

CONTENTS

<i>List of Plates, Figures and Tables</i>	<i>page</i> x
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xii
<i>Note on Transliterations and References</i>	xiv
<i>Note on Sources</i>	xv
<i>Chronology of Events</i>	xvii
<i>Dramatis Personae</i>	xxxi
<i>List of Abbreviations</i>	xxxviii
 Prologue	 1
 Introduction	 7
 1 The Society of the Muslim Brothers	 17
Precursors	18
Ideology	24
Organization	34
 2 The Second Founding (1968–1981)	 50
The Life of ‘Omar al-Tilmisani	52
The Student Protests of 1968	57
The Islamic Revival	60
Sadat’s Policies Towards the Brotherhood	63
The Birth of the Jama’a Islamiyya	67
The Merger	74
The Da’wa Magazine and Social Justice	80
Camp David and the Israel Conundrum	85
The Spectre of Islamic Fundamentalism	88
The Assassination of the Pharaoh	94
 3 The Rise of the Vanguard (1981–1991)	 100
Mubarak’s Early Years	102
The Legacy of Sayyid Qutb	104
Rebuilding the Organization in Egypt	110
The International Organization	112
Expansion into Syndicates and Parliament	121

	Mustafa Mashhur and the Enemies of the Open Society	124
	The Interregnum of Hamid Abu Nasr	130
	Towards the First Gulf War	135
4	Brotherhood Incorporated (1991–2001)	141
	Khairat al-Shatir and the Salsabil Affair	143
	The Empowerment Plan	147
	Regime Repression	149
	The Shura Council Elections of 1995	154
	The Brotherhood's Neoliberal Turn	157
	Transformation of the Social Base	163
	Start of the Military Trials	166
	The Birth of the Wasat Party	170
	Brotherhood Online	174
	At the Dawn of the Millennium	177
5	Struggle for Leadership (2001–2011)	179
	The Question of Political Violence	181
	The Brotherhood in Western Imagination	188
	Emergence of a Protest Movement	191
	The Democratic Paradox	196
	The Kefaya Moment	200
	The Cairo Spring	204
	Rapprochement with the United States	209
	Consolidation of the Protest Movement	214
	The Vanguardist Palace Revolt	218
	On the Eve of the Revolution	225
6	Revolution, Rise and Fall (2011–2013)	230
	The Origins of the Uprising	232
	The Brotherhood and the Revolution	236
	Nascent Relations with the Army	242
	The Founding of the Freedom and Justice Party	251
	The Turkish Model	256
	Maspiro, Mohammed Mahmud and the Blue Bra Girl	259
	Enter Mohammed Morsi	269
	The Qatar–Al Jazeera Connection	276
	Towards an Islamist Constitution	283
	From the November Decree to the Ittihadiyya Clashes	287
	The Counter-Revolution Strikes Back	291
	Endgame	300
7	The Beginning of the Fourth Ordeal (2013–2018)	305
	Towards the Clearing of Rab'a al-'Adawiyya	306
	Sent Behind the Sun	312
	Rise of the Second Rank	317
	The Brotherhood in Exile	323

CONTENTS	ix
The Crisis Deepens	330
Antagonisms over Yemen	342
The Revolutionary Option	353
The Third Founding	361
Through the Lens of Geopolitics	370
Ninety Years of Giving	384
Conclusion	388
Epilogue	395
Glossary	398
<i>Bibliography</i>	402
<i>Index</i>	435