FAILURE OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MOVEMENT ON THE SCENE OF GOVERNMENT IN EGYPT AND ITS POLITICAL FUTURE

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ABSTRACT

After occurrence of public movements in Egypt that led the Egyptian Islamist movement of Muslim Brotherhood to come to power in ruling scene of this country, Mohamed Morsi as a candidate of this party won in the first democratic presidency elections in this country and after coming to power, he took a series of radical measures both in domestic and international scenes, which have caused him to be ousted in less than one year. The present essay is intended to reveal this fact based on theoretical framework of overthrowing government of Ibn Khaldun by proposing various reasons and documentations about several aspects of ousting of Morsi. Similarly, it indicates that with respect to removing this movement from Egypt political scene and confiscation of their properties, especially after the time when Field Marshal Abdel Fattah El-Sisi came to power as a president, so Muslim Brotherhood should pass through a very tumultuous path to return to political scene in Egypt compared to past time, especially this movement has lost noticeably its public support and backing.

Keywords: Muslim brotherhood, Army, Egypt, Political situation.

Contribution/ Originality

The paper's primary contribution is study of Mohamed Morsi's radical measures both in domestic and international scenes in Egypt, which have caused him to be ousted in less than one year.

1. INTRODUCTION

Principally, Muslim Brotherhood Movement should be assumed as a result of political and social conditions in contemporary history at Egypt following to prevalence of paradigm of separation of religion from politics (secularism) among intellectuals and rhythm of nationalistic

feelings for reformation in this country during political suffocation after Egyptian Revolution 1919 against UK. During 86 years activity of Muslim Brotherhood Movement in this country, the members of this movement have focused all potentials on the one hand on creating development in Islamic beliefs of Muslims and in particular Egyptians from static and motionless status to dynamic state and governance of Shariat teachings over social and political life in Egypt and on the other hand to unification of Muslims against western colonialists, who had violated to Islamic states.

The practical goals and measures of Muslim Brotherhood Movement were accompanied with coordination and integration in the abovementioned fields before killing Hassan Al- Banna, but following to this accident and particularly with emerging Gamal Abdel Nasser on the scene of power in Egypt and exploitation from Islam to achieve his objectives, a type of conflict was created among goals and measures of Muslim Brotherhood.

During the period of activity of Muslim Brotherhood, this influential group in political developments of Egypt was exposed to many vicissitudes of which one can refer to dissolution of this group in various governments. Currently with respect to measure of the Egyptian interim government in embedding this movement in the list of terroristic groups and omission of it from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), it should witness that if Muslim Brotherhood could return again to political scene and government in Egypt or not.

This essay tries to propose proper and real perception about current status of this movement to the readers in order to give response to this question so that to clarify the reasons for policies, measures, and orientations taken by both by Muslim Brotherhood and Egyptian government.

For this purpose, it necessitates referring to the history and surveying the activities of this influential group in Egypt during recent decades and the reasons for taking power by Mohamed Morsi.

It has been tried as possible to employ the latest and most updated writings, audio visual sources and comments from the leading experts in order achieve the answer to this question. It is duly to be expressed that methodology of this study is of descriptive- analytical type. The independent variables include Muslim Brotherhood, military group, coup, democracy, and civil freedoms. Also, failure of Muslim Brotherhood for administration of Egypt is considered as dependent variable.

2. THE GROUNDS FOR EMERGING MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD MOVEMENT

Muslim Brotherhood is one of the foremost Islamic movements, which dramatically influenced in Egypt and some other Islamic states. Under the conditions when Egypt was placed in a critical situation in terms of political, social, religious, and economic dimensions, this organization was established and on the one hand it was trying for governing of Islamic basic teachings in social and political life and on the other hand it was intended to exit Islamic beliefs from static and passive state (Enayat, 180).

Hassan Al- Banna, founder of Muslim Brotherhood, was born about 1900 at northwestern point in Cairo, Egypt. He became a member in one of Islamic associations after entering high school and he founded a new organization under title of Hesafiyeh Relief Association, which had two main objectives including protection and spreading Islamic values and defense against invasion

of western missioners. This organization was a model based on which Muslim Brotherhood was designed later. He was extremely concerned about the gap among young generation and students from their local culture and Islamic realities and he argued that the future of any nation and ideology was at the hands of young generation, seminary and academic students, and intellectuals; therefore, he focused his activities mainly on these social strata. He intended to pay more attention to downtrodden class also to promote the goals in Islamic revolution like as the leftist revolutionary groups in which the revolutionary staffs raise among proletarian class. He gave lecture about the subject of Islamic ideology in mosques and cultural and public centers and invited those who were influenced by his lectures, to private sessions and elected the main members of organization from this group of people. Al-Banna says that this thought stroke to his mind to create this movement when he studied Cairo and found that there was not the least sign of spirit of Islamic law there. Several essays were apparently written against Islam in some press and journals. He was aware of lack of knowledge and ignorance of people about these principles and he felt the mosques were not adequate to convey Islamic concepts (Farsi, 1986).

Hence, Muslim Brotherhood Organization was established with allegiance of Hassan Al-Banna with six intellectual members of his colleagues. This organization was primarily acting in semi-clandestine form and several pamphlets, letters, lectures, and personal visits were employed to spread this movement (Mohammad, 1995; Al-Huseini, 1996a; 1996b).

It should be noted that these pamphlets were extremely welcomed in Egypt and Arabic and Islamic states and many readers were interested in Maghreb, Sudan, Palestine, and Jordan and it has motivated Islamic zest within these nations. The literary writings, which have been enthusiastically and fervently written by eager and ideologist authors in Muslim Brotherhood, created exciting that was unprecedented by that time. No one knew the authors of these writings by their titles, but the people recognized well their writings and transfer their writings hand by hand. It is not surprising that the plans, which were proposed by Muslim Brotherhood, were supported by all social classes and people from any class became the fervent devotees for this movement. The fact is that Muslim Brotherhood could well interpret their objectives for Muslims.

They employed their journals and newspapers and the supportive periodicals at best to convey their message. They primarily started their activity by writing several essays in religious periodicals. Then they could publish their especial journal under title of 'Muslim Brotherhood' on March 5, 1946.

They intended to convert their newspaper as a public tribune for members of Islamic denominations and reformist groups. This journal made it possible for them to express their ideas and interpret and define Islam in the world.

Likewise, they establish a committee to open primary schools and high schools specified to girls and boys in such a way that these schools to be distinguished from all other private schools in terms of special educational programs (ibid, May 20, 1946). The main curricula in these schools included training Quranic fundamentals and principles, making students familiar with the splendid history of Islam and creating motivation in them to revive this school and ideology, which were followed by some achievements for them as well such as establishment of non-profit schools for the illiterates and those ones who certainly sought for religious training and for this reason they

penetrated into the layers of life of various social strata in Egyptian community and induced their paradigms to them by these classes and lectures.

Many differences of opinions may be seen regarding number of members and fans of Muslim Brotherhood Movement. According to a statement by Yousef Neda as the official for diplomatic relations of Muslim Brotherhood Movement in 2007, the statistical population of Muslim Brotherhood has exceeded from one million members and members of this movement are present in 72 Islamic and non- Islamic countries. Abdul Hamid Ghazali, the political advisor of Supreme Guide, has mentioned number of Muslim Brotherhood members and its followers as 10 and 5millions respectively. At the same time, Dr. Abdul Sattar Al- Maliji, the ex-member of Muslim Brotherhood, states that sum of members and adherents of Muslim Brotherhood may not exceed from one hundred thousand peoples but it seems that their population is greater than this number with respect to 80-years history of Muslim Brotherhood Movement and presence of its members in various countries.

3. STRATEGIC PRINCIPLES OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD CHARTER

1- Invitation to Pure Islam and righteous predecessor (Salafi Saleh) and return to original Islam;

2- To practice Holy Prophet's Tradition (Sunna) in all ideological and praying activities;

3- Self-enhancement through soul refinement, preservation of activities, friendship and fraternity (brotherhood) in the way of God;

4- Establishment of political organization to reform governance, training of people based on human self-esteem and dignity, and revision in relationship among Islamic Umma (community) with other nations;

5- Emphasis in acquisition of knowledge and science and technology as a religious duty;

6- Renovation of community and treatment of social diseases;

7- To do economic activities and acquisition of wealth;

8- Emphasis in physical education and body improvement

The main motto of Muslim Brotherhood is: God is our ultimate goal, the prophet is our leader, Quran is our Constitution, Jihad in way of God is our conduct, and martyrdom in way of God is our highest ideal.

4. MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD POLITICAL DOCTRINE

The principles of political doctrine of Muslim Brotherhood can be summarized as follows:

- Guidance, promotion, and construction of society to establish Islamic government;
- Step-by-step policy and taking peaceful methods in political activities and in relation to the governing systems;
- Factionalism and exploitation from organization to achieve political objectives;
- Pluralism and belief in democracy inside and outside Muslim Brotherhood organization;
- Emphasis on concept of Islamic Umma versus nation;
- Interaction with Muslim denominations and avoidance from sectarian disputes and conflicts;
- Opposition against Israel as an illegal newborn from the west in Islamic lands;

- Interaction with non- Muslim sects, particularly Coptic members inside Egypt;

- Women's participation in all political and social activities except presidency position in the country;

- Positive interaction with aliens and western world except colonial powers;

- Supporting from Palestinian resistance

5. ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURE AND LEADERSHIP OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD

The main cornerstones of Muslim Brotherhood include supreme guide, advisory council, and supreme guidance office. The advisory council or founders' board is considered as legislative and policymaking body in Muslim Brotherhood and it is responsible for supreme supervision over the activities of the population and election of supreme guide and its approvals will be binding for all members. The advisory council includes 30 members, who are elected among advisory councils in various points of Egypt and this council will be entitled to accept 5 experts as members as well. The members of council are appointed for 4 years. The supreme guide of Muslim Brotherhood was appointed by this council and he will remain as a member in advisory council for lifetime and after the end of his mission in this period unless he is dismissed as result of omission in doing his tasks.

The supreme guide international office is responsible for supreme executive task in activities of Muslim Brotherhood and it manages all executive activities for Muslim Brotherhood. The guidance office comprises of 13 members, who are appointed by advisory council from various regions.

6. MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD AND POLITICS

It should be expressed about political plan of Muslim Brotherhood and how they tend to realize them that the religious government is doubtlessly on the top of this plan. This issue has been clearly defined in their journals and books to the extent that no doubt may remain in this regard. In one of his lectures, Al- Banna explains about the objectives and plans of this movement as follows:

"The Islam about which Muslim Brotherhood expresses and in which they believe, is a religion in which the government is accepted as one of its basic cornerstones as the guidance also relies on execution of Islamic injunctions… The Holy Prophet (PBUH) assumed the government as one of the political cornerstones for Islam… The governmental organizations in books of Islamic jurisprudence (Feqh) are one of the ideological principles and our conduct not their consequences and only a subject in the field of Islamic discourse and polemic discussion since Islam is a system of law and execution and training and legislation and judicial rules exist along each other and they are inseparable. If the religious reformist is only assured that he is a jurist and he determines the limits and is decision maker and as an interpreter of Islamic injunction he conveys these principles while he assigns the consequences of activities and all of these for execution of injunctions to the executive power, those powers, which are not committed to divine order, may undermine his governance with execution of their own special injunctions and in this case the natural consequence of this trend is similar to his crying in the wasteland" (ibid, pp 41-42).

We may find from this statement that Muslim Brotherhood believed that if the official religion is Islam then the method of legislation and regulations should thoroughly Islamic and they wanted all governmental organizations to have Islamic signs and symbols.

It is obvious that Egyptian Constitution is a civil code and it is derived according to western constitutions while the only regulations, which govern over private conditions for Muslims, have been extracted from Islamic Shariat as for other denominations, which possessed specific private conditions for them. Thus, this issue may be comprehensible in three dimensions for Muslim Brotherhood: the legal government ruling over Egypt; Egyptian civil code; and the rules, which have been addressed by their government regardless of religion versus their actions i.e. civil law.

Concerning the first case, Muslim Brotherhood had admitted that Egyptian constitution in some aspect is in compliance with Islamic teachings and it is closer to Islam than the existing government and thus it does not seriously and basically oppose to law.

About Egyptian civil code, they believed that firstly there are many dubious and ambiguous points in the constitution that can be manifested their concepts inversely by interpretation and definition. Therefore, they asked for revision and explicit and accurate interpretation of these rules. Regarding third case that is civil law, they explicitly expressed their protest and opposition and requested for changing them whether civil, criminal, and commercial and or international issues proportional to Islam.

The next important step that was taken by them in political field was the freedom of all part of Nile Valley from foreign influence and this caused them to take hostile position against UK and they never ignored this issue. They made a lot of effort to support from Ali Maher Pasha, who intended to keep Egypt safe from war damages at the beginning of World War II. At this time, Ahmad Maher Pasha waged war against Germany and Italy, but Muslim Brotherhood did not support him and they avoided him from war but their resistance against UK did not stop despite of cooperation of Egyptian government with that government at any moment and for this reason they were suppressed and whereas their policy differed from Egyptian government thus many members of this population were arrested and confined by the government. The opposition against the government was to the extent that they were accused to conspiracy for assassination of Ahmad Maher Pasha.

7. DEVELOPING THE ACTIVITIES AND INFLUENCE OF MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD IN POLITICAL SCENE IN EGYPT

World War II and its Egyptian consequences spread the progressive trend of Muslim Brotherhood influence in Egypt and Muslim Brotherhood institution became more organized and their political and ideological stances became more integrated. After the war, the organization used the upset condition in Vafd Party and introduced it as a revolutionary organization and opposition for the existing system and captured quickly the massive bases of Vafd Party. Due to several conspiracies and pertinacious measures committed by some members in this organization against the government, the government announced dissolution of this organization with thirteen cases of accusations against this organization regarding terroristic activities, plot against overthrowing the

monarchical system in Egypt and collection of ammunitions etc in 1948 and Hassan Al- Banna was assassinated in an organized plot on February 1949 (Sediqi, 1996).

8. MOVEMENT CRITICAL PERIOD

After murder of Al Banna on February 12 1949, his position remained vacant and a critical and difficult period started for Muslim Brotherhood. The domestic enemies like Prime Minister Ibrahim Abdel Hadi simultaneously with the foreign enemy started their invasion against this movement. Thus, it was felt this necessity to fill the vacant position of Al Banna with a competent person more quickly.

Within this time interval, some members became responsible for managing the movement such as Abdel Rahman Al –Banna his brother, Saleh Al- Ashmavi, and Ahmad Hassan Al-Baghuri. At this time period, a hard competition took place to acquire the position of leadership for this society. Nonetheless, Muslim Brotherhood appointed Al- Hudaybi, who was a salient lawyer and also had good relationship with Malek Farouk. Presence of Al- Hudaybi on the top of this movement could firstly resolve the conflict of Muslim Brotherhood with the royal court and secondly it was led to unification among various branches of the movement and finally it could contribute to pacify Farouk and smoothing his opposite stance. As a result and despite of this fact that according to the charter of movement the candidate for this position should be a member of the founding committee at least for 5 years they could reconcile in this regard with their incompatible attitudes and all members of founding committee approved appointment of Al- Hudaybi as supreme guide (Al-Dawa: 151/3, p 1; 153/3- p 3, Muslim Brotherhood their praise and admiration: 18).

This measure caused creating intraorganizational opposition since the elected person was out of founding parliament and central committee and this led to apparent enmity of members, who have made efforts and were pained to convey the message of the movement and they assumed them more competent than Al- Hudaybi for this position.

Some of his measures led to occurrence some conflicts inside the organization including developments and changes in the organization, his relation with the given king (Malek Farouk), restriction of clandestine branch of Muslim Brotherhood, and his opposition to hostility, since Al-Hudaybi argued that Islam is religion of mercy not assassination and hostility (Musa Al-Huseini, 1996). Among them, the organization of free officers decided to contact to Muslim Brotherhood and a treaty was concluded between them based on which Muslim Brotherhood was pledged to put all its facilities at disposal of free officers organization and their cooperation went to peak point in 1951. Nasser and his group relied on Muslim Brotherhood organization to attract support from masses of people and instead this organization could achieve weapons and military training by free officers. The adherents of Muslim Brotherhood guided the people to streets in favor of revolution. After victory of the revolution in Egypt, some conflicts emerged between two sides so Muslim Brotherhood asked the government to start its movements in the society toward Islamic goals, but Nasser believed that the religion should be separated from politics and the religion is an individual relationship among human and God and it should not interfere in social affairs. Since Al – Hudaybi opposed agrarian reforms by Nasser thus Nasser introduced them as fans for capitalism and announced that his dispute with Muslim Brotherhood was not about the subject of execution of

Islam, but it was due to subject of capitalism while the fact was that Nasser did not like existing any other strong organization rather than his organization and group in the country.

The government dissolved Muslim Brotherhood according to act of dissolution of party on January 1954 and assumed membership as illegal in this organization and attributed some accusations against Muslim Brotherhood including the silence of Al-Hudaybi after revolution and lack of supporting it, opposition to agrarian reforms, Muslim Brotherhood opposition to formation of national guard and freedom –seeking troops, and visit of Al- Hudaybi with British ambassador (Musa Al-Huseini, 1996).

Due to assassination attempt against Gamal Abdel Nasser once in 1954 and again in 1965 in Egypt, Muslim Brotherhood was prosecuted and annoyed (Enayat, 1971). In assassination attempt in 1954, Hassan Al- Hudaybi was arrested and the order of his execution was reduced to life confinement due to his senility and although he persisted that he had no role in this assassination, the secret organization had committed this assassination as a part of Muslim Brotherhood (Musa Al-Huseini, 1996).

Muslim Brotherhood assumed the lesser attention to the religion in policies of Nasser as the reasons for failure of Nasser in war 1967 against Israel and introduced this failure as a sign of divine punishment due to suffocating climate in Egypt and this fact that Nasser was allied with a secular government (former Soviet Union).

Exposed to leftists, Anwar Sadat released the members of Muslim Brotherhood including Hassan Al- Hudaybi from prison and invited them for preparation of constitution draft, but since Muslim Brotherhood could not embed its views in constitution, they resumed their campaigns through Egyptian parliament and mass media. Muslim Brotherhood had peaceful relations with Sadat between years 1970 and 1978 but due to peace treaty among Egypt and Israel and Islamic Republic of Iran, these relations became gloomy within years (1978-1981) and Sadat was assassinated by an organization as a branch of Muslim Brotherhood in 1981.

After assassination of Sadat and taking power by Hosni Mubarak, Muslim Brotherhood conditions were relatively transformed. Mubarak promised to leave away policies of Nasser and Sadat in restriction of parties and controlling elections. Muslim Brotherhood that sought for opportunity welcomed this policy and participated in elections of consultative parliament of Egypt and could acquire more than one third of parliamentary positions in 1985 and could increase it to 35% in elections (1990). This trend created a lot of concerns for Hosni Mubarak's secular government and the west and it was led Mubarak not to accept the results of elections and to seek for holding the elections guaranteed for his own party- national democratic. Nevertheless, this issue expressed that Muslim Brotherhood could stabilize its position in public opinion during several subsequent decades of its activity and this movement expected for occurrence of an accident and serious development to express their potential in ruling scene.

9. EGYPTIAN REVOLUTION AND TAKING POWER BY MOHAMED MORSI

The Egyptian revolution was started on January 25 2011 in this country and it was led to resignation of Hosni Mubarak on February 2011 and creating military government (curfew) (Kareem Fahim and Mona El-Naggar, 2011). The opposition group announced their protests by

inspiring from the achievement in Tunisian revolution, the revolution against torture, poverty, corruption, and unemployment as well as overthrowing Hosni Mubarak and cancelation of urgent conditions (force majeure), rising of the minimum wages, ending to hostilities and above all their last request for a democratic and popular government to come to power.

In fact the first spark of Islamic vigilance was started with demonstrations of Egyptian citizens against Tunisian Embassy to support from Tunisian revolution on January 15 2011. Two days after this demonstration, in protest against closing down his restaurant and lack of attention to his plea by the related officials, an Egyptian youth called Abduh Abdul Monem Hemadeh Jafar Calipheh committed self-burning against the building of public parliament in this country. He cried some slogans like 'Oh security forces of this country! My rights have been lost in Egypt', before he committed self- burning versus the parliament.

At last after several days of skirmish and street protests and strike, Hosni Mubarak along with his wife left Egypt from Al-Maza airport to an unknown place. According to a report from BBC News Agency, Mubarak left the Egypt toward an uncertain location on February 11 2011. Many experts deemed this day as day of victory of Egyptian revolution. After resignation of Hosni Mubarak and his escape, administration of Egyptian affairs was assigned to the army and in a detailed statement, the army announced that this council was not the legal substitute for the government according to opinion of Egyptian people. It should be noted that the responsibility for this council was assigned to Egyptian minister of defense i.e. Mohammad Hussein Tantavi.

While Egypt was subjected to these developments, the Muslim Brotherhood society had succeeded to establish Freedom and Justice Party under title of political faction for this society after victory of revolution on January 25 in Egypt so that this party could achieve the majority of votes in elections at parliament of representatives in this country but it was also dissolved by court of constitution later.

Apart from that, Freedom and Justice Party also succeeded to acquire majority of votes in the second parliamentary elections in Egypt i.e. elections of consultative parliament in Egypt so that the summary and abstract of all these achievements in political scene to be winning of Mohamed Morsi as candidate of Muslim Brotherhood society in presidential elections.

The presidential elections were held in Egypt on June 17 2012 and in competition with General Ahmad Shafigh, Mohamed Morsi won the elections with acquisition of 51.73% of votes. It necessitates noting that in this election only 50% of qualified people had participated and this may denote this point that Morsi and Muslim Brotherhood had vulnerable popularity (Cinar and Gocer, 2014).

10. THE FACTOR FOR OUSTING OF MOHAMED MORSI

The high potential for organizing and long-term experience, which Muslim Brotherhood possessed to attract people and gathering them along the conservative and moderate attitudes and stances of this society unlike the Egyptian Salafi stream that acts as the second rate in terms of power after Muslim Brotherhood in Egyptian political scene and an extremist and fanatic stream, which is considered in many Islamic problems and issues, especially regarding their relation with followers of Prophet's family (PBUH) and their hostile treatment with Shiites, might give this

potential to Muslim Brotherhood members to take the leadership of Islamic political stream not only in Egypt but also all over the Arabic zone.

Therefore, despite of reactionary stream like Salafi stream in Egypt, Muslim Brotherhood society was highly welcomed and accepted in many people inside Egypt and at the same time at foreign level in interaction with international community compared to other Islamist active streams in Egyptian political scene.

But with taking power by Muslim Brotherhood members in Egypt, they committed stark errors and mistakes in both domestic and foreign scenes and this caused the sense of empathy and correlation, which possessed by these members of Muslim Brotherhood, to be changed into hostility and enmity and a motive in order to draw most of social groups and classes to the scene of activity in Egyptian community versus Muslim Brotherhood society and to make their queues more consolidated to exclude Muslim Brotherhood members from Egyptian political field so this is an issue that may not only affect on situation of Muslim Brotherhood society in Egyptian political scene, but also influence on their future as well and this will not cover only Muslim Brotherhood society but it will be involved in various branches of this society in other Islamic and Arabic countries including Muslim Brotherhood members in Syria, Libya, and Tunisian as well.

It can be expressed in this regard that election of Mohamed Morsi as position of presidency was a great mistake since he was not qualified for necessary and requisite condition to acquire this position. But after disqualification of Khairat Al-Shater for candidacy of presidency, Muslim Brotherhood members introduced Morsi rapidly and haphazardly so that Morsi to see himself in a position for which he had not prepared at all and even not think about it and this caused him to be tricked by physical power and he could not employ the given powers as the president in optimal way and for this reason he managed the national affairs with attitudes of a head of a party and a member from Muslim Brotherhood society and in this path he formed a group around him, which were not adequately qualified with the needed competency for administration o government and the country and they had no skill and experience in this regard.

But this was not the end of business for Morsi, so he did not also succeed to form a coordinated and matched group of Egyptians to support from the first experience of public and free presidential elections in modern history at Egypt and he did not notice that one who committed mistakes in position of political power is not like someone that made the mistake at the opposite stream and for this reason he left alone the government in order to do what he liked so he overlooked the reign of political activities to be led to any direction which might go and caused the basis and cornerstone of revolution to be subjected to destruction and ruining for which the Egyptian people have sacrificed their youths with a lot of bloodshed while Morsi was only preoccupied by the physical effects and he imagined that it was only enough to become a president of Egypt and also it was only sufficient for him to be president of Egypt by acquiring the majority of votes in the elections and for a four-year presidency term and administration of this country while the opposition group should be awaited for him to end his presidential term to react.

Many factors were shared in formation of some feelings like anger and dislike from Muslim Brotherhood movement, especially by those ones who elected or confirmed them after the revolution and on the top of them one should refer to some dependent media and press on the

former regime in Egypt and their leftover group that make every effort to capitalize the mistakes and errors of Muslim Brotherhood members.

However, the Muslim Brotherhood members also entered in the scene of hostility and spite against this group of media and the elites left from the ex-regime in order to give the needed pretext not only to this group but also even to their supporters and fans along with very weak performance of Morsi and his exciting and stimulant lectures, which lacked any certain content, theme, and attitude as well as his improper persistence and his establishment on some activities.

Similarly, Mohamed Morsi restricted the power of army and caused the role of this organization, which ruled over the country during 60 years, to be downplayed on Egyptian political scene (Kirkpatrick, 2012).

It was during these problems when the subjects of dismissal of prosecutor general of Egypt and declaration of the supplement of Egyptian constitution were mentioned while Morsi had deliberately or unintentionally forgotten that the political scene was not appropriate place for obstinacy, persistence, and improper insistences so that such obstinacies caused him to be involved in the imbroglio of June 30 and also the statement of Egyptian statement before this event. But, Morsi did not also use this opportunity to pacify public anger and rage and he did not agree the plans and suggestions from the opposite group for holding referendum and determination of time period for holding parliamentary elections and establishment of new government.

Muslim Brotherhood members and the confederated Islamist streams with them were entangled by the mistakes, which fanned the flame of anger and rage of other groups against them and for example this was apart from several treatments and interactions between Muslim Brotherhood leaders, who addressed their opposite group with an unfavorable and stimulant tone in some TV channels and on many occasions, this measure stimulated the opposite group to react more than ever.

But on the foreign scene, Muslim Brotherhood movement did not take a transparent and clear diplomacy that could be proper and appropriate for a great country like Egypt and show the policy in which the international system could trust for the governing new system. Morsi took trips to eastern countries like China and Russia while the gloomy relations between Egypt and USA had been clarified overtly for all, but the interferences of USA embassy in Cairo did not came to an end in many domestic affairs in Egypt.

The decision of Mohamed Morsi for cutting diplomatic relations with Syria should be assumed as one of greatest mistakes of Mohamed Morsi in diplomacy to the extent that he exceeded beyond this level and he entered into the limit and size of sin and error. Perhaps, Morsi tried to attract Salafi stream in this country by making such a decision while he lost the trust from Muslim Brotherhood society and he was blocked in an impasse with leaders of Muslim Brotherhood in taking leadership of Islamist streams in Egypt, particularly this fact that members of Muslim Brotherhood tried to take leadership of this stream by sidetracking Salafi group and downplaying their role in the political scene per se, but decision for cutting diplomatic relations with Syria was a blow that bisected the back of Muslim Brotherhood members since this decision removed the trust of many groups, streams, and social strata in Egypt rather than Salafi stream in Muslim

Brotherhood members in this country, especially these groups and streams believed in that Egypt should preserve its relations with Syria under any condition in two political and public dimensions.

In political dimension, conservation of Cairo- Damascus relationship might provide this possibility for Egypt to keep its position as one side of negations and talks among Syrian system with the opposition group as the greatest Arabic country while during this time Egypt had supported the Qatari opposite group so it was better to keep this relation equally and identically both with Syrian system and the opposite group and to consider the interests and expediencies for both conflicting sides and to take step toward stopping bloodshed and turmoils in Syria.

Nonetheless, sum of these factors led to wide dissatisfaction of the people and the structure of ex-regime within the framework of army generals and supreme judges in Egypt deemed the given climate as appropriate for overthrowing Islamist government and ousting it from the power. The reaction to military coup by army on July 2013 that was accompanied with wide classes of seculars and nationalist and leftist streams, which were called as contravention from them, led to ousting of cabinet of Mohamed Morsi and returning of militaries to power by the leadership of Field Marshal El-Sisi, Minister of Defense.

Moreover, by virtue of some awards issued by Cairo Court, the properties and assets of this movement were confiscated and its title was omitted from Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and the main leaders of this movement were detained. Similarly, Court of Alexandria barred presence of Muslim Brotherhood in presidency and parliamentary elections in Egypt by issuance a legal award.

11. CONCLUSIONS

Although, this movement was dissolved by various governments during period of its activity for several times and it could return to political scene in Egypt, it seems that at this time Muslim Brotherhood movement should pass through a much longer and more difficult path to return political scene of Egypt for several reasons, particularly the main leaders of this movement have been arrested since date of ousting Mohamed Morsi.

Morsi had no opportunity to test himself in ruling before his victory in presidency elections and also people had no experience in this regard in order to see if this movement could practically fulfill its objectives and promises. Likewise, not only the claims for uprising 2011 were forgotten in some elements like civil freedoms and enjoying equal social rights and improvement of public life, but also playing up the dominant political aspect and exclusion and monopoly of governing Islamist faction caused public despair toward new leaders following to ignoring cultural diversity of Egyptian people.

It necessitates Muslim Brotherhood movement to perceive this point that they could not return to power only with reliance on street rallies and demonstrations and this movement should prove once more its potentials and capabilities to Egyptian people with its organization and exertion of changes in their executive paradigms.

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