL-DA'WA ILA ALLAH', *MAJALLAT AL-FATH*, NO. 100, (1928). TRANSLATED BY RICHARD P. MITCHELL.
[66] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 39, (2010).
[67] id.
[68] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 53 (1998).
[69] Id. at 72.

modern Islamic discourse by making the transition of Islam into a political and religious ideology, thus providing an ideological map of "what is" in society and a report of how it is working.[70] This code enabled the Muslim Brothers to analyze the world and to extend the bond beyond family and location.[71] The creation of this ideological framework for the Society was one of the most fundamental changes during the 1930's.[72] It laid the basis for the formulation of comprehensive reform programs, involving the political, economic, social cultural and religious spheres which greatly enhanced the Society's appeal.[73]

Al –Banna wanted his organization to have a commitment to action and work and not just to words.[74] According to Lia, "the appeal of the Muslim Brothers' to certain segment of the population was due to " the fact that the spokesmen of this ideology were the educated youth of the middle or lower middle classes – not the religious or political establishment." [75] These young men formed the core of the Brothers' following in the 1930's and the majority of them were in their early twenties.[76] The Brothers' philosophy attempted to bridge the gap between modernism and religious traditionalism while challenging the ruling elite in both religious and political circles.[77] They questioned the monopoly of the ruling powers and demanded a right to political participation in the society.[78] A quote from al – Banna's writing in 1936 summarized the ideology of the Brotherhood this way; " Our mission is one described most comprehensively by the term " Islamic" though this word has a meaning broader than the narrow definition understood by people generally. We believe that Islam is an all- embracing concept which regulates every aspect of life, adjudicating on every one of its concerns and prescribing for it a solid and rigorous order." [79]

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[70] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 53 (1998).
[71] id.
[72] id.
[73] id.
[74] Id.at 74.
[75] Id at 75.
[76] Id. at 75-76.
[77] Id. at 76.
[78] Id. at 75-76.
[79] id.

A Western reader would perhaps automatically dismiss this statement as a naïve belief in the divine power of the Quranic texts to transcend nearly fourteen centuries of human development.[80] It should, however, be seen as a commitment by al-Banna to develop an all-embracing ideology based on Islam.[81] It is not a rejection of the modern world as evidenced by al-Banna's earliest writings in the Society's newspaper.[82] It was al-Banna's intention to deal "in our era in the light of the basis that our predecessors have laid down." [83] This was the fundamental principle that enabled al-Banna and his followers to adopt and incorporate a wide range of aspects from modern ideology.[84]

2. Palestine

In the late 1930's and throughout the 1940's, two important issues pushed elements of the Brotherhood toward radicalism.[85] One was the Zionist[86] colonization of the British Mandate of Palestine and the damage it was doing to the interests of native Palestinians. [87] The other, was the virtual recolonization of Egypt by Winston Churchill during World War II. Churchill accomplished this through the addition of a flood of troops intended on preventing the Axis powers from gaining control of Egypt through Libya.[88]

As a way of getting the Jewish people on their side during World War I, in 1917 the British promised to establish a homeland for the Jewish people in Palestine.[89] The British conquered

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[80] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 76 (1998).
[81] id.
[82] id.
[83] id.
[84] id.
[85] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 51-52, 2009.
[86] Zionism is a form of nationalism of Jewish people and Jewish culture that supports a Jewish nation state in the territory defined as the land of Israel. Critics of Zionism say it is a colonialist or racist ideology, specifically consisting of settler colonialism and ethnic cleansing of a land that was in fact inhabited by the Palestinian people. Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com, last visited April, 13, 2013.
[87] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 52-53, 2009.
[88] Id. at 53.
[89] Id. at 52.

the region during the war, and gained it as a League of Nations mandate at the Paris Peace Conference.[90] The British never consulted with the Palestinians in the area and actually misled them into believing that this new homeland would not disadvantage them.[91]

In 1936, Palestinians in the British Mandate launched a general strike to combat rising Jewish immigration and land purchases. Violence ensued which was put down brutally by the British.[92] In Egypt, al – Banna took up the Palestinian cause and held rallies in support of that cause in the late 1930's.[93]

3. The Second World War

During the Second World War, al- Banna took part in anti-British pro-Axis plotting.[94] As a result, he and his advisors were banished from Cairo and briefly jailed.[95] The Muslim Brothers Society came out of World War II stronger than ever.[96] Its ideology was attractive to profoundly religious Egyptians who no longer trusted the political elite.[97]The Brothers' anti-British stance and support for the Palestinian cause were popular among Egyptian nationalists.[98] The Brothers' schools and hospitals offered crucial support to the working class, whose living conditions worsened as a result of post war inflation. [99]

It has been estimated that the followers of the Muslim Brothers totaled about five hundred thousand and many more sympathizers. [100]The main competitors of the Brothers' were the

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[90] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 52, 2009.
[91] id.
[92] id.
[93] id.
[94] The Axis powers during World War II were a military and political alliance between Germany, Italy and Japan. Its' goals were to achieve vast expansion through aggressive warfare. They fought against the allied powers chiefly the United States, France, Britain and the Soviet Union. Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com, last visited April, 13, 2013.
[95] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 40, (2010).
[96] id.
[97] id.
[98] id.
[99] id.
[100] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 55, 2009.

Wafd party who cooperated with the British during the war, allied with the Communists and had lost credibility as a result.[101] On February 12, 1949, at a time the Muslim Brotherhood was its most popular, Hasan al –Banna was assassinated.[102] The next period in Brothers' history would not be marked by its general guide but by the Society's new ideologue, Sayyid Qutb who joined in the early 1950's. [103]

4.   Ideology and Relationship with the West

It has been common misperception that the Society's ideology represented a total rejection of Western Civilization.[104] It is argued that the Muslim Brothers used demonization of the West in order to emphasize the eternal and humanistic message of Islam.[105] There is no question that there was hostility to the West in that it was viewed as assaulting the Islamic world by its military and economic dominance resulting in an undermining of its culture and traditions.[106] However, al-Banna referred to many Western writers such as Rene Descartes and Isaac Newton to bolster his arguments about the existence of God.[107]

The Muslim Brothers did not reject all aspects of Western culture, but desired to adopt those that would strengthen their organization.[108] An underlying theme in al-Banna's writings is that "the Islamic world would never rise out of its submission to Western colonialism unless it revolted against the submissiveness itself." [109] As a result of this view, the Muslim Brothers attached great importance to the Islamic duty of struggle (jihad).[110] According to the Brothers',

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[101] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 55, 2009.

[102] *id.*

[103] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 41, (2010).

[104] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 76 (1998).

[105] id.

[106] id.

[107] Id. at 78.

[108] id.

[109] Id. at 82.

[110] Jihad is a holy war waged on behalf of Islam as a religious duty. Merriam-Webster, http://www.Merriam-webster.com (last visited April 1, 2013).

jihad was a duty to wage war against the occupying colonial power but also to remove the inferiority complex of their fellow Muslims.[111]

The Muslim Brotherhoods' thinking at this stage was marked by a willingness to borrow elements from the West that could strengthen its movement. Important elements for the Brothers at this time were Arab nationalism, anti- imperialism, and a commitment to social justice.[112]

III. Comeback: Nasser, Sadat and the Mubarak Years

1. Sayyid Qutb

The Post World War II years were a period of great instability in Egypt.[113] Street skirmishes between different groups became commonplace and political assassinations very frequent.[114] Fear of the Brotherhood caused the Prime Minister Mahmud al-Nuqrashi to ban them.[115] This ban led directly to the militarized wing of the Brotherhood assassinating him. It has been asserted by Barry Rubin that in retaliation, the Government's secret police shot and killed al-Banna.[116] The assassination of Hasan al – Banna led the Muslim Brothers into a period of uncertainty.[117] Power struggles continued until the appointment of Hasas al-Hudaybi as general guide.[118] He was generally uncharismatic but his ties to the palace permitted the Brothers to

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[111] BRYJAR LIA, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS IN EGYPT: THE RISE OF THE MASS MOVEMENT 1928 – 1942*, 83 (1998).
[112] Id at 85.
[113] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 40, (2010).
[114] id.
[115] Id. at 41.
[116] id.
[117] id.
[118] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 40, (2010).

resume their activities.[119] However the leader of the new period in the Brothers' history would be the society's new ideologue, Sayyid Qutb who joined in the early 1950's.[120] I include more information about the influence of Qutb below.

2. Nasser

"In July 1952, a group of army officers led a revolt against the palace."[121] "It was suspected that the Muslim Brothers played a significant role and that Anwar Sadat and Gamal Abdel Nasser were member of the Brotherhood's Special Apparatus."[122] Nasser at this time was a colonel in the Egyptian army.[123] The revolt overthrew the monarchy of Egypt and heralded a new period of modernization and socialist reform.[124] Another of Nasser's goals was the advancement of pan – Arab nationalism.[125] At this time in Egypt, the main goal of the Brothers was to implement a regime based on Sharia law but negotiations with Egypt's new leadership on the subject broke down.[126]As a result, the Muslim Brotherhood organized a demonstration against the new government demanding a return to civilian rule.[127] Relations between the Government and the Brotherhood deteriorated rapidly. [128]

  A crisis came when a young member of the Brotherhood tried to assassinate Nasser in October, 1954.[129] The Muslim Brothers were especially close to the figurehead leader of the Revolutionary Command Council, General Muhammad Naguib, who was Nasser's main

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[119] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 40, (2010).
[120] id.
[121] Id. at 41.
[122] id.
[123] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 56, 2009.
[124] Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com, last visited April, 13, 2013.
[125] id.
[126] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 41, (2010).
[127] id.
[128] id.
[129] id.

rival.[130]   This incident greatly boosted Nasser's popularity and gave him an opening to move against the society.[131]   Tens of thousands of Members of the Brotherhood were arrested and placed on trial which resulted in lengthy jail sentences with hard labor.[132] Arrested Brothers were subjected to savage torture.[133] This persecution under Nasser caused the membership of the Brotherhood to fall to between 250,000 and 300,000 thousand members.[134] There was a long period of time when Nasser had influence over the Brotherhood. It is important to remember that Nasser would become the second President of Egypt and would hold that position from 1956 until his death in 1970.[135]

  Sayyid Qutb would spend most of the remainder of his life in jail and was executed in 1965.[136]   However he remained very influential due to his writings behind bars.[137] His most influential work was "Signposts on the Road" (often translated as "Milestones") published in 1964.[138] In it, he argued for an Islamic state and he added that jihad would be necessary to depose the corrupt rulers of the modern world.[139] He said that these rulers were the main obstacle preventing an Islamic state. [140]   Qutb's ideas went on to inspire generations of outright terrorists, even though he was eventually repudiated by the Brotherhood itself.[141] Sayyid Qutb had been a literary critic who had studied in the United States and then mover toward Muslim fundamentalism and was one of those arrested in Egypt by Nasser's secular Arab nationalist state in 1954. [142]   Around 1951, he left his government job in the ministry of education and

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[130] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 56, 2009.
[131] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 41, (2010).
[132] id.
[133] id.
[134] id.
[135] Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com, last visited April, 13, 2013.
[136] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 41, (2010).
[137] Id. at 41-42.
[138] Id. at 41.
[139] id.
[140] id.
[141] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 57, 2009.
[142] id.

joined the Muslim Brotherhood.[143] After his arrest, he was tortured and suffered during his first three years in prison.[144] At this time, he veered sharply away for the ideas of al-Banna.[145]

Qutb concluded that Islam as a powerful political regime could only be restored to the world by armed men willing to wage holy war, or jihad.[146] Qutb warned against Western imperialism and that the holy war must be declared against the apparatus of   Western imperialism including missionaries and researchers including orientalist and social scientists who were probing the most sensitive parts of our country.[147] Qutb's writings caused a split within Islamic movements.[148] Many younger members of the Muslim Brotherhood wanted more action in the face of government aggression.[149] Some of these younger members left the society and set up more militant groups based on Qutb's writings.[150] However, many older members remained loyal to the moderate strategy of the General Guide Hasan al-Hudaybi.[151]

3. Sadat

The reemergence of the Muslim Brotherhood began under Sadat.[152] A coalition of Arab countries was defeated in the 1967 Six Day War[153] against Israel. [154] Egypt lost the Sinai

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[143] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 57, 2009.

[144] id.

[145] id.

[146] Id. at 58.

[147] RICHARD P. MITCHELL, *THE SOCIETY OF THE MUSLIM BROTHERS*, 231 (1969).

[148] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 41, (2010).

[149] Id. at 42.

[150] id.

[151] id.

[152] id.

[153] The Six-Day War was fought between June 5th and June 10th, 1967 by Israel, Egypt, Jordan and Syria. Within six days, Israel had won decisive victory. Israeli forces had taken control of the Gaza Strip and the Sinai Peninsula from Egypt, the West Bank and East Jerusalem from Jordan, and the Golan Heights from Syria. Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com, last visited April, 13, 2013.

[154] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 42, (2010).

Peninsula and the Suez Canal. With the loss of the canal, a great source of revenue for the government was blocked.[155] Many Muslims interpreted this defeat as punishment from God for the Nasser regimes' departure from religion and its treatment of Islamists.[156] Nasser was aware that the public mood had changed and he began to support religious activities.[157] However, he never recovered from the defeat in the Six Day War and the ending of his dream of pan-Arab nationalism.[158] He died a broken man in September, 1970.[159]

Anwar Sadat, who was Nasser's Vice-President, took over control of the government. Sadat embraced religion as the main source of his governments' legitimacy.[160]He did this to marginalize the Nasserist opposition.[161] Sadat also desired to improve relations with the West and began an attempt to democratize the regime.[162] As much as Nasser was a man of the left, Sadat was a man of the right who despised the Soviet Union and thought Arab socialism was keeping Egypt backward. [163] Sadat faced enormous opposition from Nasserists and Socialists in the government.[164]Two major changes occurred during the 1970's that allowed the Muslim Brotherhood to reassert itself.[165] In the early 1970's political prisoners, including the Muslim Brothers were released. In 1976, opposition parties were allowed to operate.[166] A new General Guide was appointed after the death of Hasan al-Hudaybi in 1973.[167] Umar al-Tilmisani

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[155] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 42, (2010).
[156] id.
[157] id.
[158] id.
[159] id.
[160] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 62, 2009.
[161] id.
[162] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 42, (2010).
[163] JUAN COLE, *ENGAGING THE MUSLIM WORLD*, 62, 2009.
[164] id.
[165] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 42, (2010).
[166] Id. at 43.
[167] id.

became the leader of the Brothers and they began to recover some of their prominence especially among university students.[168]

Sadat was criticized for his rapprochement with the West, especially the United States.[169] In addition, the liberalization of economic policies seemed only to benefit a small politically connected group.[170] His peace overtures to Israel alienated many Egyptians who considered the normalization of the Zionist entity treasonous.[171]

The Muslim Brothers weekly publication began to criticize Sadat and his policies.[172]As a result, his popularity began to slide and in February 1981 Sadat began a crackdown on Islamist groups, especially the Brothers.[173] On October 6th of that year, Sadat was assassinated by Islamists during a military parade celebrating the anniversary of the 1973 Yom Kippur War with Israel.[174]

    4.   Mubarak

Following Sadat's assassination, Hosni Mubarak took over.[175] He vowed to continue policies of economic and political liberalization.[176] "The thaw in state- Muslim Brotherhood relations that began under Sadat continued under the regime of Hosni Mubarak. However, there was no question of legalizing the Brothers, only de facto toleration".[177] The 1980's saw multi party elections, however flawed.[178] Muslim Brothers prisoners were also released. [179] This decade

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[168] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 42, (2010).
[169] id.
[170] id.
[171] id.
[172] id.
[173] id.
[174] id.
[175] id.
[176] id.
[177] Mona El-Ghobashy, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, VOL. 37, NO. 3, 377, (AUG., 2005).
[178] id.
[179] id.

saw the Muslim Brotherhood turn into a major player on the Egyptian political scene.[180] In the 1980's , the Islamists assumed most of the control of the student unions and teachers clubs.[181] This was a goal envisioned by Hasan al–Banna in the 1930's. The General Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood at this time, Umar al–Tilmisani convinced the Brothers to rule out the use of violence and to become a civil society organization.[182]

The Brothers made an important inroad during the 1980's with the two-dozen professional unions in Egypt.[183] "They are important to new graduates, to whom they provide access to the job market and offer benefits such as loans, subsidized goods, and inexpensive health insurance." [184]Their members were increasingly disenchanted with what they felt was detached and sleazy leadership.[185] The Brothers tapped into this dissatisfaction, and their campaigns concentrated on the needs of the members, particularly young professionals.[186] As a result, the percentage of professionals supporting the Brotherhood and taking part in union elections rose throughout the 1980's.[187] Under the Muslim Brotherhood's leadership, unions were well managed and developed social services including subsidized healthcare.[188]

The first union to fall under the control of the Brothers's was the doctors' union in April, 1984.[189] This was followed by the engineers' union in 1986 and the pharmacists union in 1988.[190] The Brothers were careful to avoid confrontation with the Mubarak regime by having the union secretary general to be a person acceptable to it.[191]

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[180] Mona El-Ghobashy, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 37, No. 3, 377, (Aug., 2005).
[181] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 43, (2010).
[182] id.
[183] id.
[184] id.
[185] id.
[186] id.
[187] id.
[188] id.
[189] id.
[190] id.
[191] id.

The takeover of the professional unions was a step toward full participation in the political process.[192] The Brotherhood began to set up alliances with other registered political parties including the Wafd Party, and the labor and liberal party.[193] Each time the coalition received about 15% of the vote.[194] Despite its strategy to get around the regime's refusal to legalize it, the society was keen on avoiding a direct confrontation.[195] The Brotherhood had an agreement with the Mubarak regime that they could expand their presence in civil society as long as they don't cross "red lines".[196]

In October 1992, a large earthquake hit Cairo leaving 500 dead and over 10,000 injured.[197] The government's response was seen as belated and inadequate while the Brothers proved themselves' capable and efficient.[198] However, despite the success of the Muslim Brotherhood in dealing with this crisis, it remained an illegal organization. The economic health of Egypt would continue to be an important factor growing the ranks of the Brotherhood's supporters.

IV. The Modern Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt

The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood has as a result of its political engagement moved decisively away from the views of Sayyid Qutb as outlined in his work "Signposts on the Road" and toward a reinterpretation of the ideas of founder Hasan al-Banna.[199] "A related concept is the Muslim Brotherhood's use of the works of moderate Islamic thinkers, which authenticate democracy with Islamic concepts."[200] "Democracy here is defined as (1) broad, equal citizenship with (2) binding consultation of citizens with respect to government personnel and

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[192] BARRY RUBIN, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD: THE ORGANIZATION AND POLICIES OF A GLOBAL ISLAMIST MOVEMENT*, 43, (2010).
[193] id.
[194] id.
[195] Id. at 45.
[196] id.
[197] Id at 46.
[198] id.
[199] Mona El-Ghobashy, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 37, No. 3, 374, (Aug., 2005).
[200] id.

policies, and (3) protection of citizens from arbitrary state action."[201] According to El-Ghobashy, several position papers by the Muslim Brothers in the 1990's show evidence of the group's pro-democratic turn and its revamped views on women's rights, parties and political pluralism, the role of Egyptian Copts and the morality of political violence. [202] [203]"The transformation of the Muslim Brothers from a religious mass movement to what looks very much like a modern political party has its roots in the electoral politicking that began with the professional unions in the 1980's."

V. History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan
1. Jordan State Development

The history of the state of Jordan dates back to 1921 when Britain, having been awarded mandate control of the territory east of the Jordan River by the League of Nations, agreed to back a government in the area under the rule of Abdallah.[204] Abdallah was the son of Sharif Husayn ibn Ali of the Hijaz. who was born in Mecca.[205] At the Jerusalem Conference on March 27, 1921 Winston Churchill formally proposed that Abdallah should form a government in the area with British monetary and military aid, which would be recognized as an independent state at some date in the future.[206]

Abdallah's thirty-year reign left an enduring mark on the modern Jordanian state.[207] First, the administration was characterized by significant British control over military, political and financial matters.[208] Second, the mandate period saw the introduction of a constitutional

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[201] Mona El-Ghobashy, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 37, No. 3, 374, (Aug., 2005).
[202] id.
[203] id.
[204] MARION BOULBY, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE KINGS OF JORDAN 1945-1993*, 3, (1999).
[205] id.
[205] id.
[206] id.
[207] id.
[208] id.

system of parliament by the British.[209] Finally, Abdallah's most important decision was to annex the West Bank in 1950.[210] This granted Jordan a significant role in Middle East politics by tying it to the Palestinian question, which had strategic implications for the United States, Britain and Israel.[211] The process of state building brought the creation of a professional class, which would dominate the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan.[212]

2. Reformation and Pragmatism in the Formative Years, 1945 – 1957

   The period of 1945 – 1957 represent the founding and the development of the Brotherhood in Jordan[213] As is Egypt, the Brotherhood in this period came under the leadership of professionals and developed a reformist ideology.[214] The interest of the Brotherhood in retaining legal status led the way to form a relationship with the regime.[215]
   The first branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan was opened in Amman by Abu Qura "who was a wealthy merchant known for his charitable works and religious zeal." [216] The primary goal at the beginning of the initial branch was to support the jihad in Palestine.[217] Its program soon extended to calling for the implementation of Sharia law and the establishment of an Islamic order.[218] However the Brotherhood under Abu Qurah did not seek to implement this agenda.[219] Two reasons for this were the unpoliticized nature of the Jordanian society and Abu Qurah's loyalty to the regime.[220] Abu Qurah remained pragmatic in his relationship with

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[209] Mona El-Ghobashy, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES, Vol. 37, No. 3, 374, (Aug., 2005).
[210] Id. at 5.
[211] id.
[212] id.
[213] MARION BOULBY, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE KINGS OF JORDAN 1945-1993*, 35, (1999).
[214] id.
[215] id.
[216] Id. at 36.
[217] Id. at 37.
[218] Id. at 38.
[219] id.
[220] id.

the regime.[221] Abdallah granted the Brotherhood legal status as a welfare organization and hoped for its support against the secular opposition. [222] The Brotherhood's ideology continued to be reformist in nature, while stressing non-violence as Hasan al-Banna had done.[223] It emphasized a gradual Islamization of society, primarily through education.[224]

  One of the most crucial periods for the Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan was from 1954 through 1957.[225] During this time, the Brotherhood's ideology was solidified and has remained unchanged over the decades since.[226] The movement's ideology remained moderate and reformist.[227] They defended the legitimacy of the Hashemite regime and advocated the gradual implementation of Sharia through education.[228] It is important to note that the Brotherhood downplayed the creation of an Islamic state.[229]

  3. Building the Electoral Base, 1957 – 1989

  In general, the three decades between 1957 and 1989 did not see the Muslim Brotherhood keep a high profile on the political stage.[230] However this period was critical in the expansion of the Brotherhood's grass roots organization.[231] During this period the Brother's recruited through Muslim Brotherhood schools they set up throughout the country.[232] However the Jordanian Brotherhood's most effective method of spreading its influence has been through public institutions.[233]

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[221] MARION BOULBY, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE KINGS OF JORDAN 1945-1993*, 38, (1999).
[222] Id at 37.
[223] id.
[224] Id. at 37-38.
[225] Id. at 38.
[226] id.
[227] id.
[228] id.
[229] id.
[230] Id. at 73.
[231] id.
[232] id.
[233] id.

Members of the Brotherhood were able to infiltrate the Ministry of Education during the 1960's.[234] This gave them access to the development of school curricula and the appointment of teachers.[235] It also allowed the Brother's to implement a curriculum with strong religious overtones.[236] It took several decades to achieve but by 1987, the Education Ministry's mission statement acquired much more of an Islamic tone.[237] Teachers sympathetic to the Brotherhood were important in mobilizing student support.[238] Mosques were also important centers for recruitment.[239]Friday sermons were used to mobilize support for the Jordanian Brotherhood.[240]

4. The Muslim Brotherhood in the Jordanian Parliament, 1989 -1993

In the 1980's the Muslim Brotherhood became a significant player on the Jordanian political stage, which led to an impressive showing in the elections of 1989.[241] The movement was able to mobilize electoral support due to three factors.[242] First, the economic downturn of the early 1980's fueled political and economic discontent on which the Brotherhood was able to capitalize.[243] The socioeconomic changes of the 1970's had produced a more educated population that became more politicized.[244] Second, was the decline in the popularity of the PLO[245] and Pan-Arabist's.[246] The loss in the 1967 War was regarded by the Brotherhood as a

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[234] MARION BOULBY, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE KINGS OF JORDAN 1945-1993*, 84, (1999).
[235] id.
[236] id.
[237] id.
[238] Id. at 85.
[239] id.
[240] Id. at 89.
[241] Id. at 90.
[242] id.
[243] id.
[244] id.
[245] The PLO is an organization created in 1964 with the purpose of creating an independent State of Palestine. Britannica Online Encyclopedia, http://www.britannica.com, last visited April, 13, 2013.

clear defeat for secular, nationalist and socialist trends.[247] A third factor was the success of the Iranian revolution, which contributed to a heightened consciousness of Islam and a more general Islamic revival throughout the Middle East in the late 1970's and early 1980's.[248] This contributed to a mosque-building boom in Amman that far exceeded population requirements.[249]

The Muslim Brotherhood in the 1989 – 1993 period criticized many aspects of Jordanian foreign policy for being in collusion with the West.[250] The movement's goal was to undermine Western supremacy and prevent further Western colonization.[251] This caused the Jordanian regime to implement a policy of containment on the Brotherhood, even though they were accorded legal status and permitted to play a role in the Parliament.[252] The Brotherhood became a specific target of containment for several reasons.[253] First, the Brothers became a threat to the dominance of the throne due to their popularity in the elections of 1989.[254] After the elections, the Brotherhood held the largest block of seats in parliament.[255] Second, the Brotherhood proved its ability to mobilize Jordanian public opinion in the Gulf War period.[256] Third, the Brotherhood in Parliament tried to implement an Islamic agenda, which was counter to the policy of the Jordanian regime.[257]

It is a widely held view, that King Hussein's strategy of holding parliamentary elections was a miscalculation.[258] First, he underestimated the popularity of the Muslim Brotherhood.[259] He also failed to anticipate the extent to which a parliament dominated by the Muslim

[246] MARION BOULBY, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE KINGS OF JORDAN 1945-1993*, 92, (1999).
[247] id.
[248] Id. at 95.
[249] id.
[250] Id. at 121.
[251] id.
[252] Id. at 137.
[253] Id at 138.
[254] id.
[255] id.
[256] id.
[257] Id. at 139.
[258] Id. at 140.
[259] id.

Brotherhood would take an active and aggressive role in Jordanian political life.[260] It is important to note that throughout its history, the Jordanian Muslim Brotherhood did not attempt to hijack the state, but has shown a willingness to work with the regime with mixed results.

VI. The Outlook for the Future of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and Jordan

1. Growth of Islamist Movements in the Middle East

There are two views regarding the growth of Islamist movements in the Middle East.[261] They are either accommodationists or confrontationists.[262] Confrontationists attribute the movement to an anti-democratic philosophy that encourages violence and terrorism, which poses a risk to Western security and interests.[263] In contrast, accomodationists argue that hostility and violence are not inherent in all the factions of the Islamist movement, and that prudence requires the West to display a willingness to cooperate with what prove to be an inevitable rising power in the Middle East.[264] According to Kotob, " the Muslim Brotherhood stands out as a politically centrist and moderate group representing mainstream Islam that should be viewed from an accomodationist perspective " [265]

2. Islam as Religion and State

To comprehend the objectives of the Brotherhood, one must first understand the concept that Islam is more than a religion. In the view of Umar al-Tilmisani, the General Guide of the

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[260] MARION BOULBY, *THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND THE KINGS OF JORDAN 1945-1993*, 140, (1999).
[261] Sana Abed-Kotob, *The Accomodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 27, No. 3, 321, (Aug., 1995).
[262] id.
[263] id.
[264] id.
[265] id.

Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood until his death in 1987, Islam is " creed, worship, homeland, citizenship, creation, the physical, culture, law, forgiveness and power".[266]   In his view, Islam is a complete system governing all aspects of life.[267]   In accordance with this comprehensive view, the Muslim Brothers describe as a worldwide spiritual organization that is based on the dawa (call) of the Quran and Sunna of the Prophet Muhammed.[268]

   These broadly sketched goals have not changed since the founding on the Brotherhood by al-Banna in 1928. Today's Brothers' adhere to al-Banna's objective of building a new generation of believers who support the dawa and whose ultimate goal is an Islamic state free from foreign domination.[269]

   3.   Affirmation of Non – Violence

   The militant tendencies of some Islamic factions are considered by some to be the result of government's refusal to acknowledge the legitimacy of the calls to return to Islam.[270] The Egyptian Brotherhood believes that a more accommodationist government will allow more moderate Islamic factions such as the Brotherhood to garner support.[271]

   According to al- Tilmisani, jihad is an important obligation for each Muslim but he interprets this to be "justice towards enemies and the guidance of Muslims to show mercy in this respect" and only to be used against aggression and offensive attacks.[272] This is reminiscent of al-Banna's moderate tone when he said " one of the loftiest goals of jihad is to utter words of truth in the presence of a tyrannical leader".[273]

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[266] Sana Abed-Kotob, *The Accomodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 27, No. 3, 321, (Aug., 1995).
[267] id.
[268] id.
[269] id.
[270] Id at 332.
[271] id.
[272] id.
[273] Id. at 333.

American politicians have used the Brotherhood as a bogeyman, calling it "a radical menace and the father of Al Qaeda."[274]   The lineage may be accurate, because Al Qaeda'a second in command is Ayman al-Zawahri who has roots in the organization.[275] However, Al Qaeda leaders despise the Brotherhood because it has renounced violence and chosen to compete in elections.[276] A prominent Brotherhood thinker, Sayyid Qutb who was executed by the Egyptian government in 1966, was a supporter of violent jihad and an influence on Osama Bin Laden and Anwar al-Awlaki.[277]   However, after Qutb's death, the Brotherhood took a different direction toward non-violence.[278]

4.   The Beginnings of Egyptian Democracy

The Egyptian Muslim Brothers believe that democratic institutions can function in a system of Islamic legislation.[279] The terms "democracy", "liberty" and "freedom" are used freely and repeatedly by members of the Muslim Brotherhood.[280] They continue to dismiss the argument that democracy and Islam are incompatible.[281] Muslim Brother, Isam al-Aryan, for example, calls the charge that the Brotherhood are against democracy "a great lie" stressing, "The Brothers consider constitutional rule to be closest to Islamic rule…We are the first to call for and apply democracy."[282]

The Brothers not only do not reject democracy; they in fact encourage its expansion, as stressed by Muhammad Ma'mun al-Hudaybi, who is the son of the former General Guide Hasan al-Hudaybi who took over leadership of the Brotherhood after Hasan al-Banna's

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[274] Moises Saman, *Adjusting to Democratic Life*, N.Y.TIMES, December, 28, 2012.
[275] id.
[276] id.
[277] id.
[278] *id.*
[279] Sana Abed-Kotob, *The Accomodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES, Vol. 27, No. 3, 325, (Aug., 1995).
[280] id.
[281] id.
[282] id.

assassination.[283] Muhammad Ma'mun al-Hudaybi observes that "there is a certain degree of democracy; we guard and hold on to it. We work to confirm and develop until its rights are complete. It is important to confirm the democratic pursuit in practice."[284] Al-Hudaybi identifies various attributes of democracy he deems important, such as respect for the constitution, an independent judiciary, press freedom, party independence and a person's protection from torture.[285]

   The leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood referenced above, were speaking before the ouster of Hosni Mubarak in 2011. These are lofty ideals of the Brotherhood and it will interesting to see if they are put into the new Egyptian Constitution and respected now that they are in power and not the opposition.

   5.   The Muslim Brotherhood in Jordan

   In an article by Jason Amis, he states that the generally accepted view that the Jordanian Brotherhood has tended to emphasize its amicable and cooperative relationship with the Hashemite monarchy is outdated.[286] "Compared with the intense historical confrontations between the Brotherhood and autocratic regimes in neighboring Egypt and Syria, it is clear that the movement found in Jordan a relatively benign host."[287]. Both King Abdullah (1921 -1951) and King Hussein (1953 – 1989) have courted the Brothers as a conservative counterweight to secular Pan-Arab and Palestinian nationalists.[288]

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[283] Sana Abed-Kotob, *The Accomodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES, Vol. 27, No. 3, 325, (Aug., 1995).
[284] id.
[285] id.
[286] Jacob Amis, *The Jordanian Brotherhood in the Arab Spring*, CENTER ON ISLAM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE FUTURE OF THE MUSLIM WORLD 1, (December 27, 2012).
[287] Sana Abed-Kotob, *The Accomodationists Speak: Goals and Strategies of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES, Vol. 27, No. 3, 325, (Aug., 1995).
[288] Jacob Amis, *The Jordanian Brotherhood in the Arab Spring*, CENTER ON ISLAM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE FUTURE OF THE MUSLIM WORLD 1, (December 27, 2012).

The ascendancy of the Islamists in Jordan began in 1989 when King Hussein attempted to defuse widespread social unrest caused by IMF austerity measures by lifting martial law (1957 -1989) and calling for parliamentary elections.[289] The Brotherhood, running on slogan that " Islam is the solution" took almost 30 % of the parliament and when allied with other independent Islamic groups totaled almost 40% of the seats.[290]

The first ten years of Abullah II's reign saw a progressive deterioration in the relationship between the Brothers and his regime.[291] The Al Qaeda bombings in Amman in 2005 caused Abdullah II to crackdown on the Brotherhood in an unprecedented manner.[292] The King took action against the Brother's grassroots campaign, the Islamic Center Society, and caused a loss of one third of its revenues.[293] As a result, the Brotherhood decided to boycott future elections and have openly questioned the royal power, which had previously been unthinkable.[294]

The latest Jordanian election for parliament on January 23, 2013 proved to be a setback for the Jordanian Brotherhood.[295] Operating as the Islamic Action Front, the Brotherhood's Jordanian branch boycotted the voting after King Abdullah II refused its demands for major reductions in his powers before the elections were held.[296]

VII. Conclusion

"Setting out to win Egyptian hearts and minds for an austere Islamic state and society, Hasan al-Banna's Society of Muslim Brothers was instead irrevocably transformed into a flexible political party that is highly responsive to the unforgiving calculus of electoral politics".[297]

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[289] Jacob Amis, *The Jordanian Brotherhood in the Arab Spring*, CENTER ON ISLAM, DEMOCRACY, AND THE FUTURE OF THE MUSLIM WORLD, 1 (December 27, 2012).
[290] id.
[291] id.
[292] id.
[293] id.
[294] Id.
[295] Amir Taheri, *In Jordan, the Brotherhood loses*, N.Y. POST, (January 23, 2013).
[296] id.
[297] Mona El-Ghobashy, *The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers*, INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MIDDLE EAST STUDIES, Vol. 37, No. 3, 374, (Aug., 2005).

This article discussed the how the Muslim Brotherhood organizations in Egypt and Jordan have evolved under the autocratic regimes of both those countries. The Brotherhood has shown itself to be a very adaptable group since it's founding. In Egypt, over the years since its founding over 80 years ago, the Brotherhood has had to deal with various degrees of persecution, from outright ban under Nasser to reluctant tolerance under Mubarak. Throughout this turbulence, the Brothers have adhered to the beliefs of its founder Hasan al-Banna of non–violence and expansion of the ideals of Islam through education.

The situation the Muslim Brotherhood encountered in Jordan was much different from the experience encountered by the Egyptian Brotherhood. It had an accommodation with the monarchy since its' founding. In both countries, despite various degrees of tolerance, the Brotherhood maintained its grassroots approach to build its following among young professionals and students. Staying moderate and renouncing violence allowed the group to be tolerated by both governments.

The modern Muslim Brotherhood in both Egypt and Jordan have the same beliefs and goals of its founder Hasan al-Banna, but have adapted those beliefs within the framework of modern electoral politics. It will be interesting to see how the Brotherhood now governs in Egypt. There appears to be significant growing pains in their evolution from a governing party to one responsible for the well-being of the country. I am hopeful that if the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt adheres to the principles of privatization and private property rights set forth in the Freedom and Justice party platform, a more prosperous Egypt can emerge and benefit the Middle East and its peoples.