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## **Islamist political parties formed through the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in Egypt**

The Muslim Brotherhood movement, which was born in Egypt, has influenced not only Egypt but also countries such as Libya, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, and many Islamic movements in these countries have been organized on the model of the Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood movement started as a social and cultural movement, but later on it gained a political character and aspired to govern Egypt. In addition to the Freedom and Justice Party, which was founded in 2011 under the leadership of Mohamed Morsi and was influential in the Arab Spring process, there are other Islamist parties in Egypt that are related to or influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood movement. These parties, which are less known in the world public opinion, can be listed as the Wasat Party, the Islamic Labour Party and the Egyptian Current Party. In this study, firstly, the historical course of the Muslim Brotherhood movement is analysed and then the political parties in Egypt that were founded by or influenced by this movement are presented. Finally, the study concludes with a general analysis and comparison of these parties.

*Keywords:* Political Sciences, Political Parties, Islamism, Islamist Movements, Islamist Parties, Freedom and Justice Party, Wasat Party, Egyptian Islamic Labour Party, Egyptian Stream Party.

### *Introduction*

Egypt has influenced many of the Islamic movements in the region, especially the Muslim Brotherhood movement, which was founded in the early days and has influenced almost the entire North African generation. The Muslim Brotherhood movement has an intellectual and political influence in all countries from Morocco to Libya. So much so that the Muslim Brotherhood movement has not only been a source for the emergence of Islamic congregations, but also a source of inspiration for the establishment of many political parties in the countries of the region.

There are certain reasons why the Muslim Brotherhood movement is influential in the North African belt. First of all, the anger against Israel in the Islamic countries in the North African belt is one of the main reasons for sympathy with the Muslim Brotherhood. It should be remembered that when Israel occupied the Palestinian lands in 1948, Hasan al-Banna and his supporters organized a serious resistance movement against Israel and waged a great struggle against the Israeli forces with the armed police they had gathered. The organization of this movement against Israel, which was previously organized in social and cultural life, was appreciated in many parts of the Islamic world, especially by the Egyptian people [1; 136-137]. The Palestinian issue is important not only as an Islamic issue, but also in terms of Arab nationalism. The fact that Arab societies were subjected to oppression and even occupation by the French and British for many years also contributed to the formation of an Arab consciousness in the region.

On the other hand, since the Muslim Brotherhood movement was organized earlier than many Islamic formations in the region, it also assumed the function of being the first and the model. Again, in view of Egypt's early experience of modernity, Islamic criticism and sensitivity to politicians who, in spite of public opinion, implemented certain westernising policies emerged earlier in Egypt. Hasan al-Banna and his followers not only took a stand against the Israeli occupation of Palestine, but also waged an intellectual and practical struggle against the policies that completely affected Egypt's internal dynamics. As a result of the execution of intellectuals and opinion leaders such as Sayyid Qutb by the Egyptian administration and the intense pressure exerted by the non-violent supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood against the regime, a movement of anger began both in Egypt and in other countries against the cruel style of administration. The struggle of the Muslim Brotherhood and opinion leaders in Arab countries ruled by military dictatorships or monarchies has been a source of political inspiration for other Islamic movements. For these reasons, Egypt,

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which has the largest population in the region and the strongest scientific and intellectual capacity, is the locomotive of North African geography.

The Muslim Brotherhood movement has influenced not only the Justice and Ihsan Movement, the Tawhid and Islah Movement, the Justice and Development Party, and to some extent the Salafist movement, not only in Egypt but also in Morocco. Algeria, on the other hand, is full of Islamic structures inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood movement. The Union of Muslim Scholars, Algiers Hama, the Islamic Society Party, the al-Qiyam Movement, the Islamic Salvation Front, the Peace Society Movement, the National Construction Movement are Islamic movements in Algeria that are partially or totally influenced by the Muslim Brotherhood movement. In Tunisia, the Progressive Muslims, the Islamic Orientation Movement and Ennahda, and Hizbuttahrir are Islamic structures that are partly or wholly inspired by the Muslim Brotherhood. In Libya, the Justice and Construction Party and the Homeland Party are parties founded by the Muslim Brotherhood. Members of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Libya who left Egypt worked on an unofficial basis during the Gaddafi period, and after the fall of Gaddafi they appeared before society by forming two political parties. Although this issue is the subject of an independent study, it is important to understand how effective the Muslim Brotherhood movement is in the region.

The Muslim Brotherhood movement, which has been very influential in Egyptian politics, began as a social movement in the years of its creation, took on a political identity in the following years and became the source for the establishment of various Islamic-oriented parties [2; 4].

The most important branch of Islamist parties established in Egypt is the Muslim Brotherhood movement and the political parties that emerged from it. The Muslim Brotherhood is not only a religious community, but also a rich and dynamic Islamic movement that has brought together various social and political groups from its inception to the present day. The Muslim Brotherhood, also known as the Brotherhood Movement (Ihvan), has a local and regional social organization and political parties organized within the constitutional framework. These two structures are often confused. In our study, we will first examine the phases of the Muslim Brotherhood movement since its inception, and then the political parties that were formed under the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt. This is because without looking at the development processes of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, it will not be possible to understand how the other parties established by the movement came into being.

The only party founded by the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt is not the Freedom and Justice Party, recently led by Mohammed Morsi. Apart from this party, which was very influential in the Arab Spring process and left its mark on Egyptian politics, there are also parties such as the Wasat Party, the Islamic Labour Party and the Egypt Stream Party, which were founded under the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. These parties have also been included in our study, as well as the parties about which we have little information due to the lack of knowledge. This is the part that constitutes the original dimension of the work. The misfortunes of the political branch of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egyptian politics in various ways and the developmental stages of the Freedom and Justice Party have been a source of experience for other parties as well, and the parties established outside the Freedom and Justice Party have also emerged on the political ground based on these experiences.

#### *Method*

This research was conducted by searching for relevant keywords in catalogues, directories, search engines and full text sources related to the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood movement, the Freedom and Justice Party, the Wasat Party, the Egyptian Islamic Labour Party and the Egypt Stream Party in order to narrow the search by subject headings and find relevant resources used his work. This research was also conducted using keyword searches. In this way, the subject heading of a particular term or phrase can be used consistently by online or print directories to describe a book or article. In addition, the most recent scientific books and articles were searched in catalogues and databases in order to obtain newer and more citations and references. On the other hand, institutional reports, journal articles, internet resources, newspaper and magazine news sources were used in the relevant readings.

#### *History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt*

The history of the Muslim Brotherhood organization in Egypt is quite old. The organization was founded in 1928 by Hasan al-Banna and his six friends in the city of Ismailiyya. 4 years later the headquarters of the organization was moved to Cairo. The organization was organized in a very short time and gained support from different segments of society. Hasan al-Banna made a speech in the years when he founded the

organization: “My brothers! You are neither a charity, nor a political party, nor a local organization with limited goals. On the contrary, you are a new soulless person in the heart of this nation who will give it life with the Qur'an, and you are a strong voice that rises to recall the message of the Prophet...” He clearly stated the main mission of the organization.

However, Hasan al-Banna also stated that the organization was not a political party, but the Muslim Brotherhood could not completely isolate itself from politics, and by fighting against the palace, the Wafd Party and the British in the Second World War, it managed to rally a crowd of millions around it. Although the organization does not have a political party branch, it has chosen the establishment of an Islamic state in Egypt as its political goal. The fact that they were able to attract such a large number of followers in such a short time disturbed the communists, nationalists and socialists in the country. In particular, Hasan al-Banna's charismatic personality made it easier for him to attract supporters from the lower strata of society (the oppressed, the downtrodden, the poor).

The founder of the movement, Hasan al-Banna, was born in 1906 in Bahayra, Egypt, to a family of merchants. He was educated at the al-Banna Darul Ulum by his father, a scholar of hadith, and became a teacher. During his years as a teacher, he and his friends founded associations called the Society for Morality and Decency and the Prevention of the Processing of Haram. The Egyptian Revolution of 1919 and Sufism were important milestones in the intellectual development of al-Banna, who became a member of the Shazeliyya sect. Taking a stand against the colonialist attitude of the British, Banna expressed his discomfort with the invasion of his homeland, shared these ideas with his friends and planned to organize around this idea. When the Muslim Brotherhood organization was founded in 1928, al-Banna defined the movement as follows: “a Sunni, Salafi, Sufi, political, sporting community; a scientific and cultural society, an economic enterprise, and a social system of ideas”. The Salafism that al-Banna put forward here is not a Salafism related to Wahhabism. Banna's Salafism was shaped around the ideas of Muhammad Abduh [3; 3]. The organization that Banna built around these ideas emerged as a social movement that would shape the social, economic and political life of Egypt [4; 195].

The Muslim Brotherhood organization did not only deal with the issues related to Egypt, but also organized in other countries and dealt with the Palestinian issue. They took part in the Egyptian-Israeli war in 1948 and made great gains in the war [5; 495–496]. Although the Egyptian army was weak, the supporters of the organization put up a great fight in the war and asked then the Prime Minister Mahmud Fehmi al-Nukraş to send more fighters to the front. However, the prime minister refused, thinking that after a while the organization would grow stronger and stage a coup against him.

In 1948, the Muslim Brotherhood movement was seen as the greatest threat to the monarchical government. In November of that year, the organization was banned from operating in Egypt, bringing its members face to face with the government. Many people were killed in the clashes. When one of the organization's members killed Nugrasi Pasha in December, the palace and the government decided to kill Hasan al-Banna. On 12 February 1949, Hassan al-Banna was killed by agents of the regime [4; 195].

In July 1952, King Farouk was overthrown by a military junta led by General Muhammed Necip and Lieutenant Colonel Jamal Abdinnasir. Although the Muslim Brotherhood did not actively participate in this movement, it supported the coup. Nasser asked some members of the Muslim Brotherhood to join the Revolutionary Command Council. Although three people responded positively to this request, there was later friction between Nasser and members of the movement over various issues. Nasser's aim was to give the revolution Islamic legitimacy. But the Muslim Brotherhood argued that the regime itself should be Islamic. Nasser, on the other hand, was far from this idea. Hasan al-Hudaybi, who was the head of the Muslim Brotherhood at the time, was not as charismatic as Hasan al-Banna, but Nasser wanted to see how effective the organization was in Egypt [4; 199].

A law passed in Egypt on 10 September 1952 required all political parties to obtain an official identity, and the Muslim Brotherhood responded to this legal obligation by handing over all its documents to the official authorities.

During the revolutionary years, Nasser and members of the Muslim Brotherhood were on good terms. However, when it became clear that the Revolutionary Council under Nasser did not have Islamic goals, the Muslim Brotherhood supported General Najib against Nasser. Muslim Brotherhood sympathisers were then purged, particularly from the army [6; 25].

As a result of Nasser's assassination on 26 October 1954 by an alleged member of the Muslim Brotherhood (which was denied by the Muslim Brotherhood), relations between Nasser and the Muslim Brotherhood came to a standstill. This was followed by a massive smear campaign by the Nasser government, claiming

that the Muslim Brotherhood was collaborating with the West, communism and Zionism. Around 4,000 people were arrested, along with the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood [7; 398]. The organization's headquarters were set on fire by the regime's supporters, and the movement's reputation was damaged in the eyes of the people [8; 95]. The People's Court set up by the Revolutionary Committee sentenced Muslim Brotherhood leaders such as Hudaybi, Mahmud al-Latif and Abdulkadir Udeh to death. Hudaybi's sentence was later commuted to life imprisonment. But others were executed. Although the Muslim Brotherhood movement was seriously disintegrated in this process, the movement started to regroup in the 1960s thanks to people like Zeynep Gazali. Although this great coup movement was seriously damaged politically, the Muslim Brotherhood was reintegrated into social life as a current of thought and ideas [6; 31].

Members of the Muslim Brotherhood, who were imprisoned in 1957, protested against the ban on forced labour and took action to return to their cells. Regime soldiers, bloodily preventing this action, massacred 21 members of the Muslim Brotherhood [6; 28].

Towards the end of 1959, the movement began to gather again and the Muslim Brotherhood began to meet in cities such as Alexandria, Behiyra and Cairo. Seyyid Kutup, who was released from prison in 1964, was appointed head of the Presidential Council of Action, which was set up in this process. A large number of people gathered around the Pole, who influenced the movement with his book *Signs on the Road*. The regime police also followed the movement closely. In 1965, Sayyid Qutb and his brother Mohammed Qutb were arrested along with some members of the movement. In some cities, Muslim Brotherhood centres and villages on the outskirts of Cairo were raided, and in August 1966 Sayyid Qutb, Mohammed Hawas and Abdul Fattah Ismail were executed [6; 31].

In this process, the movement faced different problems from those of its founding period. At this point, there are some factors that distinguish the periods of Sayyid Qutb and Hasan al-Banna. While Hasan al-Banna's struggle in the founding period of the movement was mainly against political Zionism and British colonialism, Sayyid Qutb's period was a struggle against adverse conditions such as political corruption, cruel rulers, oppression and tyranny, which later had a serious intellectual impact on the movement. The issues that the Muslim Brotherhood focused on during the polar period were shaped around the internal issues of society rather than external problems.

After the martyrdom of Sayyid Qutb and the 1967 Arab-Israeli wars, some radical movements in Egypt turned to violence, and when Nasser died in 1970, his successor, Anwar Sadat, preferred to get along with Islamic movements. However, Sadat's tendency to develop good relations with the Western world began to worry many Islamic organizations, especially the Muslim Brotherhood. In the conflicts that broke out in Egypt in 1977, Sadat's reconciliation with Israel and his pro-Western stance were very effective. The formation of an Egyptian national identity apart from Islam seriously disturbed the Islamic formations in Egypt. In this process, the et'Tekfir ve'l Hijra group in particular came into serious conflict with Sadat's forces, and the Muslim Brotherhood also benefited from the repressive policies that emerged in this climate [3; 8].

Hudaybi, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood movement, managed to regroup in the 1970s. Although Hudaybi, who died in 1973, preferred to stay out of politics during the Sadat period, the Muslim Brotherhood sought to influence the politics of the Anwar Sadat period [9; 142]. Amnesty laws were issued for members of the Muslim Brotherhood who had been imprisoned during the Anwar Sadat period, members of the Muslim Brotherhood who had gone abroad during the Nasser period returned to the country, and members of the Muslim Brotherhood, who also benefited from the liberal policies of the Sadat period, showed economic development [10; 81].

The Muslim Brotherhood movement put Ömer Tilmisani at the head of the movement after the death of its leader, Hudaybi, in the 1970s. With Enver Sadat's change of policy in the late 1970s, he began to get along well with Israel and later signed the Camp David Accords, which led to a rift between Sadat and the Islamic groups in the country. On the other hand, with the hardening of economic policies, the removal of subsidies and the introduction of repressive policies, the Muslim Brotherhood movement did not remain indifferent to this negative picture and there was a rift between the Sadat government and the Muslim Brotherhood. The atmosphere became even more tense when Halid al-Islambuli, a member of the Jihad movement, assassinated Anwar Sadat. This event marked the beginning of a difficult period in the country, not only for extremist groups, but also for more centrist movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood [3; 9].

Despite the supra-political stance of Hudaybi, who was the leader of the movement before Tilmisani, Tilmisani's idea of transforming the Muslim Brotherhood into a political party did not find favour with Enver Sadat, and Sadat did not like the idea. During this period, the movement continued on its path as a social formation that did not acquire a political identity. In this process, the Muslim Brotherhood rapidly organized

itself in trade unions, universities and other areas of social life. Tilmisani sends some members of the Muslim Brotherhood abroad for education, trade, etc. Some members of the organization who went abroad at the beginning of the 1980s returned to Egypt and settled in various institutions of the state and social life at different levels. The members of the organization who got rid of their radical thoughts and entered the life of the state and society became key points in the movement [11; 165].

In the period of Hosni Mubarak, Islamic movements classified as radical and moderate were relatively separate, and the Mubarak regime was more tolerant of moderate movements, including the Muslim Brotherhood, than in the periods of Nasser and Sadat. However, in the 1990s, as the Muslim Brotherhood's standing in society grew and the movement's legitimacy and weight in social life increased, Mubarak also approached this movement with suspicion, and as a balancing policy, Salafist groups were supported against the Muslim Brotherhood from time to time. After Hosni Mubarak allowed the Muslim Brotherhood movement to enter politics in spite of all this, the Muslim Brotherhood split into two branches as traditionalists and innovators, and those who chose the side of politics were organized under the name of the Centre Party in the late 1990s [3; 10].

If we go back a little bit, although the central authority or the regime that shaped politics in Egypt did not welcome the Muslim Brotherhood to enter politics, the Muslim Brotherhood participated in the elections that were held in 1984 in alliance with the Hayat Party, with Tilmisani's warm attitude. 8 of the 22 Muslim Brotherhood candidates were able to enter the Egyptian parliament. The Hayat Party is a party known in Egypt for its secular identity. In the 1987 elections, the Muslim Brotherhood took part again, this time in an alliance with the Labour Party and the Liberal Party. The alliance ran on the slogan "The solution is in Islam" and the Muslim Brotherhood emerged from those elections with success. In this election, the Alliance and the Muslim Brotherhood played the main opposition role and the movement had 17 seats in parliament [3; 10].

After Tilmisani's death in 1986, Mohammed Hamid Abu al-Nasr became the leader of the movement, while the traditionalist generation, which adopted Nasr's line, followed the pole line, the innovative structure preferred to establish relations with the regime. While the traditionalist generation adopted a more isolated stance, the other part preferred to pressure the regime for political reforms by integrating into the democratic-liberal system. The movement expanded its legitimacy in Egyptian society in the early 1990s, and especially after the 1992 earthquake, the movement's social ties with the people grew. The Mubarak regime was uncomfortable with this situation and started to corner the movement by putting pressure on the media and civil society. A wave of arrests began against the Muslim Brotherhood movement, which was planning to run about 150 independent candidates in the 1995 elections, and many people lost their lives in the events that ensued [12; 38]. At the beginning of the 2000s, the movement turned to the religious sphere and almost became introverted under the intense pressure of the Mubarak period. Despite this negative image, the movement did not give up its struggle for existence in the political arena and managed to send 17 members to parliament in the 2000 elections. When Mustafa Mashhur, the general guide who had taken over from Mohammed Hamid Ebu el-Nasr, died in 2002, Mamun al-Hudaybi, the son of Hudaybi, who had previously taken on the role of mentor, was appointed to lead the movement. After al-Mamun's short tenure at the head of the movement and his death, the Muslim Brotherhood movement decided for the first time that the general guide should be elected, and Muhammed Mehdi Akif became the leader of the movement as the representative of the traditionalist section. Although Akif came from the traditional wing, he supported the programme of political change advocated by the innovative wing of the movement. In fact, in 2004, the Muslim Brotherhood prepared a programme for political change in Egypt under the title "Reform Principles for Egypt" and presented it to the public. After this process, the movement entered the 2005 elections with the slogan "the solution is in reform" instead of "Islam is the solution", and formed the main opposition group in parliament by ousting 88 MPs. Trying to exist in an atmosphere of limited political freedom after the elections, the Muslim Brotherhood began to experience a generational conflict within itself. The main reason for this is the beginning of a large wave of arrests after the elections and the increasing pressure of the regime on the movement. After the internal conflict between the traditionalist generation and Muhammed Mehdi Akif in 2010, Muhammed Bedii became the new leader of the movement with the initiatives of the Guidance Bureau. The movement experienced an intense internal debate for the 2010 elections, with a disagreement between those who wanted to contest the elections under the umbrella of an alliance and those who were in favour of nominating an independent candidate. However, due to the arrest of more than 1,000 members of the movement, the movement was unable to win any seats in the elections and send any MPs to parliament [3; 11-12].

During the Arab Spring process, the movement did not actively participate in the demonstrations that began on 25 January 2011 and remained in the background for a while. The Muslim Brotherhood, which did not participate en masse in the events, encouraged individual participation in the protests. The group also issued a statement calling for democracy, security, welfare, etc. for the people. He also issued a statement taking into account their demands. The reason why the movement did not take part in these events is the fear of not repeating the mistakes of the past and the fear of losing some of the achievements. With the acceleration of events and the understanding that Mubarak would be overthrown, the Muslim Brotherhood became more active in the events. After the movement became an interlocutor in this process, a negotiating table was established between the Muslim Brotherhood and the regime. This situation continued until Mubarak stepped down on 11 February. On 11 February, the military council took over from Mubarak. The people continued the demonstrations in order not to lose the results of the protests to the soldiers. In the process, the army released the imprisoned Muslim Brotherhood figures. The Muslim Brotherhood also took steps to withdraw people from the squares for a controlled normalization. When the situation calmed down a bit, the popular support of 71% in the referendums for the constitutional reform came out. For the September elections, the Muslim Brotherhood took action and began to organize. In June, the movement decided to participate in the elections by forming the Freedom and Justice Party. While the party was being formed, the Muslim Brotherhood had to make various political manoeuvres. For example, they promised not to win a majority in parliament and not to nominate a presidential candidate. In the end, the Freedom and Justice Party won 206 out of 508 seats in the elections. The closest opposition group was the Nur Party, the strongest Salafist party in Egypt. The movement, which had previously pledged not to participate in the presidential elections, decided to nominate Mohammed Morsi, the leader of the Freedom and Justice Party. In fact, Morsi did very well in the presidential elections, winning 52% of the vote in the second round and giving the Muslim Brotherhood a strong chance of political power for the first time in Egypt's history. During his rule, Morsi sought to consolidate his dominance, particularly over the army, the judiciary and the bureaucracy. This situation was interpreted as the sectarianisation of Egypt, and criticism of the Morsi government began to grow. After the rapid adoption of the constitution in 2012, anti-Morsi protests increased further. Economic problems began to make life even more difficult for the Morsi government. Some of the movement's offices in Egypt were set on fire when the accusations of violence by the Morsi government became clear. As tensions grew between Morsi supporters and their opponents in the squares, it became easier for the army to intervene in the situation. In fact, on 3 July, Abdülfettah Sisi made a statement and declared that they had carried out a military coup. After the people who believed in the injustice of the coup took to the streets, Sisi and the army used disproportionate force against the people and thousands of people lost their lives. After the coup, many members of the movement, especially Morsi, were imprisoned. On 14 August 2014, as public protests intensified, the army intervened in the streets, killing 3533 people and injuring 11520. As a result, the Muslim Brotherhood organization was also severely wounded by this blow. The movement's central decision-making bodies began to be run by a small number of people, and the movement's offices were ransacked in many places.

Until 2019, the organization went through turbulent times. Members of the Muslim Brotherhood, trying to regroup, made various efforts to revive the movement's momentum. However, the death of Mohamed Morsi while he was in detention in 2019 after falling ill, the arrest of Mahmut Izzet, who served as the movement's acting general guide in 2020, and the fact that the regime's forces affiliated with Sisi killed many members by raiding the movement's central offices, prove the strong opinion that the pressure on the Muslim Brotherhood has increased. They developed as events. In this process, the movement decided to move some of its works abroad and the new master of the Muslim Brotherhood became İbrahim Münir, who lives in England. Many members of the Muslim Brotherhood had to go abroad in this process. The reasons for this decision are the desire to express their righteousness in the European public opinion and to act more freely by getting rid of the pressure of the regime. As a result, the 90-year-old Muslim Brotherhood movement continues on its path as a movement whose influence has been reduced as a result of pressure from the authoritarian government following the revolution in Egypt.

#### *Political Parties Established in Egypt under the Influence of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization*

The Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt, as a social and political movement, has been a source for the establishment of various political parties since its inception. The Muslim Brotherhood movement and the political movements that have emerged from it have not been clearly distinguished in academic and current studies of Egyptian politics. This deep-rooted movement itself and the parties that emerged from it are issues

that need to be treated separately. Although some parties represent the main line of the Muslim Brotherhood, it can be said that the personalities who left the movement and formed parties over time had different nuances on political issues. Some of the political parties that emerged from the Muslim Brotherhood movement, such as the Wasat Party, the Freedom and Justice Party and the Egypt Stream Party, will be mentioned in the following sections.

#### *Freedom and Justice Party*

The Freedom and Justice Party, based in Cairo, is a political party founded on 30 April 2011 by the Muslim Brotherhood organization during the revolution in Egypt. The party lasted approximately four years and was dissolved on 9 August 2014. The leader of the party was Mohammed Morsi. His deputies are Dr Isam al-Aryan and the Christian thinker Dr Refik Habib. The party's secretary-general, Dr Mohammed Sa'd al-Katatini, is a well-known figure in religious circles [13].

Isam al-Iryan, the party's deputy chairman, is a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Irshad Bureau and secretary of the Egyptian Medical Syndicate. Isam al-Irian is one of the leading figures in the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. He has been arrested several times for his opposition to the old regime. The Coptic thinker Dr Refik Habib, on the other hand, is one of the main defenders of the Islamic civilization project, and although he is of Coptic origin, he has written many works on and in defence of Islamic civilization. The party's secretary-general, Dr Mohammed Said al-Ketatini, is a former member of the Muslim Brotherhood's Guidance Bureau and was also the head of the Muslim Brotherhood's parliamentary group in 2005 [14; 42].

The Freedom and Justice Party is accepted as the political branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, and the party's leadership wants this political party to be known and recognized as the political branch of the Muslim Brotherhood in order to distinguish it from other political parties called "Freedom" and "Justice" by the Egyptian public. Their stance on domestic policy parallels the general historical tendencies of the community. They envisage a gradual process of reform in social and political life. However, they argue that radical reforms can be carried out simultaneously with the awareness of the people [14; 42].

The party's approach to international issues is as follows. Firstly, the legitimacy of Israel is not accepted by the party and is questioned. Israel's policy of oppression and persecution of Palestine is constantly criticised by the party and kept on the agenda. However, the party rejects US hegemony and defends Egypt's full independence in foreign policy. The party, which is in favour of developing good relations with Iran if necessary, does not approve of Western interference in the internal affairs of Arab countries. However, the party that advocates an equal and interest-based relationship with the West does not accept Iran's Islamic model as a model. The fact that relations with Iran are conducted in terms of state interests and the balance in the Middle East expresses the party's basic understanding of Iran. The party's view of Turkey is generally positive, and Turkey's foreign policy in the region is approved by the party. Believing in the unity of Egypt's religion, history and destiny with Turkey, party representatives emphasise the friendship between the Turkish and Egyptian peoples. The party's representatives, who say that not all the policies of the AK Party in Turkey have a chance of being implemented in Egypt, do not agree with all the policies of the AK Party (14; 43).

The party's position on domestic issues is set out in its programme as follows. Firstly, the party believes in the need to restructure the security sector in Egypt. The party, which advocates the abolition of practices such as torture, persecution and imprisonment, is in favour of paving the way for human rights and civil liberties. On the economic front, the party dreams of a self-sufficient Egypt and advocates the domestic use of strategic products such as cotton. The party's economic priorities also include the promotion of SMEs, the development of the zakat and social welfare systems, the promotion of exports, the renewal of agreements governing oil and gas exports and the prevention of monopolies. The party, which is sensitive to corruption, is in favour of establishing a strong and fair judicial system to prevent this bad situation.

In political terms, the Freedom and Justice Party's priorities include the establishment of a political system that prioritises democratic, civil and Islamic law. The party, which believes that no citizen should be discriminated against on the basis of religion, belief or ethnic origin, prioritises the rule of law. The party, which believes that the legislative, executive and judicial powers should be completely independent of each other, favours a parliamentary system and sees the head of state as the head of state and the prime minister as the head of the executive. The Muslim Brotherhood's main criteria for the political system can be described as the independence of the judiciary, free and fair elections, accountability, freedom and equality, and the protection of national integrity [15].

The party came to power in Egypt with huge popular support after the fall of former president Hosni Mubarak, but was overthrown when the army seized power following days of anti-government protests by the Egyptian people in Tahrir Square.

#### *Wasat Party*

The Arabic name of the party, written as الوسط حزب, was founded in 1996 by Ebu'l Ala Mazi. Although the Wasat Party applied for official recognition four times between 1996 and 2009, it was officially recognized on 19 February 2011. It won the title of being the first Islamist party to be founded after Hosni Mubarak's resignation [16].

The roots of the Wasat Party go back to the 1970s, and the first sparks of the movement are based on a group of leaders of the Islamist student movement active in Egypt in the 1970s and some trade unionists belonging to the Islamic movement. The founders and leaders, many of them members of the Muslim Brotherhood, decided in 1996 to leave the Muslim Brotherhood and found this party. During the years of Hosni Mubarak's rule, he repeatedly refused to establish the party, and after the revolution, the party was officially established on 19 February 2011. The party's leader, Ebu'l Ala Mazi, is a politician and writer who is the former head of the Egyptian Engineers' Union and has published works on the Islamic movement. Mazi, who was a cadre of the Muslim Brotherhood in the past, is a person who opposed the Muslim Brotherhood after the party process and has been critical of the movement.

The Wasat Party carries out its activities with an Islamic vision, but it is also close to Egypt's secularists on some issues. The party's distance from the Muslim Brotherhood movement is quite large, and party leaders often criticise the Muslim Brotherhood community [14; 47].

The party's main policy is to regard Israel's occupation of Palestine as illegitimate and to support Palestinian resistance. The party, which defends Jerusalem as the legitimate capital of Palestine, is warm to relations with the West, but is also sensitive about protecting Egypt's independence. The party, which was severely damaged in public opinion during the Hosni Mubarak era, does not have a large social base [16].

The party's leader, Mazi, stated in an interview with him that the Wasat Party has adopted an ideology close to that of the AK Party in Turkey. According to the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, al-Wasat seeks to interpret the principles of Islamic Sharia law in a way that is compatible with the values of the liberal democratic system, viewing it as flexible and fully compatible with the principles of pluralism and equal civil rights. The fact that a Christian head of state can be an administrator in a Muslim country shows that the party is close to liberal values. In this sense, there are those who say that the party's political identity is conservative and liberal.

Looking at the party's approach to some basic issues, it is clear that it supports the following political views:

- Guaranteeing equal citizenship rights to all Egyptians regardless of religion, gender, race, status or wealth.
- Abolishing all emergency laws and special courts and limiting the scope of these laws to de facto interventions.
- Setting a time limit on the presidency and reducing the powers of the executive.
- Support for free elections and peaceful transfer of power.
- Not preventing the establishment of non-governmental organizations such as political parties, associations and foundations.
- Promoting transparency and accountability in government administration [16].

In the party's foreign policy concept, issues such as giving priority to relations with Sudan and the Nile Basin countries, supporting efforts to resolve the Palestinian problem, and encouraging cooperation between Arab countries in military, political, economic and cultural matters are at the forefront.

#### *Egyptian Islamic Labour Party*

It was founded on 9 September 1978. The party is the successor of the Masr Al Fattah movement founded by Ahmed Hussein in 1933.

It was founded by İbrahim Şükri, who was previously a socialist. Today, the party has adopted an Islamic line. The most important factor for the party to adopt this line was the close relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the party, and the leader of the party, İbrahim Şükri, fully accepted the Islamic understanding after this relationship. After the Islamic Labour Party, also known as the Labour Party, adopted the Islamic line, those who insisted on sticking to the socialist understanding left the party. The party's rela-

tionship with the Muslim Brotherhood continues. After 1986, the party moved towards the Islamic line and underwent this transformation after the alliance called Tahaluf, which was formed in 1987 with the Liberal Socialists and the Muslim Brothers. This transformation was first documented in the party's report, Reform from an Islamic Perspective, published in 1989 [14; 36].

The party publishes a newspaper in Egypt called “ash-Sha'b”, but it is not allowed to publish more than once a week. Many Muslim Brotherhood writers also contribute articles to the paper [17].

The party won 1 seat in the elections held in Egypt in 2011-12 and joined the Egyptian Democratic Alliance. The Islamic Labour Party Party is one of eleven Islamic parties targeted in a case in November 2014 when an organization called the Popular Front tried to shut down all political parties founded on a “religious basis”. However, the Alexandria Emergency Court ruled on 26 November 2014 that this front had no jurisdiction [18].

One of the leading figures in the party is Mecdi Hüseyin. The party's work was suspended in 2000 due to disagreements within the party, but it has since continued its activities. It is one of the parties that has been most critical of the current regime in Egypt during the period of Hosni Mubarak. This toughness stems from the attitude of Mecdi Hussein. Known for its anti-Israeli policies, the party also sees the US and the Western world as open enemies of the Islamic world. For example, they vehemently protested against the US Senate's decision to divide Iraq into Kurdish, Shia and Sunni parts, and condemned this US stance in a meeting and demonstration at Azhar. They also accused the current Egyptian government of collaborating with imperialism [19].

The main policies of the party include establishing an economic system based on Islamic Sharia, protecting national industries, equitable distribution of investments among Egyptian regions, unity between Egypt, Sudan and Libya, liberating occupied Palestinian territories, and improving relations with developing countries [17].

#### *Egypt Stream Party*

The Egyptian Current Party is one of the many political parties formed after the fall of former president Hosni Mubarak. Many of its prominent members were previously members of the youth wing of the Muslim Brotherhood. The group also includes some independent young activists who took part in the 6 April Youth Movement and the 25 January Revolution [20].

The Egyptian Stream Party was founded in December 2013. Its founder is Muhammed Derviş, and the main founding figures of the party are Asmaa Mahfouz Abdul Rahman Hareedy and Mustafa Abdel'Razek. Lawyer İslam Lütfi, on the other hand, played an active role in the founding of the party and acted as its spokesman. He is an activist who left the Muslim Brotherhood. The Egyptian Stream Party was founded by Egyptian revolutionary youth [21]. The party was founded on the movement known as the Egyptian Revolutionary Youth Coalition and supported Mohammed Morsi in the 2012 presidential elections [22]. The party, which supports democratic elections and prioritises the power of the people, is in favour of establishing a solid legal system in Egypt and emphasises that the religious or ethnic identity of the president who will rule Egypt is unimportant when it comes to enacting people-centred laws [21]. The party presents a conservative democratic vision to society. The party is part of the “Alliance to Support the Revolution” bloc after the 2011 revolution (14). The party launched a political campaign against the trial of civilians in military courts and became an effective member of this campaign in Egypt.

The council that governs the party consists of a high council of twenty people. The council includes twelve founding members of the party, in addition to the eight elected members. The party has several special subcommittees, including committees for media affairs, party activities, fundraising, and subscriptions [23].

In the 2011 elections, the party made an alliance with the religiously motivated NGO Sonaa El-Hayat and the Misr El-Mostaqbal party to help the poor, disabled and disadvantaged people in Egypt. In addition, the party, which cooperated with liberals and socialists during the revolution, had a very tense relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood during the revolution.

The main vision of the party is to raise political awareness in pursuit of national projects that will improve the socio-economic conditions of workers, peasants, students, professors and all other segments of society. They believe in the need to cooperate with civil society in this process. They have a developmental vision. The party supports the concept of citizenship, meaning that all citizens should have equal rights, and supports the inclusion of Egyptians living and working abroad in the political life of the country. Egypt Stream supports the development of public services offered to citizens. It believes in the right of every indi-

vidual to equal access to education, health services and housing. It aims to eradicate poverty through job creation and unemployment benefits [23].

The party also believes that development should include minimising the gender gap in education, employment and government leadership. It advocates a fair and equitable distribution of national wealth and public services. They advocate investing Egypt's academic and professional resources in planning and managing the country's development projects, emphasising the importance of labour-intensive projects and small and medium-sized enterprises.

The party's leaders see the conflict between secularists and Islamists in Egypt as an artificial debate. The party, which defines Egypt's identity as Arab, Islamic and African, also rejects sectarian hostility. Party officials believe that Egypt should seek full national political and economic independence from outside powers. They oppose any form of foreign intervention in Egypt and believe in the right of the Palestinian people to be a nation, to self-determination and to continue all resistance against Israeli occupation [23].

### *Conclusion*

The Muslim Brotherhood movement was not only influential in the creation of the Freedom and Justice Party in Egypt, but two other Islamic parties were also created alongside it. The Freedom and Justice Party and its leader, Mohammed Morsi, are the most well-known party to have had a chance to come to power during the Arab Spring process.

The Muslim Brotherhood movement began as a cultural and social formation, but when it was realised that it could not remain completely independent of politics in the following periods, the movement gave birth to parties in the Islamic line with different nuances among themselves.

The Freedom and Justice Party has taken a line in line with the democratic and liberal understanding, but it has been removed from the centre of the political system in Egypt because it has not completely abandoned its Islamic orientation and rejected anti-democratic practices such as human rights, corruption and military coups. The party's criticism of the army's weight in the country's economy disturbed military circles in Egypt, and it lost its influence in the country after Morsi was removed from power.

Thus, the most influential political formation of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt was removed from power in a military coup. Although the party was moderate, its right to life was not recognised by the Egyptian regime.

Another political party founded by the cadres of the Muslim Brotherhood movement is the Wasat Party, which has its roots in the student movements of the 1970s. Although the political line of the party, which was founded in 1996 by a group that broke away from the Muslim Brotherhood movement, has an essentially Islamic vision, it is also close to Egypt's secularists. In this respect, the party officials keep their distance from the Muslim Brotherhood movement and sometimes criticise the Muslim Brotherhood movement. We can say that the party, which has more secular tendencies than the Freedom and Justice Party, is almost in line with the Freedom and Justice Party in terms of foreign policy. For example, their positions on Palestine are the same. The social base of the Wasat Party is narrower than that of the Freedom and Justice Party. Combining the liberal democratic system with Islamic principles, the party adopts a line compatible with the West, but is in line with the Freedom and Justice Party on the issue of an independent Egypt. The fact that the party includes politicians and women of Coptic origin shows that it is very close to the liberal line. The party's liberal-conservative line is close to that of the Justice and Development Party in Turkey.

The Egyptian Islamic Labour Party, on the other hand, is older than the two parties mentioned above. It was founded in 1978 by İbrahim Şükri, who previously had socialist tendencies. Shukri, who adopted the Islamic line after his relations with the Muslim Brotherhood, also positioned the party on an Islamic basis. This transformation was achieved after the party's alliance with the liberals and the Muslim Brotherhood in the country in 1987. The Egyptian Islamic Labour Party has very harsh views on the US and Israel. These two countries are open enemies of the Islamic world. In this respect, the Egyptian Islamic Labour Party takes a harder line than the Wasat Party. The party, which the Egyptian regime wanted to close on the grounds that it was in line with Islam, escaped being dissolved in 2014, and the Egyptian judiciary declared that there was no need to dissolve the party. The party's failure in the elections was also effective in preventing it from being closed down.

The Egypt Stream Party was founded by an activist who left the Muslim Brotherhood movement. Founded by the Egyptian revolutionary youth, the party supports Morsi in the elections, but takes a more liberal line than the other three parties, emphasising for example that the religious or ethnic identity of the

leader who will rule Egypt is not important. Although the party has a conservative democratic line, it stands out for its liberal tendencies.

As a result, the Islamist parties formed under the influence of the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt are not in a radical line and are at a point that we can accept as conservative liberals. Although these parties have an Islamic vision, sometimes they are not in conflict with secularism, such as the Wasat Party. But the attitude of all of them towards the independence of Egypt is clear. They are all in favour of independence. Moreover, each party's position on the Palestinian issue is the same. These parties see Israel as an invader in the region.

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Акиф Чаркчи

## Египеттегі исламдық саяси партиялар

Египетте пайда болған «Мұсылман бауырлар» қозғалысы Египетке ғана емес, Ливия, Тунис, Алжир және Марокко сияқты елдерге де әсер етті және бұл елдердегі көптеген исламдық қозғалыстар «Мұсылман бауырлар» моделі бойынша ұйымдастырылды. «Мұсылман бауырлар» қозғалысы әлеуметтік және мәдени қозғалыс ретінде басталды, бірақ кейінірек ол саяси сипатқа ие болып, Египетті басқаруға ұмтылды. 2011 жылы Мұхамед Мурсидің басшылығымен құрылған және «араб көктемі» процесіне әсер еткен бостандық пен әділеттілік партиясынан басқа, Египетте «Мұсылман бауырлар» қозғалысымен байланысты немесе оған әсер ететін басқа исламшыл партиялар бар. Әлемдік қоғамдық пікірде онша танымал емес мұндай партияларға Васат партиясы, Ислам жұмысшылар партиясы және Египет ағымы партиясы жатады. Бұл зерттеу, біріншіден, «Мұсылман бауырлар» қозғалысының тарихи бағытын талдайды, содан кейін Египеттегі осы қозғалыс құрған немесе оған әсер еткен саяси партияларды ұсынады. Ақырында, зерттеу осы партияларды жалпы талдаумен және салыстырумен аяқталды.

*Кілт сөздер:* саяси ғылымдар, саяси партиялар, исламизм, исламистік қозғалыстар, исламистік партиялар, бостандық және әділет партиясы, Васат партиясы, Египет ислам жұмысшы партиясы, «Египет ағымы» партиясы.

Акиф Чаркчи

## Исламистские политические партии в Египте

Движение «Братья-мусульмане», зародившееся в Египте, оказало влияние не только на Египет, но и на такие страны, как Ливия, Тунис, Алжир и Марокко, и многие исламские движения в этих странах были организованы по модели «Братьев-мусульман». Указанное движение зарождалось как социальное и культурное движение, но позднее оно приобрело политический характер и стремилось управлять Египтом. Помимо Партии свободы и справедливости, которая была основана в 2011 году под руководством Мохамеда Мурси и оказала влияние на процесс «арабской весны», в Египте есть и другие исламистские партии, которые связаны с движением «Братья-мусульмане» или находятся под его влиянием. К таким партиям, менее известным в мировом общественном мнении, можно отнести партию «Васат», Исламскую рабочую партию и Партию египетского течения. В данном исследовании, во-первых, проанализирован исторический ход движения партии «Братья-мусульмане», а затем представлены другие политические партии в Египте, которые были основаны этим движением или находились под его влиянием. Наконец, исследование завершается общим анализом и сравнением этих партий.

*Ключевые слова:* политические науки, политические партии, исламизм, исламистские движения, исламистские партии, партия свободы и справедливости, партия «Васат», Египетская исламская рабочая партия, партия «Египетский поток».

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