

Shukhrat YOVKOCHEV,
INTERNATIONAL ISLAMIC ACADEMY OF
UZBEKISTAN
First Vice-rector, doctor of science, professor.
yovkochev@iiu.uz
11, A.Kadiri, Tashkent, 100011, Uzbekistan.

THE INFLUENCE OF A RELIGIOUS FACTOR ON THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF EGYPT BEFORE “ARAB SPRING”

“АРАБ БАҲОРИ”ДАН ОЛДИН МИСРНИНГ СИЁСИЙ ТИЗИМИГА БЎЛГАН ДИНИЙ ОМИЛНИНГ ТАЪСИРИ

ВЛИЯНИЕ РЕЛИГИОЗНОГО ФАКТОРА НА ПОЛИТИЧЕСКУЮ СИСТЕМУ ЕГИПТА ПЕРЕД «АРАБСКОЙ ВЕСНОЙ»

Keywords: *Islam, Egypt, political system, parties, Muslim Brotherhood, Tagammu, Wafd, opposition, Shura.*

Таянч сўзлар: *Ислам, Миср, сиёсий тизим, партия, Биродар мусулмонлар, Тагамму, Вафд, мухолифат, Шуро.*

Ключевые слова: *Ислам, Египет, политическая система, партии, Братья-мусульмане, Тагамму, Вафд, оппозиция, Шура.*

In connection with considerable changes, happening in the modern socio-economic and political life of the majority of Muslim countries, the attention of researchers is focused on their present governmental political mechanisms and the religious factor effect on them. In this matter, Egypt is a very interesting example. In the last decades, the governmental-political development of this country seriously is being transformed in the process of democratization of social life. The major, on which the development of the political system of ARE is going to move, can make a considerable effect on the processes of socio-cultural, economic and political development of the Middle East region.

First of all, an actual question is how stable the position of the ruling regime in ARE is, what kind of character the evolution of its political system is going to obtain, how the distribution of the home policy forces going to be changed, among which the main position is taken by representatives of political Islam.

Historically, Egypt has formed an authoritarian political system, in which the rod is Head of the State; however other institutions of power-play subordinate roles. In this condition, the decisive importance for the political future of Egypt and practically for all other Arab states is the issue of power succession.

In September 2005, as a result of the president's election which for the first time was held on an alternative base, H. Mubarak got the fifth mandate of six years. The presidential campaign showed that a 77-year-old H.Mubarak kept sustainable support of State machinery and power patterns, and remained as one of the leaders – “heavy-weight politicians” on a world scale. The election of the President of ARE was the object of strained observation of the international association, especially Washington, which mentioned, according to the words of the Secretary of the USA Condoleezza Rice, that “the main role of Egyptian people in pursuing reforms in the Middle East”. The situation in ARE became a “litmus- test” on the firmness of one of the oldest Arab regimes, which was in conditions of sharp struggle of home policy, activation of opposition and movements against the regime, striving to weaken the government. However, the key rivals of H.Mubarak from the liberal wing of the opposition, on which (A.Nur and N.Gumaa at that time) counted people in Washington, could not manage to get the status of leaders of national level.

Alternative elections of the president in Egypt became possible because of a referendum held in May 2005, which approved constitutional amendments inserted by H.Mubarak. The initiative of the president on changing article 76 and more than 30 other articles of the Constitution of ARE represented a very important step itself. Citizens of Egypt for the first time obtained the right to choose the Head of the State from several candidates by way of secret ballot. The main important thing was that the Head of the State – presidential republic- was the initiator of changing the order of holding the president's elections in order to bring it in conformity with the modern requirement of political development.

Equal opportunities were presented for all political parties and physical persons in the information sphere, namely in the acquaintance of public opinion with their programs through different Mass Media in the promulgation of their own points of view in all aspects of the election campaign in conditions of neutrality from the side of organs of State machinery.

At the same time company of H.Mubarak was coordinated by the representatives, ruling over the PDP and the best experts in the sphere of Mass Media, dealing with the elaboration of the image of modern and energetic “president-reformatory”, who after 24 years of governing is carrying out political and economic reformation in the country fruitfully. Appearing under the slogan “H.Mubarak- 2005: leadership and transition to future” H.Mubarak promised to realize a well-considered program, allowing to solve problems, existing in the country, consequently and creatively

The article is devoted to the influence of the Islamic factor on the political system of modern Egypt. It analyzes the struggle of political forces, parties, and the Islamic opposition to achieve political power, as well as the methods and means of this struggle. The article covers the period of the late XX– early XXI century, the period of the reign of President Hosni Mubarak. Particular attention is paid to the tactics and strategies of the leader of the Islamic opposition in Egypt – the Muslim Brotherhood organization, which has long-standing political and historical roots, extensive experience in the underground struggle and gained 20% of parliamentary seats in 2005, and then won the presidency for one year in 2012.

Бу мақола замонавий Миср сиёсий тизимида исбатланган диний омилнинг таъсирига бағишланган. Унда сиёсий кучлар, партиялар ва исломий муҳолифатнинг сиёсий ҳокимиятга эришиш йўлидаги курашлари, шунингдек, ушбу кураш усул ва воситалари батафсил таҳлил қилинган.

Мақолада XX аср охири – XXI аср бошлари, яъни президент Хусни Муборак ҳукмронлик даври тадқиқ этилган. Катта эътибор Мисрдаги исломий муҳолифат етакчиси – узоқ сиёсий ва тарихий илдизларга эга бўлган, яширин курашда катта тажрибага эга ва 2005 йилда Миср парламентида 20 % жойларини қўлга киритган ва кейин 2012 йилда бир йил давомида президентлик ҳокимиятга эришган “Муслмон биродарлари” ташкилотининг тактикаси ва стратегиясига қаратилган.

Статья посвящена влиянию исламского фактора на политическую систему современного Египта. В ней анализируется борьба политических сил, партий и исламской оппозиции в деле достижения политической власти, а также методы и средства этой борьбы. В статье охватывается период конца XX– начала XXI века, период правления президента Хосни Мубарака. Особое внимание уделяется тактике и стратегии лидера исламской оппозиции в Египте – организации «Братьев мусульман», имеющей давние политико-исторические корни, большой опыт подпольной борьбы и набравшей в 2005 году 20% парламентских мест, а затем в 2012 году завоевавшей на один год президентское место.

despite the threat of safety and sustainability in the country.

He appointed line of constitutional reforms – oriented to strengthening democracy, including limitation of prerogatives of presidential and executive power, presenting big power to parliament; strengthening the independence of legislative power including the disbandment of Supreme Trial Court and Cabinet of Social Prosecutor, often criticized by protectors of rights; making alterations in laws connected with Trial production, demanded by judges for a long time, the chance of turning the Ministry of Information into the independent organ, allowing to bring opportunities of exchange between the governmental and private sector of Mass Media: widening a quota for women in the election to parliament; reconsideration of the system of individual nominating candidates. According to the statements of members of the “command of H.Mubarak,” these promises reflect a deep understanding of the requirements of the society in the political sphere.

In addition, Hosni Mubarak created a new program of actions, on the basis of which stands a challenge for all political parties to submit their points of view on the problem of the country’s development, in order to turn the reforms into a result of national work. According to the words of H.Mubarak, “the rapidity with which political parties began to offer their suggestions according to my demands on possible alterations in the Constitution of the country witnesses their serious wish to be partners in efforts for supporting the basis of democracy. We shall support this positive constructive dialogue further in order to come to the very optimum means

of strengthening the democratization process which is carried out without the limits of national programs defending the highest interests of the government”.

Unlike H.Mubarak, 71-year-old N.Guma’a and 41-year-old A.Nur, to the assessment of observers, were busier with the formulation of slogans than practical politic programs (A.Nur: “Hope and changes”; Guma’a: “Follow me, people, and we shall really change Egypt”) So, in case of victory in elections A.Nur promised to cancel the state of Emergency law of 1981, to let mass media freedom and to free political imprison till the end of 2005.

By 2006, according to his words, a new constitution would be ready which would change Egypt to the parliament republic.

The steps to increase wages, reduction of unemployment, corruption struggle and reforms in the system of education and health services were promised. N.Guma’a emphasized the insurance of vast civil freedom as “the main precondition in achieving economic rise”.

On this background, H.Mubarak’s program (the expansion of medical insurance system, construction of schools and houses, making more than 4 million working places in the nearest years, increasing of wages and the rising of people’s income, heightening the military power of Egypt, ensuring the unity of Muslims and Copts, strengthening the role of the Arabian Republic of Egypt in the world) advantageously underlined the importance of already achieved success by him in the past and concrete plans in the realization of these tasks.

It is important to take into consideration the

significant electoral base of H.Mubarak, particularly, the support of the General federation of working trade unions (20 mln. people) and Coptic community in the name of whom took the floor Papa Shennuda III.

On condition of activation of opposite power in Egypt the company of Egypt was directed to the demonstration of transparency of elections, the neutral position of the government, the succession of the program PDP. In many respects, it must have attracted attention from slow speed reform and a lot of remaining socio-economic problems. Nevertheless, H.Mubarak evidently kept in his hands enough resources, which ensured success to him in elections and let him begin a new more complicated stage of socio-political changes in the country.

At the same time, the problem of succession inner and foreign political course of Egypt in the future “*postmubarak*” period remained open (next presidential elections in Egypt should take place in 2011). According to the Constitution of the Arab Republic of Egypt, until accepting amendments into it in 2007, in case of unforeseen circumstances, the authorities of the Head of the government had to pass to the Chairman of People’s Congress of ARE which will be in charge of Holding elections of a new president within 3 months. But most experts think in any case of changing the power it will be difficult to avoid of rising acute struggle of Egypt political clans formed under H.Mubarak’s regime.

According to the view of a number of researchers the most probable variant to nominate Gamal Mubarak – the elder son of the nowadays president for election to the post of the Head of the Government. The character of the Presidential Company of 2005 which had taken the shape of “the western style” and it demonstrated serious political changes; it showed G.Mubarak’s influence and his surroundings into PDP.

At the same time, it’s not clear if the powerful forces, government-bureaucratic leaders and finance-economic clans of the country would support him unanimously. Besides, it is obvious the treatment of the opposition, first of all, “Muslim Brotherhood” to the perspectives of the political nomination of young Mubarak.

Despite the plans of Mubarak’s surroundings it is impossible not to take into consideration the significant probability of activating not only secular liberal but also radical opposition of the country in case of the beginning of the changing power process. Especially pressing may be the activity of Islamic circles of Egypt.

For the ruling regime in ARE the Islamists represent the main threat, for this reason, the power continues to take measures directed to the further suppression of radical groups (“al-Gama’a al-Islamiya” and etc.), “Muslim Brotherhood” as well. Moreover, strict

measures, checked by experience are used, sometimes including indulgence towards common and “chance” (accidental) members of Islamic organizations.

The approach of the power to the “Muslim Brotherhood”, as we imagine, may be characterized as a method of “whip and cake”. However, at the same time, the ruling regime imagines very well what kind of threat carry in him the circulation of influence of “the brothers” among Islamic orientated and educated segment of Egyptian society, their great role in mass professional societies (journalists, lawyers syndicates and so on) which had been confirmed during the last parliament elections. For the strengthening of positions of the ruling regime, to provide succession to its course and preservation of home policy stability the important significance will have the real capability of the power to provide stable socio-economic development of the country and step by step “evolutional” realization of reforms in the political system. The most significant tendency in the home political life of Egypt is the continuation of the political reform process initiated by H.Mubarak

According to the plans of the president in 2007 the most serious changes during the last 20 years are made in the Constitution of ARE. So on 26 March 2007 held the referendum on constitutional reforms in Egypt, in which 9,7 mln.people (27%) from 35 mln registrant voters took part. 7 mln. (75,9%) of them supported the offer of Mubarak about the amendment into the main rules at the republic.

From the president’s point of view, the amendment into the Constitution of Egypt will be important for the country’s future. The purpose of the amendment is to balance the Constitution and in this way prepare the country for contemporary aims and tasks. The change at the constitution will maintain the constant political process and guaranties the Egyptian people security that helps “to make a counterattack to terrorism”. Egyptian people will really win here because the referendums on the matters at Constitutional amendments mean the grant (provision) at great reform and democracy of the people.

In the Constitution of ARE 34 amendments were altered. According to the official rating (estimation), they expand the function of parliament, limit the presidential authority, relieve (impair) the limits of the parties’ activity.

In general, the main amendments (changes) are the followings:

1. For the first time in the history of the country, the additional council (*Shoura*—second chamber of the parliament) has legislative power. Its decisions are becoming sure to execute.

2. Candidates to the presidency are offered according to a political list of the political parties, which share at least 3% at places in the parliament candidates from religious-political organizations are not allowed to the elections.

3. Creating parties on religious principles are canceled. This corrective is directly concerted to the problems at legitimization of sacred Islamists organization of "Muslim Brotherhood", which was introduced in the parliament by 88 "independent deputies".

4. Limits the role of judges as observers in the process of presidential elections.

5. Abrogated the acting in the country since 1981 "the law on the state of emergency" after the acceptance at "The law about the struggle against terrorism" which strengthens the power of force structures.

As most of the observers noted, the main purpose of the reforms is establishing the conditions for excluding the radical Islamists from the political life of the country, which is on the way to modernization.

Taking this into consideration, the main opposing powers, first of all, "Muslim Brotherhood", declared a boycott against the referendum. Islamists organized on the level into polemics around the banding for the creation of the parties on the basis of religion in Egypt. As a result of reforms "brothers-Muslims" can not be put to the vote even as "independent candidates" and cannot get the political legalization in Egypt.

Their objections expressed the secular liberal opposition – the party of "Al-Vafd", "Tagammy", "Al-Karama", "Al-Kifayya" which, first of all, projected against abrogation of the control of the Egyptian judges over elections and hand over this function to "independent commission". Left-wing opposition apprehends that oncoming presidential election in 2011 this can open the way to probably juggling.

Besides, the liberal party in opposition considers that "The law about the struggle against terrorism" will strengthen the position of authority and make Egypt a "police government".

It is significant that the ruling party of Egypt interpreted the boycott of the opposition indifferently. It was noted that the voluntary not participating of individual parties in the international voting on constitutional reform – is already freedom of election and democracy. However, not simple appraisals of the reform were noted also by some western and Egyptian experts, who think that making constitutional changes ruling party of ARE - that is infringed the human rights and freedom.

In particular, an analytic from Washington Fond of Carnegie A.Khamzaviy brought up a matter that

the NDP can survive the intensive relationships with the opposition that appeared after the changes made in the Constitution. A critic of the Egyptian regime noted that most of the amendments touched upon the political rights, election system, presidential and parliament powers, struggle against terrorism and other serious meters. The amendment in several articles of the Constitution (4, 12, 24, 30, 33, and 56) reflected the already changed social-economic situation in the country since the 1970s.

So the position about socialism, units of working powers and the main role of the society in the development of the country, that is all that Egypt inherited from the time of G.A.Naser in 1950-60 years disappeared from the Constitution. However by the point of view of opponents of H.Mubarak, except mentioned articles, the amendments into the Constitution in fact opened the way for dissidence in the society and for stronger opposition between the ruling regime and Islamists opposition.

Moreover, in the center of the discussions is against H.Mubarak's paving the way for giving the government to his son. The president himself ignored this rumor. Moreover, coming out with the initiation of reforms H.Mubarak promised: "to go together with the people of Egypt to the future, having all the responsibility until his heartbeats".

One of the main goals and motivations to make amendments to the main law of the country is first, of the government to strengthen the constitutional mechanisms of restriction and political restraining of the "Muslim Brotherhood". Secondly, the regime of H.Mubarak tried to prevent the attempt of the opposition to form some "unique front", which both the secular oppositional powers and Islamite's would have been included in. This strategy of the government focusing (aiming) to split Islamites from liberals was also appealed early in 2002 when the regime gave "positive signals" to the legal left hands and the liberal political party simultaneously trying to weaken the position of Islamite's at most.

Thirdly, the regime accepted the attempt to form a new system of constitutional levers with the help of which the governing powers could continue to strengthen their governing-political positions.

Fourthly, it was necessary for the governors of the party to demonstrate the fullness of their responsibility in front of people for the social-political development of the country and ability to answer the calls, also from the side of the opposition and also to confirm indisputable legality and the democratic character of their government.

Surely, the corrections witness the democratic way of reforms connected by the regime, in the first place with the connection of strengthening the independence of the parliament and rights of the Ministers' Cabinet.

However, on this occasion, the political system of Egypt was left as leader central. The legal opposition of Egypt reacted to the constitutional changes in the way the government expected because it wasn't put as an object harsh restriction "Muslim Brotherhood" was exposed.

From the side of their Islamite's movement accepted the amendment to the constitution bayonets as a direct and open attempt of the political marginalization of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The corrections to the Constitution added the third regulation to the 5th article of the Constitution saying the Egyptian system is based on party pluralism. The new regulations prohibit doing any political activity or forming political parties with a reference to any religious source or on a religious basis or discriminating according to sex and origin. This principle will hinder the political legalization of the "Brothers-Muslims" and any kind of political party with a religious foundation. Moreover, the following regulations give the regime a constitutional right to proclaim and ban (forbid) the activity of those parties in religiously motivated political activity. Though article №5 may refer to many political groups of Egypt, particularly, to the party "Vacate", referring to the Islamic values, directed regulation, first of all, addressed against the "Muslim Brotherhood". The correction to the article №62 of the Constitution also restricts the sphere of the political participation of the "Brothers-Muslims" in a way of marginalizing independent candidates. This correction allows replacing the voting system based on elections of individual candidates to the system of forming the parliament, especially according to the list of a party leaving only a few mandates. As a forbidden organization that doesn't have the possibility to get legalized as a political party, the "Brothers-Muslims" relies (depended) on the candidate-central voting system putting their own independent-candidates on the National Meeting for many years. Contrasting the number of independent seats (places) in the parliament leads to the least number of seats for the "brothers-Muslims" depriving them of their chances in elections. In the best occasion, Islamite's will have the opportunity to save their previous representation in the National Meeting.

Moreover, the correction forces the Islamite movement to search for partners among legal oppositional parties as it already happened in the 1980s.

However, such a step limits the independence of "brothers-Muslims". The correction to the article №62 also serves as a goal to enlarge the split between the "Brothers-Muslims" and legal opposition.

Liberal parties "Vafd" and "Gad", left hand "Tagammu" Arabic Nasserite parties (the primary powers of the Egyptian opposition) couldn't get unison

more than 5% seats in the National Meeting, in the elections in 2005.

Legal oppositional parties against which stood ideologically more weighing and movement "Muslim Brotherhood" larger in a number of members, more interested in union with the governing regime with the aims of pressing Islamite's and get more area for maneuver as accepted powers of opposition.

Besides that, a positive aspect of article №62 is the position demanding the increase of the quotas for women in both chambers of the parliament.

The objective of creating the levels of controlling the election process was realized by the head of the ARE with the help of corrections, included in the article №88 of the Constitution. Judicial control over elections was replaced (changed) with the regulation about forming a High inspecting Committee that will obey the president and executive organs.

In spite of the discord about the article №5 and №62 the "Muslim Brotherhood" and legal oppositional parties harmonically criticized about the ban of the control of courts over elections.

Many simple (common) people of the ARE also consider that only judges can guarantee fairness and honesty of elections.

Besides, as mentioned above the regime tried to demonstrate its abhorrence to the reforms and ability to meet the requirements of national and critics on behalf of opposition in respect to the limitation of political rivalry (competition). Thus, article 76 in the Constitution concerning the nomination to the post of the head of the government already changed in May 2005, in accordance with holding the first alternative president elections. The correction of 2005 guarantees the right of a political party, owned at least 5% of place in each chamber of the parliament, to nominate the candidate to the post of the president from his leadership. The correction, accepted in 2007, decreased the defect (fault) 3% and did the exception for any party, owned, at least one place in one of the chambers of the parliament, to nominate the candidate from his leadership in presidential elections which will be held in near 10 years. No doubt the change of article 76 is strengthening the chance of opposition to take part in the next presidential election since none of the opposition parties met the requirements to own less than 5% mandate in the parliament.

However, unchanged remained the conditions concerning the participation of independent candidates in presidential elections. Now the independent candidate nominating to the post of the president must support at least 230 members of the parliament and Municipal Councils. This requirement doesn't allow the "Muslim Brotherhood" to take part in a presidential competition (race) though in 2005 "Brothers" got 8 seats in Nation

Meeting, they have no their representatives in *Shoura* and Municipal Councils.

A huge disappointment of Islamists oppositions coursed the change in Article 179. In its previous sight, it identified the power of the Committee of Social Prosecutor. The situation was changed with a completely new text in which is determined by anti-terrorist law. The exact, law gives executive power first of all to the president and defense forces, the base for constitutional abolition the law on the state of emergency in 1981 while including its main parts to the Constitution. Correction in article 179 gives the government the right to interrupt the effect of Articles 41, 44, 45 of the Constitution, guaranteeing the observance of Human Rights, in the frame of struggle against terrorism. The correction allows the President the right to transfer the case on terrorism to the Court of Emergency and this from the opposition perspective breaches Article 68 of the Constitution, according to that any citizen has the right to appeal to the ordinary Court.

At the same time, the essential democratic maintenance has corrections, concerning the power enlargement of legislative bodies, and the prime minister's of the country. On the hand the reconsidered Articles 115, 118, 127 and 133 gives the nation Meeting the right to hold a voting on each article of government Budget of ARE and express the distrust to the Cabinet of Ministers, with the following acceptance of the resignation of Cabinet by the president the work of which the deputies don't consider satisfactorily. On the other hand, the reconsidered Article 136 gives the president the right to dissolve the parliament without holding a referendum, required by the previous article.

Further, the corrections in Articles 82, 84, 85, 138 and 141 really changed the role of prime-Minister in the political system of the country. The article gives the Prime-Minister the authority of Vice-President in case they lack.

The most important of them is the transition of the power of the head of the government to the Vice-president, in case the working president cannot do his responsibilities, or the post of the president is (vacant) free. In accordance with corrections, the president doing his duties should take approval or consult with the Prime-Minister.

However, the problem is that these corrections didn't change the meaning of the distribution of power among the heads of the government and the state. The President has the individual power to appoint and (dismiss) discharge the Prime-Minister.

The Monopoly regime of H.Mubarak over political life in the country and "comfortable" majority ruling PDP in the M.C.Nation Meeting allowed doing corrections

in the Constitution without any obstacles by the side of secular opposition and Islamists.

Moreover, it can be spoken that the leadership of ARE managed to hold a referendum on constitutional reforms at the same time not allowing different currents of opposition to joining. Though left and liberal parties of ARE tried to fight the referendum on the Constitution and they were forced to accept the decision of the Nation voted for the reform. In addition, it is necessary for the parties of ARE to maintain constructive relations with ruling parties and the government considering the weakness of its own electoral base. Thus, it can be expected that in general Egyptian opposition created and acting in the frame of law is adapted to the constitutional innovations, the rules of controlling over elections and the measures of antiterrorist struggles.

However, the "Muslim Brotherhood", took in the last constitutional and political changes in the country as the evidence of attempts of the authority entirely to exclude Islamist movement from the political process.

At the same time, the situation of "brothers" worsened, in connection with that simultaneous strengthening of their political position, the leadership of Egypt began to hold active measures on opposition counteraction against terrorism and extremism.

The military tribunal was given the case of one of the famous leaders "Muslim Brotherhood" al-Hatira and 35 activists of the movement, dealt with propaganda, recruitment, and financing of the organization.

The Constitutional amendments, from now on allow prosecuting the citizens, drawing into terrorist activities, without appealing the sentence. Before it, the finance and capitals of Islamist businessmen groups were frozen because they were financing the "brothers". According to some estimations, the general expanse of frozen capitals includes 1.2 milliard dollars.

Naturally, such kind of situation, seriously limited the possibilities of the "Muslim Brotherhood" to struggle against the constitutional strengthening of antiterrorist measures. In loyal to the government and some other media of Egypt were hold informational explanatory work concerning the aim and character the activity of Islamist movement, and not giving a chance to create their own political party by them on the base of religion.

Continuing in the country the discussion of meaning and consequences initiated "from above" reforms shows that antiterrorist law will become one of the contradicting questions between the leadership of ARE and opposition. Taking into account that Islamists obtain 8 of 454 deputy mandates, the parliament is expected to continue long arguments among them and representatives of ruling parties HDP concerning those or other aspects of the struggle against terrorism, extremism and guarantee of Human Rights and so on.

In addition to it, one of the main themes of discussion in Egypt society was the Women's Rights and the Freedom of opinion. In general, this tendency, without any doubt is the sign of widening and strengthening the process of democratization of society, attends to discuss and solve serious social, gender and other problems on a whole national level. The urgency of the first problem underlined the measures of the government on strengthening the Role of Women in society. Thus, 31 women were appointed to the position of a judge in 2007. Under the pressure of the government and public opinion supreme, Ali Guma'a has canceled his *fatva* that Islam forbids women to hold high state posts. Moreover, it has declared that the woman has the right to head the state.

It should be noted that political transformation and social processes happening in the ARE caused a very contradicting mark of Washington. The State Department of the USA marked a general tendency of expansion and intensification of the political reforms, increasing political frankness in Egypt. At the same time, there was expressed anxiety towards interaction methods of Egyptian leadership with opposition including some mass media in opposition. But, as it is seen, in Washington fear connected with an increased strive for the power of Egyptian radical Islamists in "Muslim Brotherhood - Muslims". Forcing political reforms and encouraging religious-political grouping in Egypt can quickly lead to the highly explosive situation in the country, creation of a new center of instability in the region, reinforcement of "international positions" of Islamists.

Thus, coming across the rising internal and external challenge, also with the criticism of the authoritarian model of the ARE power, President H. Mubarak and the ruling party of Egypt respond to this with a number of the stage by stage political reforms. They can be divided into 3 categories: inserting amendments into the separate articles of the ARE Constitution and the laws regulating political activities; creating new "independent" control authorities; canceling laws and rules contradicting principles of providing human freedom. State efforts testify about the gradual "democratization of the country" and liberalization of the political systems of the country in the principles of PDP (People's Democratic Party) which will necessarily provide control over the socio-political situation in perspective. The first alternative presidential elections of the ARE held in 2005 can be regarded as the most "potentially significant" event in the development of the country's political system. However, amendments inserted into the Constitution of the country and election system greatly limit (restrict) the chances of the parties in opposition, and moreover,

"independent" candidates who were usually nominated to "Brothers - Muslims". PDP kept its control over the political life of the country, and such parties in opposition as "God", "Al-Vasat", "Karama", etc., don't have enough social base and support in people's mass.

At the same time, the main attention of the ruling forces strengthening their position focused on much wider and more influential Islamist opposition which is inevitably reflected on both contents and rate of all socio-political reforms initiated and held by the authorities. Without sufficient attention to the religious-political factor and challenge from the side of "Brothers" in Egypt, it would be impossible to hold any significant political reforms. Challenge of the Islamists, first of all, "Muslim Brotherhood" is considered to be an important stimulus for the active operation of the ruling forces on centralization and consolidation of the authorities, and also political modernization of political institutes of the ARE. On the other hand, it is reflected on the rate and character of reforms that are worked out and put in practice by the leadership of the country so that in the process of objective democratic transformations religious-political forces expressed with bright radical color couldn't come into power.

The result of the referendum in 2007 on constitutional reforms in Egypt was predictable, but its long-term consequences are uncertain. The main issue for the fourth-coming years remains whether the ruling regime in the ARE can achieve political weakening and marginalization of the "Muslim Brotherhood" avoiding dangers of further growth of radicalism among members of the Islamist movement. Another problem is the ability of the "Muslim Brotherhood" to accept fixed "conditions of political participation" in the ARE and try to cooperate or constructively interact with other political forces of the country including governmental ones within the constitutional frame. Determining importance for further development of political systems of the country will have a degree of effectiveness of the ARE efforts on realizing the ideas of formulating responsible civil society.

In the visible perspective, rather rigid opposition between the authorities and Islamist opposition can be expected for which actuality of the task to expand its "support base" among people's mass has considerably increased.

Such tendencies, as well as the deepening socio-economic differentiation process of the society, create the danger of social shock especially with due regard for activeness of radical religious groupings.

As a whole, the ruling regime in Egypt possesses enough resources and, in the country, there are serious internal reserves for maintaining stable and sustainable

development in the visible perspective. The main imperative of the leadership of Egypt is a preserve of political stability under simultaneous advancement of socio-political, economic and cultural transformations of large scale, further development of political systems while the system of the government is able to settle the most significant tasks of national development, a straight threat from the side of internal opposition including radical Islamist circles can be avoided. In this case, Egypt will keep its role as one of the factors of stability in the region.

USED LITERATURE

1. Abdulkhaleq Abdullah. Repercussions of the Arab Spring on GCC States. - Arab Center for Research and Policy Studies. - Doha, Qatar, 17 December, 2012. - 34 pp.
2. Essam el-Din, Gamal. Mubarak's most Controversial Speech // Al-Ahram Weekly. - Cairo, 2006. - No. 821. Essam el-Din, Gamal. Winner takes all // Al-Ahram Weekly. - Cairo, 2007. - No. 837. - 22-28 Mar. - 23-29 Nov.
3. Farag F. Battling Over a Dead Horse // Al-Ahram. - Cairo, 2006. - No. 818. - 1-7 Nov.
4. Fukuyama F. The acceptable face of the neo-cons? // Al-Ahram Weekly. - Cairo, 2005. - Issue No. 755. - 11-17 August.
5. Hudson M. After the Gulf War: Prospects for Democratization in the Arab World // The Middle East Journal, - Washington D.C., The Middle East Institute, 1991. - № 1. - P. 407-426.
6. Tamimi A., Esposito J. (Ed.). Islam and Secularism in the Middle East. - Hurst and Company, London, 2000. - 214 pp.
7. Jovkochev Sh. Islam in Uzbekistan: the history and modernity// Roundtable: devoted to Islam in Uzbekistan. Central Asia Initiative at Leiden University and Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan (18 апрел 2017 йил, Лейден, Голландия) . -12 p.
8. Jovkochev Sh. JAHON SIYOSATIDA ISLOM OMILI: O'quv qo'llanma. -T.: TDSHI, 2016. -234 b.
9. Абд ал-Азиз бен Осман ат-Тауигри. Ал-Алам ал-ислами фи аср ал-аулама (Исламский мир в эпоху глобализации). - ал-Кахира: Дар аш-Шурук, 2004. (на арабском). Abd al-Aziz ben Osman at-Tauigri. Al-Alam al-islami fi asr al-aulama (Islamskiy mir v epohu globalizacii). - al-Kahira: Dar ash-Shuruk, 2004. (in Arab.)
10. Борисов А.Б. Роль Ислама во внешней и внутренней политике Египта - 20 век. -М.: Наука. 1991. Borisov A.B. Rol' Islama vo vneshnej i vnutrennej politike Egipta - 20 vek. -М.: Nauka. 1991. (in Russ.)
11. Васильев Алексей Михайлович. Египет и египтяне / Алексей Васильев. Российская акад. наук, Ин-т Африки. - 3-е изд., перераб. и доп. - Москва: Восточная лит., 2008. - 365с. Vasil'ev Aleksey Mihajlovich. Egipet i egiptjane / Aleksey Vasil'ev. Rossijskaja akad. nauk, In-t Afriki. - 3-e izd., pererab. i dop. - Moskva: Vostochnaja lit., 2008. - 365s. (in Russ.)
12. Ёвкочев Ш. Мусулмон оламида сиёсий тизимларнинг шаклланиши // Жамият ва бошқарув. - Тошкент, 2007. - № 3. - С.95. Jovkochev Sh. Musulmon olamida sijosiy tizimlarning shakllanishi // Jamijat va boshqaruv. - Toshkent, 2007. - № 3. - S.95. (in Uzbek.)
13. Ёвкочев Ш. Трансформация внешнеполитической стратегии США в свете "твиттерных революций" на Ближнем Востоке. // Ўзбекистон Республикаси ОЎМТВ миқёсидаги иккинчи анъанавий илмий-амалий конференция материаллари тўплами. / Масъул муҳаррир Ёвкочев Ш.А. Б.Очилов. -Т.:ТошДШИ, 2011. - 256 б. -Б.11-14. Jovkochev Sh. Transformaciya vneshnepoliticheskoy strategii SSHa v svete "tvitternyh revolyuciy" na Blizhnem Vostoke. // O'zbekiston Respublikasi OO'MTV miqyosidagi ikkinchi an'anaviy ilmiy-amaliy konferenciya materiallari to'plami. / Mas'ul muharrir Jovkochev Sh.A. B.Ochilov. -T.:ToshDShI, 2011. - 256 b. -B.11-14. (in Russ.)
14. Ёвкочев Ш.А. Ислам и политика. - Учебное пособие. - ТашГИВ. - Ташкент: «Тошкент ислом университети», 2011. Jovkochev Sh.A. Islam i politika. - Uchebnoe posobie. - TashGIV. - Tashkent: «Toshkent islom universiteti», 2011. (in Russ.)
15. Ёвкочев Ш.А. Политизация ислама и проблема религиозного экстремизма в современном мире. - Ташкент: ТашГИВ, 2003. Jovkochev Sh.A. Politizaciya islama i problema religioznogo ekstremizma v sovremennom mire. - Tashkent: TashGIV, 2003. (in Russ.)
16. Ёвкочев Ш. К вопросу о нынешней ситуации на Ближнем Востоке// XXI асрда жаҳон сиёсати ва Ўзбекистон тажрибаси: сиёсий, ҳуқуқий ва ижтимоий жиҳатлари// илмий-амалий конференция материаллари тўплами./ Мас.мух. Ш.Ёвкочев. -Т.:ТошДШИ. -2016. -304 б. -Б.190-195. Jovkochev Sh. K voprosu o nyneshney situacii na Blijnem Vostoke// XXI asrda jahon siyosati va O'zbekiston tajribasi: siyosiy, huquqiy va ijtimoiy jihatlar// ilmiy-amaliy konferenciya materiallari to'plami./ Mas.muh. Sh.Jovkochev. -T.:ToshDShI. -2016. -304 b. -B.190-195. (in Russ.)
17. Игнатенко А. Эндеогенный радикализм в исламе // Центральная Азия и Кавказ. - Лüleо (Швеция), 2000. - №2 (8). - С. 112-128. Ignatenko A. Jendogenny radikalizm v islame // Central'naya Aziya i Kavkaz. - Luleo (Shveciya), 2000. - №2 (8). - S. 112-128. (in Russ.)
18. Ислам и политика в Египте. Интервью с Диной Шехата, старшим научным сотрудником египетского Центра политических и стратегических исследований «Аль-Ахрам». - Сайт «ИнфоИслам». - http://www.info-islam.ru/publ/intervju/islam_i_politika_v_egipte_intervju_s_dinoj_shekhata_starshim_nauchnym_sotrudnikom_centra_politicheskikh_i_strategicheskikh_issledovanij_al_akhr/4-1-0-1444. - 4 марта 2011 г. Islam i politika v Egipte. Interv'yu s Dinoy Shehata, starshim nauchnym sotrudnikom

- egipetskogo Centra politicheskikh i strategicheskikh issledovaniy «Al'-Ahram». – Sajt «InfoIslam». - http://www.info-islam.ru/publ/intervju/islam_i_politika_v_egipte_intervju_s_dinoj_shekhata_starshim_nauchnym_sotrudnikom_centra_politicheskikh_i_strategicheskikh_issledovaniy_al_akhr/4-1-0-1444. - 4 marta 2011 g. (in Russ.)
19. Карпачева О. Ахмад Шукри Мустафа и «Общество мусульман» // Азия и Африка сегодня. – Москва, 2007. – №2. – С.53-56. Karpacheva O. Ahmad Shukri Mustafa i «Obshhestvo musul'man» // Aziya i Afrika segodnya. – Moskva, 2007. – №2. – S.53-56. (in Russ.)
 20. Климентьев В.П. Роль армии в Египте в середине XX в. // Восток (Oriens). – Москва, Наука, 2004. – №6. – 51-63 с. v Kliment'ev V.P. Rol' armii v Egipte v seredine XX v. // Vostok (Oriens). – Moskva, Nauka, 2004. – №6. – 51-63 s. in Russ.)
 21. Мустафа Хала. Ал-Ислам ас-сийасий фи Миср: мин харакат ал-ислах ила жамиат ал-унф. – ал-Кахира: Марказ ад-дирасат ас-сийасийа ва-л-истратиджийа ли-л-Ахрам. – Викалат ал-Ахрам, 1992. Mustafa Hala. Al-Islam as-sijasiy fi Misr: min harakat al-islakh ila zhamiat al-unf. – al-Kahira: Markaz ad-dirasat as-siyasiya va-l-istratidjiya li-l-Ahram. – Vikalat al-Ahram, 1992. (in Arab.)
 22. Сюкияйнен Л. Ислам и перспективы развития мусульманского мира. Выдержки из лекции, прочитанной 14 сентября 2006 г. в клубе Bilingua в рамках проекта «Публичные лекции «Полит.ру». - <http://polit.ru/article/2006/09/19/sjukijaynen/>. Syukiyaynen L. Islam i perspektivy razvitiya musul'manskogo mira. Vyderjki iz lekcii, pročitannoy 14 sentyabrya 2006 g. v klube Bilingua v ramkah proekta «Publichnye lekcii «Polit.ru». <http://polit.ru/article/2006/09/19/sjukijaynen/>. (in Russ.)

