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No. 102



**THE BEGIN-SADAT CENTER
FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES**

The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt-Israel Peace

Liad Porat

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The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt-Israel Peace

Table of Contents

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
INTRODUCTION.....	7
OPPOSITION TO US AND ISRAELI POLICIES	9
SUPPORTING HAMAS' STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAEL	14
ENCOURAGING MILITARY <i>JIHAD</i>	16
THE DANGER OF NORMALIZATION WITH ISRAEL	28
SUPPORT FOR HAMAS DURING OPERATION PILLAR OF DEFENSE	36
CONCLUSION.....	40

The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt-Israel Peace

Liad Porat

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This study examines the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood's attitude towards Israel and the Egypt-Israel peace treaty. From the role of main opposition to the Mubarak regime – in which it advocated continuously against Israel and the treaty – the Brotherhood rose to power in Egypt in the aftermath of the 2011 revolt against the regime of President Hosni Mubarak, and held power until the military coup of July 2013.

The timeframe during which the Brotherhood occupied positions of power in Egypt, from early 2012 to the summer of 2013, provides a rare perspective into the movement's ideology and the way it acted in shaping Egypt's policy, particularly regarding its relations with Israel.

Chapter one of this study explores the struggle between Islam and the West, and the Brotherhood's hatred of the US, Israel's main supporter. Chapter two surveys the regional context which shapes the Brotherhood's views on Israel, including the role of Hamas, which is the Brotherhood's sister movement in Gaza and the West Bank. The third chapter analyzes the Brotherhood's religious motivations which intensify the struggle against Israel, specifically its rhetoric on the importance of Jerusalem to Islam. Chapter four looks at the Brotherhood's apprehension regarding normalization with Israel and the implementation of the peace treaty, which threatens the Brotherhood and polarizes Egyptian society. Chapter five reviews the policy of the Brotherhood government in 2012-2013 towards Israel, specifically during Israel's Operation Pillar of Defense in Gaza. The Brotherhood's confidence allowed it to set conditions that could have brought about the cancellation of the peace treaty. However, in light of the July 2013 military coup that removed the Brotherhood from power, its influence on Egypt's future remains to be seen.

The Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt-Israel Peace

Liad Porat

INTRODUCTION

This study reviews the evolution of the position of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt on key issues that have affected Egyptian-Israeli relations since the end of President Husni Mubarak's reign. It demonstrates that the Brotherhood's essentially negative position regarding the involvement of the United States in the region, and in particular American policy toward Israel, heavily influenced Egyptian foreign policy. Contrary to the US, which regards Hamas as a terrorist organization, the Brotherhood embraces this Islamic movement, considers it as its own flesh and blood, and views it as the spearhead of the struggle against Israel.

This study was written during the period when the Brotherhood was still consolidating its reign, with Muhammad Mursi serving as president. Even before the ink used to write this paper dried, a military coup in July 2013 removed the Brotherhood from power. The timeframe during which the Brotherhood occupied positions of power in Egypt, from early 2012 to the summer of 2013, provides a rare perspective into the movement's ideology and the way it acted in shaping Egypt's policy, particularly regarding its relations with Israel.

The Brotherhood's ideological commitment to the Palestinian cause has always been reflected in its diplomatic and political positions.

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The author began writing this paper following the mass protests that forced President Husni Mubarak from power, at a time when the Muslim Brotherhood was emerging as the dominant force in Egyptian politics. He wishes to express his gratitude to the BESA Center for its support of the paper and to Prof. Efraim Inbar for his time and guidance. Additional thanks to Rami Hann for translating this piece from its original Hebrew and to Michael Brodsky for his editorial assistance.

The territory of Palestine, regarded as consecrated Islamic *waqf*, Jerusalem, and the holy sites have always occupied a key position in the Brotherhood's preaching. The group's intensive preoccupation with Palestine has positioned it as a popular movement with massive support both inside and outside of Egypt.

During the Brotherhood's reign, peaceful relations with Israel ceased to be an essential element of Egypt's political and strategic worldview. While Egyptian President Husni Mubarak regarded the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel as a strategic asset, his successor, President Muhammad Mursi,¹ acted gradually with the aim of depleting the treaty of any substance. At the same time Mursi, inspired by the Brotherhood, positioned Israel as the enemy of Egypt, Arabs, and global Islam.

Mursi's speech at the UN General Assembly on September 26, 2012 reflected the priorities in Egypt's foreign policy: the Palestinian issue and resistance to Israel.² In his speeches to the plenum of the Non-Aligned Movement in Tehran,³ at the UN, and before Turkey's ruling AK Party in September 2012,⁴ Mursi characterized Israel as a hostile country. This clear trend emerged when the Brotherhood was in power, although on paper the peace treaty was still in effect. When Mursi referred to Israel, he did so negatively. He regarded Israel not as a sovereign state, but rather as an entity comprised of illegitimate and illegal elements, such as prisons – filled with Palestinian prisoners – and settlements, which occupy and endanger Arab-Islamic soil.

It was not just rhetoric. The reality that evolved until Mursi's ouster in the summer of 2013 presented a political challenge, coupled with security implications, which could only be interpreted as a gradual process to delegitimize Israel. These trends were reflected in several dimensions: propaganda, the media, politics, economics, and military.

Beyond the explicit statements against economic cooperation with Israel and the calls for an international boycott, the Brotherhood government acted to cut the supply of natural gas from Egypt to Israel. The Brotherhood endeavored to prevent joint projects and ventures, and warned against Israel's greed and the danger of its dominance. According

to the Brotherhood, Israel constituted a threat to the Egyptian economy by exploiting manpower to make quick and easy profits.

On the political and diplomatic level there was a marked setback in Egyptian-Israeli relations with the Brotherhood's rise to power, and particularly since the Brotherhood won the majority of votes in elections for the lower house of the Egyptian Parliament – the People's Assembly – in January 2012. The mass assault on the Israeli embassy building in Cairo, and the removal and subsequent burning of the Israeli flag in September 2011, was a telling expression of the Brotherhood's approach. It represented an opposition to an official Israeli presence on Egyptian soil and existence of any symbols of Israeli sovereignty and nationality, including an embassy, diplomatic corps, and – above all – an Israeli flag.⁵

On the security level, Egyptian-Israeli relations deteriorated too. The terrorist organizations operating in the Sinai Peninsula, and the presence of Egyptian military forces therein – contrary to the terms of the peace treaty – were evidence of this deterioration. The Brotherhood openly supported Hamas and its armed struggle against Israel, calling it “the military resistance to the occupation.” With Mursi as president, Egypt embraced the Hamas political leadership, even offering to host Hamas headquarters in Cairo.

Jerusalem and the al-Aqsa Mosque played a role in Brotherhood propaganda against Israel as well. Together, the Brotherhood and Hamas were to lead the fight for the liberation of Jerusalem and the al-Aqsa Mosque from Israeli hands. This struggle, frequently addressed in Brotherhood publications, is framed by the concept of *jihad*.

OPPOSITION TO US AND ISRAELI POLICIES

Since its establishment, the Muslim Brotherhood has engaged in a struggle against elements it regards as enemies. The Brotherhood fought British forces, stationed in Egypt until the 1950s, as representatives of Western imperialism. Subsequently, it was ideologically hostile to the communist and atheist USSR.⁶ Since the signing of the peace treaty

between Egypt and Israel, and in view of the enhanced international status of the US, the Brotherhood has aimed the thrust of its hostility at the senior representative of the West and its satellites. This trend is also related to the fact that during the reign of President Anwar Sadat, the US moved into a position previously held by the USSR; that is, the primary inspiration for Egyptian policy. The most significant extension of the West in the eyes of the Brotherhood, however, is Israel and Zionism. Over the last few decades, the struggle against Israel intensified at the same time as, and independently of, the struggle against the US. According to the Brotherhood, the “American-Zionist project” reflects the US intention to dominate the Arab-Islamic region and dictate to it an American agenda. For this purpose, the US uses Israel – its satellite in the heart of the Middle East – and assists Israel economically, politically, and militarily.

On the Brotherhood’s scale of hostility, the US occupies a central position in the “external foe” category.⁷ Opposition to the US has several tiers – ideological, political, cultural, religious, social, and economic. Over the years, the American government was viewed by the Brotherhood as the main supporter of the Mubarak regime, the Brotherhood’s archenemy. Additionally, the US was seen as fully identifying with Israeli interests, hence actually representing it. The Brotherhood is equipped with a tradition of opposition to the US and is full of hostility toward its policy in the region.

The peace treaties between Egypt and Israel were signed largely through the assistance and influence of the US. Sadat’s peace policy exacerbated the rift with the Brotherhood and led to unprecedented hostility toward him.⁸ The Brotherhood never forgave Sadat for relinquishing Islamic soil – in Palestine and in the Sinai – and for recognizing the Jewish state. As far as the Brotherhood was concerned, the peace treaty was intended to weaken the Muslim world by generating conflict among the Arab and Islamic nations. Muhammad Mahdi Akef, the leader of the Muslim Brotherhood from 2004 to 2010 (known as the “General Guide”), called upon the Arab and Islamic nations to thwart the *fitna* (internal war among the congregation of believers) and transcend these disputes. In May 2008, he stressed the need to operate with Islamic unity, despite the efforts of the US to generate conflicts among Muslims, and regarded this as a religious commandment, quoting *Quran* verses.⁹

US support of secular Arab regimes and, in particular, the Mubarak regime – which the Brotherhood has always considered a corrupt tyranny operating contrary to the country’s interests – led to a rift between the regime and the people. According to the Brotherhood, the peace treaty was intended to strengthen secular Arab regimes and ensure a regional stability that would perpetuate American influence throughout the region. Or, even worse, the peace and stability of the region might enable the continued penetration of American culture into the world of Islam. The Brotherhood has always regarded itself a trustee and guardian of the gates of Islam, and has preached for a struggle against this undesirable American culture and against occupation of Islamic countries. Over the last decade, Brotherhood leaders intensified their rhetoric against “the plan of condescendence, imperialism, and destruction adopted by the ‘American-Zionist campaign (or “expedition,” originally *hamla*) of aggression’ against the Islamic nation.”¹⁰ For years, Brotherhood leaders aimed the thrust of their resentment and criticism at the Mubarak regime for opening Egypt to the influence of the US. The Brotherhood blamed Mubarak for “kneeling” in order to please the US and for selling Egyptian interests. They argued that concessions made by the Mubarak regime to the US led to moral disintegration and the corruption of society. The danger far transcends domination by the US, in the context of the “American-Zionist plot,” of the resources and lands of the Islamic nation. The real danger lies in the US attempt to dilute belief among Muslim inhabitants so that they ultimately settle for religious rituals only, thus undermining Islam’s resistance to Western culture.¹¹ Should Islamic society abandon its values, it will lose its way and be swept up by America’s moral anarchy. Apparently, this dissolution of identity among the Islamic nations is the objective of the “American-Zionist project.”

The Brotherhood regards the peace treaty as a byproduct of the “American-Zionist project,” and endeavored for decades to have it annulled through its media and political activities. Since 2005, the Brotherhood’s political strength increased as a result of its election to the People’s Assembly, where it secured 20 percent of the seats. This achievement boosted the Brotherhood’s confidence, and led to increasingly radical criticism of the Mubarak regime on the subject of the peace treaty with Israel.¹²

The Brotherhood took it upon itself to voice the outcry of the Palestinians in view of the world's silence, and strongly condemned the Egyptian ruler for failing to uphold his duty to his brethren in Palestine. In defiance of the Arab rulers and the US, it stated that "Arab and Muslim Palestine will never be the state of the Zionist entity."¹³ It denounced the strategic alliance between the US and Israel, which enables the continuation of Israeli occupation.

The US, under both the Bush and Obama administrations, has been the target of the Brotherhood's attacks. American support for Israel is, supposedly, only one of the layers in the chain of American conquests and domination of Arab-Muslim countries. The US military presence in such countries as Iraq, the Gulf States, and Afghanistan is conceived by the Brotherhood as part of the "American-Zionist plot" to dominate and enforce the hegemony of the US on other nations and cultures.¹⁴

According to General Guide Muhammad Badie – the Brotherhood leader since January 2010 – massacres were perpetrated against Muslims under the watchful eye and global leadership of the US. In October 2012, he lamented the fact that no forces stand up against the "American-Zionist project" which sets the Middle East aflame. In the same breath, he mourned the spilled blood of Muslims everywhere as an outcome of that project.¹⁵

After winning election to the People's Assembly in January 2012 and becoming the dominant party in the Egyptian Parliament, the Brotherhood hosted Jimmy Carter, former President of the United States and chief sponsor of the treaty between Egypt and Israel. In the past, Carter had tried mediating between Hamas and Israel, particularly for the release of Gilad Shalit. He was recognized as balanced on the Arab-Israeli conflict, and even today does not regard Hamas as a terrorist organization, contrary to official US policy. Carter's visit to the offices of the Brotherhood in Cairo, after the electoral victory of the Freedom and Justice Party, was therefore not a surprise. Yet, the Brotherhood's willingness to officially host him and treat him with respect was indeed a surprise.

Carter's visit provided a rare glimpse of the Brotherhood's new tendency to signal that it possessed the skills required to conduct foreign relations. The visit was added to other meetings that Brotherhood leaders held with representatives of foreign countries, including ambassadors and heads of state. The objective was to show that the Brotherhood was – and had always been – operating in the name of Egyptian interests. The Brotherhood sought to show that unlike the previous regime it was patriotic, and knew how to enhance Egypt's regional and international status. Its agenda included looking after Arab and Islamic interests, particularly those of the Palestinians. It hoped to achieve progress by engaging in dialogue with elements in the West.

Carter's conversation with Brotherhood leaders, including Muhammad Badie, Muhammad Mursi, and Khairat al-Shater,¹⁶ is indicative of the Brotherhood's conduct regarding the peace treaty. Carter greeted the Brotherhood for its party's victory in the elections for the People's Assembly, stating that the elections were free of fraud and reflected the aspirations of the Egyptian people. Referring to the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel, Carter stressed that there are two aspects of the treaty, one pertaining to Israel's commitment to the Palestinians and the other to military issues; as far as the rights of the Palestinians were concerned, however, neither Israel nor Egypt had done enough.¹⁷ In response to Carter's statements, Mursi, then chairman of the Freedom and Justice Party, addressed the importance of the Palestinian issue and the precedence it should be given on the agendas of Egypt and the international community. He said that the Palestinians' needs should be addressed, the blockade of Gaza lifted, and a Palestinian state established. Mursi stressed that Egypt "has institutions that respect the treaties signed in the past, as long as the parties are committed to them as part of honoring sovereignty and independence."¹⁸ These statements by a senior Brotherhood representative who eventually became president reveal a tendency that had begun and intensified during the transitional period, since the deposing of Mubarak – to stipulate commitment to the peace treaty on Israel's conduct. Mursi's demand to raise the Palestinian issue and the resistance to Israel to the top of the agenda of Egyptian foreign policy became a reality when he was elected president.

After Mubarak's ouster, top Brotherhood leaders hosted representatives of foreign countries and tried to persuade their guests that supporting Israel, particularly by the US, was a mistake. These meetings were admittedly confidential, but reports appeared in the media nevertheless. At an April 2012 meeting between Badie and the British ambassador to Cairo, Badie called upon Britain to use its international influence to ensure the rights of Palestinians. A joint condemnation of Israeli construction of settlements was also reported. Badie used this meeting to persuade the British ambassador of the importance of British economic support for Egypt. It was reported that the British ambassador stated that the choice of the Egyptian people, who gave the Brotherhood the majority of votes, should be respected.¹⁹

The Brotherhood will continue its energetic activity in the foreign policy arena, with a single aim in mind: to weaken Israel and bolster the Palestinian position, particularly the one represented by Hamas. Even if currently unrealistic, it should be expected that if the Brotherhood returns to power, it will step up these efforts. It will continue to exploit the international arena to attack Israel and prepare the ground for the freezing or annulment of the peace treaty.

SUPPORTING HAMAS' STRUGGLE AGAINST ISRAEL

Brotherhood leaders claim that the struggle between Israel and the Palestinians in Gaza is not just "a war between Hamas and the Zionist entity, but a campaign between Islam and *jihad* on the one hand, and the [forces of] deceit and imperialist projects on the other hand." They assert that the Palestinian problem is a pan-Islamic issue, as it involves "Zionist occupation of Islamic soil and forceful plundering of property and funds." Based on this worldview, Badie explained that the release of Palestinian soil is an obligation and religious duty (*wajib shar'i*) of Muslims everywhere. Thus, Muslims across the world should rally to support the Palestinian struggle, and empower the spirit of *jihad* by reading *jihadist Quran* and *Hadith* verses, publicizing stories about and recognizing the importance of heroic death (*shahada*), and sacrificing one's life on the altar of Islam.²⁰ The Brotherhood does not only preach, but even actively

promotes the awareness of *jihad* in Palestine and bequeaths the heroic heritage of those who were killed in combat. The Brotherhood does this mainly through its websites, newspapers, and television.

Following the Israeli withdrawal from the Gaza Strip in 2005 and the takeover of the Strip by Hamas in 2007, attacks and missile launches against Israel continued. Control of the land crossings and sea routes to and from the Strip remained in Israeli hands. Israeli defensive steps to tighten control over the border crossings were described by the Palestinians as a blockade. The Brotherhood stressed its solidarity with the Palestinians and Hamas and stepped up its media attacks against Israel.

Manifests and epistles published by then-General Guide Mahdi Akef, particularly in 2006-2009, continuously referred to Palestine and Gaza. The Brotherhood has long complained of the Israeli military presence in the Strip, sympathizing with the suffering of the local population and with the struggle of Hamas. It condemns the international community and the Arab rulers for their helplessness in handling the Gaza issue, and blames the United States and West for supporting Israel and being its partners in the plot (*al-muāmarā*) against Muslims in Palestine.²¹ The accusations against the Arab rulers may be viewed as a continuation of the Brotherhood's course of action of blaming those rulers for being responsible for the circumstances of the Arab countries and likewise for the situation in Palestine. These accusations were aimed primarily at reigning President Mubarak.

As the blockade imposed on Gaza tightened and the level of violence between Israel and Hamas rose, the Brotherhood's tone became increasingly extreme. In addition to the use of negative terms in describing Israel, such as "occupation force," "depriving, raping entity," and "arm of destruction and killing," which were intended to undermine Israel's international legitimacy, the Brotherhood used terms from Islamic religious tradition. Referring to the blockade on Gaza, Akef claimed that the Palestinians were under siege by "the descendants of monkeys and pigs, who kill them slowly."²² The use of such descriptions toward both Jews and Israel had been used previously in the context of the opposition to the signature of the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. Descriptions derived

from the *Quran* regarding Israel's military activity had also been used during the round of hostilities between Israel and Hamas in November 2012 (Operation Pillar of Defense). General Guide Badie expressed his joy at the all-embracing solidarity with Gaza. He stressed that this time the Arab countries did not stand idly by but initiated a "strong Arab response" that helped break the siege.²³ Badie was referring to Egypt's active involvement, the public support for Hamas, and the assistance in bringing about a cease-fire – all under the leadership of Muhammad Mursi.

Dehumanizing Israelis is a methodical course of action used by the Brotherhood, which believes that the struggle is between good and evil, darkness and light, and the faithful followers of Islam and its enemies. As part of their effort to dehumanize the Israelis, Brotherhood leaders have described the conflict in Gaza throughout the last decade as a struggle for man's humanity, a struggle for the Palestinians, who face barbarism cloaked in a human form that destroys all forms of life. The Brotherhood claimed that it tried to break the silence engulfing the Palestinians' hardship and voice the outcry of "the Palestinian mother who lost her little son under the barbaric oppression." The Brotherhood hoped that in this way it would motivate the Arab rulers to act against Israel. According to Badie, the soil of Palestine belongs to Islam, and consequently

Arab-Muslim Palestine will never be the state of the Zionist entity. Arabs and Muslims are charged with the responsibility and [religious] duty to do everything in their power, including resisting by force and extending material assistance of any kind in order to break the siege...and the enemy.²⁴

ENCOURAGING MILITARY *JIHAD*

Even before the December 2008 outbreak of hostilities between Israel and Hamas in Gaza, the Brotherhood backed the Palestinians' violent struggle and preached for military *jihad* against Israel. It described Israel's military operations as "terrorist massacres unprecedented in the history of the Palestinian issue."²⁵ What could shock the enemy were the

continued resistance operations on the part of the “resistance groups,” such as Hamas, Islamic *Jihad*, and Hizballah. In the Brotherhood’s eyes, the determination of their resistance is heroic. It is the responsibility of the Arab-Islamic nations to support those groups in any possible way and exert pressure on their governments so that they might revise their policies. In October 2012, Badie argued that Palestine is the foremost problem for Arabs and Muslims and that

We will continue to struggle (*nujahid*) for the return of the land and the liberation of the holies of Islam, including the return of holy Jerusalem and the repatriation of the refugees...resistance continues to be our way to liberate Palestine.²⁶

As the Mubarak regime prevented it from actively assisting Hamas, the Brotherhood claimed that it

Financially supports the ongoing *jihad* for the liberation of the land and return of the holy places...and the expulsion of the exploiting settlers from the face of the land they had dominated by force of arms and uprooted its inhabitants.²⁷

The problem of Palestine, according to the Brotherhood leader, is not merely a problem of the prolonged starvation of a nation and an effort to stifle its spirit of resistance, but a problem of struggle for the return of land, the establishment of an independent state, and the complete liberation of a homeland.

One of the modes for assisting Hamas in its armed struggle against Israel was smuggling weapons and ammunition through tunnels across the Egyptian-Israeli border. These tunnels, used to smuggle explosive charges, explosives, rockets, and missiles, are described by the Brotherhood as “the only lifeline for the smuggling of food and medicines,” intended to bypass the blockade that was supposedly imposed by Israel in order to “slowly kill the Palestinians.” Accordingly, anyone supporting the American-Israeli operation plan, which was intended to prevent smuggling, was considered a traitor.

The Mubarak regime coordinated sensitive security issues with Israel and assisted in reducing the scope of the smuggling from Egypt. The Brotherhood called upon the Arab nations, one and all, to support the firm resistance of the Palestinians, and demanded that Mubarak fulfill his promises of not starving them and not taking part in the siege on Gaza. It urged Mubarak to open the Rafah crossing to enable the ongoing delivery of food and medical supplies and the uninterrupted supply of gas and power, while completely ignoring the smuggling of weaponry through tunnels into Gaza.

Throughout the second half of the last decade, the Brotherhood stepped up pressure on the Mubarak regime so that it would accept Brotherhood pleas regarding the siege on Gaza. Its criticism evolved into an unprecedented media attack. The Brotherhood claimed that Arab governments, including Egypt's, were indirectly involved in the killing of Palestinians who were determined "to embark on *jihad* against the war machine of America and Zionism."²⁸ It stressed that it was the duty of Arab governments to support the Palestinians who refuse to leave their homeland and are determined to sacrifice their lives (*shahada*) on the altar of the struggle for the (Islamic) nation's soil. Former General Guide Muhammad Mahdi Akef preached to the Arab regimes in early 2008, claiming that stability in the region will not be achieved except through defeating Israel and reinstating the full rights of Palestinians. He declared that these objectives will not be achieved, except through a comprehensive reform that will begin with the reinstatement of liberties and rights to the citizens of the Arab countries. This reform should include free elections in the context of a democratic regime, and Egypt should be the first to do it. Subsequently, Mahdi Akef defied the Egyptian government to fully understand that "the real enemy is the Zionist enemy." He stressed that the Egyptian Army had fought on Palestinian soil several times before, in defense of Egypt rather than Palestine.²⁹

Enlisting Past Heritage to Encourage War

Immediately following the overthrow of Mubarak and subsequent boost in the Brotherhood's power, the issues of Palestine and the struggle against Israel were assigned a higher priority. These issues occupied center stage in Egypt's foreign policy, along with opposition to the Assad regime in

Syria. Naturally, following the toppling of its most immediate domestic enemy – Mubarak’s regime – the Brotherhood became increasingly concerned with an external enemy: Israel. In a weekly epistle in January 2009, Muhammad Mahdi Akef presented his worldview regarding the war in Gaza. He used *tbh tcsutcsue* verses to describe the war of Muslim “holy warriors” against Jewish infidels, describing it as a war between those guided by divine truth and justice and the exploiting forces of evil, and declaring that the former would prevail. The past wars of Muslim warlords in the first centuries of Islam served as a model and example to the “holy warriors” fighting against Israel in Gaza. Historic victories, such as the battles of Badr, Hitin, and Ein Jalut are listed alongside the Second Lebanon War of 2006.³⁰ According to Mahdi Akef, the Muslims in those campaigns defeated their infidel enemies by adhering to Allah and to the commandments of *jihad*, and the war in Gaza was viewed as a continuation of those historic battles.

The “holy warriors” of Gaza fought and clung to their land, their faith, and *jihad*. Based on history and the *Quran*, Mahdi Akef promised that the “holy warriors” would be rewarded by Allah. He quoted *Quran* verses that provide detailed descriptions of the rewards awaiting the faithful who engage in holy war and sacrifice their lives. He promised them eternal life in paradise, where all their needs will be provided for and all their sins will be forgiven. In view of Israel’s military superiority, the Brotherhood leaders provided spiritual and moral encouragement to Hamas activists. They spoke of a moral struggle that had no room for doubts and concessions, as evident by the righteousness of the cause. Israel was described as employing the most advanced weaponry in a barbaric and disproportionate manner: “throwing hundreds of tons of explosives on the heads of the Palestinians and using all kinds of weapons, including land, naval and aerial [weapons].” But none of this prevented the “holy warriors” from launching missiles into Israel while Israeli aircraft passed through the sky and IDF infantry forces operated in Gaza. As far as the Brotherhood is concerned, Gaza is yet another victory that Hamas logged in its war against Israel. Not only did it manage to resist a larger and stronger military, it also managed to hit the enemy and inflict losses and feelings of helplessness on it.

The kidnapping of IDF serviceman Gilad Shalit in June 2006 was also praised by the Brotherhood, and was regarded as a purely military action aimed against an occupation army.³¹ In his weekly epistle of October 2011, Muhammad Badie stressed the victory of the Palestinian negotiator as reflected in the prisoner release deal. He claimed that the deal proved “the success and effectiveness of the option of [military] resistance” and that Israel “understands nothing but the language of force and resistance,” which would lead to the liberation of the Palestinian people.³² He asserted that the deal for Shalit’s release revealed both the brutal way in which Israel treated the Palestinian prisoners, and the decent way in which Hamas treated Shalit, in accordance with the directives of Islam. One of the most significant achievements was the successful release by Hamas of Palestinian prisoners not only from Gaza, but from all over the West Bank, Jerusalem, Golan Heights, and Palestinian communities throughout the diaspora. Above all, Badie praised the Palestinians’ success in releasing more than one thousand prisoners in exchange for the kidnapped soldier.

Badie regards Israel as the enemy of the Arabs and Islam. The supreme leader usually defines Israel not only as an enemy of the Palestinians, but of the Egyptians as well. He has also declared Israel an enemy with regard to the current Syrian civil war.³³ All the more, if Badie regards Israel as an enemy who plunders Islamic land from Syria and Egypt, then as far as the Palestinians are concerned he supports the armed resistance of Hamas and sees it as a legitimate way for the liberation of a nation and land.³⁴ Badie usually avoids referring to Israel by name and calls it instead “an occupation entity,” “a criminal entity”, “a plundering entity,” and “massacring entity.” The statements in recent speeches by Muhammad Mursi (in Tehran, at the UN General Assembly, and in Turkey during the autumn of 2012) constitute a direct continuation and reflection of his outlook.

Badie conceives of the struggle against Israel through concepts of religion and nationalism and, as far as he is concerned, all means are legitimate in the context of this struggle: firing at Israel, terrorist attacks, kidnapping servicemen, etc. Negotiating with Israel out of a position of power, in order to cause it to make painful concessions – as in the case of kidnapping an Israeli soldier to negotiate for his release – should not be ruled out.

After the Israeli operation in Gaza (in the winter of 2008-2009), Mahdi Akef stressed the fact that Israel failed to neutralize the firing of missiles out of Gaza and the heroism of the “holy warriors” who do not flinch in the face of the IDF. He said:

They launch missiles while [Israeli] aircraft are circling in the sky...and the Zionist enemy is unable to shoot these missiles down or prevent the launch... These [missiles] strike terror among tens and hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of the plundered lands.

These statements encourage Hamas to continue firing missiles at Israel’s civilian population. He called on the “holy warriors” to follow the path of *jihad* and emphasized that the Brotherhood stands behind them and that they should trust the victory Allah will bestow on them. He encouraged Hamas, declaring its activists full of

Arab and Islamic depth that embraces them to its heart...you can rest assured regarding the support [provided to you] in the form of the million-strong demonstrations held in Turkey, in the Arab countries and in Europe.

If it were only possible, hoped Mahdi Akef, hundreds of millions would fight shoulder to shoulder with Hamas against Israel.³⁵ During the war in Gaza, Brotherhood leaders frequently made similar statements, expressing their solidarity with Hamas. The Brotherhood’s principle stance, which supports Hamas’ armed struggle – including the firing of missiles at Israeli civilians – remained valid even after the war in Gaza, as the resistance against Israel continued and reality had not substantially changed.

The Dominant Role of Jerusalem and the Al-Aqsa Mosque

The Brotherhood has always emphasized the holiness of Jerusalem – as Islam’s third holiest city, after Mecca and Medina – and its importance in the context of the Arab nationalist struggle. It preaches Islamic unity in the struggle for Jerusalem’s holy sites. Consequently, the Brotherhood emphasizes the necessity of reinstating Jerusalem under Islamic rule. Brotherhood leaders through the generations, saw to it that Jerusalem

never be removed from the Movement's agenda. Numerous books on the subject of Jerusalem were published by the Brotherhood in Egypt, and some Brotherhood leaders and thinkers wrote complete volumes on the subject. One of the most prominent writers is Sayid Qutb, who wrote a book titled *Our Campaign Against the Jews*.³⁶ The book presents the struggle against the Jews as a fundamental ideo-religious conflict that continues to the present day. Qutb's interpretation of the *Quran*, in those verses that refer to the Jews who lived in the Arabian Peninsula, should, therefore, be read in accordance with that view.³⁷

Jerusalem is associated with the narrative of the military and political struggle of the Brotherhood for Palestine. The Brotherhood dispatched units of volunteers to fight alongside the Egyptian Army during the 1948 Arab-Israeli War, which operated on Israel's southern front (in Ramat Rachel and Kfar Darom). Although the role they played in those battles was a minor one, over the years the Brotherhood developed a myth of heroism and self-sacrifice around its volunteers in 1948.³⁸ Sheikh Hassan al-Banna, the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood (who was killed in 1949), would not have succeeded in establishing his movement as Egypt's largest popular movement unless he had inscribed the struggle against Zionism on his flag. During the Great Arab Revolt in Palestine (1936-1939), al-Banna was engaged primarily in fundraising, diplomacy, and propaganda on behalf of the Palestinian cause.³⁹ For this purpose, he communicated with the Mufti, Haj Amin al-Husseini, and supported him. Setting the Palestinian issue at the top of the Brotherhood's agenda was instrumental in its development as a popular movement that expanded beyond the boundaries of Egypt. Al-Banna preached military *jihad* against the Zionists, which ultimately became reality in the 1948 war. The myth of heroism and pan-Islamic commitment painted in the blood of Egyptian soldiers hastened Brotherhood activists to volunteer in the Egyptian Army, despite the fact that its members were imprisoned during that period.⁴⁰

When Brotherhood leaders were released from prison by Anwar Sadat, the latter expected them to legitimize his regime, and they did so by supporting the war that Egypt launched on Israel in October 1973. To them, Sadat was – in those days – “the believing president.” But when Sadat turned toward the path of peace, the Brotherhood turned its back on him and regarded him

as a traitor. It was in those years that Mursi joined the Brotherhood and enlisted in the struggle against Egypt's peace policy. The Brotherhood's primary arguments against Sadat included his relinquishing of Islamic soil and sovereignty in Palestine, Jerusalem, and in the Sinai, and his leniency and submissiveness to Israel and the Jews. During Mursi's presidency, these issues were once again added to the Egyptian foreign policy agenda.

In the age of the Internet and electronic media, Jerusalem and the struggle for the al-Aqsa Mosque are given even greater attention. The Brotherhood views itself as the flag bearer and regards this as a religious mission. Most of its websites feature a regular section devoted to the issue of Palestine and al-Aqsa.⁴¹ Moreover, the Brotherhood's websites contain studies, books, reviews, interviews and blogs on the subject.

Usually Jerusalem is referred to in the Brotherhood's publications in the context of opposition to peace with Israel. In the 1980s, the Brotherhood concluded that Israel would never give away Jerusalem, especially in view of the Israeli Knesset's endorsement of "Basic Law: Jerusalem, the Capital of Israel" in July 1980. They perceived only one solution – the exertion of "overwhelming military pressure." According to the Brotherhood, Jerusalem, which constitutes the focal point of the conflict between Muslims and Jews, will remain "the rock onto which all agreements will crash, as long as this holy city is not under full Islamic sovereignty."⁴² The Brotherhood validates the principle ban on giving away "Islamic soil" by stressing the central role of Jerusalem in Islam. Badie stated pursuant to the achievement of a cease-fire between Israel and Hamas (November 2012) that "Palestine and Jerusalem are sacred Islamic soil, a part of the religious belief of the Islamic nation," and consequently no person has the authority to relinquish any part of it to the Jews or to anyone else, or even to acknowledge any right of anyone other than Muslims in Palestine.⁴³

Since the signing of the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt in 1979, the Brotherhood stepped up its protest on the issue of Jerusalem. To a considerable degree, Jerusalem took center stage in the struggle against the peace treaty. In addition to the traditional praising of Jerusalem, the Brotherhood stressed the following epithets: "*anti ula al-qiblatain*

wa anti thalithat al-ḥaramain (“you were the first one faced during prayer and you are the third holiest”);⁴⁴ “*ya madinat al-ṣala*” (“oh, city of prayer”); “*masra al-nabi*” (“the place where the Prophet Muhammad arrived in his night journey”); and “*mawtan al-anbiya*” (“the homeland of the prophets”).⁴⁵

In addition to these epithets, originating from the *Quran* and Islamic tradition, leaders and military heroes whose fates were associated to one degree or another with Jerusalem, are also mentioned: Ṣalah al-Din, who entered the gates of Jerusalem at the head of his army in 1187; Amru bin al-Aṣ, the prominent Muslim general of the early conquest period; Al-Muzafar Qutuz, the Mamluk king who defeated the Mongol army in 1260; and the Khalifa Umar bin al-Khattab, during whose reign Jerusalem was captured and became a part of *Dar al-Islam*.⁴⁶

Umar al-Tilmisani was the leader of the Brotherhood when the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel was signed (1973-1986). He instituted a firm line of opposition to the treaty, stressing that “the sacred soil and sites are under enemy occupation.”⁴⁷ Al-Tilmisani and his successors in the Brotherhood leadership have constantly stressed that Jerusalem is “*mawtin al-isra wa al-mi’raj*,” the homeland of Muhammad’s nighttime journey from Mecca to Jerusalem and his ascent to heaven, and that it is imperative that action be taken “to save Jerusalem from the Jews.”⁴⁸ Muhammad Badie argued that the Prophet Muhammad’s journey proves that the land of Palestine is “the land of Arabism and Islam.” For this reason, it is imperative that Palestine be in possession of its Muslim owners, in order to enable free passage and access to pilgrims. Islam, according to Badie, determined the central role of Jerusalem by setting al-Aqṣa as one of the three holiest mosques that constitute destinations of pilgrimage. Consequently, the Palestinian issue became a central axis of all the Islamic issues that enlist visitors, pilgrims, from among the Islamic nations dispersed around the globe.⁴⁹

The story of the Prophet Muhammad’s night journey to Jerusalem is referred to in the Brotherhood’s publications with or without a quote of the verse from the *Quran* describing the event (*Surah* 17, the “Night Journey” story, verse 1):

Exalted is he who took his servant by night from *al-Masjid al-Haram* (the holy mosque) to *al-Masjid al-Aqşa* (the mosque of the edge), whose surroundings we have blessed, to show him of our signs. Indeed, he is the hearing, the seeing.⁵⁰

Al-Tilmisani associated the campaign for the salvation of Jerusalem and Palestine with the struggle for the liberation of the Arab nations from the tyranny of the secular Arab regimes. This means that the liberation of Palestine, and reinstatement of Jerusalem to the bosom of Islam, will take place concurrently with revolutions in the Arab world. In this regard, al-Tilmisani was decades ahead of Brotherhood leaders Mahdi Akef and Badie. The Brotherhood claims that the struggle for the liberation of Palestine and Jerusalem should be viewed within the broader context of the struggle of Muslims and citizens of Arab countries against domestic tyrants who are often described as illegitimate conquerors – much as Israel is portrayed. This view has been updated since the outset of the “Arab Spring” events and the mass protests in Egypt in early 2011. Since the deposing of Mubarak, there were numerous claims in the Brotherhood media publications that the revolutions in Arab countries will precede the campaign for the liberation of Palestine, Jerusalem, and al-Aqşa.⁵¹ According to Badie, Hamas’ struggle over Palestine is an inseparable aspect of the Arab struggle against tyranny, corruption, and occupation.⁵²

According to the Brotherhood, the future revolution in Palestine will draw its inspiration and be executed as a part of the revolutions occurring in Arab countries. After the fall of Mubarak, it appeared that the obstacle to the liberation of Palestine was removed. Various generations of Brotherhood leaders have called upon Arab rulers to “return the Palestinian problem to its source and to its reality.” They have always felt the issue is a pan-Islamic problem that should be returned to Islam and Muslims. If the Arab rulers restored their citizens’ liberties, said al-Tilmisani in 1983, the people would be free to fulfill “their Islamic duty to their sacred problem” and find the time for “the liberation of the al-Aqşa mosque...before the Zionists destroy it and erect the Temple of Solomon in its place.”⁵³ Thirty years later, when a Brotherhood member became president of Egypt, Brotherhood leaders stressed the precedence that should be given to the issue of Jerusalem and al-Aqşa, calling for

Islamic unity and action. For a while it looked as if half the battle had already been won by deposing Mubarak, which was considered a domestic enemy committed to peace with Israel. In late 2012, Badie emphasized that unity among Muslims is a tremendous source of power for the struggle against their enemies. He called upon all Muslims “to unite in order to cleanse the land (Palestine) of the plundering settler and reinstate the holy sites and the homes that had been plundered.”⁵⁴ With regard to the struggle over Palestine, Badie asserted that power was a guarantee for victory.

In the “al-Aqşa Epistle” of May 2012, the Brotherhood warns of the danger of al-Aqşa being destroyed by Israel. According to the document, Israel attempts to rebuild the Temple on part of the al-Aqşa compound, taking advantage of the weakness of the Arab countries due to their internal conflicts.⁵⁵ The Brotherhood called for an immediate, deterrent response by the “Islamic nation,” so that “the enemy will carefully consider his next moves.” Even the issues of *al-Da’wa* (the main journal of the Brotherhood in the past) of 1977, before Sadat’s visit to Jerusalem, included a warning of “attempts to destroy the al-Aqşa mosque and turn it into a place for Jewish worshipping.” The Brotherhood also warned against Israel’s tendency to expand through settlements and the “Judaization of Arab lands.”⁵⁶

These allegations are still charged by the Brotherhood today, even though more than three decades have passed. The difference is that the allegations which in the past were directed, as part of the media attack, against the leaders of the Egyptian regime who maintained the peace treaty – namely Sadat and Mubarak – were directed against Israel. The Brotherhood’s use of the term “*tawhid*” (Judaization) is reserved for descriptions of the reality that exists at the sites under Israeli rule. It wishes to point out the dangers in the cultural and religious spheres that hover over Palestine. The danger is embodied in the Jewish genius and might blur the Islamic identity of certain sites as well as their Islamic population. This term is particularly used with regard to Jerusalem. So, for example, the Brotherhood made it a point to mention the issue of Jerusalem and include it in its agenda, lest it be “forgotten” and someone relinquish “the struggle for its reinstatement to the Muslims,”

and warned against “the Old City of Jerusalem becoming Judaized... and that the activity aimed at its Judaization is still ongoing.”⁵⁷ The Brotherhood has long stood guard against Israeli construction in Eastern Jerusalem, and the use of “*tawhid*” recently began appearing in its publications in the demographic context as well. For example, in view of the reports about Israel’s renewed construction in Eastern Jerusalem in early 2013, Mursi pointed to the danger of “the Judaization of Jerusalem” in his meeting with Turkish Prime Minister Erdoğan.⁵⁸

In the numerous articles al-Tilmisani published after the signing of the peace treaty, he warned of the dangers embodied in the treaty that serve as a cover for Israel’s plots against Egypt and against Muslim Arabs. He called upon them to unite and take a joint, unified stand on the issue of Palestine and Jerusalem and create an opportune moment for pan-Islamic unity.⁵⁹ This starting point, of taking the responsibility for the Palestinian issue out of the hands of the Palestinians and re-assigning it to a pan-Islamic entity, continues to guide Brotherhood leaders to this day.

The objective of the Brotherhood is to foster resistance within the widest possible circle, even beyond its activists and supporters, to “awaken the nation so it takes an active part in the Palestinian issue.”⁶⁰ The Brotherhood speaks explicitly about the need for military resistance in Palestine in order to exhaust and inflict pain upon Israel, and undermine its ability to implement its US-backed plans.⁶¹

In the “al-Aqşa Epistle” of 2010, the “Islamic Plan” of the Brotherhood – which counters the alleged Israeli-Zionist plot – delineates guidelines and a general action plan for dealing with the Palestine issue, and rejects any interim solutions or negotiations with Israel. The Brotherhood rejects peace treaties between Israel and its neighbors. The epistle denies the legal and moral legitimacy of the peace treaty, claiming that it undermines basic truths and tramples upon religious and human rights. Additionally, no person has the right to give Israel the legitimacy to hold any piece of Palestine. The treaties are agreements of capitulation and humiliation; they were signed by the Egyptian ruler, and are not binding upon the Islamic nation, even if the people supported them at the time.⁶²

In April 2012, the Grand Mufti of Egypt, Dr. Ali Juma, visited Jerusalem. This was strongly condemned by the Brotherhood. The official in charge of Da'wa and member of the Shura Council of the Brotherhood, Sheikh Abd al-Khalek al-Sharif, claimed that instead of fighting for the liberation of Jerusalem, the al-Aqsa Mosque, and Palestinian prisoners, the Mufti prefers to visit Jerusalem in coordination with Israel. Sharif regarded the visit as a grave act, as the Israeli flag flies over Jerusalem. He argued that there would be those who interpret the Mufti's visit as granting legitimacy to Israel. In his view, it would have been better if the Mufti had taken advantage of his visit to Jerusalem to continue the struggle for the liberation of al-Aqsa, as "Palestine is an Islamic-Arab (entity), and the al-Aqsa Mosque and Jerusalem are the only capital of Palestine."⁶³

THE DANGER OF NORMALIZATION WITH ISRAEL

The Brotherhood argues that the normalization in relations with Israel enables the free flow of poisonous Israeli influence into Egypt – the heart of the Arab and Islamic worlds. In view of past normalization, the Brotherhood has warned for decades that Israel injects corrupted cultural, educational, and historical values into Egypt. The normalization of Egyptian-Israeli relations frightens the Brotherhood, and the movement is dedicated to cautioning against the destructive implications of peace.⁶⁴ It uses expressions that reflect its view on normalization: "the Jewish infiltration (*tasalul*)", "the cultural penetration/ permeation (*al-taghalghul*)", and "the cultural invasion (*ghazu*)" of the Jews and Israel.⁶⁵

Israel the Aggressor

The Brotherhood believes that Israel does not hesitate to employ force, hence the use of the term *al-ghazu*, the invasion. This term is normally used to describe an aggressive, arbitrary, and unilateral move. It also expresses the feeling according to which Muslims are engaged in defensive action in the face of an ideo-cultural invasion, which is a part of the American-Zionist plot. Israel's political efforts to implement the peace treaty, and strengthen relations between the two nations in the process, encounter strong opposition within the Brotherhood.

The Brotherhood holds both Sadat and Mubarak responsible for the character and implications of peace. Whereas it was largely resigned to a rear fight – as the peace treaties had already been signed – the Brotherhood turned to attacking the manifestations of peace. When the normalization process began in 1979, the Brotherhood’s newspaper, *al-Da’wa*, published an article expressing the belief that peace should be based upon three principles: agreement between nations, rather than governments (a criticism of Sadat, who acted contrary to the will of the people); a comprehensive and natural, rather than artificial, peace (a criticism of Sadat’s peace policy); and a balanced peace that will not enable any of the parties to exploit the other (a criticism of the character of the peace treaty, and its implementation by the regime).⁶⁶ To substantiate these allegations, the Brotherhood pointed to the scars left by the Arab-Israeli wars and addressed the character of Israel, a manifestation of racism at the state and individual level. This racism, according to the Brotherhood, exists as part of the “Chosen People” concept that guides the Jews’ treatment of the Palestinians. The Brotherhood also alleged that Israelis are racist towards each other, pointing to how Ashkenazi Jews treat Sephardic Jews.⁶⁷ According to Muhammad Mahdi Akef, the racism that characterizes Jews led to the dispossession of Palestinians from their land and to the injustice inflicted on them by Israel.⁶⁸

According to Umar al-Tilmisani, the Jews differ from everyone else from a “mental and human” point of view.⁶⁹ Therefore, Muslims should stay away from Jews to prevent “the Jewish essence” from penetrating Muslim society. He warned against the racist viewpoint of the Jews, as reflected in the claim that they are the chosen people, and the implications of this claim that might manifest in Egypt if, as he claimed, “the ideological and moral infiltration” of Jews continues under the auspices of normalization.⁷⁰

Al-Tilmisani called repeatedly for the immediate cessation of the peace process and the annulment of normalization,⁷¹ making it a point to elaborate on the channels through which Jewish danger permeates.⁷² One such channel was the Israeli embassy building and diplomatic corps in Egypt. This particular subject was used for numerous media attacks by the Brotherhood against the previous regime, and received a significant boost after Mubarak was deposed. The attack on the embassy building

and the break-in of demonstrators in September 2011 constituted a practical manifestation of the methodical preaching of the Brotherhood against Israel's presence in Egypt.

When Israel opened its embassy in Egypt in 1980, al-Tilmisani published various accusations. One referred to the Israelis' supposed intention to engage in espionage and operate the embassy for this purpose.⁷³ Another claimed that Israel intended to use the embassy to implement its plotting and plans for revolution both in Egypt and the wider Arab world.⁷⁴ In one of his articles, al-Tilmisani defined the exchange of ambassadors, Saad Murtada and Eliyahu Ben-Elisar,⁷⁵ as "the most horrible disaster" and "the most dreadful affliction." He claimed that "embassies are a regular meeting place for spies and inciters of civil wars," and that the Jews regard "the embassy building as part of the soil of their homeland," while stressing their "promised land" concept.⁷⁶ Jabir Rizq, a jurist and former senior activist of the Brotherhood, pointed out the danger of "the Jews who defile with their feet the soil of Islamic Egypt." This allegation was reinforced through the use of a metaphor from the *Quran*: Jews are the descendants of monkeys and pigs.⁷⁷ These statements were repeated again and again by the Brotherhood, particularly under the circumstances that preceded the attack against the Israeli embassy in Cairo. The issue of the embassy is a particularly sensitive one, because to the Brotherhood it represents a permanent Israeli presence on Egyptian and Islamic soil. Brotherhood officials argue that the embassy provides "an impure and defiling foothold for Jewish cancer." Through the embassy, the "cancer" or "octopus" extends its arms and corrupts everything that is good.⁷⁸

In April 2012, Muhammad Badie stressed that the October 1973 war that exacted a heavy toll on the Israelis constitutes proof of Egyptian persistence and patriotism. The Egyptian soldiers fought under the winning slogan "*Allahu Akbar*," and the result was the reinstatement of Egyptian soil. Badie reminded his audience that the Sinai was offered once as an alternative homeland for the Zionists. Accordingly, everyone should be aware of Israel's ambitions regarding the Sinai. Badie positioned his view on the issue of Sinai in direct contradiction to the view of the Mubarak regime, which neglected the Sinai, treated its inhabitants as a security nuisance, and exposed it to Israeli greed. According to Badie, Egypt should embrace the Sinai and look after its

own national interests: “the important lesson is that the significance of this area involves our national security, as we are obliged to support and fortify it against all plotters.” Developing the Sinai and investing in it are integral to Egypt’s national security. With the Sinai developed and socio-economically sound, it will become immune to Israel’s domination. Badie’s statements are still relevant, as the future deployment of military force on the Sinai front is being discussed in Israel.⁷⁹ The Brotherhood stipulated the honoring of the peace treaty on an assurance that Egypt’s national interests were not compromised. Concerning the Sinai, Badie argued that the situation, as he perceived it, constituted a blatant violation of Egyptian sovereignty.

According to Badie, there is a protracted war at hand. While the territory of Sinai belongs to Egypt and to the Islamic nation, and Egyptian sovereignty has not yet been implemented there. When the Brotherhood announced Mursi’s candidacy for the presidency, Badie, as part of the election propaganda, published his weekly epistle on the subject of Sinai. The title of that epistle was “The Sinai Is a Symbol of Our [National] Honor,” and it was an inseparable part of both the Brotherhood’s propaganda campaign and its national agenda.⁸⁰ The text was published on the anniversary of the liberation of Sinai, a day that reflects the reinstatement of Egypt’s national honor and sovereignty. This day was conceived as an inseparable element of the liberation of the Egyptian people, which began with the revolution of January 25. In other words, the liberation is two-fold: freedom from the burden of occupation (of Egypt by Mubarak and the Palestinians by Israel), and liberation of land (the Sinai for Egypt and Palestine [Israel] for the Palestinians).

The Sinai Peninsula bears a special significance to Muslims, according to Badie. It was there that Allah was revealed to the prophet Moses on Mount Sinai – *Jabal al-Tour* – and through it passed the prophets Abraham, Joseph, and Jacob. The Sinai served as a line of defense against foreign invaders throughout Egypt’s history, adding to its importance as a national security asset.

Stipulations for the Annulment of the Peace Treaty

After Mubarak's fall from power, the international media became increasingly interested in the Brotherhood's position on the peace treaty. The Brotherhood was acutely aware of concerns in the West, and particularly in the US, regarding the possibility of annulment and the region being dragged into further instability. In media interviews, Brotherhood leaders – to the best of their abilities – maneuvered between their commitment to opposing the peace treaty and their need to pacify global public opinion so as not to provoke antagonism or resentment.

Saad al-Katatni used the death of Egyptian soldiers on the Israeli-Egyptian border in August 2011 to condemn “the crime committed by the Zionist occupation forces on Egypt’s Eastern border with occupied Palestine,” which, in his words, constituted a blatant violation of Egypt’s sovereignty and honor. He noted that Israel should know that Egypt changed in the aftermath of the Mubarak period. He continued that Egypt would fulfill its duty, restore its honor, and forcefully oppose anyone who would dare to attack it. In the same interview, al-Katatni praised the youngster Ahmad al-Shahat, who removed the Israeli flag from the Israeli embassy building in Cairo and replaced it with an Egyptian flag, explaining that such acts reflect “the noble Egyptian spirit that was restored in Egypt in the aftermath of the revolution.”⁸¹

In response to a story published by the Israeli newspaper *Yediot Ahronot* about contacts between the American government and Brotherhood leadership regarding the peace treaty, al-Katatni claimed that the reports were false. He stressed the position of the Freedom and Justice Party regarding the honoring of international agreements, but made it contingent upon the agreements serving both parties. Rashad al-Bayumi, Badie's deputy, declared that he rules out the possibility of conducting dialogue with Israel as it is “a state of crime and occupation.”⁸² These statements reflected the principle position of the Brotherhood toward both Israel and the peace treaty. The change was the stipulation honoring the peace treaty based upon Israel's conduct and its commitment to various Egyptian interests. For example, in an interview with Mursi on the first anniversary of the 2011 revolution, he said that Egypt would honor its membership in the UN institutions and whatever stems from it. When asked about bilateral agreements, and specifically about the peace

treaty between Egypt and Israel, he responded that the peace treaty “is” being honored by Egypt, using the present tense. He made it clear that as far as the future is concerned, if the treaty were to prove damaging to Egypt’s security or violate its sovereignty, there would be no choice but to reconsider it.⁸³

In recent years, Brotherhood leaders were frequently interviewed by the international media. One of the prominent speakers on behalf of the Brotherhood was Dr. Isam al-Arian, deputy chairman of the Freedom and Justice Party and a close associate of Mursi. In the past, al-Arian served as member of Parliament and as the official spokesman of the Brotherhood. As the head of its political bureau he was the Brotherhood foreign minister, and was appointed by Mursi to serve as his special advisor. (The Western and Israeli media occasionally presented him as a more moderate member of the Brotherhood.) He made statements that rejected the peace treaty, beginning a legal action that would have made it possible to annul the treaty. In 2007 he stressed that the Brotherhood maintained the strongest opposition to the treaty, and that it was unreasonable that the previous regime’s international agreements be unequivocally maintained. Moreover, the previous regime had no legal authority to sign agreements in the name of the people, as it was not elected by the people. In other interviews with Brotherhood leaders during its stint in power, they spoke of additional conditions for the honoring of the treaty. Apart from the security and military issues, the Brotherhood raised economic reservations, such as the issue of the supply of natural gas to Israel.

While the Brotherhood’s political leaders, particularly those who held official positions, spoke to the media in two different voices about the peace treaty, Badie voiced his views much more lucidly. His weekly epistles, aimed primarily at the supporters and activists of the Brotherhood – and not necessarily at international public opinion – presented a very clear position. In November 2012, during the fighting in Gaza, Badie called upon all Muslims to enlist in help of their Palestinian brethren and provide them with any possible assistance. He was very explicit in his opposition to the peace treaties, claiming that they were a major deceit and that there was no point whatsoever in negotiating with Israel “as your enemy knows nothing but the language of force.”⁸⁴

In April 2012, the media reported that Egypt backed away from the agreement regarding the supply of natural gas to Israel. This report came after more than ten incidents in which the gas supply line was sabotaged. At the same time, a public debate was underway in Egypt on this issue, and overwhelming public demand, which transcended political parties, called for the supply of natural gas to Israel to be stopped. The Brotherhood was among the political forces calling for this demand. The political platform of the Freedom and Justice Party to the People's Assembly demanded that the supply of gas to Israel be stopped, claiming that the agreement constituted a burden on the Egyptian economy, was not profitable, and was detrimental to the Egyptian economy. During the transitional period, the Brotherhood took advantage of its dominant position in Parliament in order to promote legislation for the annulment of the agreement. In its publications, it focused on opposition to the supplying of gas and regarded it as an opportunity to register another achievement in minimizing the scope and substance of the peace treaty. All of this activity had begun even before the Brotherhood came to power.

If the Brotherhood had been allowed to retain the presidency and consolidate its reign, it probably would have taken action to annul the agreement. Certain conditions might still strengthen this tendency: a relative majority of the Brotherhood in both houses of Parliament, a dominant position in government, and a state of war or a confrontation between Israel and one of its neighbors, including the Palestinians. Domestic Egyptian circumstances, plus an external catalyst, might have enabled the Brotherhood to lead a move toward the annulment of the peace treaty while enjoying widespread support in Egypt.

For decades, the Brotherhood called for a struggle against the regime by legal means, so it is reasonable to expect that it would have ultimately taken action toward freezing or annulling the treaty through constitutional means, while simultaneously striving to garner public support. If the Brotherhood one day returns to power and controls senior government positions, including the president and Speaker of Parliament, it might announce a referendum for the purpose of revising, updating, or annulling the peace treaty. It might take action to annul the treaty in the event of disproportionate aggression on the part of Israel.

A Brotherhood president might also advance an arbitrary presidential decision in response to Israeli aggression against the Palestinians or another Islamic nation.

This new Egypt would be busy rehabilitating its status in the Arab and Islamic world, and would prefer to act toward the annulment of the peace treaty with the support of pan-Islamic institutions. The implication of a treaty annulment would mean complete severance of relations between Egypt and Israel, which would affect relations between Egypt and the US. In order to shake off, to some extent, the responsibility for such a move, Egypt would prefer to operate under the cover of the Arab League. Egypt, as the dominant Arab country and host of the League headquarters can influence decisions made by this organization.

Certain circumstances emerging in Egypt, however, might delay a move toward the annulment of the peace treaty. Until July 2013, the Brotherhood had been immersed in an attempt to consolidate its governmental rule, but has since been removed by a military coup *d'état*. In addition, Egypt still relies upon economic support and assistance, primarily from the US. As long as the situation remains mostly stable, and Israel does not involve itself in regional conflict, Egypt's ability to annul the treaty is still fairly limited.

The importance of US economic assistance, however, must not be overstated. While President Mursi tried to ensure America's continued support, he was not interested – in the long run – in maintaining dependence upon Washington. The Brotherhood was wary of losing its independence in deciding issues of substance, such as its diplomatic position toward Israel. It therefore attempted, throughout the transitional period and particularly after Mursi was elected president, to influence public opinion toward preferring greater self-reliance. Its primary allegation was that Egypt had a sufficient number of revenue streams, some of which had yet to be realized, and that it need not depend on the US. Additionally, it called upon the citizens of Egypt to be patient in their quest for a better future. According to the Brotherhood, the situation at hand necessitated the enlisting of every Egyptian, who bore responsibility for making an extra effort in the name of national interest.

Until the military coup of July 2013, Brotherhood leaders looked for economic assistance from Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia and the Gulf emirates, and other Muslim countries such as Turkey. They also tried their luck with several European countries. For example, Mursi's visit to Germany in early 2013 was devoted to strengthening their countries' economic ties.

The energetic activity of senior Egyptian officials under the Brotherhood leadership enabled them to present hostile attitudes toward Israel to leaders of the world. Mursi's Egypt attempted to exploit foreign relations for the purpose of garnering economic support, while simultaneously inciting public opinion against Israel.

SUPPORT FOR HAMAS DURING OPERATION PILLAR OF DEFENSE

The elimination of Ahmad al-Ja'bari, the commander of Hamas' military wing on the first day of Operation Pillar of Defense (November 2012), triggered a media attack against Israel on the part of the Brotherhood. Al-Ja'bari is characterized on Brotherhood websites as an Islamic and military leader who devoted his life to a worthy cause and bought his life with his death (*shahid al-hay*).⁸⁵ In the past, this description had been associated with senior Brotherhood leaders, such as Sayid Qutb and Marwan Hadid, who sacrificed their own lives on the altar of the struggle against the enemies of Islam.⁸⁶ Badie praised al-Ja'bari's military activity and tried to cool off the Israeli excitement over the successful targeted killing:

You Zionists...never think that the elimination of a warlord will grant you security...rather, every time a hero dies, you enable him to fulfill his sublime heart's desire [to die a martyr's death]...thousands of heroes are taking his place and the blood of the *shahids* saturates the tree of *jihad*.⁸⁷

In a manifest they published on November 14, 2012, the Brotherhood students stressed the valor of "holy warrior" Ahmad al-Ja'bari. They did not refer to Israel as a state, but rather as a conquering, aggressive entity, a powerful action that endangers regional stability. They called upon

Egyptian leadership to stand by Hamas and the Palestinians in Gaza and do everything in order to defend them and maintain resistance to Israel.⁸⁸

The fighting between Israel and Hamas in Operation Pillar of Defense took place when the Egyptian president was a Muslim Brotherhood member. On the second day of the operation (November 15), Mursi announced that “the Egyptian people stands by his brethren in Gaza in the struggle against Zionist aggression.”⁸⁹ Beyond the media attack, warnings, and threats aimed at Israel, Mursi announced the recalling of the Egyptian ambassador from Israel, and on November 16 dispatched an official Egyptian delegation – headed by Prime Minister Hisham Qandil – to Gaza. The Egyptian delegation also included Minister of Health Abd al-Moneim Abu al-Fotouh, a former Brotherhood leader. The visit’s aim was to demonstrate Egyptian involvement and to convey a message to Israel that whoever hurts the Palestinians in Gaza hurts Egypt, too.⁹⁰ During the visit, IDF forces held their fire so as not to endanger the Egyptian delegation. Hamas, on the other hand, continued to fire missiles at Israeli population centers.

Rebuking Israel for its operation in Gaza, Mursi once again avoided calling the country by its name. He stated that Egypt was “the protective armor of the Arab and Islamic nation.” Statements to that effect were made by Brotherhood representatives in the Egyptian Parliament during the fighting: “Gaza is Egypt’s first line of defense in the face of the Zionist enemy and the soldiers of Hamas are the forward detail of the army protecting Egypt.”⁹¹

The Brotherhood was in the process of assuming additional governmental authority and did not want to endanger its accomplishments. Mursi was unable to fulfill the warnings and threats that he had recently made toward Israel. The relative restraint he demonstrated toward Israel during Operation Pillar of Defense and his willingness to act for the benefit of the negotiations between Israel and Hamas were the result of American pressure. The role Mursi played in the negotiations between Israel and Hamas should not be interpreted as that of a neutral mediator attempting to get the parties to agree on a cease fire, but rather as a loyal representative of the interests of Hamas.

During Operation Pillar of Defense, the Brotherhood emphasized that Egypt had changed post-Mubarak and that, as a result, attitudes toward Israel has shifted as well. To ensure that this statement did not remain vague and meaningless, Brotherhood leaders, including Mursi, made it clear that various means should be used to dissuade Israel from its actions and teach it a lesson. These messages, conveyed by Mursi, Isam al-Arian, and the Freedom and Justice Party included aggressive wording that left no doubt about the speakers' desired change in Egyptian attitude: "the barbarism of this racist entity that threatens the stability of the region"; "the Zionist entity's massacres of the Palestinian people"; "the crimes committed by the plundering entity against our brethren in Gaza."⁹²

Saad al-Katatni, former Speaker of the Egyptian Parliament and subsequently chairman of the Freedom and Justice Party, joined the attack against "Zionist aggression." He made it clear that Gaza and Palestine remain within the realm of Egyptian national security. Al-Katatni stated that Egypt, after the "revolution" of January 25, is not the same Egypt as before and that everyone should acknowledge these changes. Like Mursi – who warned Israel that its "aggression" would be met with a "heavy price"⁹³ – he declared that "Egypt is no longer the strategic asset of anyone, but rather the strategic asset of the Egyptian people and the Arab nation."⁹⁴ Al-Katatni voiced the view of the Brotherhood, including the view of the Egyptian president, regarding the change occurring in Egypt's national-strategic conception of the peace treaty with Israel. The Brotherhood does not acknowledge the premise according to which the peace treaty with Israel constitutes an added value to the Egyptian national strength and a tier in the stability of the regime. As far as the Brotherhood is concerned, the peace treaty with Israel is not vital to Egypt's well-being. Moreover, referring to the Camp David agreements, al-Katatni made it clear that it was time to have these agreements reviewed and ensure that Egypt achieve complete domination in the Sinai. He stressed "that Egypt after the revolution is different from [the] Egypt...the previous regime wanted, to be a strategic asset to the Zionists."⁹⁵ Muhammad Badie went even further by being more explicit in the threats he made toward Israel during the fighting:

We are responsible for defending the al-Aqşa Mosque and for stopping the current events in Gaza, as the issue of Palestine is our topmost precedence and we must, therefore, uproot anyone threatening this nation.⁹⁶

The preaching of *jihad* intensifies as discussion focuses on Jerusalem and its al-Aqşa Mosque. Hamas is conceived as the spearhead of the Islamic struggle to liberate the occupied Islamic soil, including Jerusalem. According to the Brotherhood religious worldview, Palestine is a land sacred to Islam and action must be taken to reclaim it. They describe Palestine as “the land of *jihad* and the [living] connection to the Judgment Day.”⁹⁷ It was further stated that Palestine is “a part of the religious faith of the nation” and should be regarded as the main issue, from a religious as well as a national point of view. Additionally, Palestine and Jerusalem are the glue that bonds the Islamic nation together as well as the energy that drives religious sentiments in view of the American-Zionist plots that endanger al-Aqşa and Jerusalem.⁹⁸

Badie had very resolute things to say on the struggle over Palestine and al-Aqşa, reflecting the centrality of Palestine and Jerusalem in Brotherhood doctrine. This position explains the Brotherhood’s unreserved support for the Hamas’ struggle and reflects the religious legitimacy it assigns to it. Badie, in his media publications, emphasized that the struggle over Palestine and Jerusalem was part of the broader context of the revolutions the Arab world underwent in 2011.

Mursi helped Hamas achieve a cease-fire with Israel in late November 2012. On the one hand, he came to the rescue of the affiliate movement and helped it at a time of military crisis. Yet, Egypt refrained from preventing the smuggling of arms to Hamas through tunnels. In effect, Egypt violated the Sinai demilitarization agreements while at the same time encouraging Hamas to fire rockets at Israel in the context of *jihad*. As Hamas continued its armed struggle against Israel, Egypt, under the Brotherhood leadership, operated in the Sinai contrary to the terms of the peace treaty.

CONCLUSION

From the time that the Brotherhood began consolidating its reign until President Mursi was deposed, it was evident that ideology was setting the tone toward Israel. Mursi was for years among the Brotherhood leadership, and enjoyed excellent relations with General Guide Muhammad Badie. He stressed that their relations were those of loving brothers, Badie being the elder who counsels his younger brother Mursi. Until July 2013, it was evident that Badie's guidance and advice had influenced, and sometimes even dictated, Mursi's positions toward Israel.

Brotherhood leaders, including Mursi, spoke in two voices on the issue of the peace treaty between Egypt and Israel. On the one hand this allowed them to avoid burning bridges with the international community, particularly the US. On the other hand this enabled them to make further stipulations. Brotherhood leaders never stopped stressing that Israel constantly violated the terms of the treaty, thereby preparing public opinion for the day when they could have openly taken action to annul the treaty.

As president of Egypt, Muhammad Mursi persistently endeavored to publicize Israel's role as a hostile actor in the Middle East. Support for Hamas' struggle against Israel, led by Egypt under Mursi's leadership, became a dominant element of Egyptian foreign policy. Pushing the Palestinian issue to center stage, and using it to increase support for Egypt, became a prominent element in the Brotherhood foreign policy.

Badie, who is currently in detention, regards the Jews as enemies of Islam, who defile and corrupt its holy places. Reinstating the holy places and guarding against the Jews will not be done by the UN and will not be accomplished through negotiation. According to Badie, Israel and the Zionists only understand the language of force and, consequently, Muslims should opt for the way of *jihad*, make the necessary sacrifices, and attempt every available measure of resistance. Badie's positions have served as an ideological and spiritual cover for Egypt's position toward Israel, as expressed by Mursi. They were intended to bring about a change in Egyptian foreign policy, under the leadership of the Brotherhood, in all matters pertaining to Israel and its peace treaty with Egypt.

Brotherhood leaders have argued that Hamas' struggle against Israel is an inseparable aspect of the "Arab Spring" revolutions. They claim that just

as it was necessary to act against domestic regimes, so too it is necessary to fight against Israel. Unlike in the past, Arab nations have now broken the fear barrier and are demonstrating the utmost determination and resolve. This same determination would serve them well in their future struggle against Israel.

During the Brotherhood's political reign, support for Hamas went through a transitional phase from ideological commitment to practical action. The threats made by Brotherhood leaders during the 2012 fighting in Gaza, Mursi's involvement on behalf of Hamas in the cease-fire negotiations, the close political coordination, the reciprocal visits, and the growing affinity between the two movements should all be viewed in this context. The Brotherhood regards Hamas as a forward extension, a vanguard of sorts that had adopted the appropriate way – military resistance – as a primary course of action. Its support for Hamas' struggle against Israel enabled the Brotherhood to demonstrate that it was active, albeit indirectly, in the service of *jihad* against Israel.

From the beginning of 2012 through the summer of 2013, there was a constant deterioration in Egyptian-Israeli relations under the guidance of the Brotherhood. The movement worked vigorously during this period to implement its principle beliefs towards Israel and turn them into reality. In a number of areas Egypt under the Brotherhood worked against the peace agreement. Its leaders did not stop preaching against the peace accord and treat Israel as a first-rate enemy.

In spite of the sharp decline in Israeli-Egyptian relations under the Brotherhood government, the peace treaty was not formally cancelled. The military coup of July 2013 proves that the damage was not irreversible. The removal of the Brotherhood from power has brought about an improvement in relations between Egypt and Israel.

It is not clear to what extent the Brotherhood impacted the Egyptian political system. It is, however, most definitely a movement with widespread political support. Should the Brotherhood one day return to power, it is reasonable to assume that it will go beyond presenting Israel as an enemy and supporting Hamas' armed struggle. The possibility that military options will once again become part of the Egyptian policy repertoire toward Israel cannot be ruled out.

NOTES

¹ Dr. Muhammad Mursi (born in 1951), a materials engineering specialist, joined the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in the late 1970s. Mursi was in charge of committees associated with the struggle against Israel and Zionism. He gained prominence during the last two decades as an active parliamentary representative; among other duties, he served as the official spokesman of the Brotherhood's representatives in the Egyptian Parliament. With the establishment of the Freedom and Justice Party by the Brotherhood in mid-2011, Mursi was elected as party chairman. As a member of the Brotherhood's supreme leadership (the Guidance Office), a leading parliamentary representative, and a talented speaker, Mursi was elected as the Brotherhood's candidate for the presidency of Egypt (pursuant to the disqualification of the candidacy of engineer Khairat al-Shater by the election commission). Muhammad Mursi was elected president in June 2012.

² (http://www.mix2m.com/2012/09/26-9-2012_1584.html)

³ (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pL4dWbQUZjU>)

⁴ (<http://www.mix2m.com/2012/09/30-9-2012.html>)

⁵ (<http://www.ynet.co.il/articles/0,7340,L-4120244,00.html>)

⁶ Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p.111.

⁷ Liad Porat, "The Muslim Brotherhood and the Arab Rulers: Accents in Political Strategy," in Meir Hatina and Uri M. Kupferschmidt (eds.); *The Muslim Brotherhood: Religious Vision in a Changing Reality* (Tel-Aviv: Hakibbutz Hameuchad, 2012), pp.107-108 [Hebrew].

⁸ See Adel Hamouda: *Al-Hijra Ila al- 'Unf: al-Tataruf al-Dini Min Hazimat Yuniu Ila Ightiyal October*, Cairo 1987, p.77; Adel Hamouda: *Kanabil wa masaḥif: Kisat Tanzim "al-Jihad,"* (Cairo, 1989), pp.124-125 [Arabic].

⁹ Weekly epistle of Muhammad Mahdi Akef, May 25, 2008 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=37633&SecID=0>).

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² One of the manifestations of the growing confidence among the leaders of the Brotherhood was the publishing of the Brotherhood's political platform in 2007. In fact, this political program offered an alternative to the Mubarak regime in Egypt with regard to all state management aspects, both internal and external.

¹³ Weekly epistle of Muhammad Mahdi Akef, January 24, 2008 (<http://www>).

ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=33902&SecID=0).

¹⁴ Weekly epistle of Muhammad Mahdi Akef, January 17, 2008
(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=33693&SecID=0>).

¹⁵ Weekly epistle of Brotherhood leader Muhammad Badie, October 30, 2012
(http://sharkiaonline.com/print_art.php?id=25227).

¹⁶ Refer to the photographic coverage of the meeting
(<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=t-3aBmM-ud4>).

¹⁷ Official Facebook page of the Freedom and Justice Party
(<https://www.facebook.com/FJParty.Official/posts/304811942902604>).

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=106722&SecID=210>)

²⁰ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=44019&SecID=0>)

²¹ The weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, January 24, 2008
(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=33902&SecID=0>).

²² Ibid.

²³ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=129430&SecID=210>)

²⁴ Ibid. Also see the weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, October 12, 2008
(<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).

²⁵ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, January 17, 2008
(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=33693&SecID=0>).

²⁶ Ibid. Also see the weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, October 12, 2012
(<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).

²⁷ The weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, February 7, 2008
(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=34246&SecID=0>).

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Weekly epistle of Mahdi Akef, June 29, 2006
(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=21581&SecID=0>).

³² Weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, October 20, 2011
(http://sharkiaonline.com/v_article.php?id=21256).

³³ See, for example, the reference to Israel as a country that plunders land and as an enemy in the context of the condemnation of the Assad regime for using violent oppression and killing. Weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, March 1, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=102489&SecID=0>).

³⁴ See the weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, October 20, 2011 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=93555&SecID=0>).

³⁵ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=44019&SecID=0>)

³⁶ Sayid Qutb, *Ma'arakatuna ma'a al-Yahud* (Cairo, 1989) [Arabic].

³⁷ Liad Porat, *The Egyptian and Syrian Muslim Brotherhood Movements and Their Struggle Against the Secular Arab Regimes from the Early 1970s to the Early 1990s: Oppositional Discourse and Radicalization Shifts* (PhD Dissertation, Haifa University, 2008), pp.120-125 [Hebrew].

³⁸ See Kamal al-Sharif & Mustafa al-Siba'I, *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun fi Harb Falastin* (Cairo, 1987) [Arabic].

³⁹ Israel Gershoni, "The Muslim Brothers and the Arab Revolt in Palestine, 1936-39." *Middle Eastern Studies*, 22/ 3 (July 1986), pp.367-397.

⁴⁰ Liad Porat, *Prison Memoirs: A Continuation of the Muslim Brothers' Struggle against the Regime?* (MA Dissertation, Haifa University, 2002) [Hebrew].

⁴¹ See, for example, the Brotherhood's website in *al-Sharkiya* (category: Palestine), (<http://www.sharkiaonline.com/index/php?m=not>); the Brotherhood's website in *al-Kalyobeiyya (Akhbar Falastin)*, (<http://www.kbwindow.com>); the Brotherhood's website in *al-Manufiya* (category: Palestine), (<http://www.mnfonline.com/hom/index.php>).

⁴² Hilmi Muhammad al-Qaud, *Al-Ṣulḥ al-Aswad: Ruya Islamiyya li-mubadarat al-Sadat Ila Falastin* (Cairo, 1988), pp.86-87 [Arabic].

⁴³ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, November 22, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).

⁴⁴ Initially, Muslims faced Jerusalem during prayer; only later did Muhammad change the direction, so that they face towards Mecca.

⁴⁵ A discussion of the status of Jerusalem in Islam is included in Rafael Israeli, *Living with Islam: Religion, Culture, History, Violence & Terror and the Sources of the Emergence of Today's Fundamentalist Islam* (Netanya, 2006), pp.201-204 [Hebrew].

⁴⁶ Al-Qaud, *Al-Ṣulḥ al-Aswad*, pp.166-169 [Arabic].

⁴⁷ See, for example, *Al-Da'wa* No.62 (June 1981), p.6 [Arabic].

- ⁴⁸ *Al-Da'wa* No.29 (October 1978), p.7 [Arabic]; in addition, see the weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, June 23, 2011 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=86527&SecID=0>), and his weekly epistle, October 12, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).
- ⁴⁹ <http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=84620&SecID=0>
- ⁵⁰ Uri Rubin, *The Quran* (Tel Aviv, 2005), p.226 (Hebrew).
- ⁵¹ See, for example, the weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, May 5, 2011 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=83759&SecID=0>).
- ⁵² Ibid.
- ⁵³ *Al-Da'wa* No.90 (December 1983), pp.4-5 [Arabic].
- ⁵⁴ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, November 22, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).
- ⁵⁵ *Risalat al-Aqsa* (May 2010), p.20 [Arabic].
- ⁵⁶ Ahlam al-Sa'di Farhoud, *Al-Tayar al-Islami wa al-Siyasa al-Misriya Tujah al-Şulh ma'a Israil* (Cairo, 1991), p.132 [Arabic].
- ⁵⁷ Al-Qaud, *Al-Şulh al-Aswad*, p.168 [Arabic].
- ⁵⁸ <http://www.egyig.com/muntada/showthread.php?t=11744>
- ⁵⁹ *Al-Da'wa* No.37 (June 1979), p.5 [Arabic].
- ⁶⁰ *Risalat al-Aqsa* (May 2010), p.15 [Arabic].
- ⁶¹ Ibid, p.22.
- ⁶² Ibid, p.7.
- ⁶³ <http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=106490&SecID=211>
- ⁶⁴ Liad Porat, *The Egyptian & Syrian Muslim Brotherhood Movements*, p.107 [Hebrew].
- ⁶⁵ The Brotherhood used these expressions at least 32 times in the *Al-Da'wa* issues published between December 1977 and September 1981 (46 issues in all). These expressions appear, in different versions, in *Al-Da'wa* issues of those years (refer to the relevant breakdown in a specific table in Farhud, *Al-Tayyar*, p.263).
- ⁶⁶ *Al-Da'wa* No.40 (September 1979), pp.55-57 [Arabic].
- ⁶⁷ Ibid, pp.55-57.

⁶⁸ <http://www.daawa-info.net/letter.php?id=78>

⁶⁹ *Al-Da'wa* No.41(October 1979), pp.4-5 [Arabic].

⁷⁰ Farhud, *Al-Tayar*, pp.244-255 [Arabic].

⁷¹ *Al-I'tisam* No.6-7 (May-June 1980), cover page: “stop the normalization steps and declare immediately... the annulment of the Camp David agreements!” [Arabic]; *Al-Da'wa* No.53 (September 1980), cover page: “Stopping the negotiations is not enough, there is no escaping it – they should be annulled altogether!” [Arabic].

⁷² Articles condemning the normalization process continued to appear in *Al-Da'wa* issues throughout the 1980s, and still appear to this day. A considerable percentage of these articles were written by Brotherhood leaders. See, for example, the article by Mustafa Mashour, *Al-Da'wa* No.89 (August-September 1999), pp. 33-35, including the opening article in this issue.

⁷³ See Mustafa Mashour's reference to this aspect of the embassy issue (the function of the Israeli embassy, as he alleges, is “to intensify corruption within Egyptian society and engage in espionage”) in his book, Mustafa Mashour, *Zad 'ala al-Tariq* (Cairo, 1995), p.773 [Arabic].

⁷⁴ Hasanein Kurum, *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun wa al-Şulh ma'a Israil* (Cairo, 1985), p.103 [Arabic].

⁷⁵ The Israeli embassy was opened by Yossi Hadas, former Director-General of the Israel Ministry of Foreign Affairs, in a small and temporary building, and even back then there were protests.

⁷⁶ *Al-Da'wa* No.45 (February 1980), p.6 [Arabic].

⁷⁷ *Al-Da'wa* No.60 (April 1981) [Arabic]. Also see Karum, *Al-Ikhwan wa al-Şulh*, p.100 [Arabic].

⁷⁸ *Al-Da'wa* No.45 (February 1980), pp.4-5 [Arabic]; Al-Qaud, *Al-Şulh al-Aswad*, pp.108-109 [Arabic].

⁷⁹ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, April 26, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=107036&SecID=0>).

⁸⁰ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, April 26, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=107036&SecID=0>). Like other epistles, this one opened both of the Brotherhood's weekly publications of the same week, which clearly indicates its importance; see, for example, *Risalat al-Ikhwan* No.722 (April 27, 2012), (www.ikhwanpress.com/PDF%20Files/Risalat%20722.Al-Ikhwan%20722.pdf).

⁸¹ <http://www.masress.com/alwafd/86740>

⁸² <http://www.algareda.com/?p=71174>

⁸³ Interview with Muhammad Mursi on the *Al-Jazeera* network, January 25, 2012 (<http://www.aljazeera.net/programs/pages/ec1af614-ab8b-4f33-9e16-b7969e03e175#L6>).

⁸⁴ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, November 22, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).

⁸⁵ (<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/Jaabari.pdf>)

⁸⁶ Sayid Qutb was a prominent thinker and ideologist of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt. He described Jamal Abd al-Nasser's regime as the enemy of Islam and as a force that corrupts society. He supported a violent association against the regime, and was tried and executed in 1966. Marwan Hadid was a Muslim Brotherhood leader in Syria who led a violent insurgency against the Ba'ath regime in the 1970s. He was captured by the Assad regime, imprisoned, and tortured to death.

⁸⁷ Weekly epistle of Muhammad Badie, November 22, 2012 (<http://www.ikhwanpress.com/maqal.htm>).

⁸⁸ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=128848&SecID=304>)

⁸⁹ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=128684&SecID=470>)

⁹⁰ (http://sharkiaonline.com/v_article.php?id=25625)

⁹¹ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=129466&SecID=211>)

⁹² See, for example:

(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=128634&SecID=250>);

(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=128660&SecID=212>);

(<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=128679&SecID=250>).

⁹³ (http://sharkiaonline.com/v_article.php?id=25625)

⁹⁴ (http://sharkiaonline.com/v_article.php?id=25644)

⁹⁵ Ibid.

⁹⁶ (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=129430&SecID=210>)

⁹⁷ The word at source is *ribat* (connection, link), which has an additional meaning: a frontier outpost used for departing to fight the infidels.

⁹⁸ Weekly epistle of the Brotherhood leader, May 2011 (<http://www.ikhwanonline.com/new/Article.aspx?ArtID=84620&SecID=0>).

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