'The West' in Political Discourse Structures of Regimes and the Muslim Brotherhood in the Egyptian Transformation Process

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'The West' is a recurring theme in Egyptian political debates. It appears either as an abstract space, or particular 'western' countries are depicted as opponents. Such ascriptions are used by the government, and by myriad (secular and Islamist) political camps, which try to outdo each other in anti-western rhetoric. Criticism of 'the West' is instrumentalised in domestic political confrontations:opponents are accused of proximity to, or even being an agent of, 'the West' to exclude them from the political consensus. This paper investigates the depiction of 'the West' in Egyptian political discourse. It focuses on the discourses of both regimes and the Muslim Brotherhood since the 2011 Arab Spring. Firstly, we uncover certain historical continuities in anti-western rhetoric since 1954. Secondly, we analyse the dichotomous nature of this discourse on the side of Egyptian regimes and the Muslim Brotherhood (exempting the phase of Morsi's presidency 2012-2013). The overall aim is to uncover internal and external differences in the discursive structures used by (and against) the different political actors and to contextualize their resentments against 'the West'. The empirical basis consists of a cursory analysis of the Egyptian media and interviews held with representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood.

'The West' has been a recurring theme in domestic policy debates in Egypt since the mid-19th century. Against this backdrop, the period since Egypt's independence has been marked by growing rivalry between the ruling regimes [1] and the Islamist opposition.

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[1] The regime is [understood] as '…the formal and informal organisation of the political centre of power, on the one hand, and its particularly developed relationship with society as a whole, on the other. A regime defines access to political control as well as power relationships between the ruling elites and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled.' Wolfgang Merkel, *Systemtransformation* - Eine Einführung in die Theorie und Empirie der Transformationsforschung (Heidelberg: Springer VS, 2010), 63-64.

Within this historical dispute, fault lines and polarisation have become increasingly visible through a multitude of discursive formations such as attributing the stance taken by the opposition to 'the West.' Thus 'the West,' as an abstract concept, or individual 'Western' countries – in particular the UK and France as (former) colonial powers, or the US and Israel[2] – have been constructed as the enemy by the different political camps in Egypt.[3]

This represents a historical continuity within both the Egyptian regime and the Muslim Brotherhood. On the regime's side, this discourse became established under the rule of Gamal Abdel Nasser and changed under Anwar Sadat and Hosni Mubarak. Furthermore, since Mubarak's rule, 'the West' has become increasingly instrumental in political discourse structures, with domestic political opponents – primarily the Muslim Brotherhood – deliberately marginalised due to their supposed proximity to 'the West.' Since Abdel-Fattah al-Sisi took power in June 2013, this form of anti-Western argument has acquired a new quality and is espoused by representatives of the government, large sections of the media and numerous other public figures within society. Established resentments towards 'the West' have existed within the Muslim Brotherhood as well for decades, having been substantially shaped by the organisation's political relationships with 'the West' through the respective historical context.

This paper examines the depiction of 'the West' in Egyptian political discourse structures, using the regime and the Muslim Brotherhood as examples. The aim is firstly to comprehend the historical continuities of anti-Western rhetoric and discursive structures within Egyptian politics using the ruling regimes since Gamal Abdel Nasser and Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood. Second, with the exception of the period in which the Muslim Brotherhood's Mohamed Morsi held the presidency, from 2012 to July 2013, the aim is to analyse the dichotomous structure of these discourses on the part of the respective regime as well as in the case of the Muslim Brotherhood. Morsi's presidency is not understood as a regime because he had limited to no control over access to political rule, or power relationships between the ruling elites and the relationship between the rulers and the ruled. This analysis is guided by the central, basic assumptions of discourse as understood by Michel Foucault, although this analysis places greater emphasis on the speaking subject. Thus the aim is to expose differences between internal and external discursive structures used by the two groups of actors themselves and to which they are subjected by the attributions of the opposing side. Although the analysis in this paper adopts a comparative historical perspective, the temporal focus is on developments since the upheavals of 2011.

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[2] Although Israel is a special case due to the Arab-Israeli conflict, anti-Israel comments can also be seen as part of the anti-Western discourse depending on the context. This is primarily due to the West's perceived pro-Israeli stance.

[3] 'The West' is very difficult to define. The precise territory covered by the West depends on the prevailing discursive formations, which are in turn shaped by geographical, cultural and politico-economic contexts. Against this backdrop, the discursive structures of individual phases are exposed below and conclusions therefore drawn about the corresponding understanding of 'the West.'

The paper seeks to contextualise anti-Western resentments among the aforementioned political actors. The approach on which this paper is based is not only conducive to a better understanding of the stance taken by Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood vis-à-vis 'the West' and its classification in relation to the Egyptian regimes on the matter, but also to the measurement of anti-Western resentment among the aforementioned politically relevant actors. The statements are based on interviews and background discussions held with representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood since 2011, as well as on an analysis of Egypt's media.

Basic Understanding of Discourse

The concept of discourse used in the following is based on that of the French philosopher and social historian Michel Foucault (1926-1984), who in the scientific literature is portrayed as a founder of discourse analysis. According to his own statements, however, Foucault sees himself less as a theory-building analyst who indiscriminately uses a defined methodology for various contexts; [4] rather, he himself occasionally described his work as a 'tool box' [5] that could be used by everyone. The fact that he saw verbal statements as a starting point for the ability to uncover additional systems over a specific period of time – including, for example, in his putative discourse analysis works '*The Order of Things*' (1966), '*The Archaeology of Knowledge*' (1969) and '*The Order of Discourse*' (1970) – was of central importance.[6] For Foucault, questioning the extent to which language can determine something that is not itself actually language is an idea which arose continuously during his creative period. Throughout his work he repeatedly refers back to the role of discourse, which is conditioned by history and shaped by perspective.[7] This was accompanied by the fact that Foucault was interested in the 'conditions of existence' of discourse, which imply that only specific statements materialised rather than other statements from among all those possible.[8] In the Foucauldian sense, discourse is understood here as a network of supratextual statements on themes that are negotiated at society level over a lengthy period, and that are both conditioned and shaped by this negotiation.[9] This means that the Foucauldian concept of discourse includes linguistic-conceptual ideas that are typical of the historical point in time and relate to sociocultural and political contexts as well as produce something

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[4] Hannelore Bublitz, et al., *Das Wuchern der Diskurse- Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults* (Frankfurt a.M.: Campus Verlag: 1998), 10-12.

[5] Sverre Raffnsøe, Marius Gudmand-Høyer and Morten Sørensen Thaning, *Foucault – Studienhandbuch* (Paderborn, UTB: 2011), 12.

[6] Ibid., 191.

[7] Bublitz et al., *Das Wuchern,* 10-12.

[8] Michel Foucault, *Archäologie des Wissens* (Frankfurt am Main, Suhrkamp: 1973), 42-44.

[9] Hannelore Bublitz, 'Archäologie und Genealogie,' in *Michel Foucault. Eine Einführung in sein Denken*, ed. Marcus Kleiner (Frankfurt a M.: Campus Verlag, 2001), 27-39. ; *Michel Foucault, Der Wille zum Wissen. Sexualität und Wahrheit* (Frankfurt a. M.: Suhrkamp: 1976), 29.

in the process. This productiveness should be seen as highly pivotal in this context, as discourse only facilitates formulations and should therefore be seen as a seedbed for concrete forms of language.[10] As Foucault said, 'The field of discursive events…is a grouping that is always finite and limited at any moment to the linguistic sequences that have been formulated…'.[11] Second, discourse is understood as a key starting theorem for power relationships, with the result that analysis of discourse would also simultaneously mean the analysis of power.[12] What matters to Foucault, in short, is that discourse and power are in a closely interwoven correlation, which he sees as a possible expression of 'discursive formations'.[13] The discourse should be understood simultaneously as an instrument and effect of power, as it sometimes acts as a self-initiated starting point and, through external attributions, as a perceived resistance point. In turn, this dual structure advances and produces power genealogically.[14] By this it is meant that, in Foucault's understanding, power tactics are intrinsic in discourse of a historical context, since they are based on their own individual logic and accordingly shape the impact and effects of the discourse. In short, power legitimises itself through discourse.[15]

What is more, the discourse concept in this analysis is heavily based on the speaking subject. This represents a departure from the Foucauldian understanding, in that with Foucault it is not the statements of the speaking subject that are of crucial importance but the position he occupies within the space structured by the discourse. Contrary to Foucault, discourse is something intrinsic, to which the speaking subject is not secondary; rather, it is something he can actively influence.

From the perspective of discourse vis-à-vis 'the West,' the aim of this analysis is therefore to focus attention on a historical chapter in the relationship between the Egyptian regimes and the Muslim Brotherhood together with its implications for political power. Also explored is the role of discursive formations on 'the West' in the case of the regimes and the Muslim Brotherhood vis-à-vis Egyptian society as a whole and their impact on the overall social discourse in Egypt.

Dynamics of Anti-Western Criticism of Egyptian Regimes up to 2011
'The West' ('*al-gharb*' in Arabic), as a term for a 'Western civilisation,' as distinct from the (Middle) Eastern civilisation, took root in the Arab world and Europe simultaneously

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[10] Hannelore Bublitz et al., *Das Wuchern*. Paula-Irene Villa, *Judith Butler* (Frankfurt a. M.: Campus Verlag GmbH, 2003), 40-42.

[11] Michel Foucault, *Archäologie,* 42-44.

[12] Isabell Lorey, 'Macht und Diskurs bei Foucault,' in *Das Wuchern der Diskurse – Perspektiven der Diskursanalyse Foucaults*, ed. Hannelore Bublitz et al. (Frankfurt/Main: Campus Verlag, 1998), 87-89. Michel Foucault, *Der Wille.*

[13] Michel Foucault, *Archäologie,* 58.

[14] Michel Foucault, *Der Wille,* 100-102.

[15] Lorey, 'Macht,' 95-96.

at the end of the 19th century.[16] For Arabic authors such as the Tunisian Muhammad Al-Sanusi, 'the West' described above all a scientifically advanced and militarily superior civilisation in Europe and North America that was linked by certain philosophies on progress, equality and civil rights. However, 'the West' was always a vague concept whose geographical boundaries could not be clearly identified and referred above all to Europe's colonial powers.[17]

At the end of the 19th century, 'Western' civilisation was viewed with ambivalence by intellectuals such as Gamal ad-Din al-Afghani and Muhammad Abduh. On the one hand, 'the West' was a source of fascination and seen as the inspiration for a much-needed modernisation of Egypt and the Arab world. On the other, 'the West' was also regarded as a political and cultural threat that sought to impose its own colonial interests and 'Western' culture upon the Arab world. The negative perception of the imperialist European superpowers grew strongly in the course of the First World War and the subsequent partition of the Middle East by the United Kingdom and France by means of the Sykes-Pico Agreement.[18] In Egypt the imperial influence of the UK in particular was viewed negatively, but at the same time, there was also a great affinity with the supposedly advanced 'West' among Egypt's elites.

When Gamal Abdel Nasser took power in 1954 anti-imperialism became the state doctrine in Egypt, although generalised references to 'the West' remained the exception. Instead the Nasserist foreign policy discourse referred to individual 'Western' countries, notably the UK as the colonial power in Egypt, whose specific imperialist policy was condemned. The most prominent reason for distinguishing between Western countries was that the US pushed the British, French and Israelis into withdrawing from Sinai in 1956 and in that sense supported Nasser. Only when Nasser's Egypt, against the backdrop of the Cold War, refused to join the Baghdad Pact and the US consequently decided not to make any loans available for the Aswan Dam, with the aim of forcing Egypt into the Western alliance system, did relations deteriorate and Nasser increasingly turned to the Soviet Union.[19] Furthermore, by today's standards similar political discourse structures on 'the West' involving the Muslim Brotherhood did not exist under Nasser. The Muslim Brotherhood did not play a prominent role in public, mainly because it was in prison or in exile, and did not possess any media. When it was criticised by Nasser this was on account of its good relations with Saudi Arabia in what Malcolm Kerr entitled the 'Arab Cold War,' [20] but not as an instrument of 'the West'.

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[16] Robbert Woltering, *Occidentalism in the Arab World. Ideology and Images of the West in the Egyptian Media* (London et al.: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 21-22.

[17] Ibid., 23-24.

[18] Ibid., 59-61.

[19] Ibid., 74-75.

[20] Malcolm H. Kerr, *The Arab cold war, 1958-1967. A study of ideology in politics* (London et al.: Oxford University Press, 1965).

When Anwar Sadat succeeded Nasser in 1970, Egyptian policy towards 'the West' changed dramatically. Sadat liberalised and opened up the economy, made separate peace with Israel through US mediation and forged closer diplomatic relations with 'Western' countries.[21] As Sadat cooperated with 'the West' at a political and economic level, leading to growing dependencies on 'the West', anti-Western criticism on the part of the regime shifted to the cultural sphere. In contrast to his predecessor, Sadat painted 'the West' as merely a cultural and intellectual threat that Egyptian society could counter through the moral superiority of Islam; in this way the legitimacy of cooperation at a political and economic level would not be undermined.[22] In stark contrast to the Nasser era, relations between the regime and the Muslim Brotherhood were initially relaxed under Sadat as he sought to instrumentalise the movement as a domestic tool for combating the Egyptian Left. Only with the signing of the Camp David Agreement, which was perceived as a pro-Western turning point by the Muslim Brotherhood, did Sadat receive criticism from the Brotherhood. Against this backdrop, allegations on the regime side that the Muslim Brotherhood was too close to 'the West' proved obsolete.

The close political and economic ties with 'the West' were strengthened further under Hosni Mubarak, above all through relations with the US. Even so, Mubarak and his governments also exploited the negative view – now firmly embedded among the population – of 'the West' and especially the US. Again and again, the government blamed 'foreign powers' or 'third parties' for negative events in Egypt. Over the 30 years of the Mubarak era, this approach constituted a central tool for shifting responsibility for the regime's mistakes to other actors, discrediting opposition movements and justifying oppressive security measures.[23] Mubarak last used this tool on 1 January 2011, following an attack on a Coptic church in which 21 people died. In a television address, he said the attack showed clear indications of 'foreign hands'. [24] Precisely which foreign powers (either Israel, the US, 'the West' or Al-Qaida) were being alluded to was not usually revealed. The 'foreign hand' tool had the desired effect, in particular due to its constant repetition in the Egyptian media. Until the 2000s, the media was almost entirely in government hands. Appointed by the president, editors-in-chief vied with one another to court Mubarak's favour; he in turn strategically exploited the media so as to manipulate sentiment amongst the population in his favour. It was only in the mid-2000s that the first private print media and satellite channels were set up; together with Arab broadcasters such as Al-Jazeera, these new private stations broke

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[21] Woltering, *Occidentalism*, 75-76.

[22] Annette Ranko, *The Muslim Brotherhood and its Quest for Hegemony in Egypt. State-Discourse and Islamist Counter-Discourse* (Wiesbaden: VS Springer), 54.

[23] Bel Trew, 'The third man: Egyptian fears of the foreign plot,' Ahram Online, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContentPrint/1/0/35184/Egypt/0/The-third-man-Egyptian-fears-of-theforeign-plot.aspx.

[24] 'Mubarak blames 'foreign hand' for church attack,' Daily News Egypt, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2011/01/02/mubarak-blames-foreign-hand-for-church-attack/.

the monopoly of the government media. During the period from February 2011 to June 2013 in particular, these new media exploited the journalistic freedom of manoeuvre created as a result of Mubarak's fall from power.[25] Against this backdrop, it should be noted that under Mubarak the regime wanted to maintain its monopoly over foreign relations and at the same time prevent civil society organisations from building up their own relationships with organisations abroad. Under Mubarak, the Muslim Brotherhood was therefore required to exercise caution on foreign policy.

Dynamics of Anti-Western Criticism on the Part of the Muslim Brotherhood up to 2011

The Muslim Brotherhood was founded in Ismailia, Egypt in 1928 as an explicitly anti-colonial Islamic reform movement.[26] Founding father Hassan al-Banna also aimed to protect domestic culture (including religious traditions and belief systems) from foreign cultural influences, European missionaries, and what he perceived as a 'Western'-influenced 'libertinism' that he feared could weaken the resistance to colonialism.[27] In the 1940s, an armed 'secret apparatus' was set up for the battle against Zionists in Palestine and the British military presence in the Suez Canal region. After several attacks and attempted attacks on Egyptian politicians, who were viewed as collaborators with the colonial power, the secret apparatus – in particular since the succession of Hasan al-Hudhaybi as leader of the Muslim Brotherhood in 1951 – came in for growing criticism, including within the Muslim Brotherhood, following which the leadership of the Brotherhood increasingly returned to a non-violent discourse.[28]

After Egypt finally freed itself from the colonial sphere of influence of the UK following a favourable (for Egypt) outcome to the Suez Canal crisis in 1956, the anti-Western stance of the Muslim Brotherhood became even more strongly based on the perceived cultural penetration of Egyptian society by 'the West' and the immorality of 'the West'. [29] During this time, many members of the Brotherhood sought asylum in Europe and the Gulf countries in order to escape persecution by the Egyptian regime under

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[25] Hani Shukrallah, 'Coverage in black and white: Mainstream media and post-30 June Egypt,' *Ahram Online*, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/4/0/84578/Opinion/Coverage-inblack-and-white-Mainstream-media-and-p.aspx.

[26] The canal city of Ismailia was founded by Frenchman Ferdinand de Lessep in the course of the construction of the Suez Canal. At the time the Muslim Brotherhood was established Ismailia was the headquarters of the was the headquarters of the British-dominated Suez Canal Company, as a result of which the city became the symbol of colonial suppression. Ivesa Lübben, 'The Economic Ideology of Hasan al-Banna and the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood,' in *The Transformation of Politicised Religion: From Zealots into Leaders*, ed. Hartmut Elsenhans et al. (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015), 77.

[27] Lübben, 'The Economic Ideology,' 76-77.

[28] Annette Ranko and Najwa Sabra, 'Sisis Ägypten – Vollendung der Revolution oder zurück auf Null?,' *GIGA Focus Nahost*, 1 (2015), accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.gigahamburg.de/de/system/files/publications/gf_nahost_1501.pdf.

Abdel Nasser. Saudi Arabia in particular became a safe haven for Brotherhood members. This was based primarily on the shared opposition of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood and the Saudi royal family to Nasser's pan-Arabism, which the Saudis perceived as a threat to security. Several thousand Brotherhood members from Egypt as well as Iraq and Syria found sanctuary in Saudi Arabia in the 50s and 60s and played an important role in the Saudi state-building process.[30]

During this period the Islamist discourse was shaped primarily by Sayyid Qutb, who to this day is among the most widely known members of the Brotherhood in 'the West,' even though the leadership of the Brotherhood did not often share Qutb's radical positions.[31] Following a trip to the US and several European countries, Qutb denounced the immorality, sinfulness, and lustfulness of 'the West'.[32] Although in material terms he expected 'the West' to continue to occupy a leadership role in the long term, he believed it suffered from a lack of spirituality, values, and morals, and had to be replaced as the sole global leader.[33] The official discourse of the Muslim Brotherhood during this period, which included both its domestic stance and the way it presented this to the outside world, distinguished between two perspectives on 'the West.' First, the Brotherhood accepted the numerous achievements of 'Western' civilisation, such as individual freedoms, workers' rights and democratic institutions. Indeed in many cases societies in 'the West' were said to be more equitably structured than those in the Muslim world. However, this only applied from the domestic perspective of 'the West.' As soon as 'the West' was experienced from outside, 'Western' values and principles were no longer applied.[34] Here the stance taken by the Muslim Brotherhood was similar to that of the regime: '…when the president was socialist (Nasser), the Islamist opposition was actively anti-socialist and passively anti-Western, and when the president became a Western allied liberal (Sadat), the Islamists became actively anti-Western liberal and passively anti-socialist.' [35]

During Mubarak's rule, a normative discourse on 'the West' – aimed above all at the Muslim Brotherhood's own supporters – was primarily based on two pillars: first, 'the West' and the US in particular were painted as opponents whose aim was to weaken the Arab world and the Muslims by stirring up sectarian divides and through intellectual, cultural, social and military intervention. The wars in Afghanistan from

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[29] Woltering, *Occidentalism*, 70, 80-81.

[30] Stéphane Lacroix, 'Saudi Arabia's Muslim Brotherhood predicament,' POMEPS, 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://pomeps.org/2014/03/20/saudi-arabias-muslim-brotherhood-predicament/.

[31] Sabine Damir-Geilsdorf, *Herrschaft und Gesellschaft. Der islamistische Wegbereiter Sayyid Qutb und seine Rezeption*. Würzburg: ErgonVerlag. 2003.

[32] Woltering, Occidentalism, 71.

[33] Ibid.: 77-78.

[34] Ibid.: 69-70.

[35] Ibid.: 79.

2001 and Iraq from 2003 following the attacks on the World Trade Center on 11 September 2001, together with the atrocities in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo, were cited as evidence of the injustice of 'the West' towards the Islamic world.[36] Second, the Muslim Brotherhood condemned the Arab regimes' 'dependence' ('Taba'iya' in Arabic) on 'the West.' The dictators of the Arab countries were acting as the accomplices of 'the West' and implementing its agenda of secularisation.[37] However, a distinction needs to be drawn between this normative discourse and the pragmatic discourse increasingly conducted by Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood when presenting itself to the external world from the 1990s. Despite the aversion of the Muslim Brotherhood's rank and file to certain political practices and their accusation that 'the West' was not putting its own values into practice, elements of the political leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood sought to take a slightly softer stance against 'the West,' particularly the US. Indeed, following their major electoral success in 2005, the Brotherhood launched the 'Reintroducing the Brotherhood to the West' campaign.[38] For instance, Saad El-Katatny, who went on to become speaker of the Egyptian parliament between April 2011 and January 2012, was strongly committed to a dialogue between Islamists and 'the West'. Back in 2006 he had argued that there were some obstacles to dialogue, such as the proximity of 'the West' to the dictators and the associated gulf between a values-based approach and actual foreign policy, the ascendancy of conservative, right-wing forces in some 'Western' countries such as the US, as well as attempts by ruling dictators to prevent relationships between 'Western' countries and Islamist forces. Nevertheless, he argues that there was no alternative to constructive dialogue for either 'the West' or the Islamists. To this end, the Islamists likewise had to rethink their views on 'the West' and recognise that in 'the West,' too, there were different points of view not all of which were anti-Islamist.[39] Through its rapprochement with 'the West', the Muslim Brotherhood wanted to avoid the risk of being categorised as an extremist group by 'the West'.[40] It is due to this mindset that, in the period leading up to 2011, initial contacts were made between the Muslim Brotherhood and 'Western' governments and for the first time Brotherhood members were – if reluctantly – seen as potential interlocutors.[41]

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[36] Abdel-Hamid Al-Ansari, 'Khitab al-ikhwan al-gadid baina thawabit al-madhi w-al-mutaghaiyirat al-hadhir,' *ELAPH*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.elaph.com/Web/NewsPapers/2012/10/766537.html.

[37] Ibid.

[38] Shadi Hamid, 'The Rise of the Islamists. How Islamists Will Change Politics, and Vice Versa,' *Foreign Policy*, 3 (2011) 41.

[39] Saad El-Katatny, 'Dialogue Between Islamists And The West a Necessity,' *Ikhwanweb*, 2006, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=936. Lübben, 'The Economic Ideology,' 76-77.

[40] Stephen Brooke, 'U.S. Policy and the Muslim Brotherhood,' in *The West and the Muslim Brotherhood after the Arab Spring*, ed. Lorenzo Vidino (Dubai/Philadelphia: Al Mesbar Studies & Research Centre in collaboration with The Foreign Policy Research Institute, 2013), 6.

[41] Lorenzo Vidino, *The West and the Muslim Brotherhood after the Arab Spring*, (Dubai/Philadelphia: Al Mesbar Studies & Research Centre in collaboration with The Foreign Policy Research Institute: 2013).

In overall terms, relations with 'the West' posed a major dilemma for the Muslim Brotherhood during this period. As mentioned earlier, the regime did all in its power – including political processes, criminalisation and charges of high treason – to inhibit relations between 'Western' powers and the Muslim Brotherhood. Accordingly, this context forced the Muslim Brotherhood to take precautionary measures even though it had wanted to put its relationship with 'the West' on a new footing. The fact that the Muslim Brotherhood denied contacts with 'the West' should also be seen in this connection, especially as it officially had to respect the foreign policy monopoly of the regime at that time. Initial contact was confined to representatives of the Muslim Brotherhood in their dual role as parliamentarians and Brotherhood members, with the justification that they had a mandate to do so as representatives of the people.

'The West' During the Process of Upheaval in 2011-2013
Anti-Western rhetoric was again used as a political tool on a repeated basis during the transition phase between 2011 and 2013, above all by the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), which had taken power after the fall of Mubarak and continued the discursive structures of his regime. During the protests in January and February 2011 that led to the overthrow of Mubarak, clashes with 'Western' journalists were already taking place on a regular basis. This was largely due to two interviews with Mubarak and his secret service chief Omar Suleiman on 1 and 2 February, in which foreign forces were once again blamed for the unrest and the protests against the regime portrayed as a foreign invasion.[42]

After SCAF took over the reins of government in Egypt, the military officials likewise justified their crackdown on demonstrators and activities with the threat of a counter-revolution and an attempt by foreign forces to interfere in Egypt's internal affairs. Following attacks on two churches in Cairo and the death of 15 people in May 2011, SCAF declared that the country's political and economic problems were caused by 'internal and external enemies of the state',[43] which were seeking to divide the people from the military. Military officials continued to fuel fears of foreign intervention by reporting on the break-up of an Egyptian spy ring that was working for Israel and arrested the Israeli Ilan Grapel, who was accused of inciting sectarian violence on Mossad's orders. However, the latter was freed again after just four and a half months in exchange for 25 Egyptians detained in Israel after doubts about the charges emerged in Egypt.[44]

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[42] Trew, 'The third man.'
[43] Jeff Martini, Julie Taylor, 'Commanding Democracy in Egypt. The Military's Attempt to Manage the Future,' *Foreign Affairs,* 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/68218/jeff-martiniand-julie-taylor/commanding-democracy-in-egypt.
[44] Ibid. 'Egypt frees alleged Israeli spy Grapel in swap deal,' BBC, 2011, accessed December 8 2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-15473375.

The Muslim Brotherhood likewise stoked resentment against Israel. On its official website, the Muslim Brotherhood blamed domestic and foreign hands that were out to destroy the revolution for the fact that several demonstrators had been killed in front of the Maspero television building in October 2011. In the same article, the former head of the Israeli military intelligence service was quoted as saying: 'We have penetrated Egypt in many areas, including the political, security, economic, and military spheres. We have succeeded in promoting sectarian and social tension there so as to create a permanent atmosphere of turmoil, in order to deepen the discord between Egyptian society and the government and make it difficult for any regime following that of Hosni Mubarak to alleviate this discord'.[45] Through these actions, the Brotherhood made it abundantly clear which forces it believed were behind the so-called 'Maspero massacre'.

Also during the military council's rule, several US, European, and Egyptian NGOs were searched and shut down by the police during December 2011. Following this, the government papers *Al-Gomhuria* and *Al-Ahram*, two of the country's most widely read newspapers, carried headlines that trials had started in February 2012 stating that US money had been used to spread anarchy in Egypt.[46] In the arraignment, the public prosecutor's office alleged that most of the US NGO employees charged with espionage and other crimes had been in contact with the CIA. In addition, they were alleged to have forwarded the information they had gathered on Egypt directly to the US State Department.[47] The instigator of the campaign against foreign NGOs and organisations that received foreign financial assistance was the minister for international cooperation, Faiza Abou El-Naga, who held this office from 2001 and again until 2012 after the military council took power. Only with the Muslim Brotherhood-supported government under Prime Minister Hisham Qandil were Abou El-Naga's services no longer required and in August 2012 she was replaced by Ashraf Al-Araby. Under Mubarak she had already tried to prevent US grants for NGOs in Egypt.[48] At the time of the trial against the foreign NGOs, Abou El-Naga said that the US and Israel had used the funding of NGOs to spread chaos in Egypt, something they had failed to do directly.[49]

[45] 'An Appeal by the Muslim Brotherhood to all Egyptians,' *Ikhwanweb*, 2011, accessed December 08, 2016, http://ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29188&ref=search.php. [46] Tom Perry, 'Egypt state media accuses U.S. of spreading anarchy,' *Al-Arabiya News*, 2012, accessed
December 8, 2016, http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/02/14/194694.html.
[47] Leila Fadel, 'Egyptian trial against NGOs begins,' *Washington Post Online*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/egypt-begins-trial-against-foreign-and-domesticngos/2012/02/26/gIQAD2pZbR_story.html.
[48] Ernesto Londoño, 'Architect of Egypt's NGO crackdown is Mubarak holdover,' *Washington Post Online*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/architect-of-egypts-ngocrackdown-is-mubarak-holdover/2012/02/07/gIQAk9mgxQ_story.html.
[49] 'Egyptian minister's remarks stoke tensions with U.S.,' *Al-Arabiya News*, 2012a, accessed December 8 2016, http://english.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/02/15/194751.html.

The US State Department was of the view that through her actions and comments Abou El-Naga had encouraged a perception amongst the Egyptian population that the US was seeking to use financial means to stoke unrest in Egypt and in the process violate the country's sovereignty.[50] In November 2014, President al-Sisi appointed former minister Abou El-Naga as his advisor on national security matters.[51]

In addition, in February 2012 the government newspaper *Al-Ahram* reported that a map carving Egypt up into small states had been found in the office of a US NGO. The report said that in the 1980s, on the instructions of the US defence ministry, the Jewish British-American orientalist Bernard Lewis had developed a plan based on which the Islamic world from Pakistan to Morocco would be divided into smaller countries.[52] *Al-Ahram* quoted Egyptian general Seif Al-Yazal, as saying that Egypt was to be divided into four territories: a Jewish one from Sinai to the Nile, a Christian one from Alexandria to Asyut, a Nubian one in the south of Egypt and an Islamic territory around the capital city of Cairo under Israeli influence and part of a 'Greater Israel'. According to General Al-Yazal, the fact that such a map had been found at a US NGO showed that 'foreign hands' had been waiting for years to implement their plans. The unrest during the overthrow of the Mubarak regime now gave these forces (which were not described in any greater detail) the opportunity to implement their plans.[53]

Furthermore, in connection with the NGO charges the Muslim Brotherhood was repeatedly portrayed in the Egyptian media as a collaborator of 'the West'. Thus *Al-Ahram* carried an article in which it was reported that the US Clinton Foundation, which allegedly supported many 'hidden activities,' had employed Gehad El-Haddad, a spokesman for the Muslim Brotherhood.[54] *Al-Youm al-Sabi'a* likewise spotted Muslim Brotherhood involvement, saying the Brotherhood had received foreign money and

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[50] Londoño, 'Architect'.

[51] Amani Essam, '*al-hukūmāt, abū al-najā "al-mar'a al-hadīdiya" bāqiya raghma taghayyur,' Al-Wafd*, 2014, accessed December 8 2016, http://bit.ly/2lUCPuG

[52] Back in January 2011, under the heading 'Free opinion – studies', the official website of the Muslim Brotherhood carried an article in which the Lewis plan for dividing up the Islamic world was discussed. This too talked about a plan to divide Egypt up into four parts, largely corresponding to the comments made by General Seif Al-Yazal. Shehab Al-Din, '*makhattat "bernard lewis" litaftiyat al-ʿālam al-islāmī,' Ikhwan Online*, 2011, accessed December 8 2016, http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Article.aspx?ArtID=77565&SecID=344.; 'Egyptian Government Daily: U.S. Striving to Divide Egypt into Four Countries,' MEMRI, 2013, accessed 8 December, 2016, http://www.memri.org/report/en/0/0/0/0/0/0/6104.htm#_edn3.

[53] Muhammad Dunya '*al-i'lām al-ajnabī yurawwij li'ihyā' al-fikra al-mashbūha bi-taqsīm misr ilā 4 duwaylāt,' Al-Ahram*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, URL: http://digital.ahram.org.eg/articles.aspx?Serial=795515&eid=681.

[54] Muhammad Fathy, Muhammad Shaaban '*bil-asmā' wal-arqām mafia al-tamwīl al-ajnabī fi-misr,' Al-Ahram Digital,* 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://digital.ahram.org.eg/articles.aspx?Serial=1469651&eid=1187.

was a beneficiary of the US plans in Egypt. This, the paper said, was evident from the 2014 investigative report by the NGO Human Rights Watch, which concluded that the army and policy action to clear the killing of close to 1,000 supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood at the Rabia Al-Adawiya square in Cairo was tantamount to a crime against humanity.[55] The organisation had exclusively reported the views of the demonstrators and sought through its tendentious report to destroy Egypt's image around the world and justify international sanctions.[56] The accusation of excessive proximity to the US on the part of the Muslim Brotherhood was amplified among Egypt's population when John McCain[57] and three other US senators declared on 1 March 2012: 'We are encouraged by the constructive role played over the past week by the Muslim Brotherhood and its political party, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP). Their statement of February 20 was important in helping to resolve the recent crisis.'[58] The background to this statement was the release on bail of several US NGO employees after the US government had held lengthy discussions and negotiations with Egypt's military council and parliamentarians. Accusations were also made against the military council in this connection, saying it was bowing to pressure from Washington just as it did under Mubarak.[59]

The Muslim Brotherhood responded immediately with a statement from deputy leader Rashad al-Bayoumi: 'There is no truth to any reports that the Muslim Brotherhood had any role in this decision…We do not allow anyone inside Egypt or outside of Egypt to interfere in the judicial process.'[60] On 6 March it also published an official position on the matter, once again rejecting the allegations: 'Indeed, the MB would never allow itself to intervene in Egypt's judicial decisions. We believe in the full independence of the state's judiciary and respect its integrity…The MB, therefore, asserts that circulating rumours of its interference in this case are false. The MB did

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[55] 'All according to plan. The Rab'a Massacre and Mass Killings of Protesters in Egypt,' Human Rights Watch, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/egypt0814_ForUpload_0_0.pdf.

[56] Ibrahim Qasim, *'kharā'it taqsīm misr wa shahadat fāyza abūl-najā fi awrāq tahqīqāt qadīyat al-tamwīl alajnabī.. amrīkā ta'ammadat ta'jīj al-futun al-tā'ifīya fi-misr min khilāl al-tarkīz 'alā al-hawādith bayn almuslimīn wal-aqbāt wa izhārhim aqalīya mudtahida,'* Al-Youm Al-Sabi'a, 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://bit.ly/2n2EOwJ

[57] As chairman of the board of directors of the International Republican Institute (IRI), McCain was directly involved in the NGO cases given that the IRI office as well was affected by the closures and judicial proceedings.

[58] Richard Blumenthal, et al., 'Senators Issue Statement on Decision to Dismiss Travel Restrictions on American Employees of NGOs in Egypt,' *Richard Blumenthal – Senator for Connecticut*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.blumenthal.senate.gov/newsroom/press/release/senators-issue-statement-on-decision-todismiss-travel-restrictions-on-american-employees-of-ngos-in-egypt.

[59] 'Egyptians angry with military over U.S. NGO case', *AP*, 2012b, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.alarabiya.net/articles/2012/03/03/198276.html.

[60] Ibid.

not intervene or act as mediator to lift the travel ban imposed on foreign NGO workers involved in this case'.[61] This vehemence with which the Muslim Brotherhood rejected any support from the United States shows how much it feared being perceived by the media and the population as an instrument of 'the West'. With its statement it also sought to head off the accusation that the independence of Egyptian jurisdiction was being infringed by the protection of 'Western' organisations from judicial pursuit. It is precisely the aspect of the support from 'the West' at the expense of the home country that the Muslim Brotherhood saw as the regime's weak spot since Sadat's time and which led it to portray itself in internal discourse during this period as an independent force vis-à-vis foreign powers, in particular 'the West'. At the same time, it was important to the political leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood to make clear to 'Western' partner countries that the actions taken against the NGOs were not in the interests of the Muslim Brotherhood but were pursued by forces of the old regime.[62]

This also highlights the constraints that affected the Muslim Brotherhood as a result of its electoral victories, since it is precisely the independence from foreign powers shown in its domestic discourse that constituted a strong argument for the Egyptian population to support the Muslim Brotherhood. Without the support of 'the West', however, it could not have stayed in power, given that the US and Europe are not only the country's most important trading partners but also support Egypt directly with substantial financial aid.[63]

Against this backdrop, the Muslim Brotherhood pursued a dual strategy between 2011 and 2013 where on the one hand it sought to continue portraying itself as an independent force to the Egyptian public and to downplay its cooperation with the US. On the other, it sought to ensure it had the support of 'the West' in foreign policy

[61] 'MB Statement on the Case of Foreign Funding of Non-Governmental Organizations,' *Ikhwanweb*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=29749&ref=search.php.
[62] Statements made by Amr Darrag (FJP party member, Head of International Relations and former minister for international development cooperation) and Hazem Faruq (FJP party member and former secretary in the Committee for Foreign Affairs in the Egyptian Parliament) during the Dialogue Forum I entitled 'Dialogforum mit moderaten islamistischen Akteuren aus den Transformationsgesellschaften des Nahen Ostens und Nordafrikas,' German Foreign Ministry, Berlin, March 12, 2013.
[63] The US alone sends 1.5 billion dollars to Egypt every year. 1.3 billion of this goes directly to the military. The EU supported North Africa to the tune of several hundred million euros before 2011, but since the upheavals has ramped up the amount of aid it provides. Thus in 2012 the EU put together a 5 billion euro aid package for Egypt. 'USA wollen Militärhilfe für Ägypten kürzen,' *Zeit Online*, 2013, accessed on December 8, 2016, http://www.zeit.de/politik/ausland/2013-10/us-militaerhilfe-kuerzung-aegypten. ; ''Demokratie-Aufbau': EU schickt Islamisten in Ägypten 5 Milliarden Euro,' *Deutsche Wirtschafts Nachrichten*, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://deutsche-wirtschafts-nachrichten.de/2013/01/16/demokratie-aufbau-eu-schickt-islamisten-inaegypten-5-milliarden-euro/. See also: Jannis Grimm, Stephan Roll, 'Ägyptens Außenpolitik unter Muhammad Mursi,' *SWP aktuell*, 58 (2013), accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.swpberlin.org/fileadmin/contents/products/aktuell/2012A58_gmm_rll.pdf, 3-4.

terms. For although it had already built up contacts with 'the West' over several years, the worry was that the persistently cautious stance taken by most 'Western' governments towards Islamist movements would lead them to be critical of an Islamist-dominated government.[64] The political cadres of the Muslim Brotherhood therefore made efforts to strengthen the basis of trust with 'the West' through numerous visits to the US and Europe.[65] Another positive impact on perception of the Muslim Brotherhood from the viewpoint of 'the West' was that with the likes of the Salafist al-Nour party and conservative Islamist Hazem Abu Ismail, significantly more radical alternatives to the FJP and Mohamed Morsi were standing in the parliamentary and presidential elections. Furthermore, the close cooperation between leading members of the Muslim Brotherhood, led by its initial presidential candidate Khairat al-Shater, with the US State Department and embassy in Cairo helped ensure they saw the Muslim Brotherhood's moderate stance.[66]

As an expression of its self-image of political independence, the Egyptian leadership around Mohamed Morsi focused on diversifying diplomatic relationships, even in the face of resistance from the US and Europe. After Hosni Mubarak had maintained good relations with 'the West' in particular and had complied with 'Western' demands regarding the direction of Egyptian foreign policy, Morsi placed a stronger emphasis on regional powers in Asia and Africa without regard for 'Western' sensitivities. Thus the first countries he visited after coming to office were Ethiopia, Saudi Arabia, China, and Iran.[67] In doing so, however, he did not wish to cause a break in relations with the 'Western' allies of the old regime, which would remain important partners particularly in view of the country's precarious financial situation. Thus the dichotomy between dependence on 'Western' (financial, economic and political) support, on the one hand, and the desire for independence from the political demands of 'the West', which was also heavily pronounced among the Egyptian population, became substantial in terms of Egyptian foreign policy under Morsi too.

Consequently, the Muslim Brotherhood frequently found itself in a situation where it had to justify itself in 'the West' following anti-Western or anti-Israeli comments whilst at the same time being criticised at home for its excessive proximity to 'the West'. Thus immediately after the election of Mohamed Morsi to the presidency on

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[64] This fear was stoked in particular by the experiences of Algeria in the 90s and Palestine in 2006, where the electoral victories of tolerated Islamic parties, partly with the support of 'Western' countries, were not recognised and ended in military conflicts.

[65] Mustafa Khouli, 'Amrika wa 'al-ikhwan' dakhalan marhala bina' al-thaqqa,' *El-Khabbar Online*, 2012, accessed December 8 2016, http://www.elkhabar.com/ar/monde/276879.html.

[66] David D. Kirkpatrick, 'In Egyptian Hard-Liner's Surge, New Worries for the Muslim Brotherhood,' *The New York Times Online*, April 1, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/04/02/world/middleeast/attacking-the-west-islamist-gains-in-egypt-presidentialbid.html?pagewanted=all.

[67] Grimm and Roll, 'Ägyptens Außenpolitik,' 2.

24 June 2012, several Egyptian media outlets began a campaign against the US and the Muslim Brotherhood. For instance, *El-Watan* reported that, immediately before Morsi's swearing-in as president, discussions between the military council and members of the Brotherhood took place under the aegis of the US and were mediated by Mohamed ElBaradei.[68] In other media, it was said that the US had manipulated the election outcome in favour of the Muslim Brotherhood.[69] In particular, then-US ambassador to Egypt Anne Patterson was treated with hostility by various Egyptian media; others, meanwhile, even asserted that Barack Obama was secretly a member of the Muslim Brotherhood. Morsi's instatement by the US was accordingly said to be an attempt to divide the Arab world.[70] The contacts nurtured between the US and the Muslim Brotherhood since 2011, including in public, were viewed by large sections of the Egyptian media landscape as an alliance between two forces that together wanted to act against the Egyptian state. On the other hand, reports in the 'Western' media about anti-Western and anti-Semitic comments made by Mohamed Morsi in 2010 caused a stir. They related to a video recording in which Egypt's future president described Jews as the descendants of pigs and apes.[71]

During his time in office, Mohamed Morsi did not make any direct allegations against 'the West.' He did allege that a 'fifth column'[72] was behind the violence that broke out during demonstrations at the time of the conflict surrounding the drafting of a new constitution in December 2012.[73] However, he was primarily taking aim at judges and businesspeople from the Mubarak era who, he said, had conspired against the government and thus endangered the political transition process. In addition, he spoke

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[68] Hani Al-Waziri, et al., '*al-watan takhsaf tafāsīl al-tafāhumāt al-akhīra bayn al-ikhwān wal-ʿaskarī li-ʿilān fawz mursī,*' *El-Watan News*, June 26, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/20668.

[69] Mohamed Elmenshawy, 'Blame Media: Washington's Inevitable Predicament in Egypt,' *Al-Monitor*, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/egypt-washington-conflictmedia.html#.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Criticism of the Israeli state and the 'Zionists' is a central theme of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, serving in particular as a means of mobilising its own rank and file. This did not harm the foreign policy of the FJP and Mohamed Morsi, however, as unconditional acceptance of the Camp David Agreement and the brokerage of a ceasefire between Israel and Hamas in 2012 make clear.

[72] 'Fifth column' describes political groups that collaborate with the adversaries of their own country with the aim of overthrowing the existing order. The term often implies that foreign powers are behind certain actions by domestic groups. David D. Kirkpatrick, 'Morsi's Slurs Against Jews Stir Concern,' *The New York Times Online,* 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/01/15/world/middleeast/egypts-leader-morsimade-anti-jewish-slurs.html?_r=0.

[73] David D. Kirkpatrick, 'Morsi Defends Wide Authority as Turmoil Rises in Egypt,' *The New York Times Online,* December 7, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/12/07/world/middleeast/egypt-islamists-secular-opponentsclashes.html?pagewanted=all&_r=2&.

in only very general terms about the internal and external risks against which he wanted to protect. [74]

In December 2012 the dispute about the drafting of a new constitution culminated in multiple deaths as a result of clashes between supporters and opponents of the Muslim Brotherhood. In response the Muslim Brotherhood said: 'The plot foiled yesterday was made by those who fought against the revolution and conspired and continue to conspire against it, with money plundered from the Egyptian people and money they receive from foreign powers'.[75] A day earlier the Muslim Brotherhood had accused various political forces of sabotaging the work of the Constituent Assembly, although no concrete criticism of individual articles was put forward. Furthermore, they were said to be inciting 'foreign powers' [76] against their own country by seeking to force members of the Assembly to draft a constitution 'in line with a secular West vision'.[77] These kinds of insinuations with anti-Western content remained the exception between 2011 and 2013, but were occasionally used by the Muslim Brotherhood as well in order to compromise political opponents.

Seen in overall terms, the period between 2011 and 2013 shows that the Muslim Brotherhood wanted to continue pushing ahead with a normalisation of its relations with 'the West' – not least due to its widespread reluctance to engage in official anti-Western discourse. Offers of talks with 'Western' countries such as Germany, which significantly stepped up contact with moderate Islamists from 2011 onwards, were welcomed by the Muslim Brotherhood. A new start following the support for dictators, on the one hand, and anti-Western rhetoric, on the other, therefore seemed possible and desirable to the Egyptian and 'Western' officials responsible.[78]

The 2013 Military Coup: Frustration with 'the West' Among the Muslim Brotherhood
The Brotherhood's view of 'the West' changed dramatically with the overthrow of President Morsi by the Egyptian Army under Abdel Fattah al-Sisi. In July 2013 the Muslim Brotherhood described the military's seizure of power as part of a 'plot' that had been planned well in advance with the support of 'the West' and the Gulf States.[79]

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[74] Jeffrey Fleishman, 'Morsi refuses to cancel Egypt's vote on constitution,' *LA Times*, December 6, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://articles.latimes.com/2012/dec/06/world/la-fg-egypt-morsi-20121207.

[75] 'Muslim Brotherhood Statement on Wednesday's Clashes Outside Presidential Palace,' *Ikhwanweb*, December 6, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30461&ref=search.php.

[76] 'Muslim Brotherhood Statement: People Protect Legitimacy and Vote for New Constitution,' *Ikhwanweb*, December 5, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=30455&ref=search.php.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ranko and Sabra, 'Sisis Ägypten.'

[79] 'Muslim Brotherhood Statement Regarding General al-Sisi Speech Wednesday,' *Ikhwanweb*, July 24, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31178&ref=search.php.

The alleged insouciance shown by most 'Western' countries vis-à-vis the overthrow of an elected president by the military prompted the Muslim Brotherhood to denounce the hypocrisy of 'the West' in a detailed statement in October 2013. According to the Muslim Brotherhood, 'the West' repeatedly emphasised that it believed in superior values and principles such as democracy, people's right to self-determination and human rights. These were only implemented at home, however, while in the countries of the Third World (under which Egypt too is subsumed) 'the West' had no inhibitions about toppling elected governments such as those of Chile or occupying countries such as Iraq if they did not serve its interests.[80] After the upheavals in the Arab World, 'the West' had admitted mistakes but nevertheless sought to bring down Egypt's Islamist government. In its words, 'Islam, freedom, independence and extended international relations are certainly hated by the West and America'.[81] Thus 'Western' diplomats had called for Morsi to resign after he showed his unwillingness to back down in the face of the protests against his presidency. In the end 'the West' turned to the Egyptian military to force a change of power.[82] As evidence of the joint conspiracy of 'the West' with supporters of the old regime and representatives of the deep state, the Muslim Brotherhood statement in turn quotes former minister for international cooperation Faiza Abou El-Naga as blaming the US for having spent double-digit dollar sums to reverse the revolution and depose the elected government.[83]

The absence of a 'Western' response beyond mere lip service to the removal of the president by the military and again following the massacre of demonstrators at Rabia Square led to major frustration within the Muslim Brotherhood rank and file. Their newly built trust in 'Western' decision-makers was dashed when the latter refrained from describing the al-Sisi-led military's seizure of power as a 'coup.' After the EU's High Representative for Foreign Affairs Catherine Ashton in July 2013 suggested an agreement with the military whereby the Muslim Brotherhood would desist from further demonstrations and sit-ins in return for a 'safe exit'[84] for Morsi and other members of the Brotherhood, the talks were seen as the high point in the perceived unreliability of 'the West' as a partner based on the example of the EU. Ali Khafaji, the speaker of the Muslim Brotherhood's Youth Wing, stressed that 'the West' had discredited itself with its policy, above all in the eyes of the young revolutionaries of 2011. After supporting dictators for many years, 'the West' had initially welcomed the revolutions in the Arab world before acquiescing to the coup in Egypt without clear political sanctions. Because

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[80] 'Egypt Muslim Brotherhood Slams Hypocrisy of Western Governments,' *Ikhwanweb,* October 21, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=31366.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] 'Al-Gamaa Al-Islamiya says Morsi to reject Ashton 'safe exit' offer,' *Al-Ahram Online* , July 13, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/77849.aspx.

of this, the 'Western' countries had once again shown that their foreign policy was not values-based.[85]

The 'Revolution of 30 June': Al-Sisi calls in the Support of 'the West'

From the outset, the new holders of power surrounding the former General and current President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi used the media as a tool for manipulating the opinions of the population and disseminating its view on 'the West,' the ousting of Mohamed Morsi, and the pronouncement that the Muslim Brotherhood was a terrorist organisation. Part of this strategy was to resort to established anti-Western resentment in order to blame the Muslim Brotherhood for the conspiracy with 'the West' – above all the US – against Egypt.

Various levels were intermeshed in order to spread the regime's narrative against 'the West' and the Muslim Brotherhood throughout the population: the bulk of private and state media created the basis for spreading the conspiracy theories, stirring up hatred against 'the West' and stoking fears of the supposedly terrorist Muslim Brotherhood. Furthermore, the repeated defamation of 'the West' in the media served to undermine the legitimacy of 'Western' criticism of mass death sentences and massacres in Egypt, since this criticism was supposedly part of a 'Western' plot. On the other hand, the administration around Abdel Fattah al-Sisi made direct insinuations of foreign plots and external powers, though without naming them so as not to open itself to attack among international public opinion. In addition, a middle level consisting of political advisers, various (smaller) parties and government employees acted as a link between the media and political leadership by connecting the statements of both sides directly with one another. Through this system of a division of labour between the media, political functionaries, and the administration, it was possible for any Egyptian to localise corresponding insinuations on the part of the administration and identify the nations allegedly behind the plots.

The Egyptian Media

Three themes dominated both independent as well as government media immediately after the ousting of Morsi on 3 July 2013: poor governance on the part of Morsi and the Muslim Brotherhood, the pro-Muslim Brotherhood stance of the US government under Obama and the US media, as well as the relationship between the Muslim Brotherhood and the US.[86] On 22 July, for example, citing government security circles, the front page of the state-controlled *Al-Ahram* newspaper reported on an American plot aimed at enabling Mohamed Morsi to govern Egypt from the Rabia al-Adawiya Mosque. In

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[85] Interview with Ali Khafaji in Doha, 18.01.2015. He is the Youth Leader of the Freedom and Justice Party in Gizeh (Egypt).
[86] Elmenshawy, 'Blame Media.'

August the publisher of *Al-Ahram* wrote a follow-up article in which US Ambassador Patterson, together with the Muslim Brotherhood, was said to be involved in a plot to divide and destabilise Egypt.[87] This form of reporting continued thereafter. Citing the 'highest circles,' *El-Watan* newspaper, for example, which has close links with the regime, reported that representatives of the US and Turkish secret services had met to discuss how Egypt could be besieged in political and economic terms. Both countries wanted to support the Muslim Brotherhood and other terrorist groupings that were fighting against the Egyptian army and police in Sinai in order to pile further pressure on the Egyptian leadership.[88] In mid-February, the columnist Mostafa Bakry, in his broadcast 'Voice of the People,' accused the US administration of paying 50 million dollars to human rights organisations in 2009 and 2010 in order to get them to criticise the political system, and that following the revolution the US paid Egyptians a further 1.2 billion dollars to get them to demonstrate against the armed forces. General al-Sisi, it was said, would not be forgiven by the US for having thwarted its plans to divide the Middle East.[89] In another edition of his programme, Bakry even described the murder of 21 Copts in Libya as a US/Israeli/Muslim Brotherhood-inspired plot to attack Egypt's stability.[90] One of the best known exponents of an anti-Western viewpoint is Tawfik Okasha, owner and anchorman of television broadcaster 'Al Fara'een,' who had close links with Mubarak; Okasha was previously a member of the Egyptian parliament, representing Mubarak's NDP, and in 2015 won a seat as independent candidate again. Okasha regularly attracts attention with his anti-Western pronouncements. In June 2012, for instance, at the time of Mohamed Morsi's election as president, he conjectured that the US had forced the governing military council to falsify the election outcome in favour of the Muslim Brotherhood candidate.[91] In November 2014, he blamed 'the West' for wanting to divide Egypt into six religious communities and thus overthrow the Egyptian state.[92]

Through constant repetition and new linkages between various conspiracy theories involving Israel, the US and/or 'the West' as well as the Muslim Brotherhood,

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[87] Ibid.

[88] Muhammed Tareq et al., *'mu'āmarat amrīkīya-turkīya li-khanq al-sīsī,' El-Watan News*, January 11, 2015, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/637474.

[89] Abd El Razeq Hoda, *'bukrā: amrīkā lan tansa li-sīsī innahu afhsal mukhattitha,' El-Fagr*, February 15, 2015, accessed December 8, 2016, https://www.elfagr.org/1653716.

[90] Abd El-Razeq Hoda, '*al-qāda wal-arkān: ma hadatha fi lībīyā mu'āmarat amrīkīya isrā'īlīya,' El-Fagr*, February 16, 2015, accessed on December 8, 2016, http://www.elfagr.org/1654699.

[91] Robert Mackey, 'Military Rulers Fixed Presidential Vote to Install Islamist, 'Egypt's Glenn Beck' Says,' *The Lede - The New York Times News Blog*, 2012, accessed December 8, 2016, http://thelede.blogs.nytimes.com/2012/06/28/military-rulers-fixed-presidential-vote-to-install-islamist-egyptsglenn-beck-says/?_r=1.

[92] Tawfiq Okasha, *'bil-fīdiyu. 'okasha: al-gharb qassama masr li-6 tawā'if li-tashīl mukhatit isqāt al-dawla,' Al Bawabh News,* 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.albawabhnews.com/883985.

this narrative took root among large sections of the population.[93] The criticism of the Egyptian journalists was also aimed at 'Western' media, as they had used the terms 'military coup' and 'massacre' to report events in Egypt.[94] The well-known Egyptian journalist Ibrahim Eissa from *Al-Tahrir* newspaper consequently branded the Western media as liars who wanted to pursue a hidden agenda.[95]

Political and social polarisation became evident in the Egyptian media landscape as well, with access to the media gradually withdrawn from the Muslim Brotherhood through repressive government measures. This was compounded by the fact that the few critical voices who had exploited the new journalistic freedoms since 2011 (such as journalist Reem Maged and satirist Bassem Youssef) disappeared from the media following the military coup in 2013.[96] As a result, Egypt's media landscape became the mouthpiece of the new regime to an even greater extent than the media under Mubarak.

Government Employees and Politicians
Voices from parties with close links to the regime as well as from the state apparatus were usually more moderate in tone, but nonetheless vocally anti-'Western'. For example, Mostafa Hegazy, political adviser to interim president Mansour, voiced his criticism in a CNN interview: 'We did not see enough media coverage of the burning of our churches and the killing and mutilation of our men in their uniforms.' In addition, the government information service (SIS) published an article on the correct way for the 'Western' media to report events in Egypt, since from the perspective of the Egyptian authorities a number of past media reports had not been objective or neutral.

Amina Al-Naqqash, deputy chairman of the Al-Tagammu party founded under Anwar Sadat, said reporting in 'the West' constituted a media campaign that was negatively impacting Egypt's relations with the EU and the US. 'Western' media was adopting a Muslim Brotherhood viewpoint and not taking into account the fact that the toppling of Morsi was a 'popular uprising' rather than a military coup. In an article for *Asharq Al-Awsat* she wrote: 'What lies behind this attitude of the West in general and America in particular is anger, because the collapse of the Muslim Brotherhood will lead to the failure of the Greater Middle East Project sponsored by Washington. It also threatens peace between Egypt and Israel, which forms the backbone of the Western system of alliances in the region.' [97]

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[93] Rod Nordland, 'As Egyptians Ignore Curfew, Talk of a U.S.-Brotherhood Conspiracy,' *New York Times Online,* 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2013/08/26/world/middleeast/as-egyptiansignore-curfew-talk-of-a-us-brotherhood-conspiracy.html?_r=0.
[94] Elmenshawy, 'Blame Media.'
[95] Ibid.
[96] Hani Shukrallah, 'Coverage in black and white.'
[97] Amina Al-Naqqash, 'Debate: Sisi will prioritize foreign policy,' *Asharq Al-Awsat,* 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.aawsat.net/2014/06/article55333016/debate-sisi-will-prioritize-foreign-policy.

Former UN Secretary-General Boutros Ghali argued along similar lines. In a television interview, Ghali accused the Muslim Brotherhood of having ruined all state institutions during its rule, of selling parts of Sinai, and of wanting a return to the Caliphate. He also claimed that US support for the Muslim Brotherhood stemmed from 'the West's' fear of terrorists since 11 September.[98] In addition, Ghali called for the Muslim Brotherhood to be wiped out once and for all due to its past crimes to ensure stability in Egypt. He also called for the improvement of communications with Europe and the US so that the world would understand that the Muslim Brotherhood was a terrorist organisation.[99] Both Al-Naqqash and Ghali take up established themes of the conspiracy theories disseminated in the media and link them with current international developments.

The New Regime

The political leadership of the new regime is generally cautious when expressing its criticism, such as when Egyptian foreign minister Nabil Fahmy accused the 'Western' media of biased reporting. At a press conference on 18 August 2013, he showed videos of violent acts committed by supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood to the foreign journalists present, adding: 'You are not political activists...you are media professionals whose job is to cover the event, and you have to investigate its accuracy'.[100] On a comparatively restrained note, the then-General al-Sisi said the US had left Egypt on its own during the crisis and that Egyptians would never forget this.[101]

After another attack was committed on an army checkpoint in October 2014, killing 31, President al-Sisi accused foreign powers of being behind the crime without specifying which powers they might be.[102] Given that the Egyptian public is fed a daily diet of new information about conspiracy theories and alleged connections between the US, Israel, and the Muslim Brotherhood by the media and numerous prominent personalities, it makes sense to put such comments by the president in the appropriate context. In addition, the publishers of several Egyptian daily newspapers, including the state-controlled *Al-Ahram* and the private *Al-Masry Al-Youm* and *Al-Shouruk* took the attack as a reason to toe the regime line even more closely. At a meeting they declared:

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[98] Ahmad Antar, '*butrus ghālī: al-ikhwān kharrabū al-balad khilāl fitrat hukmihim.. wa amrīkā daʿamathum khawfan min irhābihim,*' *El-Watan News*, 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.elwatannews.com/news/details/483391.

[99] Muhammad Al-Sabakhy, '*bil-fīdiyu.. butrus ghālī: yajib al-qadāʾ ʿalā tanzhīm al-ikhwān nihāʾiyan,*' *Akhbarak*, 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://bit.ly/2mleZ6E.

[100] Elmenshawy, 'Blame Media.'

[101] Ibid.

[102] Maggie Michael, Maamoun Youssef, 'Egypt leader: 'Foreign hands' behind Sinai attack,' Yahoo News, 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://news.yahoo.com/egypt-leader-foreign-hands-behind-sinai-attack-110903378.html.

'We assert our commitment to freedom of speech … but we reiterate our rejection of attempts to doubt state institutions or insult the army or police or judiciary in a way that would reflect negatively on these institutions' performance.'[103] Prior to this, al-Sisi had emphasised on multiple occasions that the media should play a prominent role to prevent the state's policy from being undermined.[104]

An increasingly key theme of the internal Egyptian public discourse was the term '4th generation (4G) warfare.' In the weeks and months following Morsi's removal from office, and on an increasing basis since 2014, the regime around Abdel Fattah al-Sisi used the term to describe a new form of warfare where the emphasis was on political, social, economic, tactical and technological dimensions rather than military ones.[105] The approaches taken by the opponents of the Egyptian regime particularly in connection with the regime's war against terrorism – which is aimed at the entire Islamist spectrum from Islamic State in Sinai to moderate opposition groups – are described as 4G warfare. Al-Sisi does not explicitly mention the enemy in this war, however, with the result that opposition groups, 'the West' or Islamists can be portrayed as enemies of the state, depending on the regime's interests. For example, al-Sisi blamed 4G warfare by his opponents for the emergence in February 2015 of audio recordings in which he talks disrespectfully of his financiers from the Gulf. With the help of technology and science, they supposedly created fake recordings to be used against the president and thus destabilise the Egyptian state.[106] In his comments on 4G warfare, al-Sisi often refers to 'activists and protesters…applying foreign agendas and trying to create instability.'[107] He did so again in the run-up to the adoption of a new anti-terror law prohibiting, among other things, the questioning of official government figures on deaths and injuries in terror attacks. Journalists and activists who breach these provisions face up to two years' imprisonment. Once again, the regime is using the need to limit the instruments of 4G warfare as justification for these far-reaching curbs on media freedom.[108]

The rhetorical division of labour between the regime, public figures and the media is also apparent in relation to 4G warfare. While the upper echelons of the regime

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[103] 'Egypt chief editors pledge support for state institutions,' Al-Ahram Online, 2014, accessed December 8, 2016, http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/114013.aspx.

[104] Ibid.

[105] Ziad A. Akl, 'Egypt's 4th-generation warfare,' *Mada Masr*, 2013, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.madamasr.com/opinion/egypt%E2%80%99s-4th-generation-warfare.

[106] Dalia Rabie, 'Technology, mind games and 'fourth-generation warfare',' *Mada Masr,* 2015, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.madamasr.com/sections/politics/technology-mind-games-and-fourth-generationwarfare.

[107] Ibid.

[108] Kareem Fahim, 'Egypt Warns Journalists Over Coverage of Militant Attacks,' *New York Times Online*, 2015, accessed December 8, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/07/06/world/middleeast/egypt-warns-journalistsover-coverage-of-militant-attacks.html?_r=2.

generally talk in very vague terms about the danger that foreign influence in combination with domestic groupings poses to the country's stability and security, these fears are expressed and underscored by media reports and interviews with public figures. For example, the Egyptian author Amr Ammar appeared on various Egyptian chat shows where he talked about the US having waged 4G warfare. He claimed the Arab revolts were part of a Zionist-US conspiracy to generate chaos and uncertainty in the Middle East and thus implement its plan to reshape the region. The Muslim Brotherhood was said to be involved in these plans, which were ultimately thwarted by the ousting of Morsi.[109]

The al-Sisi regime's strategy of limiting its anti-Western and anti-US rhetoric to insinuations that are put into context by media and middle rank politicians enables it to seek a normalisation of the relationship with 'Western' countries in terms of foreign policy. This is particularly important as the Egyptian regime under al-Sisi continues to depend on US military assistance and will not, therefore, put the partnership with the US at risk in foreign policy terms.

Conclusion

The discourse concept underlying this analysis helps illustrate the political discourse structures of 'the West' in Egypt, using the Egyptian regimes since Nasser and the Muslim Brotherhood as examples. It represents a metaphorical tool box which helps uncover a classification of discourse structures for the selected investigation period. Thus it was demonstrated that over a long period of time 'the West' has been made a subject of discussion in supratextual statements by both groups of actors analysed. From the perspective of discourse vis-à-vis 'the West,' a historical continuity has emerged.

In the political discourse structures of both the regime and the Muslim Brotherhood, 'the West' is a heterogeneous discursive category and, depending on the context, is determined by prevailing discursive formations that are in turn shaped by geographical, cultural, and politico-economic contexts. A rhetorical distinction between discursive categories such as 'Europe,' 'the West,' and 'foreign power' is therefore important. Furthermore, the construction of an enemy refers in general either to 'the West' in abstract terms or to the US and other 'Western' countries due to specific policies such as the invasion of Iraq and torture in Abu Ghraib and Guantanamo.

Another common characteristic of the reference groups should be noted: the perception of 'the West' in Egypt was shaped by those countries that pursued a pro-active policy in the region during the relevant historical phase. Three focal points of discourse are evident against this backdrop. The first evident discourse is the focus on the colonial threat from 'the West,' with particular regard to the United Kingdom. Second, the

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[109] Dalia Rabie, 'Technology.'

increased politico-economic opening up of Sadat's Egypt to the US and Israel is linked to the perception of 'the West.' Third, the US and Israel until today occupy a prominent position within the political discourse structures around 'the West.' Despite differing constructions of 'the West' in the discourse of the regimes and the Muslim Brotherhood, both groups of actors adopt each others' discourses and integrate them into their own discursive structures.

In addition, it is clear that the different discursive structures around the perception of 'the West' also enable statements to be made about power relationships in the historical contexts presented here. In this study, the relationship combining power and discourse on 'the West' produces an inner logic for power tactics in the case of both groups of actors. These power tactics manifest themselves throughout history. The discourse vis-à-vis 'the West' should be seen as an effect and instrument of power, since it sometimes acts as a self-initiated starting point and, through external attributions, as a perceived resistance point. This dual structure can be identified in the case of the regimes as well as the Muslim Brotherhood. It was shown that foreign forces are constructed as enemies in diffuse threat scenarios in which the perception of 'the West' occupies a prominent position. Discursive categories such as 'foreign hands' on the part of the regime and the 'fifth column' on the part of the Muslim Brotherhood can be cited as examples in this connection. Accordingly, the evaluation of foreign influence from 'the West' is identified as the main seedbed for an anti-Western rhetoric for both groups of actors analysed. Anti-Western resentments are used as instruments of power to defame the other side, with the regime attributing the discursive category of 'agent of the West' to the Muslim Brotherhood since Mubarak's rule, while up to 2011 the Muslim Brotherhood was accusing the regimes of dependence on 'the West.'

In terms of 'the West' in political discourse structures of the regimes, the situation can be summarised as follows: since Mubarak's rule, political discourse structures vis-à-vis 'the West' have been increasingly instrumentalised in order to defame and marginalise opponents such as the Muslim Brotherhood. In addition, the political discourse structures around 'the West' have acquired a new quality under al-Sisi's rule. Allegations of an alliance between the Muslim Brotherhood and 'Western' powers with the aim of destabilising the Egyptian state are spread repeatedly. Despite that, al-Sisi seeks to position himself to the outside world as an ally of 'the West' and win the support of 'the West' in his war on terror – and against the Muslim Brotherhood. This requires a shift in priorities in favour of security policy. Accordingly, the internal Egyptian discourse on 'the West' is widely instrumentalised by the al-Sisi regime via the media, government employees and politicians. In the assessment of political discourse strategies on 'the West' on the part of the al-Sisi regime, there is evidence of a division of labour between foreign policymakers and state-controlled media that reveals a dual discourse structure. Foreign policy actors from the al-Sisi regime seek to generate 'Western' support in the form of financial aid, investment and arms. Thus conspiracies allegedly planned in conjunction with 'the West' are introduced in a subtle manner rather than made transparent through concrete statements. Against this backdrop, the domestic policy discourse of these actors is confined to insinuations that are well understood by Egyptian society, which is fed day and night with concrete 'Western"

conspiracy scenarios by the state-controlled Egyptian media and public figures. A shift in relation to the accused co-conspirators is becoming clear, however: whereas it was initially the Muslim Brotherhood that was to be compromised as a collaborator of 'the West', left-wing, liberal and secular demonstrators and opposition groups in particular – for example in the course of the 4G discourse – are now linked to supposed 'Western' plots.

In terms of the Muslim Brotherhood, the fundamental perception of 'the West' is sub-divided into two areas: first into conceding the internal achievements of 'the West' and second into criticism of the lack of spirituality and morals of 'the West.' This rejection is accompanied by a rejection of the 'Western' lifestyle and a sole claim to global leadership together with a supposed focus on values in its foreign policy. The exclusive ties of 'the West' with the political interests of dictators are a component of this criticism of 'Western' foreign policy. Furthermore, the stance taken by the Muslim Brotherhood vis-à-vis 'the West' is shaped by fundamental mistrust of political and cultural interventions in national affairs and has therefore always embodied an anti-Western element in its political direction. The anti-Western discourse on 'the West' that exists in many contexts within Egypt's society is becoming the starting point for the direction of the Muslim Brotherhood's own foreign policy options vis-à-vis 'the West.' The Muslim Brotherhood's ambivalent relationship with 'the West' is blamed on the historical development of relationships and entails power tactics that can be seen in a dual discourse through the differentiation between internal discursive structures with a normative character and external discursive structures with a pragmatic focus. On the one hand, the Muslim Brotherhood has a normative interest in its anti-Western stance that is justified above all by its perceived mistrust of 'Western' foreign policy. This foreign policy is mainly linked to a non-credible values orientation, a historical handicap due to imperialism and colonialism, as well as exclusive ties between 'the West' and the political interests of dictators. On the other, the Muslim Brotherhood has a pragmatic interest in cooperating with 'the West' on equal terms. This is coupled with the politico-economic significance of 'the West' to Egypt, firstly because Egypt has real dependencies on 'the West' and secondly because the Muslim Brotherhood does not want to see its political activity jeopardised due to its inclusion in 'Western" terrorist lists. It is remarkable that no defamatory accusations against 'the West' can be found in the official political discourse structures of the Muslim Brotherhood during Morsi's period in office. Notwithstanding, the Morsi presidency is based on the established discursive structures of the Muslim Brotherhood. Between 2011 and 2013, therefore, the Muslim Brotherhood pursued a dual strategy under which it sought on the one hand to internally deconstruct the discourse attributed to it on foreign control by the US and at the same time suggest independence. In external discourse, on the other hand, the Muslim Brotherhood sought foreign policy support from 'the West.' In doing so it subjected itself to similar foreign policy constraints as Mubarak and al-Sisi. Thus Morsi's position within the discourse was likewise shaped by state logics of actions on the one hand, and those of the Muslim Brotherhood on the other. The perception of the 'Western' reaction to Morsi's removal from office put a dampener on the development of a new start in relations with 'the West' and consequently increased the entrenched mistrust of 'the West.'