

Contents

<i>Note on the transliteration</i>	xi
<i>Foreword</i>	xiii
BRIAN WHITAKER	
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	xv
Introduction	1
<i>Background: what this book is about</i>	1
<i>Why Egypt and Tunisia?</i>	2
<i>Human rights and shari'a: a complicated relationship</i>	3
<i>Sexual minorities and freethinkers: the pariahs of the human rights debate</i>	4
<i>On 'Islam and Human Rights'... again? A few methodological clarifications</i>	6
<i>Book outline</i>	9
I Constitutionalism and Islam	12
<i>Background</i>	12
<i>The Western concept of 'constitution'</i>	13
<i>A brief historical overview of constitutionalism in Islam</i>	16
<i>'Liberty' in Islam</i>	17
<i>Political freedom and good government</i>	18
<i>'Right of resistance'?</i>	20
<i>A theocratic state?</i>	21
<i>More 'Muslims' than 'citizens'</i>	24
<i>'Islamic democracy'?</i>	25
<i>Final considerations on the inner tension between Islam and constitutionalism</i>	27
II The Islamic conception of individual liberties	31
<i>Introduction</i>	31
<i>The Universal Islamic Declaration of Human Rights</i>	32

	<i>The Cairo Declaration on Human Rights in Islam</i>	36
	<i>The Arab Charter on Human Rights</i>	39
	<i>The Al-Azhar Constitutional Project</i>	42
	<i>Final Remarks</i>	48
III	What ‘shari‘a’ in a constitution concretely means: the case of Egypt	50
	<i>Introduction</i>	50
	<i>Historical background</i>	50
	<i>The uncertain meaning of the ‘principles of shari‘a’ as ‘the main source of the legislation’</i>	51
	<i>Interpretation of article 2 by the Supreme Constitutional Court: non-retroactivity</i>	53
	<i>Interpretation of article 2 by the Supreme Constitutional Court: ‘absolute’ vs. ‘relative’ principles of shari‘a</i>	55
	<i>A critique of the SCC’s interpretation of Article 2</i>	59
	<i>Final considerations and open challenges</i>	62
IV	Islamic law in post-Arab Spring Egyptian Constitutions	64
	<i>Introduction</i>	64
	<i>Article 2, the untouchable</i>	64
	<i>The expansion of Article 2</i>	65
	How should ‘principles of shari‘a’ be interpreted?	65
	The role of Al-Azhar	67
	<i>Nulla poena sine lege... or maybe not?</i>	70
	<i>Civil, military or theocratic state?</i>	70
	<i>Contempt for the sacred</i>	71
	<i>Status of non-Muslim minorities</i>	72
	<i>Women’s rights</i>	73
	<i>Individual liberties vs. society’s will</i>	75
	<i>Final considerations</i>	77
V	Compromises and ambiguities in the 2014 Tunisian Constitution	79
	<i>Introduction</i>	79
	<i>Article 1: the role of Islam</i>	80
	<i>Article 2: The ‘civil state’, dawla madaniyya</i>	82
	<i>Article 6, sive ‘Le pot-pourri de la constitution tunisienne’</i>	87
	<i>Women vs men: not equal, but ‘complementary’</i>	91
	<i>Light and shadows of the 2014 Tunisian Constitution: The Code des Libertés as a crucial but unlikely step forward</i>	94

Introduction to the case studies	97
VI (Il)legal persecution of freethinkers	99
<i>Introduction</i>	99
<i>Tunisia</i>	99
Statutory provisions	99
<i>Ils ne sont pas Charlie</i> : Muhammad's cartoons as a threat to social peace	101
<i>Ni Allah Ni Maître</i> , or 'the crime of atheism'	103
Mounir Baatour and Emna Chargui: 'blasphemous extremists'?	105
<i>Egypt</i>	106
Legislation criminalizing apostasy and blasphemy	106
Patterns of persecution of atheists and blasphemers	109
Islamists and (un)free speech	112
Relevant case studies	115
The 'Abu Zayd case': an unfortunate milestone	115
The case of Alber Saber: An example of a revolution without freedom	119
Blasphemy, heresy, atheism ... even homosexuality: all sides of the same coin	120
<i>Final reflections on Egyptian and Tunisian freethinkers: public order and fitna</i>	123
VII (Il)legal persecution of sexual minorities	125
<i>Introduction</i>	125
<i>Tunisia</i>	126
Relevant provisions	126
Relevant case law on <i>liwāṭ</i>	128
Non-conformist behaviours outside of the scope of Article 230	130
Strategies for decriminalization	131
Abrogation of Article 230	131
Judgment of a prospective Constitutional Court	133
Ban on the anal test	133
Comprehensive revision of the penal code	135
<i>Egypt</i>	136
The witch-hunt against the 'debauched'	136
Elements of evidence	140
Religious grounds for prosecuting homosexuality	142
Recent trends in persecution	145
Strategies for decriminalization	147
<i>Final consideration on anti-gay laws in Egypt and Tunisia</i>	148

VIII	Constitutional and international freedoms	150
	<i>Constitutional obligation to abide by international law</i>	150
	<i>Non-discrimination</i>	153
	<i>Freedom of conscience and belief</i>	155
	<i>Freedom of expression</i>	157
	<i>Right to privacy</i>	159
	<i>Protection of human dignity, freedom from torture and inhuman treatments</i>	161
	<i>Legitimate restrictions of rights</i>	162
	<i>Final considerations</i>	163
IX	Conclusions: constitutions and individual freedom: the unbreakable bond	164
	<i>Bibliography</i>	169
	<i>Index</i>	189