

## エジプトの行方 アラブの春は厳冬に？

南 龍太郎 カイロ在住ジャーナリスト



モルシエジプト大統領  
President of Egypt  
Mohamed Morsi

長期独裁政権打倒と民主主義の実現を目指す「アラブの春」の第2弾の舞台となったエジプトで、今年6月30日に大統領に就任したのは、イスラム根本主義組織「ムスリム同胞団」の幹部で、同団系政党「自由公正党」党首モハンマド・モルシ氏（60）だ。公正な選挙の実現は民主化の第一歩として評価されるが、選出された大統領が民主主義を進展させ得るのか、その行方

が注目される。

### モルシ氏僅差で当選

モルシ氏は、大統領選決選投票で前政権時代の最後の首相シャフィク氏（70）を僅差で破り当選した。モルシ氏の勝因は、支持母体たる同胞団の組織票をまとめ切ったことだ。非識字者や貧困層に浸透した医療や福祉活動の効果もあり、宗教組織の集票力の高さも証明した。

同氏が繰り返した主張は「イスラム法（シャリア）の憲法への導入による国家のイスラム化」。同胞団結成当初からの悲願で、組織票をまとめる切り札である。

一方、シャフィク氏は、革命後の観光業壊滅などの経済悪化や犯罪増加、交通混乱を苦々しく見つけていた国民や軍と警察、イスラム化を恐れるキリスト教界などに、治安回復と経済立て直しを訴えた。

決選投票でモルシ氏は、同胞団以外のイスラム勢力やムバラク長期政権打倒の革命を主導した4月6日運動など若者らの支持を得るため「全国民の大統領になる」と宣言。さらに女性やキリスト教界など少数派の権利保護を訴え、イスラム色を薄める大変身ぶりを見せた。

若者らは、イスラム独裁も前政権復活も積極的に支持できず、「どちらを絶対に大統領にしているのか」が選択肢だった。4月6日運動は、前政権色だけは排したいとモルシ氏支持を最終決定した。

## Future direction of Egypt Is the Arab Spring turning into severe winter?

Ryutaro Minami Cairo-based journalist

Egypt was swept by the second wave of the Arab Spring which seeks to overthrow long-term dictatorship and realize democracy. 60-year old Mohammed Morsi was sworn as Egypt's president on June 30, 2012. Morsi is one of leaders of Islamist organization The The Muslim Brotherhood and the leader of its affiliated political party, Freedom and Justice Party. The realization of a fair election is evaluated as the first step toward democracy. People's eyes are focused on the new president and whether he becomes a catalyst to promote democracy.

### Morsi elected by a slim margin

Mohammed Morsi won Egypt's presidential runoff by a narrow margin over Ahmed Shafiq, 70-year old prime minister of the previous government. Morsi could unify and mobilized organizational votes of The The Muslim Brotherhood, his main support base, which contributed to his victory. Medical service and welfare activities he promoted reached out to illiterate and poor population and helped his win. Vote-getting ability of a religious organization has been proven.

Morsi as a candidate repeated his goal of "establishing an Islamic nation through introduction of sharia into the Constitution". This has been The The Muslim Brotherhood's goal from the beginning and was a trump card to capture its organizational votes. On the other hand, Shafiq emphasized restoration of public security and rebuilding of economy in his appeal to general public, military and police who resented economic decline partially caused by post-revolution collapse of tourism industry, increase of crimes and traffic confusion as well as Christians who feared an abrupt shift to a Islamic state.

In the runoff, Morsi declared, "I will become the president for all people," in order to gain support from Muslims other than The Muslim Brotherhood and young people including April 6 Youth Movement that led the revolution against Mubarak's government that had been in power for decades. He further emphasized protection of rights of minority including women and Christians, drastically changing his stance and deemphasizing Islam.

結果は、51.73%と48.27%の僅差。「我らこそ革命側」と主張、革命を最大限に利用したモルシ氏が当選した。

### 現れ始めたモルシ氏の本音

モルシ氏の本音は内政において「シャリア導入によるイスラム国家化」にある。当選直後、副大統領に女性とキリスト教徒を登用すると明言したものの、隙をみて「イスラム国家化」に着手する機会を狙っている、とみられている。

憲法起草委員100人選任の際、一気にイスラム法を導入するため、イスラム勢力で過半数を制する挙に出て、他勢力の反発を買ったこともある。シャリアの世が来ると確信したイスラム主義者の一部は7月1日、スエズ市で婚約者と共にいた学生を、反イスラムとして糾弾、殺害した。すでに宗教警察ないしは民兵と化す兆候を見せ始めている。



大統領選挙の投票のため、カイロ市マーディの学校前に並ぶ女性たち=5月23日、カイロ市学校前（南龍太郎撮影）  
Waiting in a row to vote in front of a school in Cairo, May 23, 2012 (Ryutaro Minami)

当選後初の政策発表で、年金の15%引き上げを打ち出したことは4年後の大統領選を見据えて大衆迎撃的な政策とも受け取れる。

外交では、多くのエジプト国民と欧米諸国やイスラエルからのモルシ氏に対する警戒に配慮し「国際条約

の順守」を公言した。しかしこれは当面の方便と考えられており、長期的には国民の反イスラエル・反米感情が高揚する機会を捉えて国際条約の見直しに着手する可能性が高いと見られている。

### 懸念される、対イスラエル・対米との関係悪化

パレスチナ自治区ガザを実効支配するイスラム根本主義過激派組織ハマスはムスリム同胞団が母体で、今やエジプトとガザは同胞となったと言える。ハマスは勢いを得てアッバス議長が管轄する西岸の実質支配に動くだろう。ガザとエジプト間の武器や人材の移動はすでに活発化し、一部逮捕者が出ている。軍が後退すれば放置されることは確実。そうなればイスラエルは、北方はイラン系イスラム教シーア派武装過激派組織「ヒズボラ」が主導するレバノンにより、東はアサド政権崩壊後実権を掌握するに違いない「ムスリム同胞団」によるシリアにより、南は同胞団が主導権を掌握したエジプトとパレスチナにより囲まれることになる。加えてイランが後押しし「地図からイスラエルを抹殺する」と掛け声をあげた場合、これは単なる恫喝ではなくなってくると予想される。対イスラエル・対米関係が緊張することは必至だ。

Young people could not actively support Islamic dictatorship or revival of former government and focused on a question -- which of two candidates should never be the president. April 6 Youth Movement made a final decision to support Morsi in order to prevent return of the previous government.

The election result was 51.73% for Morsi and 48.27% for Shafiq. Morsi who stressed that his group was on the side of the revolution and took advantage of the revolution to maximum was elected the president in a narrow margin.

### True color of Morsi being exposed

The true intention of Morsi is to establish an Islamic state through introduction of sharia in the domestic politics. Although he stated that he would appoint a woman and a Christian as vice presidents right after his election, he appears to be looking for an opportunity to start creating an Islamic state.

He appointed Muslims for the majority of 100 Constitution Drafting Committee members in order to rapidly introduce sharia, causing negative reactions from non-Islamic groups. Some Islamists convinced that era of sharia is dawning accused a student spending time with his fiancée in Suez as anti-Islam and murdered him on July 1. There have been signs that Islamists are organizing themselves into a religious police or militia. He announced 15% increase of public pension in his first policy announcement after his election. This can be interpreted as a crowd-pleasing campaign to secure reelection 4 years later.

In his foreign policy, he publicly pledged to comply with international treaties, in a gesture to ease alarm on the part of many Egyptians, Western countries and Israel. However, this gesture is considered to be a temporary tactic. In the long run, it is expected to be likely that he will start reviewing international treaties at an opportune time when people's anti-Israel, anti-U.S. sentiment gets elevated.

### Concern over Egypt's worsening relationship with Israel and the U.S.

Islamic extremist organization Hamas that governs the Gaza portion of the Palestinian Territories originated from the Muslim Brotherhood. It can be said that Egypt and Gaza are now in brotherhood. Hamas will gain momentum and try to control the West Bank that is currently under jurisdiction of Palestinian Authority chairman Abbas. Already weapons and people are actively moving between Gaza and Egypt and some have been arrested. If military soldiers retreat, movement of weapons and people will be left alone. Israel will be surrounded by Lebanon controlled by Shiite extremist group Hezbollah closely aligned with Iran to the north, Syria likely to be controlled by the Muslim Brotherhood after imminent collapse of Assad government to the east, and Egypt led by the Muslim Brotherhood and Palestine to the south. If Iran declares to eliminate Israel from the map and pushes those nations against Israel, the threat against Israel will materialize. Egypt's relationship with Israel and the U.S. will be strained inevitably.

モルシ氏は就任早々、イランとの国交回復に言及したが国内外からの反発を受け、踏み切ることを思い止まった。しかし就任演説で、パレスチナ人の権利確保への支持を表明するばかりでなく就任前日には米



投票所に通じる道に、戦車数台が待機して不測の事態に備える＝6月16「日」、エジプト大統領選決選投票の投票所となったカイロ市学校前  
Military tanks prepared for unpredictable situation to ensure safe voting in Cairo. June 16, 2012 (Ryutaro Minami)

ニューヨークの世界貿易センタービル爆破事件（1993年）に関与したとして終身刑を受け服役中のイスラム聖職者オマル・アブデル・ラフマン受刑者の釈放を要求している。また、7月3日に国連本部で開始した武器貿易条約交渉会合で、エジプトの主導により、オブザーバー資格のパレスチナに投票権を認めるよう提案、開会を一日遅らせる混乱まで引き起こした。

### 軍は徐々に権限を政権に移行か

前政権崩壊後の暫定統治を担った軍最高評議会はモルシ氏勝利を予測して、一気にイスラム化することを阻止するために議会を解散させ立法権、軍の予算権、司法権、憲法起草100人委員会の選任権も得て、暴走が予想される同胞団の抑え役に奔走してきた。「絶大な経済権益を持つ軍が特権を保持することは同胞団との権力闘争を激化させる」との見方もあるが東アジア駐在外交官やアメリカン大学カイロ校客員教授等の話によると、革命を通じて民衆の力を知った軍は、準備のできた段階から徐々にその権力や権益を政権に移行するであろうと見ている。トルコにおいても政教分離の守護者だった軍が大衆に支えられたエルドアン政権にその権力を奪われつつあるのと同じようになるであろう。

このような状況が続けば、政権が「イスラム化」政策と対イスラエル敵視政策を進めることは十分予想される。そうなればイスラム化とは信教の自由やイスラエルを否定する「アラブの厳冬」に向かうことになりかねない。ムバラク政権を崩壊させたことに酔いしれることなくモルシ政権を監視する責任はエジプト国民一人一人にあると言えよう。

Morsi hinted restoration of diplomatic relations with Iran, but refrained from actual restoration faced with domestic and international negative reactions. However, he announced his policy to support protection of Palestinian rights in his inauguration address. On the day before his inauguration, he demanded release of Islamic cleric Omar Abdel-Rahman currently serving a life sentence for his involvement in 1993 World Trade Center bombing incident in New York. During arms trade treaty negotiation sessions at the United Nations headquarters starting July 3, Egypt led other nations to propose a resolution to grant a voting power to Palestinian delegation that is currently an observer, causing confusion and delay of the session's opening by one day.

### Military expected to gradually transfer its power to Morsi government

The high level military command that served an interim government after collapse of Mubarak government dissolved the parliament of Egypt in order to prevent an abrupt shift to a Islamic state in anticipation of election victory of Morsi. The military command has been busy checking on the Muslim Brotherhood that has seized legislative power, budgeting power for the military, judicial power and power to appoint 100 Constitution Drafting Committee members and is expected to run away with those powers. Some fear that continued retention of privilege by the military that has enormous economic interests will exacerbate power struggles with the Muslim Brotherhood. According to diplomats from East Asian countries stationed in Cairo and a visiting professor of American University Cairo School, the Egyptian military has learned the power of the masses and is expected to gradually transfer its power and interests to the government as soon as it is ready. In Turkey, Prime Minister Erdogan's government supported by the masses is seizing power from the Turkish military that has been championing the cause of separation of religion and state. Similar development is expected in Egypt.

If this kind of situation continues, it is likely that the Egyptian government will promote a shift to a Islamic state and an antagonistic policy against Israel. A shift to a Islamic state may usher in the severe Arab Winter in which religious freedom and existence of Israel are denied. It is responsibility of each Egyptian to come out of euphoria generated by the collapse of Mubarak government and closely monitor Morsi government.