THESIS

ISLAMIC RESURGENCE IN EGYPT: POST AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN PERIOD (SECOND HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY)

ABSTRACT

THESIS

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Islamic resurgence in most parts of the world is basically an outcome of the Muslims' efforts to establish Islamic society according to the tenets and aspirations enshrined in the Qur'ān. It is also seen by most of the Islāmists as an outright rejection of the West that dominated the whole Muslim world and exploited the material and manpower for the sake of its own vested interests.

The development of the Islāmist movement in Egypt represents a political and ideological struggle between one of the leading status in the Middle East and the most widespread opposition movement in the Muslim world in recent decades. It sheds light on authoritarianism and democratization in Egyptian society. This struggle has been a complex one, starting with the growth of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn in the 1930s and 1940s and followed by their experience of persecution during al-Nāsser era, the greater accommodation granted them during al-Sādāt era, the growth of more Islāmist groups was seen since the 1970s.

The present study deals with 'Islamic Resurgence in Egypt: Post al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn Period (2nd half of the twentieth century). The thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1st is devoted to 'Socio-political Conditions in Modern Egypt'. Religion had played a central role in the life of the people of Egypt from the time of pharaohs. Islām came to Egypt in the seventh century during the reign of 'Umr ibn 'Abd al-Khattāb, when he succeeded in including the Egyptian provinces of Byzantine Empire with the Islāmic one. Then in 1516-1517, Ottomans annexed it with Islāmic empire. Napoleon's conquest of
Egypt in 1798-1801 disrupted this three hundred year old order. It were then the ‘Ulamā, who played a great role to bring Mohammad ‘Ali, an Albanian officer, into power. He founded the modern Egypt and the dynasty ruled upto 1952. He launched Egypt’s first industrialization effort borrowing both models and techniques from the West. The British occupied Egypt in 1882.

The failure of the revolt of ‘Urabī Pāshā in 1883 frightened and frustrated the people of Egypt. Whole nation came in the grip of moral and ideological crisis. Two youth groups launched movement against the British, one with the Islamic spirit and values and the other with nationalism as its slogans.

Meanwhile Western culture was flourishing in the country in the last decades of the twentieth century. The Christians played a great role in preaching the Western culture, which influenced the Egyptian youth. They indulged in prohibited activities in the country in the name of personal freedom. They kept themselves away from Islām and moral values. They used to go dancing clubs, coffee bars and gambling centers. Qāsim Amīn wrote two books Tahrīr al- Mar‘ah and al- Mar‘ah al- Jadīdah, which contained demand of freedom to women. Tāhā Hussain wrote a book Fi-al-Sha‘er al-Jāhilī (poetry of the Ignorant Age), in which he challenged the old established tradition of literature.

Mustafā Kāmil started a movement, which aimed at nationalism on Islāmic principles and wanted to bring the entire Muslim world under the banner of Islām. He also demanded withdrawal of the British from Egypt, abolition of monarchy and parliamentary type of government. He died in 1907.
Scholars and reformers like Jamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī (1837-1897), Mohammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905) and Rashīd Rida (1895-1935) also played a vital role in shaping the Egyptian society. Jamāl al-dīn al-Afghānī totally challenged the European supremacy especially British imperialism. He wanted to reform Islām not to modernize it. He awakened the Muslims from slumbers, superstition and ignorance to partake in modern civilization especially in science and technology. His disciple, Mohammad ‘Abduh, also believed that the use of religion as the basis for reform and progress was essential even inevitable in the Muslim society. He wanted to bring about harmony between Islām and Westernization. His disciple Rashīd Rida and his other companions treated him a jurist and Imām but certain scholars accused him that he had given up Islām. That is why he became very controversial figure. Rashīd Rida was the prominent founder of Salafiyyah Movement. He was supporter of Arab nationalists in the struggle between Turks and Arabs. He wrote a book al- Khilāfah aw al-Imāmah al-‘Uzmah (caliphate or great leadership), in which he cleared the concept of Khilāfah.

In 1919 the Egyptians revolted against the occupation of the British, first under the leadership of Mustafa Kāmil and then under the leadership of Sa‘ad Zāglūl. Both the occasions they were suppressed.

On 3 March 1924 Mustafā Kamāl Ataturk abolished khilāfah. The supporters of the Western culture and the atheists were happy over the abolition of khilāfah. Certain people accepted the secularism but others were thrusted upon by the Turks. And the struggle started from Mohammad ‘Ali between ‘the old’ and ‘the new, gained momentum.
Europeans started to import their goods into Egypt. During the World War-I many people from different nationalities came to Egypt. They visited centers of liquor, gambling and prostitution—licensed or unlicensed. Egyptians watched these activities and many people followed the outsiders. Consequently, moral degradation started in Egypt. During this period, the incidents of murder and humiliation happened in abundance. The opportunists and rude persons took full advantage of these conditions and prospered cuckold and brokerage.

These were the conditions, which struck the mind of Shaykh Hasan al-Banna to launch the Islamic movement known as 'al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn'.


He founded the organization in Ismā’īliyyah in 1928. The movement was initially announced as a purely religious society that aimed to spread Islamic morals and welfare works. Its emergence, however, was part of a widespread reaction to various alarming developments that were sweeping through the Muslim world.

As a teacher and gifted orator, al-Banna was able to attract to his movement various members of the local intelligentsia, as well as some artisans and a few workers. When al-Ikhwān moved its headquarters from Ismā’īliyyah to Cairo, old and young people flocked to the mosques, to hear the members’ speeches. Wherever there were people, even in the coffee houses and clubs, al-Ikhwān members spoke about Islam and inspired the people. Such attentive audiences, however, were indicative not only of al-Ikhwān popularity but also of its rapid growth. Within twenty years
the membership totaled two million people and the movement had established two thousand branches all over Egypt. Membership consisted of people who were committed to the service of Islām and were ready to sacrifice everything they had for it.

Hasan al-Bana perceived the Islāmic state as a significant of the desired Islāmic order, but al-Ikhwān leaders probably did not consider the assumption of political power an imminent possibility at the time. At such an early stage in the group's formation and development, the tasks of moral reform and of agreeing on an Islāmic approach and methodology must have appeared more appropriate for the requirements of that phase.

During the World War 2nd, al-Ikhwān wanted Egypt to stay neutral and not involve itself and sacrifice its young men for the wars of the West. But when the homeland of the Muslims was threatened, al-Ikhwān joined the struggle. Its mujāhideen fought in the Palestinian war in 1948 and its courage surpassed that of the Egyptian army. It even helped an Egyptian garrison when it was besieged. The Egyptian army, frustrated and humiliated at the outcome of the Palestinian war, tormented with intrigues and plots which culminated in the coup d'état of 1952. But the government of the day was disturbed more by the performance of al-Ikhwān and thought it was going to lead a revolution. In order to safeguard its position, the Egyptian monarchy banned the movement in November 1948. Thousands of its members were arrested and from then onwards the story of trials of al-Ikhwān membership can be written in blood. A year latter, in 1949, Hasan al-Banā was assassinated.

Chapter 3rd, is concerned with Islāmic resurgence: post Hasan al-Banā phase. The disappearances of al-Banā and the confrontation between al-Ikhwān and the new
revolutionary regime in Egypt in the 1950s caused it to raise the 'political' to a much higher rank within its order of concerns. It should be noted that al-Ikkwān members were no strangers to the free officers because al-Bannā had already established some links with them. These links continued and al-Ikhwān played prominent role in the army's successful overthrow of the monarchy in 1952, since they were classified as a 'movement' or a 'society', not as a political party. Many al-Ikhwān members including its new Supreme Guide, Hasan al-Hudaibi, seem to have hoped that given the affinity between the two movements, the 'free officers' would be ready to allow al-Ikhwān direct participation in government after the revolution. When this hope was frustrated, relations between them deteriorated, resulting in two bloody confrontations first in 1954 and then in 1965. It was this confrontational atmosphere that eventually affected a shift in the thinking of al-Ikhwān associate Sayyid Qutb, a shift that subsequently coloured the ideas of most of the regiments of radical political Islām in Egypt and the Arab.

Although al-Ikhwān was purged by al-Nasser regime, it could not be annihilated in spite of the torture, imprisonments and executions. By the end of the June 1967 war, hundreds of al-Ikhwān members were released from Naseer’s detention camps. They regrouped quickly and started strengthening their organization.

Under the regime of al-Sadāt, al-Ikhwān has again consolidated its position and its comeback has been phenomenal. Al-Sadāt had his own reasons for not persecuting al-Ikhwān in the earlier days because he wanted to use it for erasing Nasser’s charishma.

By 1972, tremendous pressure was placed on him by al-Ikhwān, under the leadership of al-Hudaibi, for the
Islamization of Egypt on the imposition of Shariah penalties in case of adultery, theft, assault, drinking of alcohol etc. Also Islamic legislation was proposed in many areas such as the constitution, zakāt, mass media, public transportation, schooling, segregation of sexes, etc. In 1976, they were allowed to bring out their journal al-Da‘wah and monthly al-Ee’tisām through which their political opinions were expressed.

Al-Tilmisāni, third Supreme Guide, stressed for da’wah, education and training of the youth. In the universities and colleges, the students were reorganized. The demand for implementation of the Islamic Shariah gained momentum and the pro-Islām candidates were successful in the student union elections.

Under the leadership of its fourth Supreme Guide, Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr, the organization achieved extraordinary success on the political front and succeeded in reviving its existence and influence among the masses.

Mustafa Mashhūr, the fifth Supreme Guide succeeded in organizing exiled leaders with the international Islamic movement. He stressed for da’wah and training of the youth.

Most people are unaware about the activities of al-Ikhwān and treat it as a terrorist group. Besides social and religious works, it is engaged in welfare activities also. The organization has more than seventy-five years history and lakhs of people have deep concern with it. It has been fully involved in all the efforts of the resurgence of Islām throughout its history.

Chapter 4th deals with the Islamic resurgence during ‘al-Sadāt era’. Death of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser removed a major obstacle to the full-scale emergence of Islamic fundamentalism. A committed Muslim with a traditional
background al-Sadat paid attention to the rising Islamic sentiments both in and out. The 1965 Constitution was in practice in Egypt and permanent constitution was legislated on 11 September 1971. The name of the country 'United Arab Republic' was changed into 'Arab Republic of Egypt'. According to the constitution Islām was declared as the religion of the country; Shari‘ah as principal source of legislation and Arabic its official language.

Al-Sadat appropriated the title 'The Believer President'. His prayers at the mosques and his Islamic programmes were covered by the mass media. He increased Islamic activities and courses in the schools. He used Qur'ānic references and Islamic symbols in speeches at public gatherings and cast the 1973 Arab-Isreal War as jihād. He attended religious ceremonies such as Milād al-Nabi etc. Islamic criminal laws were reinstated, ribā was banned and women were asked to be segregated from men in public transport and in university education and excluded from certain professions. A series of bills were introduced in the parliament on Islamic penalties for usury, apostasy, theft, adultery and drinking. Most of them were withdrawn after protests by the Copts and liberal Muslims.

Although his foremost concern was science and technology, but he was also wellaware about the facts. Due to the weak ill faith in spiritual values, the rate of suicide was the highest in the 'Advanced Countries'. He emphasized that his country should not depend on science and technology only, but should preserve and revive its traditions and spiritual values also.

The official policies of al-Sadat government have greater recognition to Islamic themes. The recognition was the product of a general resurgence of Muslim consciousness, especially among the educated political
elite. Educated youth, students and administrators reaffirmed Islām.

Al-Sadāt was more conservative than al-Nasser, after coming in power, he set free the leaders and members of al-Ikhwān, and other Islāmist and political prisoners.

After the death of Sayyid Qutb and the bitter experience with the regime, the Islāmists lost confidence in the moderate policy opted by the leadership of al-Ikhwān. Subsequently, the Islāmists founded militant Islāmic groups of their own strategy and means. Among the movements inspired by Qutb especially his writings on jāhiliyyah, hakīmiyyah etc. are Munazzamat al-Tahrîr al- Islāmi, Jamā’at al- Muslimīn (al-Takfîr wa al-Hijrah), al- Jihād and al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah.

The radical confrontational worldview of Islāmic militants incorporated the polarized anti-Western perception of the world preached by Sayyid Qutb in the last years of his life. The westernization of Muslim society was blamed for political corruption, economic decline, social injustice, and spiritual malaise in Egyptian society. Following Qutb, they likened the condition of Egyptian society to the ignorance, paganism, and barbarism prior to Islām. The West’s crusader mentality and neocolonialism and the power of Zionism were believed to be behind a Judaic-Christian conspiracy, which pitted the West against the Islāmic world.

Since the legitimacy of Muslim governments is based on Islāmic law, militants believed that Egypt’s failure to implement the law rendered their country an ‘atheist state’ against which all true Muslims were duty-bound to wage jihād against all unbelievers is a religious duty; militants reinterpreted Islāmic beliefs, maintaining that true believers are obliged to fight those Muslims who do not
share their total commitment and that non-Muslim ‘People of the Book’ were also to be regarded as infidels.

Militants were equally harsh in their denunciation of the religious establishment and their government-supported and regulated mosques. The official ‘Ulama were regarded as puppets of the government. Their quiescent interpretation of jihād, which downplayed armed struggle and limited jihād to the pursuit of virtue, compromised the true revolutionary meaning of Islam by preaching subservience to the state. Militants told members to shun state-supported and controlled mosques as places of unbelief, since God’s will and the Prophet’s teachings were not upheld there. Al-Ikhwan was also rejected. Their moderate tone and agenda, their advocacy of a gradual Islamization of Egyptian society, were seen as unrealistic and as a capitulation to the government. Compromise was regarded as collaboration with the enemies of God.

Chapter 5th discusses with the Islamic resurgence in Mubarak Era. Husni Mubarak continued to strengthen the ‘official Islam’ in public life. He demonstrated the tolerance and liberalization like his predecessor al-Sadat. He asked the exiled leaders to come to the native land. He encouraged dialogue with the opposition and treated them as part of the masses. The political parties and religious organizations were allowed to operate. More liberty was provided to the mass media and the opposition was allowed to publish newspapers and criticized the government. Television debates were organized by the government in which religious scholars of al-Azhar University, Islamists and scholars from other religious circles participated. The newspapers regularly published the columns on the religion. Al-Jama’ah al-Ikhwan al-Islamiyyah and al-
Ikhwān operated a network of social services that included schools, clinics and private banks.

The impact of resurgence had been seen in the religious, political, social and economic fields of life. Certain organizations were established in the form of Sūfī mystics, moderate and traditional Islāmis and social welfare associations. The desire to lead a more Islāmically oriented way of life can be found among the middle and upper class, educated and uneducated section, peasants and professionals, young and old, women and men. Both ahāli and government-controlled mosques were filled with the Muslims.

Religious programmes and Islāmic trends are witnessed in the government-controlled media, in newspapers, bookshops, secular magazines and books of street vendors. The religious preachers Shaykh Mohammad Mutawalli al-Sha’rāwī and ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kishk became media stars in Egypt and in the Arab World.

Islāmis increasingly carried out student, faculty and syndicate elections and were declared successful. Islāmic student organizations dominated university student unions in Asyūt, al-Minya, Cairo and Alexandria. They pressurized authorities to ban Western music and concerts, segregation of gender in classes and implementation of Shariah in the society.

Mubārak followed al-Nasser in his dealing with the Islāmis and other political leaders, and workers. Over the past two decades, there had been a mounting pressure from the Islāmis for women to wear the hijāb. But at the same time, the government in order to strengthen the secular character of the society, discourages it by excluding the hijāb wearing women from the study missions and if possible discriminating against them in state employments.
Islamic critics claim that Mubarak failed to provide a dynamic leadership, a sound economy, the jobs to educated youth and not to show confidence in the political liberalization. They offer to provide the solution to their problems in depending not upon the West, cancellation of ‘Camp David Accord’ and in the implementation of Islamic laws.

The regime claims that the Islamists have no specific, sound, concrete and alternative programme. They rather demand to change the fate of the society through religio-social programmes. The regime criticized the Islamist movement that they had not defined the nature of an Islamic state and its institution and were lacking specific programmes and could not long last if handed over the reign of the state.

The government suffers from a number of shortcomings such as violation of political and civil rights, being not accountable to the people, inability in the military power, slow economic development, and socially and culturally demoralized leadership. Instead of providing chances to the Islamists to participate in the mainstream of Egypt, the regime adopts violent tactics for greater control of the political arena, which provides the Islamist militants a justification for their survival. The growing violence is caused due to the alienation of the rulers from their society and faith. Instead of giving ear to its subjects, the government has been suppressing them. All the acts of violence are not committed by the Islamist militants alone. There are other agencies also which are involved in certain killings to discredit the Islamists. Unfortunately Husni Mubarak is unable to understand the circumstances well, he has been seeking help from every-one including Israelis. It could neither serve the interests of the Egyptians nor
Islam, only violence and counter violence will continue instead. He is a Muslim and he should know what is Islam and what is not. He can save himself and his country, not by discriminating Islamist moderates from the extremists, but only by being faithful to his duties to implement Islam in the country.

The study is concluded with the remarks that Islamic resurgence is a divinely arrangement to revive the pure teachings of Islam in every phase of history as per conception of tajdid in the Prophet's traditions.
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This is to certify that Mr. Naseer Ahmad Zargar
Enrolment No. CC-4703, Admission No. 990057 has completed his
Ph.D. thesis on “Islāmic Resurgence in Egypt: Post Al-Ikhwān
Al-Muslimūn Period (Second Half of the Twentieth Century)”
under my supervision. This is purely original piece of research
work based on his own study of the subject and in my opinion is
suitable for submission for the award of the Ph.D Degree in Islāmic
Studies.

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Naseer Ahmad Zargar
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<td>q</td>
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<td>h</td>
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<td>k</td>
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<td>g</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>kh</td>
<td>kh</td>
<td>kh</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gh</td>
<td>gh</td>
<td>gh</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Long Vowels:**
- a
- a
- u

**Short Vowels:**
- a
- i
- u

**Diphthongs:**
- aw
- au
- ay
- ai

- uww/uvv
- iyy

Letter  is transliterated as elevated comma (,) and is not expressed at the beginning.
Letter  is transliterated as elevated inverted comma (').
  as Arabic is transliterated as  and as Persian/Urdu letter is transliterated as  
  as Arabic is transliterated as , and as Urdu/Persian  and as Urdu/Persian conjunction is transliterated as -
Article  is transliterated as al-(l in construct form).
  is transliterated as  in pause form and as  in construct form
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>Arab.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AC</td>
<td>Attack Churches.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ac</td>
<td>Active.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AD</td>
<td>Anno Domini.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ag. Sm. Dan.</td>
<td>Against Smoking and dancing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Bannā</td>
<td>Hasan al-Bannā.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alex.</td>
<td>Alexandria.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Hudaibi</td>
<td>Hasan Ismail al-Hudaibi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Ikhwān</td>
<td>Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Nasr</td>
<td>Mohammad Hāmid Abūal-Nasr.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Sadāt</td>
<td>Anwar al-Sadāt.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Tilmisāni</td>
<td>Al-Sayyid ʿUmar al-Tilmisāni.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AM</td>
<td>Ali Maghrabi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMS</td>
<td>Abd al-Mumin al-Sabrati.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AMU</td>
<td>Aligarh Muslim University.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AS</td>
<td>Alaihi Salam.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASU</td>
<td>Arab Socialist Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ay.</td>
<td>Ayatullah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AZ</td>
<td>Abbud Zumur.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>Bahrain.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bus.</td>
<td>Businessmen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>Clubs.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calif.</td>
<td>California.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CG</td>
<td>Caliph's Group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co.</td>
<td>Collective.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CVF</td>
<td>Combat Vanguard of Fighters.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DA</td>
<td>District Attorney.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DC</td>
<td>District of Columbia.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>De.</td>
<td>Delta.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DI</td>
<td>Denouncers of Infidels.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>Europe.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ECHR</td>
<td>Egyptian Center for Human Rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ED</td>
<td>Economic Development.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EOHR</td>
<td>European Organization of Human Rights.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EU</td>
<td>European Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FBI</td>
<td>Federal Bureau of Investigation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fo.</td>
<td>Founder.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIJ</td>
<td>The Group for International Justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GS</td>
<td>Gulf States.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>H</td>
<td>High.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICER</td>
<td>The Independent Commission for II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbreviation</td>
<td>Full Form</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ICSSR</td>
<td>Indian Council for Social Science Research</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IF</td>
<td>Islamic Front</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IIFSO</td>
<td>International Islamic Federation of Students Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IJMES</td>
<td>International Journal of Middle East</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ik.</td>
<td>Ikhwan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ILO</td>
<td>Islamic Liberation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IMF</td>
<td>International Monetary Fund</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Int.</td>
<td>International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRP</td>
<td>Islamic Revolution Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IS</td>
<td>The Islamic Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IRC</td>
<td>Islamic Revolutionary Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IUUIS</td>
<td>Islamic Union of Iraqi Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>J</td>
<td>Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jr.</td>
<td>Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>JS</td>
<td>Jailed by al-Sadat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KS</td>
<td>Killers of al-Sadat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>L</td>
<td>Lower</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Li.</td>
<td>Libya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LM</td>
<td>Lower-Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LP</td>
<td>Liberation Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LSP</td>
<td>Liberal Socialist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>Middle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MA</td>
<td>Military Academy (Technical Group)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mag.</td>
<td>Maghrib</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Me.</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEI</td>
<td>Middle East International</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEJ</td>
<td>Middle East Journal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ME/NA</td>
<td>Middle East &amp; North Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MES</td>
<td>Middle East Studies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MF</td>
<td>Mohammad al-Faraj</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MH</td>
<td>Mohammad Hamid</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mi.</td>
<td>al-Minya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mub.</td>
<td>Mubarak</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muh.</td>
<td>Muhammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N</td>
<td>North</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasser</td>
<td>Jamal Abd al-Nasser</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NC</td>
<td>North-Central</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NDP</td>
<td>Nationalist Democratic Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ne.</td>
<td>New</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NGO</td>
<td>Non-governmental Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>New Jersey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPUP</td>
<td>Nationalist Progressive Unionist Party</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

III
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NY</td>
<td>New York.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O</td>
<td>Old.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OAU</td>
<td>Organization of Arab Union.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>OIC</td>
<td>Organization of Islamic Countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Opp.</td>
<td>Opposed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Out.</td>
<td>Outlawed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>P</td>
<td>Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pak.</td>
<td>Pakistan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PBUH</td>
<td>Peace Be Upon Him</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PC</td>
<td>People of Call</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLO</td>
<td>Palestine Liberation Organization</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PS</td>
<td>Pyramid Society</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QPS</td>
<td>Qur'an Preservation Societies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QF</td>
<td>Qutb's Followers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RAA</td>
<td>Razi Allahu Ta'ala 'Anhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RCC</td>
<td>Revolutionary Command Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S</td>
<td>Syria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA</td>
<td>South Africa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAC.</td>
<td>Society of Action</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAW</td>
<td>Sallal lâhu 'Aliah-i-wasallam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SC</td>
<td>Soldiers of Compassionape</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SG</td>
<td>Soldiers of God</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SH</td>
<td>Said Hawa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHIISUK</td>
<td>Shahi Hamadan Institute of Islamic Studies University of Kashmir</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SIMI</td>
<td>Students Islamic Movement of India</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLP</td>
<td>Socialist Labour Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM</td>
<td>Shabab-e-Mohammad</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SMAD</td>
<td>Society of Muslims for Accusation of Disbelief</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SSS</td>
<td>Society of Spiritual Separation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>St.</td>
<td>Students</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Su.A</td>
<td>Saudi Arabia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUAR</td>
<td>Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd Rahman</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sup.</td>
<td>Suppressed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TH</td>
<td>The Heavenly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tr.</td>
<td>Translated by</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trans.</td>
<td>Translations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U</td>
<td>Upper</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>UN</td>
<td>United Nations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Un.</td>
<td>Under ground</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>US</td>
<td>United States</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.Sec.</td>
<td>Very Secretive</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WAMY</td>
<td>World Assembly of Muslim Youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WTC</td>
<td>World Trade Center</td>
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</table>

IV
### Glossary

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Abd</td>
<td>slave, servant (of God).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adâla</td>
<td>court of justice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adhân</td>
<td>public call to prayer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ada Allah wal-insân</td>
<td>enemies of Allah and man.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Adl asas al-hukm</td>
<td>justice (righteousness) is the basis of authority.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahd</td>
<td>covenant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahd al-istidâf</td>
<td>era of weakness (Islamic).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahl al-Bayt</td>
<td>the Prophet's family.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahl al-hadîth</td>
<td>those who rely on Traditions (sunnah) i.e., jurists.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahl al-hall wal Aqd</td>
<td>those loose and bind; legislative assembly in an Islamic state.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahl al-Kitâb</td>
<td>the people of the Book-Christians and Jews; also called dhimmi.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ahâli</td>
<td>popularly supported non-government mosques.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akh</td>
<td>brother (pl. Ikhwân).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akhir al-zamân</td>
<td>at the end of time.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alawi or Nusayri</td>
<td>Shiite sect in Syria, Turkey, and Iran.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Alîm</td>
<td>religious scholar, (pl. 'ulama)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Allah-u-Akbar</td>
<td>God is great.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amal</td>
<td>hope</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amîr al- muʾminîn</td>
<td>commander of the faithful; the caliph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anqûd</td>
<td>bunch of grapes (lit.); revolutionary cells</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

V
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'Aqidah</td>
<td>ideology.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asabiyyah</td>
<td>tribal or group solidarity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asalah</td>
<td>genuineness.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asalib</td>
<td>modalities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asayah</td>
<td>a cane.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asha</td>
<td>last prayers of day (evening).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asl</td>
<td>source, root (pl. usûl).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asliyyîn</td>
<td>the original or the authentic ones (i.e., fundamentalists).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asnâm</td>
<td>(singular sanâm) idols.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awe</td>
<td>fear</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Awqāf</td>
<td>religious endowments (singular waqf).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ayatullah</td>
<td>“sign of God”; Shiite religious rank.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badr</td>
<td>battle of Badr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Badu</td>
<td>Bedouin tribesmen.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bait al-Mâl</td>
<td>public treasury.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Balâgh</td>
<td>communications.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baraka</td>
<td>blessing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bath al-Islâmi</td>
<td>Islamic renaissance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batinî</td>
<td>esoteric.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayah</td>
<td>oath of allegiance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bidah</td>
<td>innovation; heretical doctrine of practice.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâr al-Islâm</td>
<td>abode of Islâm.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dâr al-harb</td>
<td>abode of war; reference to non-Islamic lands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Da'wah</td>
<td>propagation of the faith;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arabic</td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dawlah</td>
<td>state</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhal</td>
<td>straying from the right path.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhalalah</td>
<td>misguidance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhimmi</td>
<td>Christians and Jews.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dīn</td>
<td>faith, religion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duat</td>
<td>missionaries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fajr</td>
<td>dawn (prayer).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fallahīn</td>
<td>peasants (sing. fallah).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fann al-mawt</td>
<td>“the art of death”; martyrdom.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faqih</td>
<td>jurisconsult (pl. fuqahā).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fard</td>
<td>religious duty (pl. furud).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fard 'ayn</td>
<td>individual obligation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fard kifāyah</td>
<td>collective obligation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fasād</td>
<td>moral or economic corruption in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>society.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fath</td>
<td>conquest.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fatwā</td>
<td>legal opinion.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fikrah</td>
<td>ideology; thought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fiqh</td>
<td>the jurisprudence of the shariah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fitnah</td>
<td>situation of discord, strife and</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>trial (pl. fitan); provocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuqahā</td>
<td>(faqih, sing.) religious-jurisconsult.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fuqarā</td>
<td>the power.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghadhabah li Allah</td>
<td>outrage for God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ghazwa</td>
<td>battle.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadd</td>
<td>mandatory punishment (pl. hudūd).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hadīth</td>
<td>(pl. ahadīth) compilations of the</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>traditions of the Prophet.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hajj</td>
<td>pilgrimage to Makkah.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hakīmiyyah</td>
<td>reign of Allah’s sovereignty on earth</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
to end all sin suffering, and repression.

**Haqq** : right; truth; (pl. *huqūq*).

**Harām** : unlawful, illicit, impure.

**Hidāyah** : God-given guidance.

**Hijāb** : veil worn by women.

**Hijrah** : the Prophet's migration, or escape from Makkah to Madīnah.

**Hizb** : Part.

**Hudūd** : Islamic legal codes.

**Hujar** : plural of *hijrah*-migration; tribal settlements of puritanical warriors of Arabia.

**Hukm** : rule, authority.

**Huriyyat** : liberty.

**Iftirā** : false accusation.

**Ihyā al-Dīn** : religious revival.

**Ijmā** : consensus.

**Ijtihād** : independent and authoritative interpretation in Islamic law.

**Ikhwān** : (sing. *akh*) brothers in religious confraternity.

**Iktināz** : hoarding of goods and wealth.

**Imām** : religious leader; for Shiites the "rightful" successors to Ali.

**Imān** : faith.

**Imārah** : see *majmuah* or *jama'ah*.

**Infitah** : Sadat's policy of economic liberalization—"opening" to the west (open door policy).
**Isha** : last prayer (evening prayer).

**Islah** : reform

**Islāmiyyīn** : Islāmist (i.e., fundamentalist).

**İsnād** : the chain of transmission of a Hadīth

**İstislām** : surrender.

**Jāhil** : Ignorant.

**Jāhiliyyah** : time of ignorance before Islām; in contemporary Islāmist usage “a sinful society.”

**Jamā‘ah** : society; also îmārah or majmu‘ah.

**Jami** : large mosque.

**Jamīyyah** : association.

**Jazzabah** : appeal, charm, charisma.

**Jizyah** : levy imposed by an Islāmic state on its non-Muslim subjects.

**Jihād** : holy war.

**Jihād bil-sayf** : striving by the sword.

**Jihāz al-qiyādī** : leadership apparatus.

**Jihāz al-taqiyim** : supervisory apparatus.

**Jīl al-dai** : the lost generation.

**Ka’abah** : A square structure built by Abraham in Makkah toward which Muslims turn to pray.

**Kabīr al-ailah** : head of family.

**Kāfir** : (pl. kuffār) irreligious, unbelieving, infidel.

**Kala** : grazing land.

**Kalimah** : article of Islāmic faith. “There is no God but Allah; Mohammad is the messenger of Allah.”
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Definition</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khalīfah</td>
<td>successor to the Prophet (Caliph).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kharijite</td>
<td>Khawariji; assassins of Ali who opposed keeping the succession in the Prophet’s lineage and who believed that any devout Muslim had the right to become caliph.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khutaba</td>
<td>(sing, khatib) preachers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khutbah</td>
<td>sermon.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kuffār</td>
<td>unbelievers, sinners.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kufr</td>
<td>unbelief.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La hukm illa lillah</td>
<td>there is no rule but that of God.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma’</td>
<td>water.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madhhab</td>
<td>school of legal thought.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maghrib</td>
<td>Arab West; North African Arab countries.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madrasah</td>
<td>religious school.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majlis al-shūra</td>
<td>consultative assembly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majmū‘ah</td>
<td>(imārah or jama‘ah) society; association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Makruh</td>
<td>abhorrence of impious conduct.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Māl</td>
<td>property.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marāhil</td>
<td>stages.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mashriq</td>
<td>Arab East.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masjid</td>
<td>small mosque.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maslahāt</td>
<td>interstices.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Milād al- Nabi</td>
<td>the birth anniversary of Prophet Mohammad.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minhāj</td>
<td>coherent program of action.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufasilah al-shuuriyyah</td>
<td>spiritual separation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muftidūn fil-ard</td>
<td>the corrupt on earth.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufti</td>
<td>jurisprudent who issues fatwas.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Muhaddith : scholar of hadīth; traditionalist.
Muhibah : love.
Mujaddid : one who undertakes and carries out tajdīd (q.v.); renewer of faith.
Mulhid : apostate, heretic.
Mullah : mosque preacher or teacher.
Mu'min : Muslim believer (pl. mu'minin).
Munādhdhir : theoretician.
Munkar : repugnance.
Murshid : guide.
Murtadd : a Muslim who rejects Islam; an apostate.
Mushaf : Copy of the Qur'ān.
Mushrikīn : idolaters; followers of shirk (q.v.).
Mustadafīn : the oppressed, the disinherited.
Mutadayyīn : (pl. mutadayyīnīn) pious, devout.
Mutakallim : theologian.
Mutārrif : (pl. mutārrīfīn) radical extremist.
Mufasilah al-Shirīyyah : to practise spiritual separation.
Nabi : prophet.
Nafs : self.
Naib : deputy.
Nar : fire.
Nashr al-da'wah : propagation of the message.
Nawāfil : (sing. nafl) supererogatory prayers.
Nizām al-Islāmi : Islamic system (order).
Qadī : (pl. qudah) judge.
Qarāmitah : Carmathians; Islamic insurrectionary movement.
Qistās : equity.
Qitāl : fighting.
Qiyadah al-Qutriyyah: Baathi Regional Command.
Qiyās: reasoning by analogy.
Quraysh: the Prophet’s tribe.
Rabbāniyyah: divinity, godship.
Radhilah: vices.
Rais al-mu’min: The believer president (a reference to Sadāt).

Rakah: bowing and prostration during prayer.
Rashidīn: the four “rightly guide” caliphs.
Rasūl: messenger of God (Muhammad).
Ribā: interest, usury.
Rubūbiyyah: divinity, godship.
Sabr: patience.
Sadaqah: charitable donation.
Saff jadd: earnest believers.
Sahwah al-Islāmiyyah: Islamic awakening.
Salaf: pious ancestors.
Salafiyyah: a movement of Islamic revival led by ‘Abduh and Rida.

Salāt: prayers.
Sālik: devotee, mystic pravellor.
Shahadah: profession of faith.
Shahīd: martyr.
Shariah: Islamic Law.
Shariyyah al-hukm: legitimate authority.
Shaykh: tribal chief, religious teacher or respected elder.
Shaytān: devil.
Guidance Council, Consultative Assembly and the ideology of the organization.

The first part of *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslīmūn: Kubra al-Harakāt al-Islāmiyyah al-Hadīthah* of Ishāk Mūsa Husaini, more over, deals with the life of Hasan al-Bannā and his leadership; while, the second part deals with the leadership of Hudaibi, the problems he faced and al-Ikhwān’s relationship with the army officers and its purge.

Said Ramadan, the son-in-law of al-Bannā, in his book, *What we stand for*, focuses on the social and economic order, political thought, foreign policy and other aspects ascribed to al-Ikhwān.


Professor Saeed Hawwa in his book, *Ikhwān al-Muslīmūn: Maqsad, Marāhil, Tarīq Kār* (Tr. by Dr. Obaidullah Fahad Falahi), gives not only an insight into the philosophy and the nature of al-Ikhwān but also helps in removing the unjustified misunderstandings about the organization.

Mohammad Shawqui Zaki in his work *A-Ikhwān al-Muslīmūn: wa al-Mujtama al-Misrī* tried his best to provide a comprehensive introduction of al-Ikhwān before 1954 suppression on behalf of the government.

A number of books have been written on the ideology and works of Sayyid Qutb. S. Badrul Hassan in his book, *Sayyid Qutb Shaheed*, discussed the life and works of Sayyid Qutb especially highlights his book *Ma'ālim fi al-Tarīq*. 
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Term</th>
<th>Translation</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tawhīd</strong></td>
<td>the belief in the unity of Allah in opposition to shirk-the ascribing &quot;partners&quot; to the godhead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ulamā</strong></td>
<td>(sing. ‘ālim) Islamic scholars.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ulūhiyyah</strong></td>
<td>divine power, sovereignty.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Umād</strong></td>
<td>mayor (chairman of town corporation).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>‘Ummah</strong></td>
<td>the Islamic polity.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Usūliyyah al-Islāmiyyah</strong></td>
<td>Islamic fundamentalism.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Usār</strong></td>
<td>underground cells (lit. family).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wājibāt</strong></td>
<td>(s.wājib) obligations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wala</strong></td>
<td>allegiance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Walayah</strong></td>
<td>friendship of God; possession of legitimacy.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Wast</strong></td>
<td>centrist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zakāt</strong></td>
<td>compulsory almsgiving.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zalamah</strong></td>
<td>injustice as referred to the deeds of government, exploiting groups, or enemies.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zālim</strong></td>
<td>unjust.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zindīq</strong></td>
<td>atheist.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Ziyy al-Islāmi</strong></td>
<td>Islamic attire.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zuama</strong></td>
<td>leaders; notables; chieftains (sing. zaīm).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Zulm</strong></td>
<td>injustice.</td>
</tr>
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XIV
Introduction
INTRODUCTION

Islamic resurgence in most parts of the world is basically an outcome of the Muslims' efforts to establish Islamic society according to the tenets and aspirations enshrined in the Holy Qur'an. It is also seen by most of the Islamists as an outright rejection of the West that dominated the whole Muslim World and exploited the material and manpower for the sake of its own vested interests. This Islamic awakening in the Muslim World is credited mostly to the Islamic Movement in Egypt, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, founded by Hasan al-Banna (1906-1949) in Ismā‘īliyyah in Egypt.

The 11 September 2001 attacks on WTC and Pentagon in the US and the development of Islamic militancy against the super powers in all the parts of the world have been originated by the Western scholars like J. L. Esposito and others, in the revolutionary thoughts and activities led by Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966), the ideologue of al-Ikhwān and Sayyid Abul Ala al-Mawdūdī (1903-1979), the founder of Jamat-i-Islāmi of Indo-Pak sub-continent. Genuinely or un-genuinely the Westerners especially, have studied the thought of al-Bannā and Qutb as the motivating force behind all the violent reactions against the West in the Muslim World.

Several works and books of a great importance of different scholars and writers are available in Arabic, English, Urdu and other languages. I have gone through some of the voluminous works on al-Ikhwān. R. P. Mitchell in his book, The Society of the Muslim Brethren, has discussed history, structure, leadership,
Guidance Council, Consultative Assembly and the ideology of the organization.

The first part of *Al-İkhwân al-Müslûmûn: Kubra al-Harakât al-Islâmiyyah al-Hadîthah* of Ishâk Mûsa Husaini, more over, deals with the life of Hasan al-Bannû and his leadership; while, the second part deals with the leadership of Hudaibi, the problems he faced and al-İkhwân’s relationship with the army officers and its purge.

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Dr. Obaidullah Fahad Falahi and Dr. Mohammad Salahuddin 'Umri, wrote a book on Sayyid Qutb Shaheed entitled, *Faulād Hey Mu'min*. The authors discussed comprehensively not only life and thought of Sayyid Qutb but also did critical analysis of his contribution in the fields of Islamic literature.


These works discussed above did not cover post Hasan al-Banna period in detail. The title of the present work 'Islamic Resurgence in Egypt –Post al-Ikhwan al-Muslimūn Period (2nd half of the twentieth century)', apparently creates a misunderstanding that al-Ikhwan is no more active in the country and its being is disappeared and is replaced by other Islamic organizations and movements. It is not correct. Al-Ikhwan is still more active resurgent movement in Egypt. I may be kindly allowed to provide following factors in favour of my claim:

1. Though the military regimes refused to grant al-Ikhwan legal status as a political party, still then it carried out its activities, after the death of Hasan al-Banna, under six Supreme Guides from al-Hudaibi to Mohammad Mahdi Ākif.

2. The organization took part in the 1984 parliamentary elections, formed an alliance with the Wafd Party and the alliance won 57 seats out of 450. In 1987 elections it formed a new 'Islamic Alliance' with Labour Party and Liberal Party. The only campaign slogan for the alliance was *al-Islām*
huwa al- hall (Islam is the solution). The organization joined with most of the other political parties in boycotting the 1990 elections;

3. In 1976, al-Da‘wah (appeared from 1951 to 1956), along with other religious and political publications of the opposition was allowed to be printed publicly again. Al-Da‘wah kept up a steady campaign for the more general goals of Islamic renewal of society and full implementation of Shariah. Al-Sadat banned it in September 1981. In the mid-1980s, Liwā’ al-Islām (a weekly publication) was launched, which was temporarily banned during the 1990-1991 Gulf War. Al-Ikhwān (daily) is being published from its publishing house.

4. Other Islāmist groups in Egypt either are offshoots of al-Ikhwān or share its general goals of Islāmic reform and implementation. During the leadership of al-Hudaibi, certain people differ over the tactics of the Supreme Guide and left the organization and formed their own militant groups. Dr. Siriyya of Munazzmāt al-Tahrīr al-Islāmī, Shukri Mustafa of Jamā’at al-Muslimīn, al-Faraj of al-Jihād and ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Ramān of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah had been the members of al-Ikhwān.

5. Many Egyptians claim to have no formal relationships with al-Ikhwān yet support their goals and ideals. The most prominent are the popular religious scholars Shaykh ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kishk (b. 1933), Hāfiz Salāmah (b. 1925), and Shaykh Aḥmad al-Mahalawi, whose sermons have been widely attended and distributed through tape recordings.
6. Zaynab al-Ghazāli (b. 1917), the most prominent women associated with al-Ikhwān and a regular contributor to *al-Da’wah*, is a fierce opponent of the feminist movement and a promoter of traditional Islamic values for women and men.

7. Al-Ikhwān has mass appeal. Students, professors, doctors, lawyers and other professionals have demonstrated their support for the organization in numerous elections on campuses and especially in syndicate and union elections.

Although various governments—monarchical and republican—have outlawed and restricted its activities, the very success and continuing popularity of al-Ikhwān demonstrates to Egyptians that Islamic groups in general can derive legitimacy from the positive influence they exert on the daily lives of the population. The government has thus resolved to deny legal recognition to al-Ikhwān as either a political party or a Jamiyyah, but its de facto existence is accepted.

The Board of Studies, Deptt. Of Islamic Studies A.M.U. Aligarh has assigned the present topic for research keeping in view probably the fact that al-Ikhwān is banned as a political party in Egypt.

The first chapter of the work deals with the 'Socio-political Conditions in Modern Egypt.' In this chapter, socio-political conditions of Egypt before the establishment of al-Ikhwān have been discussed.

Chapter 2nd deals with Islamic Resurgence: Hasan al-Bannā phase. In this chapter life of Hasan al-Baanā, establishment of the organization and its different stages till the death of al-Bannā have been described.

Chapter 3rd shows the detailed account of Islamic Resurgence and al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn after the death
of Hasan al-Banna i.e. from its second Supreme Guide Hasan Ismail Hudaiibi to its present Supreme Guide Mohammad Mahdi Akif.

Chapter 4th is concerned to the Islamic resurgence during Anwar al-Sadat era and the detailed discussion on the three militant organizations i.e. Jamāʿat al-Muslimīn, Munazzamāt al-Tahrīr al-Islāmī and al-Jihād is highlighted.

Chapter 5th is about the Islamic resurgence in Egypt during the period of Husni Mubarak till date. Moreover al-Jamāʿah al-Islāmiyyah of ʿUmar ʿAbd al-Rahmān is discussed in detail.

In the concluding Chapter the factors of Islamic resurgence and the main features of Islamic awakening in each era are highlighted point wise. The ideology of all the Islamic organizations is also summarized.

In compiling this work, I have consulted a good number of books magazines, journals, periodicals, encyclopedias and newspapers. I use many libraries such as library of the Deprt. of Islamic studies (AMU); Maulāna Azād library (AMU); library of Idarah Tahqīq wa Tasnīf Aligarh; library of SIM of India (Aligarh), Ahl-Hadīth library Jamia Urdu Aligarh and library of Deprt. of West Asian Studies AMU Aligarh. In addition to this, I utilized Iqbal library (Kashmir University), Seminar library, Shahi-Hamadān Institute of Islamic Studies (KU). I also visited a number of libraries in Mumbai especially Asiatic Society Library, Town Hall Fort, Mumbai; J.L.N. Library, Mumbai University; Anjuman Khayr al-Islām Library, Mumbai and Central Library Town Hall, Mumbai.
In order to have a clear-cut concept of the theme, I have interviewed a number of Islamic dignitaries and scholars. Some of them may be mentioned here:

1. Professor Mohammad Younis Geelani, Chairman, Deptt. of Islamic Studies Kashmir University.
2. Dr. Hamid Naseem Rafiabadi, Reader, Deptt. of Islamic Studies University of Kashmir.
3. Maulana Sayyid Jalaluddin ‘Umri, Vice-president Jamat-i-Islami of India.
4. Mohammad Muqimuddin, Director Institute of Objective Studies Aligarh Chapter.
5. Professor Masood Khan Nadvi, Ex-Faculty member Deptt. of West Asian Studies AMU, Aligarh.
6. Dr. Raziul Islam Nadvi – scholar of Idarah Tahqiq wa Tasnif Aligarh.

The methodology used in the dissertation is historical and analytical. It was quite essential to go through the history of politics behind all the resurgent activities in Egypt and also to have a deep insight in all official steps taken by the governments as well. This work provides an analysis of the factors responsible to the Islamic awakening in the country. Islamic resurgence is studied by most of the scholars as a reaction against the status quo in the country as well as in the West. It is however a divinely arrangement to revive the pure teachings of Islam in every phase of history as per conception of Tajdid in the Prophetic traditions. This work, therefore, is an humble effort to see the roots of Islamic resurgence in this divine arrangement also.
Chapter I
Socio-Political Conditions in Modern Egypt
Islam came to Egypt in the fourth decade of the seventh century,\(^1\) when ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb (R.A.A.), the second Caliph of Islam\(^2\) while expanding the empire had sent the Arab army the invaded Egypt under the command of ‘Āmr bin al-‘Ās’ in 640 A.D., who succeeded in including the Egyptian provinces of Byzantine Empire with the Islāmic one. The annexation was done at the end of his rule, because he found Egypt’s soil fertile for Islam. Religion had played a central role in the life of the people of Egypt from the time of pharaohs. The priests of ancient Egypt made up a central part of the ruling class. Persian invaders disrupted these traditional patterns by defeating the last Egyptian Pharoah in 525 B.C.\(^3\) Religion remained a key element of political culture.

The new faith impelled Muslims as a collective body to express their believes by founding a community of ‘Ulamā who played a vital role for right guidance. The ‘Ulamā were the religious leaders in Muslim Egypt. They retained their importance as a powerful social and spiritual force even when the hold of Muslim empires weakened and local dynasties rose in Egypt. The foundation of Al-Azhar as mosque and university in 970 A.D.\(^4\), became a cradle for the group of spiritual and intellectual Egyptian people. The Ottomans annexed Egypt with Islāmic empire in 1516-1517\(^5\) and made it part of the last great Islāmic empire.

The Ottomans strengthened the Shariah and enhanced the study of Arabic. Out of fifty thousand adults, four thousand were the ‘Ulamā only in the 18\(^{th}\) century Cairo.\(^6\) They played such a vital role which created a social and moral link between Cairo and the provinces. They had also done their duty in political crises witnessed by Egypt. They also acted as intermediaries and protectors who intervened between Egyptians and their Ottoman rulers.
Napoleon’s conquests in Egypt (1798-1801) disrupted this three hundred year old order and cast the Egyptian provinces, vulnerable and unprepared, into a global political system dominated by the West. In the last stage of Ottoman rule, the Egyptian provinces had entered a period of severe decline and economies sank to subsistence levels as imperial linkages weakened. By the end of the 18th century, it was clear that the old formulas were everywhere strained.

The ‘Ulamā played a great role to bring Mohammad ‘Ali (r. 1804-1841) into power. He was an Albanian officer, who founded modern Egypt and established the dynasty that held power until 1952 A.D. The ‘Ulamā incited the people to demonstrate in the streets against the Ottoman governor and made Mohammad ‘Ali as governor of Egypt on the condition that he would rule with their consultation.

Mohammad ‘Ali launched Egypt’s first industrialization effort borrowing both models and techniques from the West. In 1811 A.D., he invited 400 Mamlûkes for lunch in the Cairo Citabel and massacred all of them and grabbed their lands. He distributed these lands to the members of his family, Fallahîn. He also involved the Egyptians in five wars from 1811 to 1828. The political and military structures established by Mohammad ‘Ali were designed to serve the objectives of his reformist modernization programme and to extend his dynasty’s power. Later on, the regime actively encouraged the cultivation of cotton and the increasing exports of this product made the Egyptian economy dependent on the international market. He also reformed and modernized the civil bureaucracy. European missionaries worked in Egypt and Egyptian students studied in Europe.

The Egyptians, traditionally, had a mercenary army from at least 200 B.C. Egyptians were exempted from this service and they considered it their precious right. Most of the
Egypt's soldiers had been Mamlūkes up to the 19th century. Muhammad Ali also followed the same tradition and engaged the Fallāhīn in agriculture rather than under arms. He intended to create a strong mercenary army of black African slaves led by foreign officers. This plan failed when Greek war of Independence broke out. For the first time he recruited the Fallāhīn into the army in more than 2,000 years.

Turks, Circassians and Georgians were given admission to military and technical schools but the Egyptians were not even allowed to sit in the examination. This discrimination made them conscious for their identity as Egyptians.

As early as the 1870s secret societies, opposed to the dynasty were organized within the army, in the civil service, and even within the court, led by Prince Halīm and his freemasonry group. But due to lack of coordination with the people, this attempt failed.

By the end of the reign of Khedive Ismāil, national self-consciousness has risen to the point where revolt seemed imminent. But Ismāil's deposition in 1879 A.D. relaxed tensions for a few years.

The 'Urabi Officers Movement of 1879-1882 was the last movement which was the result of discontent among the Fallāhīn officers before the British occupation. There was no coordination and cooperation among the participating elements in the 'Urabi movement.' In addition to this the leaders were neither talented nor experienced. Consequently, their attempted revolt failed, which resulted the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. Lord Cromer immediately reduced the Egyptian army to a small native force. Europe throughout the 19th century proceeded to colonize Egypt.

The failure of revolt of 'Urabī Pāshā in 1883 A.D., frightened and frustrated the people of Egypt. Whole nation
(Egypt) came in the grip of moral and ideological crisis. These conditions continued until the beginning of the twentieth century. At last Egyptian youths in two groups launched a movement against the British. The first group emerged with the Islāmic spirit and values and favoured the Ottoman Turks. The second group had the slogan of Egyptian nationalism and opposed the first group.

The first group was represented by al-Hizb al-Watani and led by an orator, Mustafā Kamīl. He instilled national spirit in the hearts of the Egyptians through the principles of Islām. He treated the religion and the national spirit as the two sides of the same coin. He said, "Deen and Native land are the twin brothers which cannot be separated from each other." Mohammad Farīd Wajdī, The research scholar and ‘Abd al-Azīz Javesh, the man of letter were among the leaders of this group. This group created problems for both the British authorities and as well as the Egyptian King. So Mohammad Farīd Wajdī and ‘Abd al-Azīz Javesh were jailed.

The second group upheld the Egyptian nationalism and was against the first group, who wanted to mould their lives according to the principles of Islām. This group was also divided into two branches with regard to thoughts and ideas.

The first branch derived its inspiration from the British Governor Lord Cromer and always favoured the British views through the newspaper, al-Muqattam (The Muqattam Mountain). The Britishers wanted the Egyptians to separate them from the rest of the Muslim world.

The paper al-Muqattam, continuously wrote, "The Britishers who live in Egypt are the well wishers of the Egyptian people and want to free them from the tyranny of the prevalent set-up. They want to bring peace and justice for them. The credit goes to them for relieving Egypt from the
economical crises and providing a balanced economic system."  

Al-Muqattaf another magazine influenced young Egyptians, who praised the British Governor, Lord Cromer. The people who opposed these two papers, were branded pro-Turks. The people, who supported these two papers were selfish and formed a separate organization called ‘al Hizb al-Watanī al-Hurr’ (The National Liberation Party) for their own interests. They opposed al-Hizb al-Watanī (The National Party) of Mustafa Kāmil.

Western culture was flourishing in Egypt in the last decade of the 19th century. The Christians played a great role in preaching the Western culture. They were supporting the Britishers and influencing the Egyptian youth. In 1884, a British telephone company was established in Egypt. In 1896, the first cinema was inaugurated in Cairo. In 1897 the first railway line was laid and in 1898, the National Bank was established which issued currency notes. The people of Egypt indulged in prohibited activities in the country in the name of personal freedom. They kept themselves away from Islām and moral values. They used to go dancing clubs, coffee bars and gambling centers.

The youths of Egypt were much more influenced by the Western culture and get degenerated. Most of them disliked to practise the principles of Islām. A great scholar Tahā Hussain (b. 1890) wrote a book Fi al-Sher al-Jāhili (Pre-Islāmi Poetry or Poetry of the Ignorant age). In this book, he wrote that he cast doubts on the authenticity of certain parts of the Qur‘ān and the Hadīth. He considered raising the Ka‘aba by Hadrat Ibrāhīm (A.S.) and Hadrat Ismā‘īl (A.S.) to be a myth. He wanted to make Egypt culturally a part of Europe. When he delivered a lecture on the topic ‘language and literature’ in the University, he did not start it with Bismillah hir-Rahmān-
ir-Rahīm. When asked, he provided the reason that, “If I begin my lecture with the hymn of God, the audience would laugh because it is against the modern trend.”

A movement, which raised the demand for liberty to women in each and every field of life, got momentum in Egypt. Qāsim Amīn, student of Mohammad Abduh, wrote two books *Tahrīr al-Mar‘ah* (Freedom of woman) in 1899 and *al-Mar‘ah al Jadīdah* (The Modern woman) in 1900. The first women’s newspaper *al-Fatīah* was already established by Hind Nawfal in 1892. Qāsim Amīn wrote that, in future, the women of Egypt would resemble with the women of America or Europe in all the walks of life. In the above mentioned two books of Qāsim Amīn, the author demanded the freedom for women, which has been given to the women of Western countries.

In *Tahrīr al-Mar‘ah*, the author said that there is no importance of *hijāb* in Islām and Islām permits women to keep their hands and face open. He has discussed four problems of women in this book. Most part of the book was devoted to the problem of *hijāb*. The other three problems discussed in the book are participation of women in common affairs, number of wives and divorce. While discussing these four problems, the author committed blunders by neglecting the principles of Islām and adopted Western style to provide solution to overcome these problems. According to him, the wearing of *hijāb* is a tradition and not compulsory rule in Islām. He criticized the Muslim scholars and jurists while discussing the problems of wives and divorce.

In the second book, *al-Mar‘ah al-Jadīdah*, Qāsim Amīn claimed that Egyptian women have the right to live like the English and the French women. He based this book on his own experiences and ideas, and ignored totally the Islāmic principles and values. He incited the women to rebel against
the men to get their rights and freedom. In this way he
demoralized the women and admitted that principles of
Islāmic Shariah such as family system, hijāb etc. are the
hurdles in the way of progress of the Muslims.

People criticized both the books by words through
newspapers but not in an academic fashion. Mohammad Tal'at
Harb wrote a critical essay entitled Tarbiyyah al-Mar‘ah wa
al-Hijāb (The training of women and the veil) in the light of
Islām but it could not compete with Qāsim Amīn’s books.

Egyptian rulers and land-lords formed an organization
called Hizb al-Ummah, (The National party) in 1907 under the
leadership of Mohammad Sulaimān Pāshā. They supported
Lord Cromer for their own interests. Al-Jaridah was its
exponent. Lutfi al-Sayyid also joined the group. The ideology
of Lutfi al-Sayyid and other philosophers was the freedom of
thought, co-operation with the Britishers and the blind
following of Europe in every aspect of life.25 Lutfi al-
Sayyid wrote:

"The Egyptian nation wants peace. It loves British
people. Though legally government is in the hands
of the Egyptian King, practically it is ruled by
Governor Cromer. The time has come that both the
powers should be centralized that is the legal
government should also be handed over to the
British Governor."26

They were totally against the Islāmic way of life. One of
their leaders, ‘Abd al-Hamīd al-Zahravī wrote in al-Jarīdah:

"The unity of the Muslims came to an end after the
demise of Hadrat ‘Umar Farooq (R.A.A.). And the
political unity of Muslims also ended after the
Martyrdom of Hadrat Ali (R.A.A.). The alliance
which has been destroyed for thirteen hundred
years, why should that be revived now?"27

There was the tug of war between al-Hizb al-Watanī,
led by Mustafa Kāmil, Farīd Wajdī and ‘Abd al-Azīz Javesh
and the other opposing groups in different forms. Al-Hizb al-
Watanī al-Hurr was serving its own purpose with the help of
al-Muqattam and al-Muqattaf. Al-Jaridah was serving Hizb al-Ummah. Mohammad Abduh was striving for the westernization of the whole Egypt. There was a difference between the two opposing movements. The aim of Mustafa Kamil’s al-Hizb al-Watanī was nationalism based on Islamic principles and wanted to bring the entire Muslim world under the banner of Islam. Its exponent was al-Livā, which attacked the opponents. He declared that the Turkey-Egypt agreement of 1840 A.D. should be honoured. According to this agreement Egypt had to pay the taxes to Turkey and judges would be appointed by the latter. The approach of Hizb al-Ummah and Mustafā al-Sayyid’s al-Hizb al-Watanī al-Hurr based their agreements on intellects and gradually tried to instill liberalism and materialism in the hearts of the Egyptian youths. They accused Mustafā Kamil of attempting to wipe out the British hold in Egypt and establish the sole authority of Turkey.

Mustafā Kāmil did not want to separate the trend of nationalism from deen. He always said,

“If a British can be nationalist as well as a protestant, why can’t an Egyptian be a Muslim as well as a nationalist at the same time.”

The Britishers supported every person who criticized the caliph of the Muslims because they were trying to weaken the Islamic spirit and Turkish influence which dominated the people of Egypt. Therefore Mustafa Kāmil wanted Britishers to quit Egypt. The Britishers supported the ‘Arab Caliphate Movement’ started by Sharīf Hussain of Makkah because it weakened the position of the caliph of Muslims.

The Britishers welcomed the members of Turkiya al-Fatāt movement and Anjuman Ittihād-wa-Taraqqī, who had left Turkey and settled in Egypt. These two associations attacked King ‘Abd al-Hamīd by their writings. He requested
Egyptian King 'Abbās to handover the escaped persons to him. But Lord Cromer interfered and prevented King 'Abbās from doing so. Lord Cromer also supported Mohammad 'Abduh, when the relation between the latter and King 'Abbās of Egypt became strained. The Britishers also supported his companions Mustafa Fāhmi, Riyāz Pāshā,29 Sa‘ad Zāghlūl, Fathi Zāghlūl and Qāsim Amīn, because they opposed Egyptian King. In this way the Britishers were able to disunite the Muslims. They preached the idea that Makkans were the real Arabs and have the right to caliphate (rule) because Islām dawned on the Holy land of Makkah. They wanted to separate the Arabs from the Uthmānī caliphate because it had the power to reunite all Muslims under the banner of Islām.

The Britishers wanted to stabilize their power on the soil of Egypt. So they launched a movement to defame Khedive30 King 'Abbās. A large number of Egyptians supported them without knowing the results.

Poets like Naseem and Waliudīn Yakun wrote poems in praise of the British Govt. They tried to revive the ancient history of Egypt and the Pharaonic culture. To the contrary Mustafā Kāmil with the help of poets like Shawqui and Barūdi and the men of letter like 'Abd al-Azīz Javesh and Farīd Wajidī worked for the revival of Islāmic renaissance and the Arab culture in Egypt.

These two opposing movements clashed with each other in 1911 A.D. The difference between these two groups took the shape of confrontation between the Muslims and non-Muslims.

In fact the Muslims and the non-Muslims had been living together in Egypt for centuries. They had very good relations. The Britishers adopted the policy of divide and rule as they did in all the colonies under their sway. They created gulf between these two groups. They suppressed the Muslim
majorities by patronising and encouraging the Egyptian Christian minorities. This was the dirty politics they played. The Muslims confronted the British authority but the people in minority took great advantage in the fields of education and economy. They acquired high posts and collected huge wealth. This unjust act on their part created hatred in the hearts of the Muslims. Christians on the other hand treated it as their sacred duty to cooperate with the Britishers.

The political differences were converted into religious one. The Christian newspapers *al-Watan*, publishing since 1877, and *Saheefah Misr*, publishing since 1895, took very active part and provoked the Christians against the Muslim majority. They presented the Christians as a separate nation and declared them to be the descendants of the Pharaohs and the real owners of Egypt.

Mustafâ Kâmil and his companion poets and writers demanded the parliamentary system in the country and continued their struggle for its achievement. Mustafâ Kâmil’s opponent, Lutfi al-Sayyid also supported it, because both of them were influenced by the ‘French Revolution’ and the French thinkers had adopted the French slogan, ‘Freedom, Brotherhood and Equality.’

Demand for parliamentary system was a bold step. In 1907 A.D. The House of Commons presented its demand for constitution and parliamentary system before the government. In the same year, Lord Cromer was called back from Egypt. During over twenty five years of the British occupation, no Egyptian had been Prime Minister of Egypt. Sharîf Pâshâ was a Turk, Nubâr Pâshâ, an Armenian and Riyâz Pâshâ, a Jew. Mustafâ Pâshâ Fehmî was also of Turkish extraction. He resigned in 1908 A.D. and Boutros Pâshâ was the first Egyptian to hold the post.
Revolution occurred in Turkey and in July 1908 Uthmānī constitution was enforced. The revolution inspired also the Egyptian leaders. House of Commons demanded the parliamentary system for the country. On Dec. 1, 1908 ‘Legislative Assembly’ announced that it would support the demand for parliamentary system raised by ‘House of Commons.’ Despite the opposition, from the Egyptian King (Abbās) and the British authorities, the movement continued its struggle and gained momentum in the country. ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawakibī discussed the disadvantages of the dictatorship in his book *Tabā'-al-Istībdād* (Nature of Imperialism). In this book he wrote that dictatorship spoils the moral values of mankind and destroys the Islāmic values which guides a Muslim throughout the life. He also maintained that no nation can prosper or flourish under dictatorship. This book was totally against the dictatorship and brought a revolution against this rule in Egypt.

It was in 1908 A.D. that a secular university was opened in Cairo due to the work and efforts of Mustafā Kāmil and his followers. The main aim behind their efforts was to bring a new Egyptian generation to power in Egypt.

A strike of al-Azhar students caused widespread disturbances in Cairo in 1909 A.D. against ‘Press Laws.’ In the same year, *al-Watanī* and *al-Misr* became more violent in their demands and condemned alike Khedive, his ministers and the British. Students’ strike of al-Azhar caused widespread disturbance in Cairo and led to strengthening of the British garrisons.

In those days a second movement which became prominent wanted to separate religion from politics. The supporters of Western culture were responsible for the rise of this movement. They wanted to follow some Christian rituals which suited them to run away from the principles of Islām.
was unfortunate for Egypt that these people thought that the welfare of Egypt is not in Islam but in Western culture.

The main target of this movement was to end the Khilafat. Uthman Caliph, Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamid Khan possessed both political as well as religious authority. The supporters of this movement wanted that Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamid should withdraw from either of the powers. The Arab leaders wanted that the Sultan should retain only the political powers and hand over the religious authority to the Arabs who had the full knowledge of Islam. The Turk leaders were the followers of Western culture. So they wanted to wipe out the Islamic values. Whatever literature came in this respect, was printed in Egypt. It had no place in the Uthman Caliphate because most of the writers were either Lebanese or Syrians. Their writings were printed and published in Egypt.

‘Abd al-Rahman al-Kawakib wrote ‘Umm al-Qura. In this book he wrote that Caliphate (religious powers) should be given to the Arabs and the Govt. to the Turks. To support his suggestion, he gave the reason that Turks have no interest in Islam and they gave priority to politics. He said that the Turks adopted Islam just to please the Muslims and have no interest in it. He crossed all the limits of immorality and decency because he wanted to prove that the Turks had no true love with Islam. In support of his views he quoted the references from the history and said that Uthman Caliphs sacrificed deen for their self-interest (‘Umm al-Qurā). In this book he wrote that Sultan Mohammad Fateh had secret agreement with the Spanish ruler Ferdinand and Isabella, that he would provide full opportunity to the Christian rulers to destroy the last Arab state of Bani Ahmar. So Sultan Mohammad Fateh tolerate the bloodshed of fifty lakh Muslims of Spain and their forced conversion as Christians. The Sultan also prevented the African Fleet from helping the Muslims of Spain. Instead the
Sultan got an opportunity to attack Macedonia and Constantinople with the help of his fleet.\textsuperscript{36}

But this is far away from the truth and is only self-made. It is also contradictory to the history because Mohammad Fateh occupied Constantinople in 1453 A.D. Ferdinand and Isabella came to the throne of Spain in 1479 A.D. Mohammad Fateh died in 1481 A.D. The Islamic Republic of Granada was in existence until it fell into the hands of Ferdinand and Isabella in 1492 A.D., and bloodshed of the Spanish Muslims and their conversion to Christianity began a few years there after.

‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawakībī was totally against the Uthmānī Turks, so he styled this as per his will. His opposition was so extreme that he accused Uthmānī Turk, Sultan Salīm of having eradicated ‘Abbasid rulers in Egypt and killed even the pregnant women while the Christian rulers of Spain were burning alive the Muslims.

Al-Kawakībī writes about Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamīd:

“Sultan ‘Abd al-Hamīd thought that his government could stabilize only if the commandments of Allah were suspended and the wine and the interest were legalized.”\textsuperscript{37}

Expressing his views, on the whole, about the Turks he said:

“The Turks helped the Russian against the Tartar Muslims and Holland against the Muslims of Java and India.”\textsuperscript{38}

Another book which presented a dreadful picture of the tyranny of the Uthmānī Caliphate was Zikra-wa-Ibrah published in 1908 A.D. by a Christian author Sulaimān Bustānī. This propaganda helped the rebel Turks and the European nations to divide the Uthmānī Caliphate. Poets like Naseem, Wali-ud-dīn Yakūn and Ḥāfiz Ibrāhīm were adding fuel to the fire through their poetry. At last Mustafā Kamāl
Ata Turk (1881-1938) abolished caliphate on March 3, 1924.

In 1909 A.D., a Christian became the Prime Minister of Egypt. He revived the press ordinance which was in force during the rebellion against 'Urabī Pāshā in the year 1881 A.D. All the Muslim newspapers protested against it but the Christian newspapers welcomed it. In 1910 A.D., the president of America, Theodor Roosevelt, visited Egypt and delivered a speech against the interests of the Egyptian people in the Cairo University. Muslims protested against it but the Christians praised him and called him well-wisher of Egyptians.

Civil war broke out in Egypt when Ibrāhīm Nāsif of al-Hizb al-Watani assassinated Pitras Ghali on February 10, 1910 A.D. The Muslims and the Christians started fighting openly in the streets. ‘The Daily News’ of the British gave journalistic support to the Christians against the Muslims of Egypt.

The Christian leaders went to England to poison their ears. Religious war broke out in Egypt between the Muslims and the Christians, when the latter put some demands before the government in a conference held on March 5, 1910 A.D. This time the Britishers again tried their best to destroy Egypt. When Riyāz Pāshā became the Prime Minister of Egypt, the situation improved. In 1911 A.D. the situation was brought under control and peace and unity prevailed in the country. The civil war left very bad impressions on the social and moral character of the Egyptians. Chaos and confusion prevailed in the country. The reformers face many difficulties in the reformation of the society because there was a big gap between the old and the modern educated class.

The politicians took a brave step for the total transformation of the foreign rule. They maintained that
foreign rule is the basic cause for the chaos and confusion in Egypt. The reformers held internal disorder responsible for the foreign rule and wanted the reformation of the society in this field. Then the country can be liberated.

The two different reformative groups influenced political life of Egypt. But they adopted different ideology to reform the society. One group adopted the Western culture and the other Islamic and Eastern values. Due to this conflict Egyptian literature and education was also affected and divided into two groups. One group derived its inspiration from Europe and imported the Western ideas in education. The other group propagated the traditional Arabic and Eastern values and taught the traditional way of life.

In these circumstances a third group emerged, which tried to narrow the gulf between these two groups. King ‘Abbās adopted a dual approach. He arranged different programmes to please both the groups. To please the supporters of Islamic and Eastern values of life, he arranged a programme for the interpretation of the Holy Qur‘ān in Qasr al-Ābidīn, in the Holy month of Ramadḥān. He also pleased the supporters of Western culture by organizing a dancing programme in the palace. This dual approach spread all over the country and also affected the poets and schools of the country. The famous poet, Shawqui, also adopted this approach and wrote some poems in the praise of the Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) and certain in the praise of the dancing programmes of King ‘Abbās.

The supporters of Western culture were the Syrians and Lebanese Christians who had settled in Egypt and some were those who had studied either in Europe or in Missionary Schools of Egypt. The Syrians and the Lebanese Christians were divided into two groups. The first group was governed by British and its exponents were al-Muqattam and al-
Muqattaf. The second group was governed by France and its exponent was al-Ahrām. The Egyptian reformers insulted Islām and maintained:

"Islām is worthless religion. It had united the Bedounis of Arabia centuries ago but the leadership of the modern society of the twentieth century is beyond its capability," (al-Ittijāhāt al-Wataniyyah fi al-Adab-al-Muāṣir) or 'National trends in the contemporary literature.' Lord Cromer supported them and said:

"A Muslim who is not acquainted with the manners and etiquette of Europe, is not fit to be the ruler of Egypt." Hafiz Ibrāhīm a well known poet said in the 'American Girls' College', in his poem: "Alas! O Westerners! We should have followed you or supported you in this way, perhaps we might have regained our lost prestige."  

Muslim poet-scholars launched a movement in order to eradicate doubts from the hearts of the Muslims about Islām. They were of the opinion that material progress could be achieved without avoiding principles of Islām. They also planned to eradicate un-Islāmic practices prevalent amongst the Muslims of Egypt. The poetic collection of Muharram is full of the descriptions of the glory of the orthodox Islām. Kashīf admitted that Muslims stopped their progress by keeping themselves far away from the faith. Shawqui was also in the forefront. The aims and objectives of this group were to eradicate the misunderstanding about Islām from the hearts of the people and wanted to restore their confidence in Islām.

Scholars like Mohammad ‘Abduh, ‘Abdullāh al-Nādeem and ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī were the key supporters of this movement. They whole-heartedly propagated their ideas and attacked the un-Islāmic practices. But it was very difficult for them to reform the society, because the case was same as the period of jāhiliyyah Arabia.
Before proceeding forward, I think it is very essential to mention some great scholars and reformers of Egypt. Among them was al-Afghanī, the well-known scholar and reformer.

Jāmāl al-dīn al-Afghānī (1837-1897) was an Afghān. He traversed Irān, India, Turkey and the Arab world sounding the theme of defensive reform while calling for local and Pan-Islāmic revolts. He also played a great role in the history of Islām.

Al-Afghāni and his followers engaged in direct attacks on West, especially British imperialism. Al-Afghāni rejected the idea of European supremacy. *Al-Urwah al-Wuthqā* (The Strong Rope) expresses his enmity towards the British colonialism. He brought two fundamental concepts to Egyptian politics; (1) rulership was not the privilege of a particular race and was not unconditional (2) A ruler can remain in power or be dethroned, depending upon the performance of his duties. His movement Pan-Islāmiscmism flourished in the last quarter of the 19th century and the early years of the 20th century. When he was in Europe, he was working for the unity of the Muslim World under the Caliph. He stressed for the unity of Muslims which is a means for realisation of Islām's position in the world vis-a-vis its major enemy, the Christian West. He regarded Islām as the essential basis for the progress of Muslims. The attack onIslām must be regarded as the attack on whole Muslim *Ummah*. The community must give up its lethargy and take-part in the struggle for progress. He wanted to reform Islām, not to modernize it. He proposed to the *Ummah* that it should base its progress on its own religion and its own Qur'ān. Religion can instill in the human soul the basis of human society and civilization. It is the biggest force in the world, which can drive the peoples and tribes towards the progress to the limits of perfection. He is of the view that complete happiness can
be achieved only by following the principles of Islām. Only the Islām can give us the ideal state. He concluded his book with a section to prove that Islām is the greatest religion.

His basic aim was resistance to Europe and opposition to the British imperialism. For this purpose he awakened the Muslims from slumbers, superstition and ignorance to partake in modern civilization especially in science and technology. He consumed most of his time for preparing the Muslims educationally and socially. The rulers of Egypt in his time could not regard him as a man of exceptional ability because he was too much revolutionary.52

One of the leading disciple of al-Afghāni and reformer of that time was Shaykh Mohammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905).53 He was an Egyptian. He is called the father of Egyptian modernism. ‘Abduh like al-Afghāni believed that the use of religion as the basis for reform and progress was essential even inevitable in the Muslim society. He wanted to bring about harmony between Islām and Westernization. During the pre-exile period, he tried his best to unite all the Muslims of the world. In contrary to this, during the post-exile period he worked for the reconciliation between Islām and the West.

His disciple Rashid Rida and his other companions treated him a great jurist and Imam. According to them Mohammad ‘Abduh tried his best to eradicate the social evils prevailing in the Muslim society. He appealed the people to take help from the Qur’ān, the Sunnah and the history of Islām in each and every field of life because Islām is the complete system of life and not a religion of rituals.

On the other hand his contemporaries and latter scholars accused him that he had given up Islām. After his return from Paris, he showed too much liberalism in bringing Islām and the West close together. That is why he became a very
controversial figure as a religious scholar and leader. He died in 1905 A.D.\textsuperscript{54}

After the death of Mohammad 'Abduh the only disciple who struggled, was Rashid Rida (1895-1935).\textsuperscript{55} He was the prominent founder of the Salafiyyah Movement.\textsuperscript{56} Though his field was limited but he was the supporter of Arab nationalists in the struggle between Turks and Arabs. But after his death in 1935 A.D., no one was ready to struggle against that worst environment, except Mustafā Sādiq Rāfīʿi.

World War -I worsely affected the social and political life of Egyptians. The social set-up of Egypt was affected by different ideological and theological movements. The prominent issue was that of ‘Islamic Caliphate’ because most of the Egyptian people were faithful to it.

On December 18, 1914 A.D. Egypt became the protectorate of the British government. King ‘Abbās was dethroned and Ameer Hussain bin Kamāl was enthroned and given the title of Sultān. This was done in order to cut off Egypt from Turkey and to abolish the post of ‘Turkish Justice’ for Egypt. But Egyptians still expressed their affection with Islāmic caliphate and protested against this move of Britishers. In 1918 A.D., many secret organizations were formed to oust the British from Egypt. They were also against Sultān Ameer Hussain and he was attacked twice. They hated the British because the latter wanted to abolish the Uthmānī Caliphate and destroy their wealth by dragging them into war. But a group of treacherous persons were still supporting the British. One of them was Egyptian Prime Minister, who admitted that Germans were tyrants and the British just.

Egyptian people were with the Turks. The well known poet, Muharram said:

“The Turks are the soldiers of Allah. Had there been no awful splendour of their regime in the
world, there would have been none to call the
azān”.

At last in 1919 A.D. the Egyptians revolted against the
British and their supporters under the leadership of Mustafā
Kāmil. But the Egyptians were shocked when the allied forces
captured Turkey and entered the Holy Shrine. Every Egyptian
child recited the Qasīdah of Hāfīz Ibrāhīm:

“O Aya Soofiyā, the time of separation has come.
But thou must remember the days of those noble
men who offered their prayers (on thy soil).”

In the same year i.e. in 1919, the Egyptians revolted
against the imperialism and British occupation under the
leadership of Sa‘ad Zāghlūl and the latter requested for an
Egyptian delegation (wafd) should be allowed to took part in
the Paris Conference, which was rejected by the British. Both
the British and the Egyptian King used their full might against
the rebels and Sa‘ad Zāghlūl was arrested and sent to Māltā.
This suppression resulted union between al-Azhar ‘Ulmā and
Hizb al-Ummah and there were strikes and demonstrations
throughout the country against the detention of Sa‘ad Zāghlūl
and oppression on Egyptians. Under the pressure of these
circumstances, the British were compelled to have dialogue
with Zāghlūl. New constitution was formulated in 1921 and in
1922, the British announced that Egypt had the right to be
independent in all its matters and kept essential matters with
them. Shah Fuād-I was recognized as an independent King
by the Britishers. The ‘Wafd Party’ founded by Zāghlūl
included Copts as well as Muslims in its leadership. The
country had entered a liberal constitutional era that lasted
until the revolution of 1952. In 1923 through a new
constitution the King was given more powers, which he used
according to his will and he tore public opinion into pieces.
Due to the death of Sa‘ad Zāghlūl in 1927, Wafd Party became
very weak and his successor Mustafā al-Nahās Pāshā made it conservative.\textsuperscript{63}

The Turks started the freedom struggle under the leadership of Mustafa Kamāl Pāshā and provided some relief to the Egyptians. He freed some parts of Anatolia and Aastānā from the occupation of the Greek army. The Egyptians were overjoyed. Shawqui said:

"O Great Lord! These conquests are so wonderful. O! Brave conquerors of Turks, you have reminded the memory of brave conquerors of Arabs."\textsuperscript{64}

Mustafā Kamāl removed Caliph Wahīd-ud-dīn and appointed ‘Abd-al-Hamīd Khān as Caliph. Later on he deprived ‘Abd al-Hamīd Khān of political powers, giving the reason that the state and the religion are two separate entities. The religious scholar, Mohammad Shākir also praised the brave Turks. Suddenly the Egyptians heard that the Turks had abolished the nominal Caliphate also, consequently they became very dejected. Shawqui's poem caused the Egyptian people to shed tears of blood. He wrote:

"Songs of happiness changed into mourn of lamenting persons and O! Caliphate, you are mourned in the assemblies of happiness."\textsuperscript{65}

After the abolition of Caliphate on 3\textsuperscript{rd} March 1924,\textsuperscript{66} the scholars of al-Azhar declared the decisions of Mustafā Kamāl\textsuperscript{67} unlawful and felt the necessity of holding an Islāmic conference immediately for the restoration of the Islāmic caliphate. The Britishers were against the move. The persons who wanted to become the Caliph of the Muslims include Amanullah Khān, the King of Afghānistān; Sharīf Hussain bin Ali; Fuād, the Egyptian King and Wahīd-ud-dīn, the deposed caliph.

On one hand efforts were made to hold Islāmic conference and on the other hand there was the struggle for grabbing the Caliphate. Islāmic conference was formed, which
published a magazine. An article of Rashīd Ridā (R.A.) was published in the first edition. In this article he explained:

“It is a first conference in which the scholars of all the Muslim countries are participating. The aim of the conference is to revive the foundation of the Islāmic state. The conference also wants the dominance of the Islāmic Shariah. It wants to formulate such principles of education which can provide religious guidance and solve the worldly problems. Hence, the Imām and Caliph of Muslims would also be elected in the conference.”

The branches of the Islāmic conference committee were established in different parts of Egypt. The Muslims once again saw a ray of hope for the restoration of the Caliphate. This conference was postponed many times. At last it was held on May 13, 1926 A.D., only thirty-four delegates participated in it. The conference passed a resolution that the executive of the conference shall be in Egypt. Its branches shall be established in other Muslim countries and the conference would be held whenever its necessity arise. The failure of the Caliphate conference was as tragic for the Egyptian nation as the abolition of Caliphate itself.

The supporters of the Western culture and the atheists were happy over the abolition of caliphate and the failure of the Islāmic conference. Four remarkable books were published on the concept of the caliphate and Islāmic politics. Two books contained the material, which was against it. The other two books contained the material which presented the concept of caliphate on the basis of Islām were:

(1) *Al-Khilāfah aw al-Imāmah al-‘Uzmah* by Rashīd Rida.

(2) *Al-Nakeer ala Munkir-i-Nimah Min al-deen wa al-Khilāfah wa al Ummah*, (Criticisms against the opponents of deen, Caliphate and Ummah) by former Shaykh al-Islām of Turkey, Mustafā Sabrī.
Advantage of Islāmic Shariah and the conditions of the caliphate were discussed in these two books. Mustafā Sābri wrote in his book that Mustafā Kamāl caused irreparable loss to Islām by having links with the Jews and the Christians. Another book of late Rashīd Rida which was translated by an unknown person, ‘Abd al-Ghanī Sunni Baigh, was al-Khilāfah wa Saltanah al-‘Ummah (Caliphate and the powers of the ‘Ummah) was published. One more book of this type -al-Islām wa Usūl-al-Hukm (Islām and principles of Government) by ‘Alī ‘Abd al-Rāziq was published. The central idea of this book was that there is no relation of Deen with politics and state affairs. And there is no place in Islām of giving political powers to the institute of Caliphate. This was the notorious book of that time. It left tremendous impact on the educationists and the thinkers of Egypt. He wrote in this book that there is no evidence in the Holy Qur’ān or Sunnah about the caliphate. This book propagated un-Islāmic ideas and refused to accept the laws of Islām whether criminal or civil, facts of Islāmic history and authority of the Holy Qur’ān and the Sunnah. It misled the people of Egypt.

Egyptian people accepted the secularism but the atheists of Turkey were thrusting it upon the people. Society of Egypt became so bad that men and women were wandering freely together. Women gave up to wear the veil and Shariah courts were abolished. Slogan of ‘Arab Nationalism’ was not popular before the World War-I but it became now popular. Certain people considered it a source of unity and oneness and never thought it different from the message of Islām. The atheists joined the Lebanese Christians because the latter presented it as a philosophy.

Now there started the struggle between Islāmic way of life and European style of life. During the reign of Mohammad ‘Ali Pāshā, an educational delegation of Egypt visited Europe
and the experts of Europe visited Egypt. They were working for the strengthening of this struggle. The old meant that everything which was related to Muslims in the fields of religion, thinking and culture. And the new meant that everything which was imported in Egypt through different ways. In fact this struggle started from the period of Mohammad Ali Pāshā but it gained momentum during the period of Ismail Pāshā. Because the latter wanted to make Egypt a part of Europe. So he kept open all the ways for Europeans to import their commodities into Egypt. Mohammad ‘Abduh and ‘Abdullah al-Nadeem fought against this in their own period. But both of them were influenced by Europe to some extent. So they adopted the way of moderates, to support Islām or tried to narrow the gap between the old and the new. After the World War-I the struggle took the shape of an ideological war-fare.

According to Egyptian author Mohammad Hussain Haykal, moral degradation, which flooded Egypt during the war, was responsible for the struggle between the old and the new. According to him:

“During the World War-I different people from different nationalities came to Egypt. Due to this the roads and streets of Egypt became overflow. These people were round the clock in search of the centers of liquor and gambling. They were always visiting licenced or unlicenced, open or secret centers of prostitution. People watched these activities throughout the war period of four years. The incidents of murder and humiliation happened in abundance during this period. The opportunists and rude persons took full advantage of these conditions and prospered cuckold and brokerage. A number of centers of fun and sport; and liquor and wine have got birth.”

These satanic centers degraded the people of Egypt morally and socially. Mustafā Lutfī Manfalūtī in his article,
al-Muraqqas (The Dance) revealed that he watched in the dancing clubs that the people were engaged with drinking liquor. Wisdom was not functioning. In these centers of liquor and wine, the people of Egypt badly hurt the moral, religious and the Holy traditions. Thousands of Fallahīn came from villages to cities to help the combined army. At the end of the war, these Fallahīn went back to their native villages. They returned their homes not only along with the wonderful stories of war and the bad habits and culture of the army, but also with the heap of wicked diseases and immoral habits. The people who could not return back from the cities have the same qualities. They launched a movement and introduced each and everything of Islām into ‘Old’ to demolish them and adopted the ‘Modernism’ imported from the Europe. Western authors also propagated and took part in this struggle to demolish the culture of Egypt. Whither Islām, edited by H.A.R. Gibb, exclusively unveils these qualities of the Western people.

Salāmā Mūsa, exponent of Westernism, wrote in his book, al-Yawm-wa-al-Gad (Today and Tomorrow): “We should detach ourselves from Asia and attach with Europe. This is my opinion. I will struggle for this secretly as well as openly. I am an infidel of the East and a believer of the West.” This book appeared before the people in 1927 A.D. On the basis of this opinion he struggled to separate literary, cultural, social, economic, political and religious affairs from Islām and Asia. He also criticized Islām openly. He explains these things in the following paragraph in this manner:

“We find ourselves in anxiety and hesitation between the East and the West. In fact our government was organized on European style. But there are still some Eastern structures prevalent in it, which are making hurdles in the progress of the country, for example Auqāf Department and Islāmic Courts. We have the university, which is
giving prominence to the civilized world of culture. But al-Azhar University is spreading the culture of the ‘Dark Age’ shoulder to shoulder within this. There is the load of Misters within us, who have fully adopted the Western civilization. But a group of religious scholars is seen yet who are holding firmly the gown and turban. And they are still performing \textit{Wadū} on roads. And who are calling Pharaohs and Jews as ‘\textit{infidels}’. As ‘Umar bin al-Khattāb (RA) called them by this name 1300 years ago.’

Tāhā Hussain published a book in 1938 A.D., under the title of \textit{Mustaqbal al-Thaqafah fi-Misr} (The Future of Culture in Egypt). This book was more dangerous than that of Salāmah Mūsa’s book \textit{al Yawm wa al-Gad}, because Salāmah Mūsa was only a writer. But Tāhā Hussain held different essential posts. It was easy for him to impose his scheme of education. He was principal Arts college of Cairo; Direct General Department of Education; Technical Advisor, Education Department; Chancellor, University of Alexandria and at the end, he possessed the ministerial portfolio of Education. He had a number of pupils who were influenced with his thinking. In his book he gave stress on three things:

1) Egypt should be Westernized and cut off from Islām and religious traditions;

2) Nationalism should be flourished and there should be established such type of government that has no links with Islām;

3) Arabic, as language of the holy Qur‘ān, should be replaced with Latin or Persian.

Tāhā Hussain wrote another book \textit{Fi al-Sh’er al Jāhili} (Poetry of the Ignorant Age). In this book the author refused the old established tradition of literature. He tried to shake the faith of people in the holy Qur‘ān and Sunnah. Late Mustafā Sādiq al-Rafi‘i preferably performed his duty in this struggle and wrote two books, \textit{al-Marikah Bain al-Qadeem wa
al-Jadīd (The struggle between the new and the old) and Tahta Rayah al-Qur'ān (Under the flag of the Qur'ān). In these books he gave sound reply to the people like Tāhā Hussain.

This movement came into existence to popularize evil in the social life of Egypt, and it opened four fronts for this cause e.g. woman, dress, education, language and literature. Among these it supported whole-heartedly evil, wandering and freethinking in each and every field of life. In the field of women it achieved extraordinary success. Qāsim Amīn already opened the door for the freedom of women. But now the freedom of dress extended not only up to un-veiling but also up to the extreme of nudity also. And gradually women not only unveiled their faces and hands but also kept open their upper parts of the body. Women also took part in the political field. Their three leaders were Safiā Zāghlūl, wife of Sa'ad Zāghlūl Pāshā and daughter of Mustafā Fehmī Pāshā, who was the friend of the British. He was appointed many times the Prime Minister of Egypt during the British period. The second woman was Hudā Sh'arāvī, who was wife of Alī Sh'arāvī and daughter of Sultān Pāshā. Sultān Pāshā was among those military officers, who supported the British and crushed the freedom movement of the Egyptians. Hudā Sh'arāvī was very famous in this field. She established an organization and issued statements in the newspapers and thus incited the women of Egypt to become bold and break away all limits. In fact she changed the status of the women to such an extent that every one of conscience was under-stuck.

These socio-political conditions of Egypt agitated the mind of Shaykh Hasan al-Bannā to launch the Islāmic movement known as Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn in order to change the society according to the Islāmic requirements.
Notes and Reference


2. ‘Umar Ibn al-Khattāb was the second caliph of Islam from 634 to 644 A.D. The word caliph (*Khalīfah*) also means ‘successor’ i.e. of Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.), a title assumed by temporal and spiritual rulers in Muslim countries. Since Mohammad (P.B.U.H.) was the seal of the prophets, Abu Bakr (R.A.A.) the successor, in order to organize the socio-political affairs of the *Ummah* founded the Caliphate (*Khilāfah*), an institution that lasted for centuries.


4. Ibid.

5. Ibid.

6. Ibid.

7. Ibid., p. 430.


9. *Fallāhin* (P), *fallah* is its singular which means a peasant or agriculture labourer in Egypt, Syria, or other Arabic speaking country. One of the race type descended from ancient Egyptians.


12. Ibid.

13. Circassians are also known as CERKS, who came from North West, i.e. Ibero-Caucasion and settled on the bank of the sea Azov and the Black Sea.


16. Perlmutter, Amos, op. cit., p. 36.

18. Lord Cromer was Governor in Egypt from 1882 to 1907.


22. Ibid., p. 312.


27. Ibid., p. 4.

28. Ibid., p. 5.

29. Pāshā is an honorary title, placed after the name, given to officers of high rank in Turkey.

30. Turkish *Hidiv*, Arabic *Khidivi*, title granted by the Ottomān Sultān ‘Abd al-Azīz to the hereditary Pāshā of Egypt, Ismail in 1867 and used by his successors Tawfīq and ‘Abbās Hilmi-II. It was replaced by title Sultān in 1914, when Egypt became a British Protectorate.


32. Ibid., p. 8.

33. Little, Tom, *Egypt*, London Ernest Benn Ltd., 1958, p. 120.

34. Ibid.

35. Ibid., p. 121.


42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.
44. Ibid.
45. Ibid.
46. Hamidi, Khalīl Ahmad, op. cit., p. 28.
47. Tom Little, op. cit., pp. 259-260.
51. Ibid., p. 29.
52. Ibid., pp. 29-33.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid., p. 136.
56. Ibid.
58. Ibid.
61. Egypt got freedom on 26 January 1936 after an agreement, which was signed between the British and the Egypt. On 26 May 1937, Egypt became the member of U.N.O. Fuād died in the same year and King Farooq ruled upto 23 July 1952.
64. Hāmidī, Khalīl Ahmad, op. cit., p.44.
65. Ibid., p.45.
67. Mustafā Kamāl was born at Salonica in 1881 and died at İstanbul on 10 November 1938. He founded People’s Party (Khalk Firkasi), finally the People’s Party (Cümhuriyet Halk Partisi) and on 29 October 1923 proclaimed the Republic and was elected its first president and Ankara was made the capital of Turkey. He abolished Caliphate on 3 March 1924. He is also called ‘Ataturk’ (Father of Turks).
69. Ibid., p. 22.
70. Ibid.
71. Hāmidī, Khalīl Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 53-54.
73. Hāmidī, Khalīl Ahmad, op. cit., pp. 55-56.
Chapter II
Islamic Resurgence
Hasan al-Bannā Phase
Hasan al-Banna
Founder and First Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwan
After the end of the World War-I in 1919, the forces favouring westernization in Egypt gained tremendous momentum. The rise of nationalism in the Muslim world was climaxed with the abolition of the Caliphate (Khilāfah) by Mustafā Kamāl Ataturk on 3 March 1924. The feminist movement restored considerable strength as Egyptian women of the upper classes refused to wear the veil, dressed themselves in European style and attended mixed functions, private and public, demanding equal rights to enter the socio-political institutions of the country. This was the situation when Shaykh Hasan al-Bannā, after consolidating Islāmic plans, established the first Islāmic movement in the country popularly known as al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn.

Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān bin Mohammad al-Bannā, grandfather of Hasan al-Bannā, was an imminent personality in Shamsheerah, a far-flung village in Egypt. He had two sons: Ahmad and Mohammad. Ahmad, Hasan al-Bannā’s father, joined al-Azhar and Mohammad helped his father in farming the land. After sometime, Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān died and there arose a dispute between Ahmad and Mohammad. The latter who had taken a lot of trouble in the maintenance of the farm land, wanted to retain greater portion of the land. Ahmad brought the differences to an end by migrating from his native village to Mahmūdiyāh and started repairing watches there as his profession. Since he was graduate from al-Azhar University, he worked for the half day to earn livelihood and for the second half to read fiqh and Hadith and, to teach the Qurʾān. He was a keen student of the traditional Islāmic sciences and had his personal library, full of Islāmic literature.

He performed the duty of an Imām in the local mosque without any material gain. He compiled some books of Hadīth for his library. He re-arranged Musnad of Ahmad bin Hanbal

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with the chapters on jurisprudence and named it *al-Fath al-Rabbānī fi Tartīb Mus’nad al-Imām Ahmad bin al-Shaybānī*. He wrote its comprehensive commentary in which he did the chronogramic form of *Hadīth* and called it *Bulūgh al-Amānī Min Asrār al-Fath al-Rabbānī*. He also worked on *Rijāl* (biographical literature of *Hadīth* narrators) and *Sānd* (authority of *Hadīth*). He wrote a comprehensive commentary of *Musnad Abū Dawood al-Tayālīsi* and named it *Minhāh al-Mabūd*. He also edited *Musnad* and *Sunan* of Imām Shāfi‘ and wrote valuable commentary on it under the name of *Badayʻe al-Musnad fi Jamaʼ wa Tarteeb Musnad al-Shafeʻi wa al-Sunnan*.2

Shaykh Ahmad ʻAbd al-Rahmān al-Banna was a pious, virtuous and God-fearing person. He was also a great scholar. He married a lady from Abū Qurah tribe, who was also virtuous and pious. He had also a second wife. From the first wife, he had seven children-five sons and two daughters. Their names are Hasan al-Banna, ʻAbd al-Rahmān, Fatimah, Mohammad, ʻAbd al-Bāsīt, Jamāl and Fouziah. From the second he had only one daughter, Farīdah.

**Birth and Education**

Hasan al-Banna, founder and first Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, was the eldest son of Ahmad bin ʻAbd al-Rahmān bin Mohammad al-Banna al-Sāʻāti. He was born in October 1906 at Mahmūdiyyah in Buhayra near Alexandria in Egypt.3 His father played a great role in shaping the formative years of Hasan al-Banna and his early education followed the traditional pattern of that of the sons of ʻUlamā. His father helped him to learn the Qurʻān by heart. He also studied *Hadīth*, *Fiqh* and Arabic language. He was admitted in a primary school named *Madrasah al-Rashad al-Deeniyah*, at Mahmūdiyyah,4 where he was taught by a learned scholar and founder of the Madrasah, Shaykh Mohammad Zahrān. The
latter left the Madrasah due to the change in its management and al-Banna was transferred to Madrasah E‘edādiyah (Middle School). In 1920 the E‘edādiyah Madrasa’s were given by the government under the control of Ministry of Education. In the same year he joined Teachers’ Training College Damanhūr, where he completed three years course in 1923 and in the final examination stood first in the college and fifth in Egypt. In the same year he entered the Dār al-‘Ulūm in Cairo. By his own account, al-Banna read Spengler, Spencer and Toynbee during his studies there. In July 1927; he passed the examination of diploma in teaching and stood first in the said examination. He had divided his time into two parts. Half of the time he devoted to his studies and in remaining half he preached Islam and helped his father in his profession of watch-repairing.

In September 1927, he was appointed as a teacher in the Department of Education in a primary school in Ismā‘īliyyah. In the daytime he taught the children and in the free time he imparted religious knowledge to their parents and studied the social life of Ismā‘īliyyah very minutely so that he could launch his mission in future effectively. He wanted to become a good teacher and successful preacher.

On 27th of Ramadhān al-Mubarak 1351 A.H. corresponding to 1932 A.D., he married to Lateefah daughter of al-Hāj Hussain al-Suli, who was very much impressed and influenced by the personality and mission of Hasan al-Banna. He favoured and supported his mission, and at various occasions encouraged and helped him. His sons became disciples of al-Banna. On the other hand, Lateefah, life partner of Hasan al-Banna was a pious, puritant and God-fearing lady. In all conditions she cooperated and remained devoted to her husband. He had six children with this wife – five daughters and a son. The names of the daughters are:
Sanā, Wafā, Rajā, Hajrā and Istishahād. The last one was born on the same day when al-Bannā was martyred, so she was named Istishahād. The only son was named Ahmad Saif al-Islām.

Ahmad Saif al-Islām was like his father – brave, active, good mannered and a dynamic person. He stood first in every examination and did his graduation from the medical college. He also got two degrees, in law and Arts, from Cairo University in the same year. Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser did not spare him and deprived him of all posts and punished him for twenty-five years’ imprisonment with hard labour. There is a saying in Arabic, Ḥādhā al-Shibl Min dhāka al Asad.” (The offspring of the lion is lion).  

In October 1933, al-Bannā was transferred from Isma‘ilīyyah to Cairo. He resigned from the government service in 1946.

Hasan al-Bannā was a true preacher of Islām and a reformer as well. During Damanhūr study period, in the holidays, al-Bannā alongwith his three friends Rāqīm, Mohammad Afandi al-Dhimyāti and ‘Abd al-Mut‘āl Sankal went to their respective streets to awaken mo‘azzins (callers to prayer) and the people before Salāh al-Fajr (morning prayer) for prayer. He went to the bank of ‘River Nile’ to hear the words of Azān (call to prayer) from different voices of the mo‘azzins, which gave him a lot of pleasure because he held himself responsible for awakening of people for Salāh (prayer). In the mosque, he got very much delighted, when he found himself the younger one among the people offering Salāh al-Fajr. At the age of twelve, he lead the congregational prayers in the mosque and called the Azān from the minarets.

From the childhood, he was well mannered, pious and religious-minded. He was never involved in immoral and un-
Islamic activities. He prevented the people of the village from indulging in un-Islamic practices and wrote letters inviting them to adopt Islamic way of life for their welfare here and security in the Hereafter.

Once, when he was a student, he happened to pass by a river in Mahmūdiyyah. A nude wooden statue was stuck on a yacht. It was a place from where a lot of women used to pass. When he saw this offensive image, he went straight to the police station and protested against the exhibition of the statue. The police officer was very much impressed and ordered the sailor to remove it. The next day, the police officer visited his school and praised the little student before the principal.¹⁵

At the age of twelve, he had formed a society of the children of his age and named it Jami'at al-Akhlaq-al Ādābiyah (Society for Moral Behaviour).¹⁶ He was elected its president. The aim of the society was to create good habits in the little students.

Outside the school, he formed another society called Jami'at Insidād-al-Muharramāt (Society for the Prevention of Sins).¹⁷ The aim of the society was to invite people for good deeds and refrain them from doing forbidden. As the Qur'ān says:

"You are the best of peoples, evolved for mankind, enjoining what is right, forbidding what is wrong and believing in Allah."¹⁸

He was committed to sufi method of purification and the profession of teaching for the cause of Islam in the childhood. At the age of thirteen, he met a Sufi merchant, Ahmad al-Sukārī, who later on became his close friend. He used to take the schoolboys to the graveyard once a week to make them realize that life is mortal. He used to tell them the stories of the pious and virtuous Muslims, which filled their eyes with
tears and made them obedient to Allah and His Messenger. They formed a society and named it, Jami'at al-Hisafiyah al-Khairiyah (The Hisāfiya Charitable Society) Al-Bannā was elected its secretary. It had two objects:

(i) Invite the people to build up a high moral character and to prevent them from un-Islāmic activities.

(ii) To respond carefully the activities of the Christian missionaries who were preaching Christianity in the garb of educationists and social workers.

Cairo was the center of politics. In 1919, there was an agitation and revolt in Egypt against the British occupation. Al-Bannā was just of thirteen when he participated in the rallies, strikes and student demonstrations. He listened the speakers on the national issues. At Damanhūr Teachers' Training College, he often took part in the strikes and participated in ‘Black Day’ observed every year on 18th December, the day on which British occupied Egypt.

There were both good and the mischief-mongers in Cairo. At Cairo, al-Bannā wanted to fight the evil and establish the Islāmic way of life despite heavy odds. He consequently joined an organization, called Jami'at Makārim al-Akhlāq (The society of Islamic Ethics). The aim of the society was to fight against the ungodly environment of Cairo and to reform the social set-up. Al-Bannā attended regularly its meetings.

He formed a group of students of ‘Dār al-Ulūm (Cairo University) and al-Azhar University. They addressed and advised the people at public places, hotels, restaurants and coffee-houses to refrain them from forbidden such as gambling, drinking, fornication etc. He succeeded in achieving two things i.e. creating self-confidence in the youth and winning the trust of the people.
Al-Banna was also the member of *Jami'at al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn* or Young Men’s Muslim Association (Y.M.M.A.), which was founded in December 1927 in Cairo. 23 ‘Abd al-Hamīd Bik Sayyid was elected its president. Dr. Yahyā al-Darderī, Mahmūd ‘Ali Fazl, Mohammad al-Ghamravi, Sayyid Mohibuddīn al-Khātīb etc., were its members. 24

By the age of childhood, al-Banna was well mannered, pious and religious-minded. When he was in Damanhūr, he used to visit the graves of pious Muslims. On some special days he was not to talk to anyone. He and his friends wanted to remain aloof from using ill-language. He was against Western culture, dress or uniform. He used to wear turban, slippers and white-loose-collarless shirt in and outside the school.

During his study in Damanhūr, on every Thursday, he used to go to Mahamūdiya and help his father in repairing watches and in the night he absorbed himself in performing prayers and remembering Allah wholeheartedly along with Hisāfī brothers. He used to do this during the vacations also. In addition to fasting in Ramadān, he used to fast on every Thursday and Friday in the remaining months.

Hasan al-Banna was born in a noble and simple family that practiced Islām in every walk of life and was free from the evils of a Western life. Being educated from al-Azhar University, his father had command over *Hadīth* and Islāmic jurisprudence. Al-Banna’s father gave him religious as well as modern education, which moulded his character according to Islāmic way of life.

Al-Banna was interested to study Islāmic literature. In this regard, his father played a great role. He had his own library. His younger brother ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Banna had recognized it while addressing his elder brother:
"There were a lot of books in the library of our respectable father. We used to survey these books through our short eyes. The names of the books were printed in golden letters. Sometimes we used to pick up Nisāpūrī, sometimes Qastalānī and sometimes Nail al-Awtār. Not only did our father grant permission but also encouraged us to study the books in the library. You were always ahead of me in this respect. I used to try to follow your footsteps, but I could not do so. You were an extraordinary man. Though the age difference was of two years, but the will of Allah was inclined to prepare you for some unusual achievements."²⁵


Late General Mohammad Salih Harb Pāshā, president of Jamiat al-Shubban al-Muslimīn, writes about domestic culture of Hasan al-Bannā as follows:

"In my opinion the domestic culture has played an important role in making the personality of Imām Shaheed. He was born in a pious, religious and educated family. The homely environment left very profound impression on his personality. Whatever education the Imām received, it embodied the true spirit of Islām and the excellence of high moral character. He entered the field by Sufism at an early stage. His spiritual teacher had a good knowledge of the Qur’ān, the Sunnah and the Islāmic jurisprudence. The treasure of his knowledge was like a stream, which flows without any hindrance forever. This knowledge of Islām
helped him greatly in his speeches and sermons whereby he satisfied himself as well as others."

He wrote certain books, which are as under:

(A) *Muzakkirat al-Dawah wa al-Da'iah* (auto-biography).

This is a masterpiece of literature, which is divided into two parts. The first part deals with his personal life and the second with the activities of 'Al-Ikhwân Al-Muslimûn.' Its translation is available in Urdu by Khalîl Ahmad Hamidî under the title 'Hasan al-Bannâ Shaheed ki Diary' and also by Sayyid Marûf Shah Shirazi entitled *Hasan al-Bannâ Shaheed ki Yaddashteyin* and is English by M.N. Shaikh under the title 'Memoirs of Hasan al-Bannâ Shaheed'!

(B) *Rasayil al-Imâm al-Shaheed:*

It is a collection of some articles, which he had compiled at different occasions in his life. It contains the following articles:

(I) *Risalah al-Taleem*

This is in the form of a booklet, which contains the instructions, he had given to those who had regularly joined *al-Ikhwan al-Muslimûn*. He has classified in it the ten basic principles of the oath of allegiance addressed to the members. These ten basic principles are as under:

1. Prudence
2. Sincerity
3. Actions
4. Jihad
5. Sacrifice
6. Obedience
7. Firmness
8. Concentration
9. Brotherhood
10. Mutual Trust

(II) *Risalah al-Jihâd:*

This pamphlet throws light on the obligations, importance and the advantages of *Jihâd*. He wrote it when al-Ikhwân waged *Jihâd* against the Jews in Palestine. It is a book of guidance for all the Muslims of the world.

(III) *Dawatuna Fi Taur Jadeed* (Our Mission in a new Stage):
It was written when al-Ikhwān was gaining momentum, the youths were joining the movement and the opponents were expressing their doubts against it. Al-Bannā explained each and every aspect of the movement in the pamphlet to remove the doubts. He explained that their mission was not limited to any group but was a universal and meant for the entire mankind. He also clarified that the movement was based on Iman (faith) and reason.

(IV) Al-Rasā’il al-Thalathah

It is a collection of three pamphlets—'What is our mission', To what do we invite the people’ and ‘The Message of the Light.’ The last one is a letter written to King Farooq, the Prime Minister of Egypt- al-Nahās Pāshā and all other rulers of the Muslim states in 1936. In this letter he explained the principles of Islām, the Islāmic culture and civilization. He compares the Islāmic way of life with the Western one and maintained that only Islām provides the solution to all our problems and guarantees security, progress and prosperity.

V. Bayn al-Ams wa al-Yawm (Comparison between the Past and the Present):

It was written just before the World War-II. In this pamphlet he explained the principles of Islām and the reformatory character of the ‘Ummah. He discussed the first Islāmic state which was established by Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) and also the causes of the downfall of the Muslims.

VI. Risalah al-Moatamar al-Khāmis:

This is the speech al-Bannā addressed in the fifth annual conference of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. The following three topics have been discussed in it:

(a) The aims of al-Ikhwān and features of its message.
(b) The methods and means of al-Ikhwān.
(c) The policy of al-Ikhwān towards various institutions, organizations and ideologies of the country.
VII. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn Tahta Rayah al-Qur‘ān (Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn under the banner of the Qur‘ān):

This is also a speech al-Banna delivered before a grand assembly held in Cairo at the headquarters of al-Ikhwān on 4th April 1939. He discussed aims and objectives of al-Ikhwān and the responsibilities of the youth in this regard.

VIII. Mushkilatuna Fi Dhau-i-al-Nizām al-Islām (Our issues in the light of Islāmic system):

This pamphlet was written after the creation of Pākistān in 1947. He first discussed the political problems of Egypt and other Muslim countries. He also discussed the issue that newly born Pākistān was facing in terms of the armed aggression helped by the Communist block too.

(C) Khutab Hasan al-Bannā (The lectures of al-Bannā):

Short speeches and the religious instructions of al-Bannā have been compiled in the form of a book.

(D) Maqālāt al-Bannā:

Advices and instructions to the friends and the members of al-Ikhwān from time to time, which are now in the form of a book.

(E) Al-Mathūrāt:

It is collection of supplications (dua) to the prayer compiled by al-Bannā himself.27

Besides, he was correspondent of the Cairo Mulsim Youth magazine al-Fath in Ismā‘iliyyah. He pursued his relationships with Rashid Rida’s Maktabah Salafiah group and took over his scholarly journal al-Manār (the light House) from 1939 to 1941.28

Al-Bannā had been active throughout his life, in preaching and reforming the society. He never took rest, instead, he spent his whole life for the cause of Islām. He was assassinated on 12 February 1949 by the state secret police.
infront of the office of ‘Jamiat al-Shubban al-Muslimin as reports declared.29

In his short period of 43 years, he launched the greatest Islamic Movement of the world known as ‘Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimun’, which influenced the entire Muslim world. He was a man of dynamic personality with fearless heart and endowed with the fine qualities of a true Muslim leader. His every step was a manifestation of Islamic values. Mohammad al-Ghazali (1917-1996),30 a prominent Muslim scholar expressed his views about the martyrdom of al-Banna in these words:

“The bullet of the assassin penetrated that sacred body which had become lean and weak owing to the prayers and devotion to Allah and which was full of dust owing to this travel for the causes of Allah and whose forehead expressed his weakness owing to his supreme sacrifices. The Holy Prophet (S.A.W.) has said, when a mu’min (true believer) departs from this world, he is relieved of the world and transferred to the next world of joy and happiness.”31

The social and political circumstances of Egypt during the early decades of the twentieth century, greatly affected the psychological make-up of Hasan al-Banna. These events caused concern and anxiety to him and his friends. He stated that:

“No one but God knows how many nights we spent going over the state of the nation and its present relation to various aspects of life, the effect of its sickness and the various remedies. We thought about a treatment and a way of blocking the disease. With emotion which reached the point of tears, we talked at length of our violent emotional discussions to the complacement and indifferent people who were loafing about the cafes.”32

He wanted to organize religious men, to establish an Islamic society free from all types of evils and vices, so that it could be saved from shame, disgrace and degradation. For
this purpose, he contacted various men of religion. He made contacts with Muhibb-al-Din al-Khatib, owner of *Majallah al-Fath* (the victory) and the Salafiah bookshop, and one of the founding members of the Jami'at al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn. *Al-Fath* made attacks on the modernists. The ideas and books of Farīd Wajdī influenced al-Banna also. He also visited the councils of Shaykh Rashīd Rida, owner of the Salafite magazine, al-Manār started in 1905.

In 1927, al-Banna, joined Jami'at al-Shubbān al-Muslimin. All this happened while he was a student. After the completion of his studies, he wrote a treatise on future plans under the heading of, 'Explain the Greatest of Your Hopes After Completing Your Studies and Explain the Means You Will Use for their Realization.' He promised himself:

"I will be a counsellor and a teacher. If I spend the whole day long for the better part of the year teaching children, I will still not neglect instructing the fathers about the objectives of religion, the source of their well-being and the cause of happiness in life; sometimes by making speeches and holding conversations, sometimes by writing, and at other times by roaming and making trips. I prepared myself for the former task with a spirit of thankfulness and optimism and for the latter with innate means’ perseverance and sacrifice. Both of these are essential to the reformer and are treated as the secret of his success.

Among the practical means are a long period of study, a knowledge of those who embrace this principle and are sympathetic to it, a body inured to roughness despite its smallness and familiar with hardships despite its slenderness, and a soul which I have sold to God at a good bargain, and by His will, a saved one. That is the contract between my God and me which I here record, which I call upon my teacher alone witness, and which cannot be influenced by anything except conscience and in might which is inscrutable except to God; and he
who fulfills what he promises to God shall be given great reward."

On September 19, 1927, after completing his studies from Dār-al-‘Ulūm Cairo, Hasan al-Bannā was appointed teacher in a school in Ismā‘iliyyah.

Establishment of Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn

In the month of March, 1928, Hasan al-Bannā and his six followers and students assembled at the residence of al-Bannā in Ismā‘iliyyah and founded an organization named Jamiat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn (The society of the Muslim Brethren). By 1929, the organization was being referred to as the ‘Muslim Brotherhood’ in the semi-official al-Ahrām newspaper, in which a photograph of the founding group was shown. Among the first bearers of the idea were Hāfīz Abd al-Hamīd, Ahmad al-Hasri, Fū‘ād Ibrāhīm, Abd al-Rahmān Hasbullah, Ismā‘īl Uz and Zaki Maghribi. In 1929, foundation of the center and the mosque was laid in Isma‘iliya.

The aim of this organization was to reestablish the Egyptian society on the fundamentals of Islām, enshrined in the Qur‘ān and the Hadīth and Islāmic schools of law. Al-Bannā wanted to construct a society imbued with Islāmic ideals applied to politics, economics and in all the areas of social life. He wanted to awaken the people against British Imperialism. He wanted evolution in the political, social and moral spheres of life. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn was purely a religious movement. It aimed to spread Islāmic knowledge, Islāmic morals and good deeds. The organization wanted to bring revolution among the individuals and in the society as a whole. To get success in this mission, the task was based on four phases. They are:

1. Al-Fard al-Muslim (Every individual should become a true Muslim;
(2) Al-Usrah al-Muslimah (existence of Islamic family); 
(3) Al-Ummah al-Muslimah (To prepare a true Islamic society); and 
(4) Al-Hukumah al-Muslimah (to establish the Islamic government).

Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun was well organized with members divided into two grades, first and second-class. A supporter and member has to pass a certain examination to reach to the higher rank. When he become active, he was allowed to attend special meetings presided over by Shaykh Hasan al-Bannā. Whenever, the number of members in a branch became numerous, it was upgraded to an administrative unit with a council, whose members were selected by the ‘General Assembly.’

Al-Ikhwan carried out its mission with full dedication. The first four years of the organization’s existence were used to solidify support in and around Ismā‘iliyyah. Al-Bannā and fellow members toured the countryside preaching the message of Islām in mosques, homes, the workplaces, clubs and coffee houses. Al-Ikhwan carried out its mission with full dedication to urban and rural areas and its strongest support base was among the masses. He went to cafes, restaurants, streets etc. to invite the people to hear the message of the organization. Al-Bannā chose three large cafes, capable of holding thousands of people, and arranged for two sessions a week in each of them. He, himself, spoke on those occasions to the people. The stress was given on such elements as doctrine of death, judgement, pains of the Hell, joys of the Paradise in the light of the Qur‘ān and Hadīth with examples and stories. The owners of the cafes were also interested to learn the principles of Islām. So al-Bannā gathered them together in an old Zāwiya (a Sufi meeting house) and taught them the basic principles to be adopted in practical life. He spend his time in another
Zawiya between ‘Salāt al-Maghrib’ (sunset prayer) and ‘Salāt al-Isha’ (last prayer). Thereafter he would go to cafes to teach. He was able to study his little group and the effective factors at work on it. There were the ‘Ulamā, the Shaykhs of the various Sufi orders, the notables, and the clubs. He says about this:

“I tried to make this a broad, general movement based on science, education, and a spirit of militancy, which are the pillars of the Islamic mission. He who wishes a specialized education (here referring to the Sufi orders), he, and what he choose, is his own affair.”

Al-Bannā was able to attract to his movement various members of the local intellectuals, artisans, workers, clerks, low paid professionals, technicians, students of both traditional and modern universities, doctors, lawyers, accountants and industrialists. Their number grew rapidly from an estimated 3000 in 1929 to 2,50,000 in 1947. The growth of the movement was rapid. According to its own journals there were four branches of al-Ikhwān in 1929, and three hundred in 1938 and eventually two thousand in 1948. Members consisted of those people, who were committed to the service of Islām and were ready to sacrifice each and everything, even their lives for it.

The approval of the central office was required to validate the decisions adopted by the General Assembly of any of the branches. Any new branch or administrative body could be approved or disapproved by the General Headquarters. It could also dissolve any branch or administrative body. Central offices supervise the activities of the branches. Social service activities like contact with the Islamic world etc. were supervised by a number of committees created by the central office in order to ensure the smooth functioning of the branches. General Headquarters was the main branch which
was composed of the founding committee, consisting of about one hundred members and the office of General Direction with twelve members selected by al-Banna from the founding committee. All members had to take a Ba’it (Oath of Allegiance) that they would protect al-Ikhwan even with their lives and have implicit trust and confidence in their superiors, enforcing their decisions even if they personally differed with them. At every meeting each member had to renew his allegiance and repeat, “I hear and I obey.” The most trusted active members were thoroughly known to Shaykh al-Banna. Each of them was required to keep daily record of his activities including his progress in the memorization of the Qur’ān and his attendance at Salāh. They were required to study the Qur’ān, the Hadīth, the principles of Islāmic jurisprudence, and were instructed in the use of various weapons and First Aid. At the termination of their studies, they were examined as to what they had learned. At the call of Shaykh Hasan al-Banna, a congress of all the leaders of the branches of al-Ikhwan was held every two years.

In 1929 a center called ‘Dar al-Ikhwan’ and a mosque was built in ʿIsmāʿīliyyah.43 The mosque became an important center of social conscience and moral antiseptic. Al-Ikhwan opened its own schools, dispensaries, co-operatives, even industrial enterprises, and flourishing commercial companies.

The ‘Spirit of Militancy’, as he described it, gained momentum. Other branches were founded in nearby villages, including a plan for Muslim sisters. Schools for Muslim girls (Ummahāt al-Mūmineen Schools) and Darsgāh al-Hira for boys were opened in ʿIsmāʿīliyyah. Every branch had one mosque each and a club at some places.

Al-Banna’s examples and ideas soon found echoes in neighbouring countries, and led to the emergence of Islāmic associations modelled on or affiliated with the original
organization. This was the case in Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Jordan, the Sūdān and Iraq.

Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn started various types of activities. But the most importance was given to education. Many schools were opened and al-Ikhwān requested the Egyptian government to make it possible in the schools that Islāmic and moral values should be taught to the students. This programme had four main objectives: the spread of religious doctrine, high moral standard, pride in the legacy of the Islāmic past of science to provide an Islāmic renaissance in Egypt with a strong basis. Special stress was given in the fields of Islāmic and national history, Islāmic civilization and the establishment of religious instruction as compulsory at the University level. They wanted the removal of teachers from their professions, if any of them was found corrupt in their morals, unfaithful and insincere to their job.

Al-Ikhwān was against co-education. At General Headquarters, they formed a committee to establish separate primary, secondary and technical schools for boys and girls. It took an active part in the spread of education. Al-Ikhwān opened a number of free schools for workers and peasants. They were taught the Qur‘ān during the day. The adults, who were working during the day and had no leisure time, were taught during the night. In this regard each and every branch of al-Ikhwān was provided with a school. Girls were trained in the schools called ‘Mothers of Believers’ (*Ummahāt al-Mu’mineen*).

**Different Phases**

Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn passed through various phases. The first phase is from 1933 to 1939. During this phase al-Ikhwān continued its secret reformatory works. The second phase is from 1939 to 1945. This is the phase when al-Ikhwān came into the political scene. The third phase of the
organization is from 1945 to 1949. During this period al-Ikhwān spread to each and every corner of Egypt. This was the phase in which, al-Ikhwān was ill treated and oppressed by the government and it lost its charismatic leader Hasan al-Banna. The fourth phase is from 1949 to 1954 during which Hasan al-Hudaibī was elected its second Supreme Guide, Egypt witnessed 1952 revolution, Al-Ikhwān was banned and the revolutionary government executed its leaders. Now I would like to discuss these four phases one by one in detail.

**First Phase (1933 - 1939)**

In 1933, al-Banna was transferred from Ismā‘īliyyah to Cairo, by the government. So the Headquarters of al-Ikhwān was also shifted to Cairo in the same year. In this way started the first phase of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn under the charismatic leadership of Hasan al-Banna. During this period al-Ikhwān came out as a good organization and silently propagated its mission in the mosques. Al-Banna along with other members of al-Ikhwān visited villages and towns opened its branches and invited the people towards the following of Islamic civilization. In one of his articles written in the year 1934, he himself stated that:

“The idea of the Brethren had been spread to more than fifty towns and cities in the country of Egypt and in nearly every one of the towns it had carried out useful projects and started beneficial establishments. In Ismā‘īliyyah, a mosque and club was established for al-Ikhwān members as well as the Hira institutions for the instruction of boys and the girls.”

In Shubrakhit, al-Ikhwān established a mosque, a club, a school for boys and a trade school for graduates of the boys school. The boys who could not complete their education, were admitted in this trade school. In Mahamūdiyya al-Buhayrah, likewise, a loom for textiles and carpets was set up near the Qur‘ān school...in ‘al-Manzilah Daqhaliyyah’, a
school where the Qur’ān could be taught, was established. All or some of these are found in every branch of al-Ikhwān all over the country from Adfū to Alexandria.\textsuperscript{46}

The growth of the movement was rapid; three hundred branches were established till 1938. The movement reached out into other parts of the world because al-Bannā was looking beyond the borders of Egypt and realized that the circumstances were favourable for the spread of the movement. He began sending propagandists to the mosques, announcing the mission, making solid contacts and awakening enthusiasm. Then he followed this up by creating branches in the Sūdān, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and North Africa.

During 1933 and 1938, al-Ikhwān published and circulated the newspaper \textit{Majallah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn} (the Muslim Brethren Magazine) from its publishing house. Formerly, the means of contact had been visits, pamphlets, or circulars. Its’ articles were also published in some other magazines such as \textit{al-Nadhīr} (The Warner) and \textit{al-Ta’āruf} (The Introduction).

After the transfer of Headquarters of al-Ikhwān from Ismā‘īliyyah to Cairo, Hasan al-Bannā wanted to develop his movement into a political instrument. He wanted to achieve this goal by his own characteristic means. The constitution of 1922\textsuperscript{47} was Western type and un-Islāmic. Al-Ikhwān demanded that all the political parties should be abolished and the whole structure of the state; and \textit{Shariah} should be brought into conformity with true Islām. The mission of Islām demanded the end of the ‘Partiality’ both by the party politicians and of the domestic nationalist.

Political weekly magazine \textit{Al-Nadhīr} was issued in May 1938.\textsuperscript{48} Articles were written in this paper about the political involvement of al-Ikhwān. The organization disclosed that it will actively participate in the ‘political struggle’ in the
country as well as outside it. It wanted that there should be complete revision of established administrative systems of the governments along the Islamic lines in the Arab world in general and in Egypt in particular.

In this way al-Bannā entered into the political field by delivering religio-social lectures in broadcasts and at clubs by sending letters to the successive prime ministers such as Mohammad Mahmūd Pāshā, Mustafā al-Nahās Pāshā, Ismaīl Sidqī, ‘Abd al-Fath Yahyā, again Mustafā al-Nahās Pāshā, Naṣīm, ‘Ali Māhir and then again al-Nahās up to the outbreak of the World War-II. The letters were in fact calls for a complete internal reform in the spirit and the way of the Islamic religion.

In the year 1936, al-Bannā addressed letters to King Farooq, al-Nahās Pāshā and the kings and the princes of the Muslim world calling upon them to follow the path of Islām, its rules, its laws, and its civilization, and to give up the way of the West, its civilization and its programmes. He said that Islām guarantees to supply the rising nation with its requirements in military life, health, science, economic and organization.

These speeches and letters say that he did not only wanted religious and moral reforms, but also reforms in the administrative system, economic, education and training system, laws and politics, internal as well as external.

In 1938 al-Ikhwān became an international revolutionary call. In the same year, in the fifth conference of al-Ikhwān at Cairo, al-Bannā said:

"It's a Salafi movement because it pursues the return of Islām to the purity of its source in the Qur’ān and the tradition of the Prophet. It’s a Sunni order as it is modelled on the Sunnah in everything, particularly in matters of belief and worship. It’s a Sufi reality because it operates on the principle that virtue is in the purity of the soul,
innocence of the heart and hard work. It's a political organization because it demands reforms in internal politics, changes in the relationship between Islāmic nation and the outside world, and the education of the people for integrity, self-respect and national consciousness. It’s an athletic club as it promotes good health. Since the duties of Islam cannot be fulfilled without good health. It’s a scientific and cultural society because Islām makes the search for knowledge an imperative of every Muslim and the Ikhwān in reality is a school for education, an institute [dedicated] to caring for body, mind and spirit. It’s an economic enterprise because Islām deals with the acquisition and management of wealth. It’s a social idea because it deals with the problem of Islāmic society and attempts to find solutions".50

In the same lecture al-Bannā stated about Islām, national problems and al-Ikhwān’s way of working. This lecture, later on, became guiding principles of the organization. He further said:

“We believe that the teachings of Islām and its commands are about the worldly life and life hereafter. Those who understood that its teachings are limited upto spiritual side or individual worship and those who say that it has no link with the affairs of life, all of them are on the wrong path. Islām is a faith and worship. It is a nation and race. It is the religion and state. It is spirituality and worship also. It is the Qur’ān and the sword. The Qur’ān discusses all these things and considers them Islām’s summary.”51

Some features of call of al-Ikhwān, which were not in the contemporary parties, are as under.

(1) It kept itself away from contradiction regarding jurisprudence.
(2) It had no interest in the higher ranks in the administration of the country.
(3) It disassociates itself from political parties.
(4) There were different grades of workers and work.
(5) It believes in practical works instead of slogans and advertisement.

(6) Young generation joined this organization in troops.

(7) Its message spread quickly in villages, towns and cities.

Al-Ikhwān did not identify itself as a political party, during this period, although it acted very much as if it were. Its activities began to acquire a distinct political character around 1938. The weekly *al-Nadhir* was started and occasionally threatened to 'fight any politician or organization that did not work for the support of Islām and the restoration of its glory.

Al-Ikhwān also raised funds to fight against Zionism, in particular to maintain the Arab strikes of 1936-1939. Al-Ikhwān also supported Palestine military in 1948 war against Israel.52

**Second Phase (1939-1945)**

This was also the period of World War-II, in which al-Ikhwān entered into a new phase. There was no stable government in the country due to Martial Law, and various external motives and factors. Eight ministries were changed successively because of struggle for power among the parties and unfavourable circumstances in the country. The charge of the government was taken over successively by ‘Ali Māhir, Hasan Sābri, Hussain Sirri, Mustafā al-Nahās, Ahmad Māhir, al-Nuqrāshi Pasha, Ismail Sidqui and then again by al-Nuqrāshi Pāshā.53

During the ministries of Ali Māhir and Hasan Sabri al-Ikhwān persisted in preaching and counselling in books and private and public speeches. Al-Ikhwān extended its full support to ‘Ali Māhir’s decision to keep Egypt away from the War. Al-Ikhwān continued its programme of preaching and advising the people to do good and keep themselves aloof from wrong doings.
In 1939, al-Bannā stated that he was both separate from and yet close to the Muslim youth and Young Egypt (Misr al-Fatah, the future Socialist Party)\textsuperscript{54} from which al-Nasser and several free officers were later to merge. King Farooq (enthroned in 1937) and Mustafa al-Marāghī, head of the Islamic University al-Azhar, wanted al-Bannā to contest for the parliament against the political parties in general and the Wafd Party in particular. King Farooq also wanted Wafd Party to be replaced by al-Ikhwān.

At the beginning of the World War-II, al-Bannā relied on the support of King Farooq and his Prime Minister ‘Ali Māhir. Al-Bannā was harassed and put into the prison in 1941 in Cairo, when the King was forced to submit by the British authorities in 1941-42. Al-Bannā still continued to maintain contacts with the government. First in 1939 and then in 1945, al-Bannā suggested King Farooq to dissolve the parties and to form a ‘People’s Union’ which would ‘work for the good of the nation in conformity with the principles of Islām.’ His friend, Sukkārī suggested al-Bannā to join the Wafd Party in 1945, but the latter refused. So Sukkārī broke with him and later on left al-Ikhwān in 1947.

In 1940, the total number of al-Ikhwān branches grew up from 300 in 1938 to 500.\textsuperscript{55} These included, after 1937, a branch in Syria, based in Allepo and covering Syria and Lebanon and agents in a number of other Arab countries.\textsuperscript{56}

During this period the activities of al-Ikhwān doubled. There were developments in its commercial, educational, cultural and physical training programmes. Branches were opened in each and every corner of the country. They organized their activities in these branches. People were impressed with the efforts and constructive works of al-Ikhwān and joined this organization. They include students and teachers from Dār-al-Ulūm Cairo (Fuād the First
University) and al-Azhar University Cairo, businessmen, industrialists, engineers, doctors, lawyers, army officers, police officers, civil servants, teachers, labourers, carpenters, soldiers, clerks, tailors, journalists, farmers unemployed etc. In short people from all walks of life joined the organization and al-Ikhwān became a strongest one with the enrolment of masses.

Al-Ikhwān alone succeeded in attaining grass-root support among the lower class of the urban population, despite the fact that they did not use power and corruption in order to gain this support, as did the Wafd and other parties. During 1939 to 1941, al-Ikhwān published *al-Manār* inherited to Rashīd Rida. With the development and gaining overwhelming support from the masses and becoming their favourite organization, it hitched in the eyes of the government and the British thought that it would create problems for them in the whole Arab world. Before that it was treated as a reformist movement and its activities were not considered seriously.

During 1939-1945, the organization directly stepped into the political field. With good planning and administration, al-Ikhwān raised the slogan of 'Freedom and Islāmic Domination' in the whole country. To address the European governments, al-Bannā stated:

"Al-Ikhwān treats every government as cruel which oppressed or is oppressing Muslim countries. There is need to stop these atrocities with might." So al-Ikhwān raised its voice for the liberation of Palestine, Algiers and all other countries, which were under the shade of Imperialism. He urged the Muslim nations to wage *jihād* against imperialistic powers. These things were contrary to the ideology and aims of the British. So with pressure of the British, eventually in October 1941, Hussain Sirrī Pāshā (the then Prime Minister of
Egypt) resorted the violence on the workers, members, supporters and leaders of the organization. The government banned its two weekly magazines *al-Ta’āruf*, *al-Shu‘ā’* (the rays) and the monthly *al-Manār*. Its press was locked and sealed. Printing or reprinting of its pamphlets was banned. Imam Hasan al-Banna was transferred from Cairo to Qina and Secretary General, Ahmad al-Sukkari to Dhimyat. Parliament of Egypt raised a protest against it and both of them were brought back. The government became more severe and arrested both of them and soon released them as a precautionary measure because it was expected that al-Ikhwān might react. This resulted tremendous support from the masses and an extraordinary increase in the membership of al-Ikhwān.

Al-Nahas of the Wafd succeeded Hussain Sirrī Pāshā. Al-Banna wanted to offer himself as a representative for the parliament from Isma‘īliyyah district, to represent al-Ikhwān and become its spokesman in the parliament. Al-Nahas requested al-Banna that there was danger from the British government in case the latter would contest the election. So in the interest of the country, because he loved it more than his life, al-Banna withdrew his candidature. In exchange al-Nahas lifted ban from their magazines and printing press. But after some time he put restrictions on their activities e.g., holding of meetings, printing of newspapers and locked all its branches except the General Headquarters. At one time the government allowed them freedom and at another time it treated them harshly. These fluctuations continued till his dismissal in 1944.

After al-Nahas, Ahmad Māhir, leader of the Sadist Party, became Prime Minister of Egypt in October 1944. Like his predecessors, he also adopted the way to suppress al-Ikhwān. But still al-Ikhwān decided to contest the elections, according to the resolution passed in its sixth general conference held in
January 1941. It had been decided in the conference that at the proper time, al-Ikhwān would field qualified persons, on the basis of their service to the Islāmic programme, in national elections.63

Hasan al-Banna stood as a candidate from Ismāʿiliyyah. First time in the history of Egypt, people paid out of their own pockets for the election campaign. Sixty centers were established for election propaganda in the city. Posters of the walls, slogans of the people, students of the schools, in short each and everything was announcing to cast vote in favour of Hasan al-Banna. His success was sure. To please the British, the government of Egypt adopted each and every means to defeat al-Banna. But still he was declared successful.

At last elections were cancelled and re-election was announced. This time the British governor, Hammer Sāli Pāshā of Sīnā, expelled the workers of Hasan al-Banna from Sīnā and U’resh. Labourers were brought from other camps to cast fraud votes and al-Banna’s success was changed into defeat. Other candidates of al-Ikhwān were also treated in the same manner.64

Prime Minister Ahmad Māhir, declared war against Germany and Italy during the World War-II.65 Al-Ikhwān objected strongly and demanded that Egypt should stay neutral and not to involve itself in the war and sacrifice its young men for the cause of the West. The public also expressed great concern over this act of Ahmad Māhir. al-Ikhwān was very much active during this period. It was going parallel to the Wafd Party. It was then that Palestine issue began to figure high in the activities of Al-Ikhwān that became the magnet of anti-British and anti-Jewish trends of militant nature. This was the open clash with the British.

A person named Eisavī in February 1945 assassinated Ahmad Māhir and Mahmūd Nuqrāshi Pāshā took over the
charge of the government. Hasan al-Bannā, along with other leaders of al-Ikhwān, was arrested. During interrogation, Eīsavi said that Ahamd Māhir should have consulted the leaders of the country before the announcement of the war. Among these leaders, Eīsavi included Hasan al-Bannā also in this list. al-Ikhwān challenged detention of its leaders. Attorney-General issued orders for the release of al-Ikhwān leaders. After the release, Al-Bannā met al-Nuqrāshi and offered condolences for Ahmad Māhir, in the hope that the Premier would provide al-Ikhwān the freedom of action. Till the end of the World War-II (upto 1945), some times al-Ikhwān was free to hold meetings but at another occasions, the heaviest restrictions were imposed on it. Anyhow in this struggle, World War-II came to an end and circumstances changed.

**Third Phase (1945-1948)**

The last phase of al-Ikhwān, under the charismatic leadership of Hasan al-Bannā, started at the end of the World War-II i.e., in 1945. This was the crucial stage for al-Ikhwān. The movement reached its zenith during this period but also faced severe tribulation by the hands of Egyptian government. This period was from 1945 to 1948.

On 8 September 1945, al-Ikhwān held meeting of its general council. All the members of the organization were present in the meeting. al-Ikhwān introduced an amendment to its basic regulations so that all their aims and objectives would be stated clearly. These amendments mostly resembled with the speech of al-Bannā, which he delivered in the fifth general council in 1938, on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the society. He addressed to the members of al-Ikhwān:

"In the time when you will have- Oh! Ye Moslem brethren-three hundred phalankes, each one of them equipped spiritually with faith and principle,
mentally with science and culture, and physically
with training and exercise; at that time ask me to
plunge with you into the depths of the seas, to send
the skies with you, and to attack with you every
stubborn tyrant; than God willing, I will do it."

In this conference duties were assigned to the members
and they were made bound to obey the leader of the branch
and the Supreme Guide personally, after taking ‘Oath of
Allegiance.’ Al-Bannā was elected Supreme Guide for
lifetime. He could neither be dismissed nor could he resign
without the decision of the founding body.

Instead of solving the economic problems of the people
Egyptian government adopted the policy of curbing the wishes
of the people. The government, backed by the British,
suppressed Al-Ikhwān and banned its activities during the
war. This widened the gulf between the government and al-
Ikhwān. Al-Bannā was put in the prison in 1945. Egyptian
King dissolved the Wafd government and minority government
was brought into power, resulted political unrest in the
country. In 1946 al-Bannā resigned from the government
service and dedicated himself for the development and
strengthening of the organization.

After a temporary halt, al-Ikhwān was allowed to resume
its activities and its ‘Supreme Guide’, al-Bannā, was released.
On 5 May 1946, al-Ikhwān published its first daily, ‘al-
Ikhwān al-Muslimūn’, from its publishing house. This daily
was not only read in Egypt but also in other Arab countries. It
challenged and criticized the foreign intervention and
imperialism.

During this phase al-Ikhwān established commercial
companies which yielded profits and strengthened the position
of al-Ikhwān. They created para-military forces and
established its branches in Egypt and in the Arab world. In
Syria in late 1945 under the leadership of Mustafa Sibāi (b.
1915-1964) al-Ikhwān formed ‘Syrian Muslim Brotherhood’ on 5 May 1946, al-Ikhwān branch was established in Palestine. In the same year, a branch was established in Jordan and al-Ikhwān held its international conference in the Südān in which representative from Lebanon, Jordan and Palestine took part. In October 1946 al-Bannā led a delegation, on the occasion of the Haj, to Hijāz and met with prominent pilgrims and Muslim leaders. In November 1946, al-Ikhwān opened an office in Ammān with the official support of King Abdullah. In 1947, a branch was established in Iraq under the leadership of Shaykh Mohammad Mahmūd al-Sawwāf (b. 1915). Al-Ikhwān delegations also attended international conferences in Western countries.

As reported by ‘The London Times’, the number of members reached between 3,00,000 to 6,00,000 only from the labour class, excluding the students. This paper also stated that al-Bannā had said that the preceding year he was speaking on behalf of the 5,00,000 al-Ikhwān members, who represented seven crore Arabs and thirty crore Muslims. In 1948 number of members reached 5,00,000 only in Egypt and much more than that of supporters and sympathizers. The number of branches reached two thousand in Egypt only.

Now the morale of al-Ikhwān was very high. It touched the peaks of success morally, materially and militarily because of its members worked very hard under the unique leadership of al-Bannā. It was in full-strength and well organized. So it came in the political field and after the end of World War-II, demanded the fulfilment of its word by the British, to give full independence to Egypt. This was the direct confrontation with the British.

During the armistice, Mahmūd al-Nuqrāshi was Prime Minister. Al-Bannā visited him and urged him either he should work for the achievement of national rights the independence
and unity of the Nile Valley or he would announced against the British *jihād*. Egyptian people were on a crucial stage at that time. It was a right time for them to get rid of the British imperialism. Their eyes were on Hasan al-Bannā. Demand for full-independence to Egypt was raised with full strength under the leadership of Hasan al-Bannā. In frustration, al-Nuqrāshi sent a memorandum to the British government. The latter without taking care of the demand of the Egyptian people, sent a diplomatic reply, which could not satisfy al-Ikhwān. Consequently, they organized a demonstration of the people and students, who came out on streets and demonstrated and raised slogans against the British government. It resulted bloody battles with the police and resignation of al-Nuqrāshi ministry and Ismail Sidqui ministry came into power.

Meantime al-Ikhwān continuously urged for the complete independence of Egypt from British imperialism. It awakened the people by organizing public rallies and conferences, made trips to the villages, through pamphlets, speeches and various types of publications. Al-Bannā called upon the parties to form a national board to unify their strength and organize their forces, so the whole nation would stand for the achievement of independence. Unfortunately these parties did not pay any attention to his call. Neither nationalism of Sadist Party nor ‘democratic spirit’ of Wafd Party and not *al-Watn lil Jami‘e* slogan of Sa‘ad Zāglūl came forward.

Al-Bannā, on seeing the coldness of the political front, himself came forward and advised Sidqui Pāshā to end negotiations and openly declare *jihād* against the British government. He accused Egyptian government of favouring imperialism and being disloyal to the country. Al-Ikhwān newspapers openly accused the government for favouring imperialistic companies which were incompetent to solve the
problem of unemployment. The government had been neglecting his demand for waging *jihād* against the imperialism due to the pressure of the British government. The newspapers also criticized ‘Egyptian-British negotiations’, accused ‘Sidqui Pāshā and wrote challenging articles against British imperialism. In the meantime al-Ikhwān submitted a memorandum to King Farooq explained that ‘Sidqui Pāshā Ministry’ was not able to fulfill the aspirations of the people. The General Headquarters circulated a statement to the branches declaring that there should be no cooperation with the English economically, culturally or socially-until immediate and complete evacuation was achieved unconditionally.\(^7^6\

On 27 October 1946, Hasan al-Bannā went to Makkah for pilgrimage alongwith a delegation of al-Ikhwān.\(^7^7\) He left the stage to his deputies and the members of the office of General Guidance.

During this period Sidqui Pāshā, in frustration launched an attack against al-Ikhwān. He arrested deputy Supreme Guide and many al-Ikhwān members and confiscated its newspaper *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. Al-Ikhwān reacted with nation wide strike and condemned this act of Sidqui Pāshā. Violent incidents happened in Cairo and Alexandria. To make it pretext, in retaliation, houses of al-Ikhwān members were cordoned and searched by the police by the orders of Sidqui Pāshā. Inmates were harassed and the women were not spared. Certain government servants and officials were discharged from the service. Many of them were transferred to far-flung areas. Chaos, confusion and unrest prevailed everywhere in the country and Sidqui Pāshā resigned from the Prime Ministership of the country.

On 10 December 1946, al-Nuqrāshi Pāshā of Sadist Party took over the charge of the government as Prime Minister.\(^7^8\)
On the same day, Hasan al-Bannā published an article in the newspaper calling upon al-Nuqrāshi Pāshā to adopt shortest way, respect the aspirations of the people, end the meaningless negotiations with the British and wage jihād against imperialism for the complete independence of the country. He criticized the wrong policies of the government through his writings. He also pointed out that innocent members of al-Ikhwān and sincere citizens of the country were harassed, imprisoned, tortured and al-Ikhwān schools were closed, when it was the right time to fight against the real enemy of the country, the British. Instead of rectifying his wrong policies, he took the criticism as personal war against him. In this way civil war started between the government and al-Ikhwān.

In the meantime Palestine question intensified its severity, in which al-Ikhwān took an active part. It was the proving ground of strength and influence on one hand and a source of dignity for them in Egypt and the Arab world on the other. On 12 December 1947 al-Ikhwān took a demonstration from al-Azhar under the leadership of Hasan al-Bannā, who was instructing the processionists in a motor car with the help of a loud speaker. On 6 May 1948, al-Ikhwān held a meeting of the General Council under the chairmanship of al-Bannā. In the meeting, General Council in that meeting urged the government of Egypt and the rest of the Arab governments to declare jihād against the Jews to save Palestine.79

One 15 May 1948, under the supervision of the Arab League, Arabian army got into Palestine and waged jihād against the Jews. Al-Ikhwān had already sent its first volunteers ‘Rovers Group’ (Jawwalat al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn) on 20 October 1947 before any of the local Arab group and organized their own volunteer forces. As a result, they were able to get arms and valuable training. They learned the extent
of their military preparedness and influence. They fought courageously and bravely. Their courage surpassed that of Egyptian army.

The Jews and the British government was frustrated and got afraid of the influence and strength of al-Ikhwān. Al-Nuqrāshi government also get afraid of their influence and accused al-Ikhwān of incidence of violence and planning to overthrow the government. King Farooq was also frustrated by seeing the strength and influence of al-Ikhwān. Certain foreign ambassadors summoned a meeting in the Military Headquarter of the British in Egypt and unanimously urged upon al-Nuqrāshi to declare al-Ikhwān an unlawful organization. To please his masters, al-Nuqrāshi issued a military order on 8 December 1948 under Marshal Law Ordinance number 63 and al-Ikhwān was declared an unlawful organization. The government disbanded al-Ikhwān, its branches, its centers and seized its newspapers, documents, magazines, publications, monies, properties and assets. The government imprisoned a large number of its members, harassed them and severely tortured them.

Al-Banna tried his best to settle the affairs right but all in vain. On 28 December 1948, al-Nuqrāshi was himself killed by a youth. Al-Ikhwān was blamed for the killing. Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Hādi, al-Nuqrāshi’s fast friend, was given the charge of the government. After taking over the charge of the government, the policies of Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Hādi were more harsher than that of al-Nuqrāshi. He violently attacked the association, dispersed its members, severely tortured many of them in army camps, imprisoned them and exiled some of them including its one of the leaders, Sayyid Umar al-Tilmisānī-who was exiled to Tūr Mountain (Jabl-e-Tūr). He also attacked them in such a way, an infidel could not do it with the Muslims. Hasan al-Bannā was not arrested but
restrictions were imposed on his activities. He was asked neither to move anywhere within the country nor could he go outside the country.

These violent measures deeply disturbed him, he saw the structure collapsing overnight, which he had spend twenty years to build. He felt disappointment on these circumstances and with wisdom changed his plan of direct entry of al-Ikhwān into the politics. He precisely and clearly stated that:

"The thought which I have conceived is that our organization should take upon itself the raising of the standards of the country, religiously, socially and economically neglecting the political aspects and to permit the outstanding of the association to present themselves for the elections under the auspices of whatever parties they see fit to join, provided that they do not join any one party and provided that they undertake the spreading of the mission of the association within these parties...I believe the time is not far distant when these parties will have faith in what we advocate."^83

On 12 February 1949, member of Executive Council of Jamiat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn, Nagi sent Mohammad al-Leythi, president of ‘Young Boys’ branch with a message to Hasan al-Bannā that the latter would meet him in the office of the association so that he would inform Hasan al-Bannā about the decisions of the new government regarding al-Ikhwan.^84

Imām Hasan al-Bannā along with his son-in-law, ‘Abd al-Karīm Mansoor, reached the office of Jamī‘at al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn in time. The former talked with Nagi but, according to al-Bannā, dialogue could not reach its logical conclusion. After the completion of the dialogue, al-Bannā came out of the office. He was fired upon while sitting in the car in front of the said office. He was taken to the hospital where he was declared dead.^85 Consequently, the possessor of truth and purity; mountain of determination and resolution; torch-bearer and caller of tone faith and belief was martyred
in the broad day-light in front of the office of Jami‘at al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn. Sadist party was blamed for the assassination. But eye witnesses said that the assailants used the vehicles bearing Reg. No. ‘9979’ and fled from the scene in the same vehicle.\(^{86}\) Later on it was disclosed that the vehicle belonged to Mahmūd ‘Abd al-Majeed who was the then incharge Lieutenant of the Crime Branch. After the ‘Free officers Revolution’, on 23 July 1952, eleven persons were arrested in this regard. Mahmūd ‘Abd al-Majeed was then ‘Lieutenant Colonel’; Major al-Jazār was an officer of political branch of the ‘Secret Police.’ This was the man who threatened the witness that if he would disclose it, the former would be killed.\(^{87}\) Those convicted also include captain Mohammad Jazār, special servant of King Farooq (Mohammad Hasan), Lieutenant Colonel Mahmūd ‘Abd al-Majeed, Lieutenant colonel Ahmad Kāmil, Colonel Hussain, Hawaldar Abduh Armaniyūs, Sergeant Major Mohammad Mahfūz Mohammad Abū al-Layl Gharib, Lanse Naik Hussain Muhammad bin Ridwān and Ahmad Hussain Jar (driver of the vehicle).\(^{88}\) Al-Banna was killed of course but the movement of resurgence and reform initiated by him could not be suppressed. The blood of al-Banna, rather flourished and strengthened the movement.

**Al-Banna’s Islamic Thought**

Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn’s distinct feature is its explained thought and expression that Islām is a complete system of existence, an all-embracing guideline and a comprehensive discipline of education and training. Imām Hasan al-Banna explains this Islāmic thought in this way:

“Islām is an all-embracing setup, surrounding all sides of life. Whether it is state or country, government or nation, it is guarantor of moral values and guardian of strength, pity and justice. It is a culture and law. It is source of knowledge and set up (system). It contains materials and wealth
privilege. It also contains skill of earning livelihood and wealth. It is the jihād and the call. It contains military principles and discipline. It is also a collection of real facts and prayers.\textsuperscript{89}

This complete and effective interpretation of Islām is easily explained through both the Qur'ān and the Hadīth. The political side of the establishment of Islāmic state, which is the source of the enforcement of Islāmic Shariah is the basic aim of Islāmic resurgence.\textsuperscript{90} Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn presented successfully its all-embracing Islāmic vision in the shape of different works, which include call and guidance, political works, business, education, social and welfare works, building of manner and character, military training, sports and entertainment etc.

Al-Bannā was brave and intelligent, who totally dedicated himself for the cause of Islām. His close associate has rightly said that he had the qualities like astonishing memory, extraordinary capability, and skill of speaking and personal power absorption. In fact he was born as a great leader and guide.\textsuperscript{91} He was influenced by his father who was a respected scholar of the Hanbalite school, was deeply religious person with a sense of mission.\textsuperscript{92}

Anwar al-Sadāt, ex-president of Egypt, met Hasan al-Bannā on the eve of Milād-un-Nabi (S.A.W.) at ‘Mādi Military Cantonment’ in 1940, when the latter went there to present a lecture. Anwar al-Sadāt said:

“His choice of subjects was excellent, his understanding and interpretation of religion profound, and his delivery impressive. He was indeed qualified, from all points of view, to be a religious leader.”\textsuperscript{93}

Hasan al-Bannā’s political thought regarding the decline of ‘Muslim ‘Ummah’, came into being after affected by his analysis of disintegration of ‘Abbāsid Caliphate and colonization of Muslim countries in the nineteenth century.
after the World War-II. During the period political leaders of organization wrote seven books on the subject of Islāmic economics.100

Hasan al-Bannā described Islāmic economic system through the following principles:

(1) That good capital is the basis of human livelihood, thus it has to be appropriately invested and well looked after.
(2) Every deserved person should be given work.
(3) Natural resources have to be exploited.
(4) Un-Islāmic and un-lawful sources of income such as gambling, interest and cheating should be deadly prohibited.
(5) Gap between the poor and the rich should be abridged.
(6) Social security is to be established so that the livelihood of each citizen, especially the disabled is guaranteed.
(7) Charity work, cooperation and social solidarity are to be urged and encouraged.
(8) Sanctity of property and right of private ownership are to be preserved except in case of conflict with public interest.
(9) Monetary dealings are to be regulated within the limits of people’s rights and public interest.
(10) Protection of the economic order as well as the wise and fair expenditure of public money is the responsibility of the state.

Hasan al-Bannā had a complaint with the state that natural and precious resources were not used properly for the welfare of the people. And the country suffered due to the foreign oppression, unequal distribution of wealth and economic disorder.

Many Islāmists in the Muslim world are accused of using the force to attain power. Al-Bannā repeatedly denied that al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn never wanted to capture the power. But it
Hasan al-Banna stressed for the restoration of ‘Caliphate’, besides a religious duty of Muslims, it is the symbol of their unity. In this way al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun gave first preference to the establishment of Islamic Caliphate. Hasan al-Banna accepted that the Muslims should first of all give stress for strengthening of natural help in the fields of economy and culture, followed by military treatise and compromise in other fields. He tried to present Islamic political system in such way, that it ought to be attractive for both intellectual as well as political leaders. He felt that the highest hurdle in Islamization of Muslim countries is the secular system of government founded by colonial powers in the Muslim world. According to him, political system should be based on the Qur'anic commandments, which demands the implementation of ‘Law of Allah.’

He said that Islamic government is based on three pillars: liability of the ruler, unity of the ‘Ummah and the respect of the ‘Ummah’s will. The ruler is liable before Allah and his people. He is the servant of the ‘Ummah and should look after its general interest. He deserves reward or punishment on the basis of his actions. The unity of ‘Ummah is based on the brotherhood of Islam that does not allow hatred or division or conflict. Respect of the ‘Ummah’s will is manifested in its rights to supervise closely the rulers actions and to be consulted in public matters. Al-Banna thought that the ruler should adopt the ‘good opinions’ of his subjects. He categorically said that in the matter, where you could find order neither from the Holy Qur'an nor from the Hadith, the decision of the ruler is implementable to the whole Ummah.

According to al-Banna, these pillars of Islamic government were rightly applied during the reigns of the four rightly guided caliphs and that of ‘Umar bin Abd al-Aziz. He was very much sensitive to the question of any conflict or
division within the Muslim community. He quoted a number of *Ahadith* (traditions of the Prophet) which contained the punishment deserved by those people who create chaos and confusion in the ‘Ummah. That is why al-Banna was totally against the multi-party system in the country. He claimed that the political parties of Egypt have polluted the Egyptian society. Their internal conflicts and mutual struggle gave birth to a number of social evils. In fact we can not call them political parties because they have no fixed policy or programme. He said with confidence that the presence of opposition group to the government is not necessary. Only one party can represent the whole nation.

Although it is clarified in the constitution of Egypt that, Islam is the religion of the state but al-Banna found the laws of the country contrary to this claim. Islamic tenets does not permit gambling, fornication, drinking, use of intoxicants and bargaining of interest, which are in practice in Egypt. He demanded that the laws of the country should be brought into conformity with the constitution by adopting the Shariah laws. Al-Banna said that people should not be afraid of Islam because it is very mild, flexible and convenient for change in the society.

Al-Banna criticized Egyptian electoral law on the basis that it is not helpful in the election of capable representative. In support of his statement he produced the figures provided by Dr. Sayyid Sābri, an expert of constitutional law, who says that there were never more than 12% representative of people in the parliament. Hasan al-Banna gave five point plan to reform the election system, which is as under:

1. To specify certain qualification for a candidate such as having a definite programme and clear policies for which he wanted to work. This should be linked with a reform of the whole party system.
(2) To set certain limits for election propagation that it should concentrate on programmes and policies rather than touch upon family life or personal matters.

(3) To amend the election schedule (presumably to allow every eligible person to vote) and to generalize the application of identification cards.

(4) To legislate harsh punishment for forgery and bribery in the election process.

(5) To adopt the list system instead of the individual per constituency method.

Al-Banna made these suggestions after he and five of the leading members of al-Ikhwan were defeated in the 1945 elections with the intervention of the Egyptian government and British.  

Addressing sixth general conference of al-Ikhwan held in January 1941, al-Banna told that the reform they wanted is comprehensive and complete, it would change all the features of the existing political set up and it would require the cooperation of the whole nation.

According to Hasan al-Banna, the first and foremost national problem to be solved was the liberation of Egypt and the Sudan (the Nile Valley) from the British occupation. Egypt was not a colony of British but it became latter's protectorate after the invasion of the country in 1882. Egyptians treated the British rule a negation of dignity. Al-Banna, like most Egyptian politicians, considered the Sudan as an integral part of Egypt. He claimed that the Egyptian people were ready to sacrifice themselves for the liberation of their country but their governments were weak and indecisive. He considered the liberation of Egypt, a beginning to be followed by the Sudan, Libya, Palestine, Eritria etc...and the rest of the Muslim countries. Hasan al-Banna and his colleagues began to thought seriously on economic issues
after the World War-II. During the period political leaders of organization wrote seven books on the subject of Islāmic economics.

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is ready to cooperate that type of government, which agrees to implement Islāmic system.

It is clear that Hasan al-Bannā wanted to establish the government according to the principles of Islām through the serious struggles made by his movement. In this was al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn will act as a pressure group. He way kept away from election process till 1945. He wrote letters to the Prime Ministers and political leaders regarding the need of adoption of Islāmic policies. He explained to them the circumstances through different ways. In 1942, he kept himself away from the election process on the request of Prime Minister al-Nahas Pāshā that the government would ban on intoxicants and coffee Bars.

Imām Hasan al-Bannā tried his best to win over King Farooq to the cause of Islām believing that this would be the shortest way to realize the objectives of his message.¹⁰¹

Addressing members in the fifth conference of Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn in 1938,¹⁰² Hasan al-Bannā said, “Current partial and short sighted governments are not willing to accept Islāmic system.” Like other political parties, Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn was also free to adopt political means to make successful their plans. But Hasan al-Bannā gave priority to recognize his movement as a religious and social organization from the Ministry of Social Affairs.¹⁰³ Still it could not get that kind of security for which it was struggling. In Contrary to this, different types of restrictions were imposed on this organization. Consequently, the organization was totally banned in 1948. Different governments appreciated this step because as per their views it was interfering in the political affairs of the state. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn justified these political activities on the basis that, “Islām is an absolute existing system, which does not discriminate religion from politics.” But Egypt was a secular state in third and
fourth decade of twentieth century, which created large gulf between religion and politics.

The following are the causes due to which al-Banna did not want to register it as political organization.¹⁰⁴

1. Inadequate democratic guarantees for its political activities.
2. Subversive and negative political activities of existing politicians.
3. Expected dangers to the organization.

Hasan al-Banna disliked the negative role of political parties. He demanded the dissolving of these political parties and merge into one single party, which would work for the welfare of the people on the basis of Islāmic principles. He explained that various political parties are not necessary for running the government on representative system. Because in most of the countries one party-system prevails. Inspite of this Hasan al-Banna continuously wrote letters, use diplomats and met personally to ministers and political leaders. To make diplomatic ties with the Wafd Party, he appointed Ahmad al-Sukkarī as his first officiating.

In April 1945, Sadist government passed a law that social organizations could not take part in any type of political activity. It was an indirect attack against Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. Hasan al-Banna divided his organization into two parts. One was ‘Society for Charity and Social Service’, which was an independent and was attached with Ministry of Social Affair. Second was ‘General Association of the Muslim Brothers’, which was about Da’wah (call), economic and political affairs. This was an important decision, which wanted amendment in the by-laws of Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. A lot of political activities were allowed to it but the first party was not regarded as political party at any cast.
Certain people accuse al-Ikhwān for using force. Al-Bannā replied that force is a part of Islāmic principles. It can be physical strength besides power of belief. No group is powerful unless it does not possess all these powers. He promised the audience that when three hundred troops having spiritual, intellectual and physical power will get ready, he will send them ahead to encounter every type of danger. He quoted the Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.), who said, “No twelve thousands shall be defeated because of a small number.”

Speaking to the fifth general conference in January 1938, he explained the ‘force’ is part of the Islāmic doctrine because God ordered that believers to prepare themselves with strength in order to frighten the enemies of God and their enemies. He said:

“At the time that there will be ready, oh! Ye Muslim Brothers, three hundred battalions, each one equipped spiritually with faith and belief, intellectually with science and learning, and physically with training and athletics at that time you can demand of me to plunge with you through the turbulent oceans and to send the skies with you and to conquer with you every obstinate tyrant. God willing, I will do it.”

Despite its militancy, al-Ikhwān adopted the revolutionary path to reform. Section 2 of Article 2 of al-Ikhwān’s 1945 regulations, for example stated that, “The Brethren will always prefer gradual advancement and development, productive work, and co-operation with lovers of good and truth. They do not wish to harm to anyone, no matter what his religion, race or country.”

It clears that al-Ikhwān and al-Bannā himself was not in favour of using force against anyone but he reserved the use of force to those occasions only when not other way of reform was open. Al-Bannā has said:
"The Brethren will use practical force whenever there is no other way and whenever they are sure the implements of faith and unity are ready, whenever they use this force they will be honourable and outspoken. They will warm first and wait a while, and then they will advance in dignity and strength. They will bear all the consequences of their behavior in satisfaction and content."\textsuperscript{108}

Though Hasan al-Bannā, the founder of Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn was very brutally killed on 12 February 1949, the movement inspite of all the conspiracies and pressures could not be stopped from flourishing and progressing ahead. Shaykh Hasan Ismail al-Hudaibi alongwith the ideologue of the movement, Sayyid Qutb and other prominent leaders lead the Islāmic workers in all the activities of the resurgence and revival.
Notes and References


(5) Carre, Olivier, op. cit., Vol.- 1 p.195, shows that al-Bannâ completed graduation in 1923 and Mitchell, R.P. op. cit., p.3, writes that he was 14 year old at that time i.e. the year 1920.

(6) *Dâr-al-‘Ulûm* had been founded by Mohammad Abduh (1849-1905) in 1873 to provide modern and scientific education in addition to the traditional religious sciences. It was developed and made popular by Rashîd Rida (1895-1935), ‘Abduh’s disciple, who taught there until his death. In those days, it was called’ Little al-Azhar’ and education was imparted through modern methods in Teachers’ Training, Psychology, Philosophy, Politics, Sociology, Mathematics and Linguistics. It became a higher teachers’ training school and with the
development of the secular university system, in Egypt, it became more and more traditional.

(7) Carre, Olivier, op. cit., Vol. 1 p.195.
(8) Shaikh, M.N. op. cit., p. 28.
(9) Carre, Olivier, op. cit., Vol. 1 p.195.
(11) Ibid,
(12) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 29 see also Zaki, op. cit., p. 31.
(13) Falahi, Obaidullah Fahad (Dr.), op. cit., p. 53.
(14) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 86.
(20) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p.82.
(21) Ibid., p. 84.
(22) Ibid., p. 41.
(24) See preface of the book, *al-Tāriq* (The Way) by Dr. Yahya al-Darderi, General Supervisor for the Y.M.M.A., Cairo 1992. The preface is given by Muhibbuddīn al-Khāṭīb, one of the founders of the Y.M.M.A. and former First Secretary General. It explains the circumstances of the establishment of the organization, its objectives and gives the basic members of its administrative council. It is, perhaps in addition to the basic regulations-the best source for its history.
(26) Ibid., p. 38
(27) Ibid., pp. 31-35.
(28) Carre, Olivier, in Esposito op. cit., Vol. 1 p. 195.
(31) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 35.
(33) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 139.
(34) Husaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., pp. 7-8. See also Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 29.
(35) Husaini, Ibid., p. 10, see also Carre, Olivier, op. cit., Vol. 1 p. 195.
(36) Schulze, Reinhard, op. cit., p. 94, see also Shaikh, M.N. op. cit., p. 39. also Zaki, op. cit., p. 27, also Husaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., p. 1, also Mitchel, R.P. op. cit., p. 8.
(39) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 29.
(40) Husaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., p. 11.
(41) Perlmutter, Amos, op. cit., p. 39.
(42) Carre, Olivier, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 195.
(43) Shaikh, M.N., op. cit., p. 29.
(44) Zaki, op. cit., p. 31.
(45) Ibid., p. 32.
(49) Zaki, op. cit., pp. 33-34.
(50) Hussaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., p. 15. See also Zaki, op. cit., pp. 35-36.
(52) Sullivan, Denis J., op. cit., Vol. 3, p. 188.
(53) Zaki, op. cit., p.37, see also Husaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., p.15.
(58) Carre, Olivier, op. cit., Vol. 1, p.196.
(62) Husaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., p. 16.
(63) Ibid., p. 16.
(64) Tilmisānî, al-Sayyid ‘Umar, op. cit., p. 167, see also Zaki, op. cit., p. 42.
(65) Zaki, op. cit., p. 43.
(66) Ibid., p. 43.
(67) Husaini, Ishak Musa op. cit., p. 17.
(68) Ibid.
(69) Zaki., op. cit., p. 44, see also Falahi, Obaidullah Fahad (Dr.), op. cit., p.53.
(70) Zaki., op. cit., p. 44.
(71) Husaini, op. cit., p.17.
(72) Zaki, op. cit., p. 44. See also Falahi, Obaidullah Fahad (Dr.), op. cit., p.53.
(73) Husaini, op. cit., p.18.
(74) Zaki., op. cit., p. 45, see also Mitchell, op. cit., p. 328, see also Heyworth, op. cit., p. 68.
(75) Husaini, op. cit., p.18.
(76) Ibid., p. 19.
(77) Ibid., p. 20.
(78) Ibid., p.20.
(79) Ibid., p. 20.
(80) Zaki., op. cit., p.49.
(81) Ibid., p.49, see also Choueiri, Youssef M., Islāmic Fundamentalism, London, 1990, p. 49. See also, Danish, Ishtiaq, 'Misr Mein Islām Aur Secular Arab Nationalism Ke Darmiyan Kashmkash-II, Zindagi Nav, July 1999, p.32.
(82) Tilmisānī, al-Sayyid ‘Umar, op. cit., p. 81.
(83) Hussaini, Ishak Musa, op. cit., p.21.
(84) Zaki., op. cit., p.54.
(85) Ibid., p. 54.
(86) Ibid., p. 57.
(87) Ibid., p. 57.
(92) Zaki., op. cit., p. 25.
(94) ‘Ābdīn, al-, op. cit., p. 57.
(95) Ibid., p. 58.
(96) Ibid., p.58.
(97) Ibid., pp. 60-61.

(98) Zaki, op. cit., p. 42, see also Mitchell, p. 33.


(100) 'Abdīn, al-, op. cit., p. 61-62.

(101) Mitchell, op. cit., p.41.


(103) Mitchell, op. cit., p.36.

(104) Abū Dāwūd, Ibn Majah and Ibn Hanbal narrate the Hadīth.

(105) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 15 see also Husaini, op. cit., pp. 17 and 104.

(106) Husaini, Ishak Musa., op. cit., p. 18.

(108) Ibid., p. 104.
Chapter III
Islamic Resurgence
Post Hasan al-Bannā Phase
Six (from second to present) Supreme Guides of al-Ikhwān
Al-Bannā’ī’s death, on 12 February 1949, was a severe blow to al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. The Jews, the British and the enemies of Islām celebrated the day because he had brought about a revolution in the culturally, politically and religiously decayed society of Egypt in only two decades and put the society on the Islāmic anvil. Ideological movements never die; their message goes on spreading. The movement continued its progress and conquered new grounds under its new Supreme Guide Hasan Ismail al-Hudaybi, a former judge.

Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Hādi remained in power, as the Prime Minister, for about seven months during which the oppression and tribulation on al-Ikhwān reached its zenith. After the assassination of Hasan al-Bannā’, a number of incidents of violence happened in the country. On 5th May 1949, ‘Abd al-Hādi’s car was attacked with a series of bomb’s in the Mādi suburb of Cairo. Later on it was discovered that the car was a similar model used by the leader of the Lower House of the parliament, Hāmid Juda, who escaped unhurt from the spot. Al-Ikhwān was blamed for the act and ten members of the organization were apprehended. Al-Ikhwān was declared unlawful and the members, behind the bars, were severely tortured. Lengthy trials were ensued and their branches were confiscated. But its branches continued activities outside Egypt in other Arab countries especially in Syria, where the branch carried on its activities under the leadership of Mustafa Sibai. Political observers think that al-Ikhwān had disappeared from the scene but the fact is that certain members having weak faith left the organization and majority of the members became very strong because it was the test of their faith, dedication and sincerity. It is said
that al-Ikhwān secretly elected its new Supreme Guide and carried on its activities.\(^3\)

The end of the government led by Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Hāḍi was very dreadful. On 25 July 1949,\(^4\) the cabinet was ordered by King Forooq to resign hardly a day before Eid. The news was published with bold letters in all the newspapers that King Farooq has presented the people with the best gift on the eve of Eid.\(^5\) By the time ‘Abd al-Hāḍi left the government, there were an estimated 4000 al-Ikhwān members in the camp-prison of Tur, Huckstep (a former American barracks near Cairo International Airport), and ‘Uyūn Mūsa.\(^6\)

After the dismissal of ‘Abd al-Hāḍi cabinet, coalition government was formed under the leadership of Husayn Sirri Pāshā followed by a neutral Sirri government to supervise the elections. In the elections, The Wafd Party, with the support of al-Ikhwān, won by an overwhelming majority. Mustafā al-Nahas took over the charge on 12 January 1950. Gradually, the horrors of the nightmare were lifted from al-Ikhwān\(^7\) and; it felt a sort of relief, satisfaction and freedom. Earlier it was thought that they were no more but then they become active, their writers began to stimulate and their newspapers began to reappear. On 17 October 1951, al-Ikhwān elected Hasan al-Hudaibī as its new Supreme Guide.

On 15\(^{th}\) December 1951, obeying the orders of the Supreme Court, the government released some of their properties among which was the General Headquarters building, the newspaper building the publishing house and some of their branch buildings.\(^8\) The judgment stated that decision through which al-Ikhwān was declared un-lawful, was totally wrong because the decision taken in 1948, was not under the jurisdiction of Marshal Law Administration.
Without waiting and wasting any time, the remnants gathered, regrouped the ranks and filled the vacant posts in preparation for the new phase under the leadership of the former deputy, Saleh 'Ashmāwī. Detainees in the Palestine area were returned in small groups, subjected to investigations or minor detentions, and then released. Its rapid recovery was largely due to its having continued to operate as an organization in the prisons, grouped together in mass concentrations. It was a simple matter to reestablish the former patterns and relationships. Those who escaped abroad continued to spread the message, especially in Syria, Jordan and Pakistan, their reports of sympathy among other Muslims for the 'ordeal' of al-Ikhwān and of new conquests for the idea added to the sense of new life and eternal mission.

Asked by an associated press correspondent about the support of the Wafd, the spokesman of al-Ikhāwan, Saleh 'Ashmāwī said, "The Wafd is the popular party of Egypt and its followers come from the same classes as the partisans of al-Ikhwān-the popular classes. There is then, no competition between al-Ikhwān and the Wafd". There were negotiations between al-Ikhwān and the Wafd, the former was represented by Mustafa Mu'min and the latter by Sirāj al-dīn, as Minister of the Interior Sirāj al-dīn's conditions for the return of al-Ikhwān to life included (1) formal activity might not be resumed till Martial Law was ended; (2) informal activities might be resumed without delay but under a new name; (3) The old name might only be used after the lifting of Martial Law and the full return of al-Ikhwān to legality. Mu'min, anxious to resume the functioning of al-Ikhwān, agreed to accept the offer. He went so far as to recommend a new name; al-Nahda al-Islāmiyyah (The Islamic Renaissance) but other leaders
especially Sāleh ‘Ashmāwī, rejected the offer and accused the Wafd of betrayal.

Towards the end of 1950, the Minister of the Interior wanted to replace the dissolution with new ‘Societies Law’ under which full information on each member, complete with photograph, would have to be registered with the authorities. Al-Ikhwān took it unnecessary and under restrictions against the organization because it was the only group in question. But the government was determined to push through the law and on 16 April 1951, it came before the parliament. On the 18th, while it was being debated, ‘Ashmāwī ordered a mass demonstration in front of the parliament building. Their own leaders dispersed demonstrators after speeches and memorandum of protest was presented to the government. Within a few days the law was passed and al-Ikhwān made it known that it would not be registered.

On 1 May 1951, Martial Law was ended. The Guidance Council summoned a meeting and declared al-Ikhwān’s existence. It raised its banners all over the country, which were torn by the security forces and al-Ikhwān Headquarters was occupied. The public notices given by the Minister of the Interior of his intention to buy the Headquarters building for a police station occasioned al-Ikhwān. Al-Ikhwān brought a suit in the council of state against the Prime Minister, and the ministers of the interior and of finance. The case and similar suit brought by al-Bannā, pending since November 1948 against the government’s order of closing of the two branches in Port Sa‘ed and Islmā‘iliyyah, was reopened with a new plea in 1951. The arguments put forward by al-Ikhwān were finally upheld in a decision delivered on 17 September. The order for the sale of the Headquarters was revoked, and it was
recommended that al-Ikhwān funds and property should be returned. On 18 December 1951, government released its confiscated property-including its press and all its buildings.

On 8 October 1951, al-Nāhās Pāshā unilaterally announced the cancellation of Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the Südān Condominium of 1899. Addressing the Egyptian parliament, al-Nahās completed his speech with the words, “For the sake of Egypt I signed the treaty of 1936, and for the sake of Egypt, I ask you this day to abrogate it.” Al-Ikhwān supported the declaration and joined in the outcry for armed struggle and jihād. Egyptians and British forces first time clashed with each other on 17 October, in Ismāʿīliyyah al-Ikhwān officially declared jihād against the British. Al-Nahās Pāshā waned to discuss with the British authorities about the withdrawal of the British army from Egypt but the latter put it off. The public became furious and started struggle for independence, al-Nahās government was in favour of the nationalist demonstrators, who daily filled the streets, began demanding arms training and the creation of ‘liberation battalions’ to fight the enemy. Al-Ikhwān volunteers were trained by army officers in public camps set up in the universities and secondary schools, and in private camps by other officers who had links with the free officers. They provided them with arms, which they were to carry into the Canal Zone. Canal Zone became the battlefield. 300 volunteers including the members of Secret Apparatus participated in the harassment of British personnel and positions. Shaykh Mohammad Farghali, member of Majlis al-Shūra of al-Ikhwān, frustrated the British army with the help of these volunteers. Higher officials of the British army announced through ‘Faid
Radio Station’ that any one who would kill Shaykh Mohammad Farghali would be awarded with £5,000.

On the other hand, Wafd government was so impressed by the bravery, planning, sacrifices and passion of jihād activities of al-Ikhwān volunteers that the former invited the leaders of the latter and discussed with them that the command of the war would remain in the hands of al-Ikhwān but on the following day the palace of Ābidīn dismissed the Wafd cabinet.

Clashes escalated throughout the last month of 1951 and in early 1952. The most serious incident occurred on 25 January 1952, when the British troops destroyed the police barracks in Ismā‘īliyyah, killing 43 Egyptian policemen and wounding many others. The incident provoked the people for riots and on the following day hundreds of British buildings and offices including famous International Shepherds Hotel and Turf Club were burned and looted, and a number of British and other foreigners were killed in Cairo. Though the King dismissed al-Nahās cabinet but could not restore coherent government. The motive behind the dissolution of the Wafd government was to suppress the independence movement.

It was reported that the Wafd government and al-Ikhwān had been reached to an agreement through which the former would not ban the political activities of the latter.

After the dissolution of the Wafd government, ‘Ali Māhir was invited to take over the government. But after a short period of time, Najīb al-Hiāli was given the chance followed by Husayn Sirri Pāshā and again Najīb al-Hiāli. In this way four cabinets were changed within nine months. On the other hand the public continued its movement for the withdrawal of the British forces, which had been
gaining tremendous momentum but palace of Ābidīn was the main hurdle between the British and the Egyptian public. If the government supported the public demand, the palace of Ābidīn overthrew it with British tanks and if the former wanted to please the palace of Ābidīn, public demonstration, agitation, chaos and confusion, and law and order problem became the cause of its fall.

New Leader of Al-Ikhwān

After al-Bannā’s death, which would lead became an issue of dispute among al-Ikhwān. There were so many personalities suitable for the post of ‘Supreme Guide’ such as Advocate Sāleḥ ‘Ashmāwī (who was al-Bannā’s deputy and head in command of the Special Apparatus since 1947), Ābd al- Rahmān al-Bannā (al-Bannā’s real brother), Ābd al- Hakīm Ābidīn (Secretary General), Shaykh Ahmad Hasan al- Baqūri (religious scholar and member of al-Ikhwān Guidance Council and later member of the government) etc. However, Ashmāwī’s leadership was challenged by Ābd al-Rahmān al-Bannā, al-Baqūri and Munīr al-Dalla (justice and newly member of al-Ikhwān). Al-Ikhwān realized that their dissolved organization could not survive an almost certain split in ranks, should anyone of the contenders be appointed. They agreed that the leader should come from outside the organization. The members did an unusual discuss at the residence of Sāleḥ ‘Ashmāwī on the issue and at last Munīr al-Dalla (member parliament) suggested that instead of a popular personality, an unknown person should be elected. This suggestion was supported by Farīd Ābd al-Khāliq and Sāleḥ Abū Raqīq. Some of the members nominated Hasan Ismail al-Hudaibi for the post of Supreme Guide and majority of the members expressed their loyalty and solidarity with him. Certain writers
claimed that al-Hudaibi's appointment was the result of various compromises between the palace and al-Ikhwān. For some, the appointment of al-Hudaibi, a judge of more than twenty-six years, would help the cases of al-Ikhwān members still pending before the court. Al-Hudaibi's brother-in-law was the chief of the royal household, and helped to narrow down the rift between the palace and al-Ikhwān and hastened the return of their organization to a state of legality. Sāleḥ ‘Ašmāwī later stated: "It was necessary that the names of the terrorists, which had been made by the press the subject of stories of fear and terror, should disappear for a while."

It was not until 17 October 1951 that the appointment of al Hudaibi was officially announced. The actual date seems to be earlier, but he did not gave his permission to release this information, a point later counted against him. Hafiz Afifi Pāshā, appointed by the palace to head the royal cabinet, nominated al-Hudaibi for Ministry of Justice in 1951, but the Ikhwān persuaded al-Hudaibi to reject this position. He did so after he met King Farooq in the palace of Abidīn in 1951. Thus for most of the members, the appointment of al-Hudaibi was necessary but only temporary.

Hasan al-Hudaibi was born in Arab al-Sawaliha, a village in the rural area of Shibīn al-Qanātīr in Egypt in 1891. He memorized the Qur’ān in the village Kuttāb (madrasah). After completing his secondary education from al-Azhar, he joined law school and graduated in 1915. He then entered the law office of Hāfiz Ramadan, deceased head of the National Party. He worked as a lawyer upto March 1924. In the same year he was appointed as a judge and rendered the services for twenty-seven years until his
resignation On 17 October 1951, upon becoming the Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwan. He stated:

"...When I was in the school I avoided every demonstration except for the funeral of Mustafa Kamil in 1908. I was 17 years old at that time. At the age of 28, I participated in the revolution of 1919, though with less enthusiasm than most Egyptians did. I disliked violence and public displays... I married after I had received my license to practise...I was proud to ask for my wife's hand, and did not let my father make the request as known in the traditions.... My father presented himself when he wished to marry my mother... As for me, I present myself, since I am the groom, not my father.... This would not annoy my father for he did not live in my generation...."¹⁹

Al-Hudaibi married to the sister of Najīb Salīm, chief of the royal household during King Farooq's rule. He met some of the younger al-Ikhwan members in 1944 and within a short period of time became one of the close friends of al-Banna. About the first speech he heard of al-Banna, he says:

"How many speeches have I heard, hoping each time that they could speedily end.... This time, I feared that Hasan al-Banna would end his speech.... One hundred minutes passed and he collected the hearts of the Muslims in the palms of his hands.... and shook them as he willed....The speech ended, and he returned to his listeners their hearts ...except for mine, which remained in his hand."²⁰

After becoming the Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwan, he introduced some changes in the organization:

(i) He replaced the venerable senior members with relatively new;
(ii) He created a new post of vice guide (naib);
(iii) He discredited and invalidated the continuity of Special apparatus (secret organ); and
He openly condemned the use of force.

About these changes he said:

"After my appointment to the post in 1951, I found that they have what they called Special Apparatus. I asked them about the purpose and duty of this Apparatus. What they do with it, particularly, after what has come to be certain about the involvement of the Special Apparatus in the violence in 1946-1948. Indeed, all these crimes are an act of extravagation and prodigality (isrāf) and deviation from the original duty of al-Ikhwān organization."

According to him, "Secret or Special Apparatus was a mistake from the first. These mistakes must be repaired. There is no secrecy in the service of God...there is no secrecy in the Message and no terrorism in religion..."

He openly condemned the involvement of al-Ikhwān in the Canal Zone towns against the British. He called the activity of al-Ikhwān members as violence and made known his unwillingness to support such activity. He states:

"Violence cannot liberate Egypt from the British....the duty of al-Ikhwān is to educate the people and prepare them spiritually. This is the duty of the government also. I suppose that educating the people and preparing them is the only way, which will bring about an end to the British occupation of Egypt.... The members should go back from the Canal Zone towns and devote themselves in reciting the Qur’ān..."

Al-Ikhwān now regained its position and became more impressive force. In October 1951, when the crisis between Egypt and the British sharpened, al-Ikhwān units took an outstanding part in the liberation movement. The Minister of Interior was so impressed and stated that the government would not prevent them from indulging in politics, as they did not violate the law.

During the administration of Ahmad Najīb al-Hilālī Pāshā, followed by Ali-Māhir Pāshā, al-Ikhwān decided not
to contest the elections. Both of them entered into a new relationship with al-Ikhwan. ‘Ali Māhir even consulted Supreme Guide and discussed state affairs with him and other political leaders. This was an acknowledgement of their power in the political field. Al-Hudaibi wished to took up cautious approach to politics left off by his predecessor, Hasan al-Banna.

The movement had then directed towards the simplification of the mission, the broadening of its base and the strengthening of its foundations. The ‘Ulama of al-Ikhwān and their scholars began to write detailed and comprehensive articles on various aspects of life in the light of Islāmic principles, for example, political, legal, social, economic, financial etc. The articles are as under:24

(1) ‘Abd al-Qādir Awdah, judge in the national court and a member of al-Ikhwān wrote three books: *al-Tashri al-Jina‘i fi al-Islām* (criminal legislation in Islām), *al-Māl wa al-Hukm fi al-Islām* (Finance and Rule in Islām), and *al-Islām wa Awadd‘una al-Māliyah* (Islām and Our Financial Conditions). Mohammad al-Ghazālī (1917-1996), the then member of al-Ikhwān and their most prolific writer in defence of the doctrine wrote: *Min Huna Na‘lam* (From Here We Know), in answer to the book written by Shaykh Khālid Mohammad Khālid which caused a great stir, entitled, *Min Huna Nabda* (From Here We Begin). Al-Ghazālī also wrote: ‘*Aqīdat al-Muslim* (The Creed of Muslim), and *al-Islām al-Muṣṭara ‘Alayhi* (Islām the Culminated). Other books of that period are *Nuzūm al-‘Amal fi al-Islām wa Nuzūm al-Harb fi al-Islām* (Systems of work in Islām and Systems of War in Islām) by Jamāl al-dīn ‘Ayyād and *al-Islām wa Huqūq al-Insān* (Islām and the Rights of Man) by ‘Abd al-Mu‘nīm Khafaji.
The monthly magazine, al-Muslimūn published its first number on 30 November 1951 by Said Ramadan (1926-1995), one of the foremost propagandists of al-Ikhwān. Some of the greatest thinkers contribute to it.

In 1954 there appeared a book entitled The Muslim Brethren and the Egyptian Society by Mohammad Shawqui Zaki in which the author described this period:

"...and the number Brethren branches now numbered approximately 1500. As we write these lines the director journeys throughout Egypt and the papers relate how he opens a new branch in every district, he visited. In Cairo alone, there are seventy branches at present. The number of active registered members is more than a million, though the actual number of brothers is not exactly known, partly because the statistics section of the central office has started functioning only recently and partly because members prefer to work for their message in their own individual way, without seeking to demonstrate their activities or adhere strictly to the official body of the organization...".

Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of al-Ikhwān

Sayyid bin al-Hāj Qutb Ibrāhīm Husayn Shādhlī was born on 9 October 1906 in village Lūshā near Asyūt in Egypt. His Sixth great grandfather al-Faqr ‘Abd Allah was an Indian. His father al-Hāj Qutb Ibrāhīm was a member of Mustafā Kāmil’s al-Hizb al-Watani (Nationalist Party) and a subscriber to its newspaper, al-Liwa (the Banner). Both his father and mother were religious minded. His father married twice. He had a son from the first wife, who was very older than Sayyid Qutb. From the second wife he had four daughters and two sons. Sayyid Qutb was the eldest son, the others were -Nafīsah Qutb, Sayyid Qutb, Amīnah Qutb, Mohammad Qutb and Hamīdah Qutb. Sayyid Qutb went to Cairo for the purpose of studies and after that
his brother Mohamamd Qutb also went to Cairo for the same purpose. During this period their mother was visiting Cairo to meet them. After the death of his father, his mother permanently resided in Cairo where she died in 1940.

He got primary education in village madrasah (religious School) then he took admission in ‘Abd al-Aziz Primary School in 1915 and completed Middle Standard in 1918. Sayyid Qutb moved to Halwān (Cairo) in 1921, where he stayed with his uncle, who was a journalist up to 1925. He was enrolled in Teachers’ Training College in 1925 and graduated in 1928. After that he took admission in Dār al-‘Ulūm Cairo (Cairo University) in 1928-29, where he completed two year pre-university course and took admission in B.A. Arts in the same university in 1930 and completed graduation in 1933. In the same year he was first appointed as instructor in Cairo University and then teacher in the Department of Education and rendered the services up to 1939. During 1930s he wrote works of fiction, literary criticism and poetry. From 1940 to 1948, he was preparing syllabus for the schools along with other writers in the Department of Education.

Sayyid Qutb joined the opposition the Wafd Party of Sa’ad Zāghlūl but abandoned it when Mustafa al-Nahās Pāshā took over the ministry in February 1942 with the help of the British. After that he joined its breakaway group ‘Sadist Party’ and remained its member for two years.

In 1948 he went to America through the Ministry of Education to study modern system of education. During the stay in America he began to think about al-Ikhwān especially when the American newspapers expressed their happiness over the political assassination of Hasan al-
Bannā in 1949. He paid his full attention towards this when he came to know from the English professor that al-Ikhwān was the major danger to the government of Egypt, because the former was trying to take usurp the throne. Later on it was disclosed that the professor was a member of the British Intelligence Department in America. He got disgusted with the materialism, sexual permissiveness, racism and pro-Zionism of the West and came to the conclusion that man’s welfare is only in Islām.

He joined al-Ikhwān in 1951. He was appointed member of *Majlis al-Shūra* in 1952 and became the incharge of publishing and broadcasting department of the organization. In 1953 he attended the Islamic conference, in *Bait al-Muqaddas*, as the representative of al-Ikhwān. In 1954 he was appointed as editor of the organization’s newspaper *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. The newspaper was banned on 10 September 1954 in retaliation to the criticizing the Anglo-Egyptian Accord by al-Ikhwān. He was arrested in October 1954 in connection with the attack on Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser on 26 October 1954. He was sentenced fifteen years imprisonment with hard labour by the military court on 13 July 1955. Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser was aware about the greatness of Sayyid Qutb, consequently the former showed willingness to release him if the latter would request for pardon. He could not do so because he knew that he was innocent. He was offered portfolio of Ministry of Education but he rejected the offer and asked the government to change the current system of education and adopt Islāmic system of education. Obviously, al-Nasser was not ready to do so and did not release Sayyid Qutb. After the end of emergency in Egypt in 1964, he was released from the jail along with other political leaders on the intervention of Iraqi president a'Abd
al-Salām Arif. A year later he was rearrested along with many other al-Ikhwān members in July 1965, accused for making conspiracy with al-Ikhwān to overthrow the government. His brother Mohammad Qutb and his two sisters Hamīdah Qutb and Amīnah Qutb were also arrested. He was tried along with his other associates in the military court of al-Nasser on 25 August 1966. At last he was hanged to death on 29 August 1966 along with Mohammad Yousuf Hawash and Abd al-Fatah Ismail.

During the period of childhood, he had interest in poetry. At the age ten, he delivered lectures in the local mosque in favour of the revolution in Egypt and used his verses in these speeches. At Dār al-'Ulūm he paid full attention towards the poetry and wrote Odes. He wrote forty Odes in 1934, which is one third of his whole poetry. His first book of poetry Al-Shati al-Majhul' (the Unknown Beach) was published in 1935. He wrote a number of literary, political and religious papers which were published in famous Arabic newspapers, journals and magazines e.g., al-Mussawir al-Jihād, al-Balāgh (daily and weekly), Kankab al-Shauq, al-Ahrām, al-Muqattaf, al-Risālah, al-Thaqafah, Sahīhfah Dar al-'Ulūm, al-Kitāb, al-Kitāb al-Misri, al-Sabū, al-Da’wah, al-Muslimūn, etc. He was also editor of al-Ālam al-‘Arabi started in 1947, al-Fikr al-Jadd, also started publication in the same year and al-Muslimūn published in 1954.

He wrote many books in jail, which contain the call and the thought of al-Ikhwān. According to the secretary of the organization, ‘Abd al-Haleem Ābidīn, “Their organization got a great thinker whose opinion is very authentic.” He is the author of about twenty-two books. Some of them are as under:
(1) *Al-Taswir al-Fanni fi al-Qu'rân* (picturization in the Qur'an).


(3) *Al-Adalah al-Ijtima'īyah fi al-Īslām* (Social justice in Islam) is the famous book written by Sayyid Qutb.

(4) *Ma'arakah al-Īslām wa al-Rasmāliyyah* (The Struggle Between Capitalism and Islam)

(5) *Al-Salām al-Alāmī wa al-Īslām* (Islam and the Universal peace).

(6) *Fi Zilāl al-Qu'rān* (in the Shade of the Qur'an), which is comprised in eight volumes.

(7) *Dirāsāt Islāmiyyah* (Islamic studies)

(8) *Khasā'is al- Tassawwur al- Islāmi was Muqwwamātuhū* (Characteristics and Constitutive Element of the Islamic thought).

(9) *Al-Īslām wa Mushkilāt al-Hādarah* (Islam and the problems of civilization)

(10) *Ma'ālim fi al-Tarīq* (Milestones): In this book he criticized Arab Nationalism and said that Islam is the stable way and method. He wrote in this book that Islamic civilization is neither Arabic nor national. It is always Islamic civilization. It contains the revolutionary ideas and the government treated it as the call for armed struggle against the regime and accused Sayyid Qutb on the charges of sedition and terrorism. He was arrested and hanged to death along with his two associates on 29 August 1966. He was also accused that he had written the book after influenced by Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdūdi and he admitted in the court that there was no difference in their call.
His Thought

Sayyid Qutb is considered as the ideologue of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. He had made thorough study of human societies and come to the conclusion that all the societies other than Islam are jāhiliyyah (Ignorant). He has urged the Islāmist movements to oppose both the west and leaders in Islāmic society whom they found to be disregarding Allah’s law. He regarded these leaders as jāhil (ignorants). He admits that he has borrowed this definition from Mawdūdi’s Mabādi al-Islām. “Jāhiliyyah is not a period of time. It is a condition that is repeated every time society veers from the Islāmic way whether in the past, the present or the future.” His most important work, which contains the attacks against jāhiliyyah and for which he was hanged to death, is Ma‘ālim fi al-Tariq. In the book he wrote that we are in a similar jāhiliyyah period, as the Arabs before Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Our surrounding is jāhiliyyah, our beliefs, habits, customs, rules, law, education etc. - all are products of jāhiliyyah.

To him Islām is a comprehensive way of life. It provides solutions to all problems and queries of a man in his day-to-day life. He elaborates that Allah is the ultimate sovereign, so there is no governance except for God. Every
Muslim confesses and reiterates daily in the prayers that "there is no God but Allah" which rejects every form of human sovereignty. He was of the opinion that:

“There is no governance except for God, no legislation but from God, no sovereignty of one (person) over the other because all sovereignty belongs to God."^39 It means that Muslim concept of hakīmiyyah insists on 'God's absolute sovereignty', it was taught to us by the Prophet (P.B.U.H), whose "role as instructor concerning this bondage" is affirmed in the second half of the Shahādah (confession of faith) "Mohammad is the Messenger of God.”^40

Jihād is an essential characteristic of Islām commanded in the Qur’ān. It is the way to fight against jāhili system. It should be waged on two levels – individual and collective level. At the individual level one should fight against the influences of jāhiliyyah and should purge from within oneself all the influences of jāhiliyyah. At the collective level fight against jāhili system, should be waged through the Islāmic movement. Most Muslims have compromised with oppressive powers because they have little knowledge of the Qur’ān and the Sunnah. Study of the Qur’ān and Islāmic history reveals that:

“When God restrained Muslims from jihād for a certain period it was a matter of strategy and not of principle.”^41

Sayyid Qutb was of the opinion that Islām and jāhiliyyah cannot coexist. Muslims should separate themselves from the jāhiliyyah society and should try to eradicate it. Leaders are responsible for the corruption and chaos in the world because they make compromises in this regard. Hijrah^42 is necessary until the implementation of Islamic laws.

He Says:

“It is important that anyone who wants to be a Muslim needs to know: he cannot practise
his Islam except in a Muslim milieu, where Islam is sovereign. Otherwise he is misguided in thinking that he is able to realize Islam while he is a lost or persecuted individual in a jahili society.\textsuperscript{43}

He regards West as spiritually bankrupt and the greatest enemy of Islam. He is of the opinion that Marxism encourages the enslavement of human beings. It is responsible for the exploitation of the people.

About \textit{minhāj} Sayyid Qutb Says:

"It is not the product of a special period, environment or a particular situation relevant to the development of the first Muslim Jamā'ah. It is the method without which this religion cannot be established at any time... it is a divine programme which by its nature invalidates all human systems which are (innately) deficient."\textsuperscript{44}

\textit{Minhāj} can be divided into four phases. The first phase is the one in which the jamā'ah is formed. The second phase is one in which the jamā'ah becomes persecuted for its faith. The third phase is the hijrah. The final stage is that of victory and consolidation of power. Its proof is the conquest of Makkah.

He was of the opinion that Islam is a liberating force, liberation is an imperative to set humans free, to bring about the kingdom of God on earth. He wrote:

"Whenever there is oppression, Islam is commissioned to eradicate it, to combat it, whether this oppression is against Muslims, against protected people or others with whom Muslims have no treaties,"\textsuperscript{45}

Islam must control each and every field of life. It must control administration, policy making and ensure equal distribution of wealth. Governments based on the ideology of Arab Nationalism have failed because they followed the European style and separated religion from politics. He denounces the professional religious men who
sanctioned the ideas of Arab Nationalism. He said that they are enemies to Islāmic government because it discourages professional clergy. He is of the opinion:

“If Islām were to rule, the first act would be to banish the indolent who do not work” but make “a living in the name of religion.”

Relations between Al-Ikhwān and ‘Free Officers’ before 1952 Revolution

Before going in detail about the ‘Free Officers’ 1952 revolution, it is necessary to know about two important things i.e al-Ikhwān’s links with the ‘Free Officers’ before the revolution and the circumstances responsible for the revolution.

The ‘Free officers’ and other army officials had links with al-Ikhwān before the 1952 revolution. These links were established by Hasan al-Bannā. Before the assassination of Hasan al-Bannā in 1949, Anwar al-Sadāt met him many times until the early 1940s. According to Anwar al-Sadāt:

“I was ordered by the Revolutionary Committee to get in touch with two of the dominating figures on the Egyptian political scene: Shaykh Hasan al-Bannā, the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood, and General Azīz al-Misri, Chief of the Staff of the Army. I knew neither of them. I was at this time a lieutenant, twenty-four years of age.”

Al-Bannā met him at Mādi on the evening of Milād al-Nabi (P.B.U.H.) Feast. This was his first meeting with al-Bannā. The second time he met al-Bannā at latter’s office. Then the contacts continued. The leaders of the volunteers force of al-Ikhwān and representatives of
revolutionary committee e.g. Jamāl ‘Abd al- Nasser, Kamal al-dīn Hussayn and many other officers met at Hasan al-Bannā’s residence in order to arrange the training and equipping of volunteers.  

Al-Sadāt was introduced to Azīz al-Misri by a revolutionary officer in a dentist’s clinic to avoid suspicion. Due to the imprisonment of Al-Sadāt in 1942 (later on he escaped) these contacts were continued by ‘Abd Al-Munīm ‘Abd al- Rauf, who was both a dedicated member of al-Ikhwān and at the same time a ‘Free Officer’. He was introduced to al-Bannā by Anwar al-Sadāt.  

During Palestine war of 1948, the Army and al-Ikhwān fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy in many battles. Anwar al-Sadāt was very much impressed by the enthusiasm and dedication of al-Ikhwān volunteers. The officers regarded it their duty to train such volunteers and lead them in battle. Fuād Sādiq, commander of the Egyptian army, was also impressed by the enthusiasm and morale of al-Ikhwān volunteers. He wanted that the government should award medals to al-Ikhwān volunteers. Al-Ikhwān sources said that when the news of al-Bannā’s death reached the army officers, “they were visited secretly by a large number of officers of varying ranks bearing on their faces the sorrow they deeply felt.” The revolutionary officers honoured al-Bannā’s memory visited his tomb and lamented his passing as was described fully by the magazine al-Da’wah and the Egyptian press on the occasion of his martyrdom.  

Jamāl ‘Abd al- Nasser also became the member of al-Ikhwān, when he was in the Südān in connection with the military affairs. On his return he met ‘Abd al-Munīm ‘Abd al-Rauf, an army officer and al-Ikhwān member, and brought him to ‘Abd al-Rahmān Sindhi. Al- Nasser took the
‘oath of obedience’ at the hand of Sindhi on behalf of Hasan al-Banna. After that in 1944, al-Nasser met Major Mahmūd Labīb, the latter dictated and explained him the call and programme of al-Ikhwān. Then on third time in late 1950s, al-Nasser met al-Ikhwān members at the office of Hasan al-‘Ashmāwī. Al-Nasser was accused by Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Ḥādi of giving military training to al-Ikhwān volunteers before and during the Palestine war.

In 1945, al-Nasser, Khalid Muhyi-al-dīn and Husyn Shafi attended the meetings of al-Ikhwān and continued its relations after the 1948 dissolution of the organization. During the 1951-52 Suez Canal Zone war, the two once again fought neck to neck against the enemy for the common cause. ‘Abd al-Qādir Audah during the trial admitted that Jamāl ‘Abd al- Nasser supplied arms to the volunteers of al- Ikhwān and that Anwar al- Sadāt and Saleh Salim knew it. Another member stated that al-Nasser was a member of al-Ikhwān and sworn the pledge of obedience.

In fact certain officers were sympathizers of the movement, who collaborated with it cautiously and secretly and hoped for bright future of Egypt in it. But some used, as a tool to achieve their own goals as al-Sadāt admitted in his book Revolt on the Nile that, “They hoped to use our association with the Brotherhood as a lever to achieve our own end.”

Mohammad Najīb one of the ‘Free Officers’ writes in his book Egypt’s Destiny:
“Some members of the executive committee of the ‘Free officers’ were secret members of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. All of us had friends in them. Rashād Mehanna another ‘Free Officer’ was deeply involved with the Muslim Brothers, consequently he was not included in the
Circumstances Responsible for 1952 Revolution

In 1882 British stepped into Egypt and started colonizing it. They corrupted Khedive of Egypt and made him their tool. Two patriots, 'Urabi Pāshā and Mustafā Kāmil, tried their best to stop the occupation of the British but could not stop this storm, which was getting momentum day by day. The freedom fighters established their organization but all in vain. At last on 18 December 1914, Britian announced its interference in Egypt. People reacted strongly and on 28 February 1922, Britian ended its interference in Egypt. On 19 April 1923, Egypt was declared independent state and constitution was drafted, Islām as its official religion. But the imperialists were not in favour of this because they were impatient to step into Egypt. On 26 August 1936, an agreement reached between Egypt and the British that the latter would establish its military colonies around Suez Canal, which would protect it. In this way British forces entered into Egypt and constitutional government came into an end. Fugitive ministries of the King and British ruled the country one after another. Under the pretext of giving protection to the Suez Canal, the British slowly and steadily interfered in economic, educational and cultural system, and in internal as well as external policies. They injected British diplomatic blood into the veins of internal and external politics. The Christians controlled schools and colleges. Teachers were also Christians. The European companies controlled business and Egyptian people were suffering. During the reign of Fuād- I, (1922-1936) the people were free to some extent to express their feelings but during the
period of King Farooq (1936-July 1952), the people were slaves of the both i.e., the British and King Farooq.

On the one hand al-Ikhwān was preaching Islāmic principles and was demanding the implementation of the Shariah, on the other hand Khedive Taufīq Pāshā told ʿUrabi Pāshā that, “I have got this country from my ancestors” The same thing was also in the minds of his successors. But Fuād-I’s (d. 1936) period was better as compared to that of King Farooq. The latters period was Dark Age and political degradation due to the interference of the British. Hasan al-Bannā was the only personality who remained always out of touch from the King’s palace. Anwar al-Sadāt stated in his book that he met al-Bannā in 1944 and the latter said, “The King is beginning to sense strongly the danger of the Brethren’s message that the monarchy should come by proclamation rather than by heredity,” 65

The relations between al-Ikhwān and King Farooq were so serious that the latter along with Prime Minister, ʿAbd al-Hādi Pāshā, assassinated al-Bannā and later on it was proved through the investigations of the military courts that Farooq’s special servant was among the assassins. Al-Ikhwān made it clear to the people that unless and until the kingship was to be abolished, no reform is applicable. Establishment of Islāmic government, not the end of monarchy, was their ultimate aim. Farooq’s oppression and collaboration with the British, and oppression of former’s workers upon Fallāḥīn were the causes, which created hatred in hearts of the public. All the ministries during Farooq’s period were either his fugitives or have the British. Al-Ikhwān kept itself away from both of them.

In fact Egyptian army was the strongest and skilful military force in the Arab World. But the presence of the
British army in the country made it handicapped and helpless. Majority of the army officers were King’s supporters and a few of them were feeling the seriousness of the circumstances. Although Anwar al-Sadāt wrote in his book that, “Hasan al-Bannā, several times met military officers. His aim was to create Islāmic thinking among them.”

He writes:

“Patriots were willing to get rid of the British, so certain military officers had links with Hasan al-Bannā.”

In this way al-Ikhwān at every front cleared that revolution was the way for the public to get rid of the British and at last the revolution came in Egypt on 23 July 1952, bringing to an end to the reign of Mohammad Ali Dynasty.

**Revolution and after**

In the beginning of July 1952, the agitation against King Farooq took the shape of crisis in the country. The ‘Free Officers’ took advantage of the situation and took the decisive step to overthrow the King. All the ‘Free Officers’ were young so they joined a senior military officer Generals Mohammed Najīb and also contacted al-Ikhwān, as the latter was totally against the policies and programmes of the king and was in support of the change in the Egyptian Society. The ‘Free Officers’ had also the support of the public in contrast to other secular organizations. In short on 23 July 1952, the ‘Free Officers’ overthrew King Farooq with the help of al-Ikhwān and a single shot was not fired. Al-Ikhwān branches throughout the country provided public support to the revolution so that there should be no doubt in its success and no disorder should spread in the country. The King went into exile three days after the revolution. General Mohammad Najīb was appointed
Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces and Chairman of the RCC. Ali Mahir was appointed as Prime Minister of the country because of his nationalist views. He and his civilian cabinet soon proved far too conservative for the Revolutionary Command Council" (R.C.C.). The revolutionaries became impatient and suspicious of the civilian authorities.

In fact, cooperation between the civilian cabinet and the R.C.C. ended soon. Within two weeks of the coup, all parties were ordered to purge themselves and remove ‘corrupt elements’. A week later General Najib warned that a dictatorship would be established because “the most evil remain untouched”. Seventh purge commission was appointed to investigate past scandals, such as the purchase of faulty arms, the manipulation of the cotton market, the illicit sale of state lands, and the wide spread incorrect evasion. By August 1953, the commission had removed 800 civilians and 100 military and police officers from their posts. The bureaucrats who survived were “compelled to do a full day’s work...something a good many...had never done before.”

After the revolution, al-Ikhwan was hoping for positive treatment from the R.C.C. government because the former had good relations with the latter up to the revolution. The R.C.C. adopted two measures favourable to al-Ikhwan. Firstly, reopening of the enquiry into al-Banna’s assassination that the murderer and his accomplices are punished. Secondly, the imprisoned al-Ikhwan members were released from the jails along with other political prisoners. In addition to this, the R.C.C. took part in the annual ceremonies of al-Banna’s death. On those occasions, both Mohammad Najib and Saleh Salim spoke of the founder’s qualities in glowing terms.
There is no doubt that al-Ikhwan supported the revolution, although al-Hudaibi, himself refused to support the revolution in the early days. He ‘disappeared’ in Alexandria for few days until the revolutionaries successfully... completed the job and the King left Egypt”. Nevertheless, when he later declared himself for the revolution, al-Hudaibi asked the new regime to liquidate communist and secularist forces, thus paving the way for an even greater sale of Islamization. On 26 July 1952, al-Hudaibi announced, publicly and privately to the R.C.C., the need to establish Islām as the basis of Egypt. He placed the limit on land ownership 500 acres rather than the 200 recommended by the R.C.C. Now al-Nasser and al-Hudaibi regarded each other with suspicion, which was followed by the R.C.C.’s demand to dissolve the Special Apparatus. This was also al-Hudaibi’s wish but at that time, he may have changed his mind. The R.C.C. began to dismiss the army officer who continued to associate with al-Ikhwan. The dismissed officers were then arrested and jailed.

In August 1952, al-Ikhwān started exerting pressure on R.C.C. to implement the Islāmic Shariah and took Egypt out of morass of indignity and subjugation of the vested interests of imperialism. Al-Ikhwān also demanded ban on consuming of liquor and gambling. But R.C.C. suggested a few restrictions, which were not acceptable to al-Ikhwan. In this way R.C.C. began to show its real face. On 9 September 1952 Mohammad Najīb replaced Ali Māhir and his cabinet because the former protested against the confiscation of land under the pretext of agrarian reform, which according to him was unconstitutional. Mohammad Najīb furnished his new cabinet and invited al-Hudaibi to represent three members as ministers in the former’s
ministry. Al-Hudaibi rejected offer on the basis that al-Ikhwān would not join such a ministry which was not run by the constitutional head of the state but by the military regime. Al-Ikhwān decided to support and appreciate all good deeds of the R.C.C. and oppose openly its wrong deeds. Ahmad Hasan al-Baqūri, one of the leaders of al-Ikhwān accepted the offer as minister of Waqf but he was expelled from the organization.77

On 10 December 1952, the old constitution of the country was cancelled and on December 12, a committee of hundred members including three from al-Ikhwān was selected for framing the new constitution. In this regard Hasan al-Hudaibi demanded that there should be plebiscite that whether the country needs Islāmic Shariah or Western law, which was not acceptable to R.C.C. On this occasion al-Hudaibi said:

"Should they (people) vote for Muslim law, then the constituent assembly must comply, should they vote for Western law, an impossible notion for a Muslim, we will then know ourselves and will teach the nation the bidding of the Lord and what it must do."78

On 16 January 1953, R.C.C. dissolved all political parties. Only Al-Ikhwān was spared because of the far-sightedness and moderate approach of al-Hudaibi as he had already stated that their organization is religious one.

On 23 January 1953, the government formed a new political party called the ‘Liberation Rally’ on the eve of celebration of R.C.C.’s first six months in power. The purpose was to create the united front comprising of al-Ikhwān and other dissolved political parties. Hasan al-Hudaibi met Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, one of the ‘Free Officers’, and explained him that he was not in favour of this move because opportunists would exploit the new
organization and hurt the reputation of the government and the revolution. Al-Hudaibi said to al-Nasser:

"This is not in the interest of al-Ikhwan. They are the symbol of the whole nation and must not be the symbol of a party. Furthermore, army and police cannot create ideological parties. What will happen is that the opportunists will exploit the new organization and consequently hurt the reputation of the government and the revolution."^9

In this way no agreement was reached between the two and the rift started.

On 22 February 1953, dialogue was resumed with British. Al-Ikhwan treated it a futile exercise and wastage of time and was not ready to accept such a decision which could provide British another chance to put their steps into the land of Egypt.

Dialogue was on over the conditions of the agreement, Mr. Avens (British ambassador) met Hasan al-Hudaibi and wanted to know about the latter's opinion. The Supreme Guide called Major Saleh Salim, minister of the cabinet and conveyed him about the whole discussion between him and Mr. Avens. Still then the R.C.C. blamed al-Ikhwan for making conspiracy with the British against the regime.

These were the circumstance, which created the gulf between the R.C.C. and al-Ikhwan. Unity was now impossible because neither the R.C.C. nor al-Ikhwan understood eachother's aims. Hasan al-Hudaibi wrote a letter to Jamāl Abd al-Nasser, in order to dispel misaprehension about al-Ikhwan. He wrote:

"I want to explain you that the people find it difficult to breath due to the deprivation of freedom and curbing of freedom of speech. It is the need of the hour that they should be explained intelligently that the way we have chosen is a way of security and the welfare of the people or the way towards you invite is a
right way. If these things are explained to them, then the whole the nation will satisfy..." In addition to these things, he wrote to him: "You can walk round the clock without security, no al-Ikhwān cadre will dare to raise his finger towards you, which you apprehend."80

On 12 January 195481 al-Ikhwān students were celebrating ‘Martyr’s Day’ in the premises of the University. Certain youth of Liberation Rally attacked the student participants of the celebration with the revolvers and al-Ikhwān students also reacted in the same manner. The R. C. C. made it pretext and on the following day i.e., 13 January 1954 declared al-Ikhwān as an unlawful organization. 450 members and leaders of al-Ikhwān including Hasan al-Hudaibi and Sāleḥ Ashmāwī, editor of al-Dawah (the call) were arrested but later on they were released on the condition that the organization would be confined to religious, cultural and social affairs only and refrain from opposing the regime.

On 23 February 1954, Mohammad Najīb was relieved of his duties as the President, Prime Minister and leader of the R.C.C. He stated in his book ‘Egypt’s Destiny’ that he had resigned because of differences with the junior colleagues and the country was governed by the triple committee-an official cabinet, an unofficial cabinet and a joint committee- he was supposedly in control of all the three but actually of none.82

On 25 February 1954, violent public demonstrations took place throughout the country in support of Mohammad Najīb and on 28 February the regime was compelled to retain him as head of the state and al-Ikhwān regarded it their victory. Mohammad Najīb wrote in his book Egypt’s Destin:

“As I was delivering my speech from the presidential palace, I could see al-Ikhwān
members wave their bloody handkerchieves in the face of the crowd massed below the balcony. ‘Abd al-Qādir Audah interrupted me to ask for immediate investigation into the causes of demonstration. I then said to him: I have returned to the presidency on condition the republic is established on parliamentary basis. He persisted and I invited him to the balcony. After I promised him to conduct an investigation into the breakout of violence he ordered his supporters to disperse. ”

On 25 March 1954, the R.C.C. lifted ban from political parties including al-Ikhwān. On March 28 in the same year, ‘Liberation Rally’ organized a general strike and created the situation of law and order in the country. Mohammad Najīb went underground. In order to overthrow the then head of the state, Mohammad Najīb, and establish the dictatorship of his own, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser placed leaders of two secret groups under trial and convicted them of conspiring to overthrow the R.C.C. government. The first to be tried were sixteen cavalry officers headed by Captain Ahmad ‘Ali Hasan al-Misri. He was sentenced on 22 June to fifteen years imprisonment, eleven were sentenced one to ten years imprisonment, one was dishonourably discharged from the army, and three others were acquitted.

During the period of Mohammad Najīb, al-Ikhwān along with al-Wafd launched a campaign for the restoration of political parties and establishment of constitutional government. To achieve this goal, they desired cooperation of Mohammad Najīb, who was favourite personality in the circle of al-Ikhwān. So he became the link between al-Ikhwān and the R.C.C. But the ideas of the two were very different. Al-Nasser’s goal was socialism, passing through the stages of dictatorship, secularism and Western materialism. Al-Ikhwān’s goal is democracy and resurgence
of Islam. Direct confrontation started between the two, when al-Nasser replaced Mohammad Najib and he assumed the premiership as the head of the military government. He banned all the political parties except al-Ikhwan whose leaders promised to stay quiet.

On July 1954, Egyptian government reached in an agreement with the British and al-Ikhwan opposed the move on the grounds that the agreement was synonymous with selling of Egypt to British. In the same year on 10 September, the daily newspaper al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun was banned in retaliation.

On 26 October 1954, Jamal 'Abd al-Nasser was attacked during his speech in Alexandria and al-Ikhwan was blamed for the assassination attempt. Though the latter continuously denied the allegation but al-Nasser settled it responsible for the act. Ahmad Abu al-Fath, editor of the famous Egyptian newspaper al-Misri stated that fifty thousand members of al-Ikhwan were imprisoned including two prominent writers and thinkers- Sayyid Qutb and 'Abd al-Qadir Audah.

On 4 December, People’s Tribunal announced its first judgment against al-Ikhwan members who were held responsible for the assassination attempt as per the government reports. Seven members of Guidance Council (all advisors of Hudaibi), who received life imprisonment with hard labour: were: Kamal Khalifa, Mohammad Khams Humayda, 'Abd al-Aziz Atiyya, Husayn Kamal al-din, Munir al-Dalla, Hamid 'Abu al-Nasr, and Salih Abu Ruqayyq. Two members of the council were sentenced fifteen years imprisonment. They were, 'Umar al-Tilmisani and Ahmad Shurayt. Three members of the Council- 'Abd al-Rahman al-Bannai, 'Abd al-Muizz 'Abd al-Sattar and al-Bahi al-Khuli were also imprisoned. Seven members of al-
Ikhwan who were punished death sentence by hanging were- Hasan al- Hudaibi, Mahmud ‘Abd al-Latif, Hindwi Duwayr, Ibrahim al-Tayyib, Yusuf Tal‘at, Shaykh Mohammad Farghali, and ‘Abd al-Qadir Audah. Later on, the death sentence of al-Hudaibi was changed into life imprisonment with hard labour on the grounds that perhaps he had fallen under the influence of those around him and due to bad health and old age.  

Despite protests from the Arab world, six prominent leaders of al-Ikhwan were hanged to death on 9 December 1954. They were:

(1) ‘Abd al-Qādir Audah-deputy Supreme Guide,
(2) Shaykh Mohammad Farghali-Strongest pillar of Majlis-al-Shūra. He was the commander of al-Ikhwan fighters during Suez Canal war in 1951. British army had announced five thousand pounds for his head,
(3) Yusuf Tal‘at – Chief Supervisor of al-Ikhwan of Syria,
(4) Ibrāhīm al-Tayyib-leader of secret organization of al-Ikhwan Cairo zone,
(5) Advocate Hindawi Duwayr, and
(6) Mahmūd ‘Abd al-Latif- prime accused in the assassination bid.

There were demonstrations and protests in Jordan, Syria and Pakistan after the news of the hangings spread throughout the world. In Damascus, Mustafa al-Sibai, leader of al-Ikhwan in Syria, after prayers for the martyrs asked for and received from his audience a pledge to revenge for the martyrs.

In March 1964, at the end of the emergency, all political prisoners including members of al-Ikhwan were released from the jails. Hasan al-Hudaibi was also among them. But only one year after, al-Nasser started oppression
and brutalities on al-Ikhwān. The organization was blamed that it had made conspiracy to overthrow the government in July 1965. Consequently twenty to fifty thousand members of al-Ikhwān were imprisoned, including seven to eight hundred women. Hasan al-Hudaibi, Sayyid Qutb, Mohammad Qutb (his elder brother) and his two sisters Hamīdah Qutb and Amīnah Qutb were also detained. Supreme Guide was sentenced three years imprisonment with hard labour, which resulted deterioration of his health. Later on he was released from the jail on health grounds but he could not recover and restore his strength and power. At last he met the martyrs of Islām in the year 1973.91

As the leader of al-Ikhwān, al-Hudaibi tried his best to save the Islāmic movement from violence, oppression and disturbance. In this context, he faced severe enmity from an extremist youth group of al-Ikhwān. He provided justifications from the Qurʾān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) to prove that their duty was to struggle for daʿwah and reformation of the society. It was not their duty to bring people on the right path by using force and violence. And the Muslims living in an un-Islāmic society are answerable to Allah according to their intention and action. To sentence or atone them for crime was out of their jurisdiction. A book *Duah La Qudah* (Preachers not Judges) has been attributed to him. In the introduction of the book, the writer explains that:

"Al-Ikhwān has passed through the severe phases of oppression and imprisonment. Some people (anti-Ikhwān) created doubts regarding faith and belief of certain Muslims and announced to sentence them. Inspite of torture and oppression in the jails, al-Ikhwān tried their best to remove the misunderstanding from their minds immediately. They took this step not for any
danger or planning but only to achieve willingness of Allah. Outwardly this sedition was solved but enemies of truth were not ready to surrender, because they wanted to destroy the image of Islamic movement through their ill wishes. These elements observed with their own eyes that people are waiting for Islamic call and were sure that impurity of un-Islamic movements had been unveiled. They also know that Muslims are sincere and are ready to adopt Islamic Shariah in each and every aspect of life-political, economic, social and cultural. Suddenly I read in the newspapers about al-Hijrah's echoes, which were expressing extremism, passions and excitement in their thoughts and beliefs. Probably it might be a new trend of jealousy and fraud so that people may get afraid of the Islamists and hate them.

Shaykh Hasan al-Hudaibi took intime the notice of penetrated extremism and violence in Islamic thought. After discussing all these beliefs and thoughts in the light of Qur'an and the Sunnah and the arguments of Sunni scholars, he supported moderate, clear and transparent thoughts and actions.

During the leadership of Shaykh al-Hudaibi, al-Ikhwan passed through difficult and severe phases but due to his patience, belief, broad-vision, knowledge, perseverance and sagacity, al-Ikhwan were free from any error. After taking the charge of leadership, he took a bold step, when he selected Majli's al-Shura. This was a critical situation and severe test from Almighty because certain members were not cooperative in this connection. But he showed great patience and never expressed any complaint to anyone. By the provocation of al-Nasser, a member of al-Ikhwan namely 'Abd al-Rahmân Sindhi rebelled and made conspiracy to divide the organization into two groups but failed. During a night, he attacked the residence of Supreme Guide with the help of army men of the
government. He cut off telephone wire and took away Shaykh al-Hudaibi on the gunpoint in a vehicle to an unknown destination and asked him to resign from the leadership of al-Ikhwān. After failing in this plan, 'Abd al-Rhmān Sindhi with the support of forty armed-men captured Central Office of the organization and stayed there for whole night. His aim was to pave the way for internal conflict in the organization. But due to sagacity and patience of al-Hudaibi, a big tragedy was averted.

In fact, Shaykh Hasan al-Hudabi was translator of his well-known saying:

"Set up rule of the Qur’ān in your hearts, it will automatically establish on the earth."^94

Al- Sayyid 'Umar Tilmisāni: the Third Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān


Al-Sayyid 'Umar Tilmisāni was born in 1904^95 in Gouria in Cairo. His ancestral nation was Algiers, where his forefathers were living. His grandfather migrated to Egypt in 1830, when France occupied Algiers. He started his own trade at Gouria. Al-Sayyid 'Umar Tilmisāni was only three years old, when his father left the city and began to reside at his farm at village Nawa in Central Shibīn al-Qanātīr, where he received basic education from Shaykh 'Abd al-Azīz al-Qalmāwī and Shaykh Ahmad al-Rafa'ee in Madrasah Sayyidi Ali. When he was ten, he started to read the newspaper al-Muqattam. After the death of his grandfather, his father went back to Cairo, where al-Sayyid
'Umar Tilmsānī completed secondary education from Madrasah Jamia al-Khariah. In 1924, he completed his Bachelor's degree in Arts from the same school and took admission in the University in Law College. He failed many times in the examination but finally completed his Bachelor's degree in law in 1931 and started his practical life as apprenticeship in the office of a lawyer, Ibrāhīm Bik Zaki, in Utba Khizra. After that he established his own office at Shibīn al-Qanāṭīr and started pleading the cases. He met Hasan al-Bannā in 1933, took oath of allegiance on his hand and joined al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. 

Apart from pleading cases as a lawyer, al-Sayyid Umar Tilmisani participated in all da'wah and political activities of the organization. Due to his absolute attachment and loyalty with al-Ikhwān, al-Bannā appointed him governor of Bait al-Māl (Public Treasury). After some time, he was asked by al-Bannā to act as deputy Supreme Guide but he refused the offer and said that he was not capable to perform such a difficult responsibility and could not do justice with the job. Several times he unsuccessfully contested elections because he was neither openly nor secretly aware of the ways and tactics of elections.96

He was arrested along with other al-Ikhwān members in 1954. Some of them were hanged to death but he was sentenced fifteen years imprisonment with hard labour, which was later on extended by two years more. In this way he remained behind the bars for seventeen years, performing the Sunnah of Hadrat Yousuf (A.S.) and confirmed his resistence and strength in the jail. During this long period he had even not allowed his wife to meet him in the jail. He himself narrated the story as:

"I am going to tell you an incident regarding the courage of my wife. I passed seventeen years in the jails of Jamāl 'Abd al-
Nasser from October 1954 to July 1971. During that period my wife played a vital role with patience, residence and honesty. After the expiry of ten years in the jail, she never came to meet me, as I did not want that jail police and prisoners should see her. My al-Ikhwan brothers insisted that it was absolutely unkind and rebukeable. On their severe insistence, I permitted her to meet me and welcome her with calm as we were meeting after a day or two. During my long imprisonment and absence from home, she never expressed any anxiety before me and never created any kind of problem for my parents and other relatives. Though sometimes my mother, brother or sister treated her badly."

Al-Sayyid 'Umar Tilmisānī, when interviewed by al-Watan al-Arabi narrated about some unbearable incidents of the jail. About 'Muslim Extremism' he said:

"Why are not you looking towards those inhuman oppressions, which are done on these Egyptian youths? Youths, having Islāmic thinking, are severely tortured in Egyptian jails, which cannot be imagined. In reaction to this inhuman treatment, if these youths adopt severe way, they are called Islāmic Extremists by the government mass media. During 1954 to 1965, I was myself treated so badly in Egyptian jails, which is beyond the imagination of the Shaytān. I am going to narrate you one incident, so that you may know that what kind of dreadful incidents happen in this country. My real sister was brought infront of my room. I was locked in the room and my feet were chained. She was kept totally naked in front of my room in the presence of jail officials."\(^98\)

The period of Anwar al-Sadat (r. 1970-81) is said to be the period of freedom and democracy in Egypt. He ended the period of oppression and terror of al-Nasser to make the political system more democratic, al-Sadat allowed political parties including al-Ikhwān to operate but with some restrictions. He gradually released al-Ikhwān leaders
and other political prisoners from the jails. Al-Ikhwān was allowed to publish and circulate its magazine *al-Da’wah*, from July 1976 but under certain restrictions. It continued its *da’wah* and religious activities anonymously. At several occasions, the government called al-Sayyid ‘Umar for dialogue. His concentration was centered on the education and training of the youth during this whole period. In the universities and colleges, the students were reorganized under the banner of *al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah*. Pro-Islām candidates got success in the students’ elections and once again demand for implementation of the Islāmic *Shari’ah* gained momentum.

'In the beginning, al-Sadāt provided certain concessions to al-Ikhwān to balance the power with the Communists. He was not willing that al-Ikhwān should go forward and gain fame beyond the limits, so at certain occasions, he gave them the feeling of his power. In 1979, a seminar was organized in Ismā‘iliyyah by the government under the title of *al-Fikr al-Islām*. All the religious organizations were invited to participate. Al-Sayyid ‘Umar was not willing to took part but information and culture minister, Sayyid Mansoor Hasan, motivated him. Finally he took part in the seminar along with Mustafā Mashhūr and Dr. ‘Abd al-Azīm al-Mutāni. President al-Sadāt, in his speech leveled so many illegations against al-Ikhwān and stated that the organization was responsible for the subversive activities and communal riots in the country. Al-Sayyid replied in the same manner.

When al-Ikhwān members were released from the jails upto 3 September 1981, they feel peace to some extent but when incidents of riots happened between the Christians and the Muslims in 1981, many al-Ikhwān members were arrested and tortured in the jails. But their
magazine *al-Da’wah* continuously published without any break during this period and al-Ikhwān became a strong public power.

After the assassination of al-Sadāt in 1981, Husni Mubārāk took the charge of the country as its president. In the beginning he took certain good steps. He released political prisoners from the jails and gave freedom to mass media. But treated al-Ikhwān still an unlawful organization. The government was not ready to accept its political and legal position.

Al-Sayyid ‘Uamr Tilmisāni died in 1986. Throughout his whole life, he was against the recognition of Israel as a state. He also opposed the ‘Camp David Accord and cited twenty points in favour of his opinion. When he met *al-Sadāt at Rukn al-Qanāṭīr al-Khayriah*, the former tried his best to convince the latter that he was not against the ‘Accord’ on the basis of politics but on the religious point of view, because Islam does not permit us that a non-Muslim power should occupy a Muslim country and the Muslims accept it. It becomes their (Muslim inhabitants of the occupied country) duty to wage the *jihād* against the non-Muslim power.

Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr:
The Fourth Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān

After the death of al-Sayyid ‘Umar Tilmisāni in 1986, Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr was elected as fourth Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān. He was born in 1913 in Manflūt in Asyūt in an educated and patriotic family. His grandfather, Shaykh ‘Alī Abū Nasr was a famous scholar. After the completion of middle standard, Hāmid Abū al-Nasr watched the property of his father because he had big
agricultural lands. In 1933, he met al-Banna and was influenced by latter’s preaching and struggle. He joined al-Ikhwan and was given the charge of a branch in Manflût. Due to his dedication and capability, he was selected member of the governing body and the member of Majlis al-Shûra. Like other al-Ikhwan leaders, he also passed through severe stages. He was imprisoned in 1954 along with other al-Ikhwan members after the attack on Jamâl ‘Abl Nasser allegedly by an al-Ikhwan member. He was sentenced twenty-five years imprisonment with hard labour. Certain observers say that during the reign of King Farooq, he would have been hanged to death if not known to al-Nasser because the latter also belonged to Asyût. Al-Nasr was released from the jail in 1974.

During his tenure of ten years as Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwan, the organization achieved extraordinary success in the political field. Though the organization was declared unlawful, still its roots were deep among the public and they (the public) confess its existence. In April 1987 parliamentary elections, al-Ikhwan contested the elections in cooperation with Hizb al-Amal (Labour Party) and Hizb al-Ahrâr (Liberal Party) and won sixty seats, thirty-six alone by al-Ikhwan and played the role of a successful opposition. Al-Ikhwan also contested 1989 mid term polls of Majlis al-Shûra. It played leading role in the boycott of 1990 elections; latter on the other political parties also joined the call, which was the reaction to the decision of extension of emergency. In 1992 al-Ikhwan participated in the local bodies elections. In 1993 al-Ikhwan opposed the third time extension of Husni Mubârak as president, which resulted the trial of eighty-two leaders of the organization in military courts in 1995, of whom, fifty-four were detained.
Under the leadership of al-Nasr, al-Ikhwān achieved internal strength. From the election of common members and leaders of local branches to *Majlis al-Shūra*, he filled in them the spirit of counselling and democracy. In this way self-confidence, sense of duty and spirit of cooperation was developed among the members. It was possible only first time after the phase of oppression and subjugation.¹⁰⁵

A detailed report was published in the editorial of the newspaper, *al-Ahrām*-centre for political and strategic studies about the social and political conditions of Egypt. In this report uneasiness was expressed about the increase of trends, severity and terrorism, and plurality of Islāmists and al-Ikhwān members. The report shows that al-Ikhwān was becoming refuge creature under the leadership of al-Nasr. The report also reviewed the success of al-Ikhwān members in the elections of *Anjuman Atibbā* (Doctor’s Association), Engineers’ Association, Students’ Union and Teachers’ Organization.

From the second half of the eighth decade *Anjuman Atibbā* was the most active and effective one in the Egyptian society. The reasons were political, social and economic development, and increasing effects of Islamic movement. Students of colleges, and universities, who were leaders there and made their impacts in professional colleges, are now performing the duties of the leadership of these professional associations. All the associations of the society are working in the sphere of the law and performing the activities under the jurisdiction of the state. The law provides protection to all these professional associations, so that there would be publication and stability of common thinking and worth of doctors, and they would remain at par with other doctors associations of the Arabian countries. In this way the standard of health would go up
and achievement of objectives of country's sovereignty, social development and unity of Arabs may become possible. In addition to this, contacts of Egyptian doctors with the rest of the doctors of the world should become better and stronger. This law was made in 1969 and socialist elements took great advantage of it.

Due to the influence of Islāmists there were the impacts of high thinking on the Doctors' Association. Interest of members was increased in the election of the Doctors' Association; the ratio of casting of votes was 4% in 1982, 18% in 1984 and 17% in 1986. After that it get increased to 15% in 1988 and 25.5% in 1990. Majority of the elected members of Doctors' Association are of Islāmic thinking and have influence over all the sub-committees e.g. social committee, committee of all units, doctors' committee outside the Egypt, health protection committee, committee for publicity and broadcast, trusts, health insurance committee etc. Same is the case with Engineers' Association, its sub-committees are under the influence of the Islamists. These people influence about twenty-three provincial and city level committees, secretariat, administration and other central units.

According to the report, Islāmists dominate in student unions in most of the universities. All the students demand the cancellation of student union constitution of 1979. They want the reestablishment of 1976 constitution, which was established by these student unions themselves. In 1991 elections in Cairo University, Islamists were successful on all seats of Science College, Medical College, Engineering College and Social Planning College. Still in Veternary College, College of Agriculture, College of Archaeology and Arts, they were successful with majority of seats and in College of Economics, College of political science, College
of Pharmacy, Dental College and College of Communication; they won one-third or two-third seats. In al-Azhar University all the Islamist candidates, won their seats and *al-Hizb al-Watanī* candidates won with the support of others.

In the past, according to the report, activities of 'University Teachers' associations have become extensive. These associations along with teachers' problems take interest in the matters of the society also. From last few years, these associations organize general conference and after every two months universities of Cairo, al-Azhar, ‘Ain-Shams, Hulwān, Banha, Tantaw, al-Mansūrah, al-Zaqaziq, Suez Canal, al-Minya, Asyūṭ, al-Alexandria and al-Manūfia held the conferences one after another. In most of the University Teachers' associations, Islāmists were on different posts.

Prior to the 1995 parliamentary elections, President Husni Mubārak started oppression on al-Ikhwān and most of their leaders were tried in the military courts. Fifty-four leaders faced the trial. Five of them were sentenced five-years imprisonment with hard labour and forty-nine were sentenced three years imprisonment each. Twenty-seven of them were released. Central office was locked after being continuously active from last eighteen years and the seized things were confiscated. First time in the history of Egypt and al-Ikhwān, three hundred fifty lawyers presented themselves to defend al-Ikhwān.

On 22 January 1995 more than twenty senior al-Ikhwān members were arrested including Dr. Essam al-Aryan, assistant secretary general of Egyptian Medical Association and Dr. Ibrāhīm al-Zafarān, Secretary General of Alexandria Medical Association. In the same year on 17 July, Egyptian government arrested seventeen more
prominent people including Director of Information al-Azhar University, Shaykh Sayyid Askar; Head of the Chemistry branch of the Engineers Syndicate, Mohammad 'Abd al-Azīz al-Sarūrī; Head of the Personnel Department (Ministry of Social Affairs), Sayyid Nuzālī; former deputy industry minister Rashād Najim; three former members of the Peoples' Assembly and other prominent people from doctors, teachers, and engineers unions. In this way more than eighty al-Ikhwān members have been arrested.  

After the decision of the 'Military Court', deputy Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān in an interview with al-Mujtama explained the situation and said that President Husni Mubārak's this step was a continuity of oppression of the government. Still then, al-Ikhwān contested 1995 parliamentary elections.

During the interview, deputy Supreme Guide (Mustafā Mashhūr) explained in detail the strategy, position and programmes of his organization. He said that al-Ikhwān did not want terror and is far away from it. We want to make dialogue with the government because we are blamed for making conspiracy with the extremists and the terrorists. In fact we want peace and do not like that the government may face the problem of law and order from our end. President Husni Mubārak in an interview with the French newspaper, Le Monday accepted the fact that al-Ikhwān prefers political struggle and they have contested and won the trade union elections.

Mustafā Mashhūr stated that there is the hand of Jews behind the using of terms 'Islāmic fundamentalism' 'Islāmic terrorism' and 'Islāmic extremism' etc. because they are aware that al-Ikhwān and other Islāmists are against the Israeli occupation of Palestine from the beginning. In this way the Jews want to convince the
Americans, Europeans and some rulers of Arab countries that al-Ikhwān is an 'extremist organization'. Their aim is to link al-Ikhwān with other extremist organizations, so that al-Ikhwān members could be oppressed in and outside Egypt.

He further explained that we will not adopt the way of encounter and will not use severity but we will call the people towards the cause of Allah within the jurisdiction of the constitution and laws of the state. We will do the religious work and call the people towards the Islāmic principles. We will continue struggle for the implementation of the Shariah but we will keep ourselves away from the use of power, terror and rumours. The government will be itself responsible for any untoward incident if it will adopt such ways.

We use our full strength to clear the reality of Islām to the international community, so they would know that it is a way of security, a religion of justice, beneficiary and struggle, and it is the torchbearer of Islām, and they are not doing any thing against the principles of Islām. We want to explain the position of Islām in a real way because we know that the Jews have presented Islām and Muslims in a wrong way. They present it as a religion of severity and terror. As every one knows that the Jews are the basis of severity and terror. We will try that the media would present us in a real manner.108

During the period of al-Nasr, al-Ikhwān took a serious and courageous stand and explained the programme of Islāmic movement without increases or decreases. There was disturbance throughout the Muslim world against the military interference of the U.S.A. during the Iraq-Kuwait war. Some Islāmic movements overlooked the offence of Iraq due to enmity with the U.S.A. Some Islāmist leaders
congratulated the President of Iraq, Saddam Hussain, but al-Ikhwāns stand was moderate and reputed one. They gave their opinion after making deep and serious analysis of the circumstances.

First statement of al-Nasr, Supreme Guide al-Ikhwān, on the intervention of Irāq in Kuwait was published on 2 August 1990 in which he condemned the offence of Irāq and expressed grief and anguish over heavy destruction of people and property. He stated that Iraqi Military should withdraw from Kuwait within no time otherwise there would be its bad consequence on the whole Muslim world and Islāmic resistance in occupied Palestine would become very weak. He appealed Islāmic leaders that they should motivate Irāq to go back and both the countries should sit together to resolve their misunderstandings.

Al-Nasr was against each and every type of foreign interference, the U.S. interference in particular. He appealed all Muslim countries to cut off their relations with those countries, who interfere in the affairs of Muslim countries directly or indirectly. He stressed that the gulf issue should be resolved according to Arab-Islāmic viewpoint. In this context, al-Ikhwān summoned a delegation of representatives of different Islāmic movements of the Muslim world, which was headed by the Supreme Guide and his legal advisor, Mamūn al-Hudaibi. They tried their best to resolve the crisis.

On 20 January 1991 in another statement, the Supreme Guide condemned U.S. and U.N. Military attack on Iraq and declared Arab rulers responsible for the problem. He clearly said that though Iraqi president and his worst administrative system was of guilty but the reality could not be changed that Iraqi public is part and parcel of Muslim 'Ummah.

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At this stage al-Ikhwan was continually criticizing Iraqi administrative system and President Saddām Hussain and announced that Irāq did a bad thing in haste and all these steps benefited the enemies of Islām. Al-Ikhwan went to the extent that the missile attack of Irāq on Israel did not harm Israel but it benefited the Zionists because Israel got help in millions from outside.

Al-Ikhwan expressed happiness over the end of war and acceptance of U.N. resolutions by Iraq. The Supreme Guide urged upon the Arab rulers to learn a lesson from these crises and establish Islāmic system of government in their respective countries by providing the people freedom of opinion and freedom of thinking. The Supreme Guide stressed that the main cause of gulf crisis was that these rulers were dictators. Democracy and Shūra was missing and it was not included in making the decision on the fate of the people.109

Al-Ikhwan once again established its complete institutional and organizational structure on the basis of Shūra after a gap of forty years under the leadership of al-Nasr. He was the first Supreme Guide, who attended the meeting of Islāmic Council of Europe, held in Islāmabād in 1988 during the period of Zia al-Haq. He visited Kheybr pass and met Afghān Mujahiddīn leaders there.110

Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr was Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwan for ten years and died on 20 January 1996. He was buried at Qatamah graveyard in Nasr in Cario. Lakhs of people, representatives of international Islāmic movements leaders of different political parties and Christian Copts attended his last ceremony. In this way eighty-year-old patience, dedication, sacrifice and struggle became silent. After performing his last rituals, legal advisor of al-Ikhwan Mamūn al-Hudaibī announced in the gathering of lakhs that
the late Supreme Guide had selected his deputy, Mustafā Mashhūr as his successor. All the members of al-Ikhwān in and outside were quite satisfied with this decision.¹¹¹

**Mustafa Mashhūr: The Fifth Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān.**

After the death of Mohammad Hāmid ʿAbū al-Nasr in 20 January 1996, Mustafā Mashhūr (1921-2002) was sworn in as Supreme Guide on 21 January 1996. Mustafā Mashhūr was born in the village al-Sayyidin in al-Minya al-Qamah¹¹² (East Egypt) in 1921. After completed his middle standard, he took admission in an Arts College in Cairo. He was introduced to al-Ikhwān in 1933. In 1938, he became its member and took oath of allegiance on the hands of Hasan al-Bannā. In 1943, he graduated in the field of Astronomy, Physics and Space-Exploration. In 1946, he did diploma in Astronomy and Space-Exploration. He was appointed in the department of Space-Exploration of Egypt, as a space-explorer.

Like other al-Ikhwān leaders and members, he was also imprisoned in 1948 during the reign of King Farooq. After spending three years in jail, he was released in 1951. Again in January 1954, during the reign of Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nasser, he was put behind the bars but was released soon. In August 1954, he was once again imprisoned and was tortured mentally and physically for about ten years. He was released in 1964 but hardly after a year put once again behind the bars in 1965. After successfully passed all the stages of oppression from King Farooq and al-Nasser, he was released in 1971. In this way he spent nineteen years in prison which proved fruitful for him because he achieved
spiritual development, got deeply absorbed with Qur'ān, stand firm on his aim in life and became a rare jewel.

In 1981, when al-Ikhwān members were severely tortured in connection with the assassination of Anwar al-Sadāt, he was outside Egypt. During the early 1980s, he was incharge of the external affairs of al-Ikhwān and incharge of the relations with other Islāmist movements of the Muslim world. After spending many years in exile, he came back to Egypt in 1986.


Mustafā Mashḥūr had done a lot for the service of Islāmist movements in general and for al-Ikhwān in particular. But three things are worth mentionable here.

First, he not only strengthened the message of al-Ikhwān but its set up also on the international level during a stage of disturbance. He visited many al-Ikhwān migrant leaders in Africa, South-East Asia and other places, organized, united, and bound them together with the international movement. He established a permanent system of discipline and junction and in this way organized international Islāmic resurgence of the current era. He demonstrated his leadership abilities in both the fields da’wah as well as in organizing, with silently and humbly. His words contained fragrance of flowers and sweetness of honey. With the help of these weapons; he organized all human beings particularly the Islāmists.
The second major service was the change in tactics and methods of working that was noticed in the last thirty years in al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin. In fact he was not alone but during this period along with da‘wah and ‘Training’ he tried to build roads for the movement through cooperation and co-ordination. Al-Ikhwan was declared unlawful in Egypt but due to his tactics, it played a vital role not only through professional syndicates but also through local councils and parliamentary politics. Inspite of unfair means done by the government in the election, still 17 members represent al-Ikhwan in the parliament, serving thereby the role of the largest opposition. Al-Ikhwan gave up violence and paid it's full attention towards the strengthening and organizing the movement. Its thought is totally different from that of I.L.O. and Jama'at-Muslimin (Takfīr wa al-Hijra), and it adopts the tactics according to the circumstances.

The third thing was his affection and attraction towards the youth, and absorbed them in the organization. The leadership of al-Ikhwan is in the hands of 60 to 70 years old people but the youth are considered its real strength. They are not only students of schools, colleges and universities but also the waiters of hotels in Cairo and other major cities. Western media surprised when they witnessed the majority of 15 to 25 years old youth, in the funereal procession, among lakhs of people who attended it.113

As a Supreme Guide, Mustafā Mashhūr explained the programme of the organization in the following words:

“To come out of the severe stage and lifting of ban, we try to open such a way through which we can openly make publicity of our call and programme. Al-Ikhwan is not against the constitution of the country because it had
declared Islam as the religion of the country. So when call for real Islam and implementation of the Islamic Shariah, it means that we are not against the constitution. It is not only the duty of al-Ikhwan but also the duty of every Muslim to act upon the Islamic objectives. Islam is not only the name of prayer but also a religion and a government. It demands such type of state, which implements Islamic Shariah, protects Muslims from the enemies of Allah and makes their every attempt as a futile exercise. It is our duty but most of the Muslims do not know. Al-Ikhwan is calling them to perform this duty and implement the Islamic Shariah. If the governments implement the Shariah, al-Ikhwan would help them and become its soldiers.”

About the strategy of the organization, he said:
“We have asked the government to recognize our organization and put up the case in the parliament for lifting of ban over al-Ikhwan. On the eve of 1984 elections, we talked for the establishment of a party, but we were not allowed and the government told us that establishment of a religio-political party could not be allowed as there is the possibility of communal riots in the country. It was contrary to the reality because we have had good relations with the Christians from the time of Hasan al-Banna and continued during the time of Hasan al-Hudaibi, al-Sayyid ‘Umar Tilmisâni and Hâmid Abû al-Nasr. But still certain al-Ikhwan youth established al-Wast Party and drafted its programme and submitted its application to the Political Parties Affairs Committee, which will be certainly disqualified. But our aim is to make dialogue with government for a way out because we are far away from any kind of riots and terrorism, and not doing anything against the laws of the country. Still then we are facing trials, severity, cruelty and or nomination papers for election are being cancelled.”

He negated the allegations about the links with militant organizations and said:
"We are being blamed for having contacts with militant organizations like al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah and al-Jihād, which could never be proved. In reality we have no links with such type of organizations and we are criticizing the severity and terrorism."\textsuperscript{16}

Mustafā Mashhūr was a senior writer, author, journalist and a good speaker. He wrote seventeen books and hundreds of articles, which were published in \textit{al-Da'wah} and \textit{al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn}-both international Arabic journals. He interpreted Islām in different forums, seminars and conferences in and outside Egypt. In the books \textit{Tariq al-Da'wah} and \textit{Zad-ala-al-Tariq}, he makes observations on the deviation of thinking and practical examinations. He said:

"Deviations from the way of \textit{da'wah} are more dangerous than examinations to the callers. I am of the opinion that deviation of thinking is more dangerous than practical devotion because under the shade of real thinking, there is a possibility that it will lead action and practice towards the real side and would surrender or delink from the ill deeds. But if this deviation were in the thinking, every born thinking would be harmful. It would not be fruitful."\textsuperscript{17}

The important thing towards which Mustafa Mashhūr pointed out is the issue of Takfīr, which means that one who would not accept the active and revolutionary idea and would neglect its needs-are declared infidels, careless, and Mushrik (polytheists). Hasan al-Hudaibi second Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān explained it in detail but he spoke in the background of the \textit{Fiqh} and law. Mustafā Mashhūr explained this thing in detail in his book \textit{Tariq al-Da'wah} and gave its proof. His detailed explanation could be summarized in the following points:

(1) It is not a duty of a Muslim to decide about the faith of the other.\textsuperscript{18}
Life, wealth and honour of every Muslim is respectable. No one has the right to tear it into pieces.\textsuperscript{119}

Tests in the way of Allah are not the faults of man but part of the obedience of God.\textsuperscript{120}

To declare Muslims as infidels — creates hatred and fear among the common Muslims and they can become the enemies of \textit{da'wah}.\textsuperscript{121}

The author has given the causes of the deviation of thinking as under:

1. **Knowledge and its dangers:** Sometimes with a little knowledge, a caller becomes a \textit{Mufti}. He holds some categorical Qur'\=anic injunctions with the teeth and cancels the meaning and explanations of the scholars and jurists.

2. **Indiscrimination between principles and minor points:** Sometimes \textit{s\=alik} becomes indifferent to the spirit and skill of \textit{da'wah} and pastes himself with \textit{haikal} and shape or stresses upon formal appearance before skill. In this way instead of calling for principles, he calls for minor points that prove very dangerous.

3. **Increase or decrease and severity:** Excess of the performing of prayers and obedience and, carelessness from other duties makes a man isolated, onesided, and terror and he gives up \textit{Far\=a'id} and \textit{W\=ajib\=at} for \textit{Naw\=afil}, and Sunnah.

4. **Hast and impatience:** Upset from the severity of the right path, the caller wants to discover a short cut method and becomes ready to use power and weapons, which impure the way of Isl\=amic movement.

5. **Instead of training, stress is given in political way:** To give up the hard way of training and purification, the caller adopts the way of political parties. For
influence and success, he gives up the principles of faith and Islām and uses the illegal ways.

(6) Dependence on personalities and leaders: When there is no importance of principles, faiths and views of the organization, but organization revolves round the individuals and success of all programmes is depended on the personalities.¹²²

To tackle with the problems of the deviations of thinking and practical tests, Mustafa Mashhūr has adopted the right way. If we really want that we should do good and peace, and auspiciousness for Islām and establish Allāh’s rule on this land, it is essential for us that we should adopt the way of our Prophet (SAW) as the way of faith and practice, and love and brotherhood. There should be no change in it and any difference and discrimination.¹²³

Historians of Egypt and Muslim world will feel the effects and results of the senseful leadership, reputed policy and serious thinking of Mustafā Mashhūr. On the firmness of views and stability of writings, third Supreme Guide, al-Sayyid ‘Umar Tilmisānī said:

“Every knowledge has an understanding and fiqh. The Qur’ān has its fiqh. The sunnah has its own fiqh and seerat al-Nabi (SAW) has it own fiqh. Similarly there is a fiqh of da’wah and reformation of Deen. And only he can cure the deepness and essential components, which has been bestowed by Allāh the religion, knowledge and wealth of sincerity. Deen brings faith, knowledge brings explanation and completion of pureness, and sincerity brings success of action.

“May Allāh bestow his blessings to brother Mustafa Mashhūr. He has selected him for the call of Allāh and firmness on tests. He came out with his relatives in these tests with perseverance, solidity, purity and sincerity.”¹²⁴
Al-Ikhwān condemned the Luxor killings of November 1997, in which fifty-eight foreign tourists lost their lives. Spokesman of al-Ikhwān, Mamūn al-Hudaibi stated:

“No matter what an individual may claim, that he is being treated unjustly or being persecuted, regardless of the magnitude of this persecution and injustice, this does not in any way or under any ideology, particularly not under Islāmic Shariah. It has nothing to do with any jiḥād.”

He further stated that it was a criminal act and no school of thought permits such acts. There is no justification for such acts.

On 10 January 1998, al-Ikhwān organized an Iftar party and invited leaders of all political parties and Islāmic scholars. The party was attended by the representatives of the Wafd Party, the Nasserite Labour and Liberal Parties, Coptic Bishop of Hulwān, Abba Bisnati and Shyakh Sayyid Askūr, Assistant Secretary General of al-Azhar University, Institute for Islāmic Studies. Seven hundred supporters of al-Ikhwān also attended the Iftar Party. 0Mustafā Mashhūr, Supreme Guide of the organization, addressed the gathering and explained that al-Ikhwān is fighting against corruption and wrongdoings of the government. It is also working for the formation of political parties in a democratic setting, rotation of authority and an end to all emergency laws. He asked the government to release innocent al-Ikhwān members, who have to do nothing with arms and violence, sentenced by the military courts.

Regarding the November 1997 killings, he stated: “Al-Ikhwān was offering its cooperation to all political parties so that a decisive opposition may be brought about against all acts of violence and terrorism and all forms of extremism can be eliminated.”
He further said that granting freedom and removing restrictions on freedom of opinion and expression is one of the best ways to cope with these situations.

Eight al-Ikhwān members were arrested by the government troops only a day after the organization-criticized government’s decision for extension of emergency legislation for a further period of three years. They include Dr. Hathim Mohammad Adam Hasan, Dr. Mohammad Hishām Isa, Mustafā Farghali (laborer) Fathi Mahamūd Salim (accountant), Essam Ali Ridwān (engineer), Hishām Ahmad Khayri (teacher) and Sayyid Mohammad Madi (civil servant) and Abd al-Fatah Badawi.127 They have been accused of conspiring to overthrow the government and running of banned organization. ‘Abd al-Fatah has been accused of recruiting new members in Cairo for the organization.

Al-Ikhwān is still struggling for its recognition. It has yet neither been given the reward of its confiscated central office nor the reward to the owners of companies and factories. The organization is not completely free in political field.

“Most people are unaware about the activities of al-Ikhwān. It is engaged in the resurgence of Islām from past seventy years. After the death of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, al-Ikhwān gets relief to some extent. It has been suppressed in Irāq and Syria and its leaders were exiled from these countries but by the grace of God, it is freely carrying out its activities in the Sūdān and Jordan. Its activities are continued in Europe and America also.”128

These were the comments of Jamāl al-Bannā, brother of Hasan al-Bannā. The former is president of organization for the welfare of Egyptian laborers. He visited Pakistan in mid 1999 where the media persons interviewed him.
Husni Mubarak is following the way of al-Nasser in the matters of dealing with the Islamists and other political leaders and workers. In the month of October 1999, twenty leaders of al-Ikhwan were arrested under 1981 emergency act, when the meeting of the Engineers' Union was on at its central office. Sixteen of them were present in the meeting and four were arrested from their homes. Essential documents of the union were also seized. The arrested including Mukhtar Nuh, ex-parliament member; Mohammad Ali Bashar, secretary general of Engineers' Union; Dr. Sa'ad Zāghlūl, Secretary General Doctors' Union Cairo; Dr. Mohammad Sa'ad of Doctors' Union Giza and Dr. Hisham al-Sūli of Engineers Council Ismā'iliyah.

General elections of 2000 were completed in three phases, 18/19 October 2000 and 7 November 2000. Three main political parties were also in the fray. Though al-Ikhwan could not participate under its official banner but its seventy-five candidates contested as independents, eleven of them won their seats. Before the polling, al-Ikhwan candidates, their supporters and relatives were harassed, so that they could not took part in the October 2000 elections. The candidates of al-Ikhwan, who were expected to win, were arrested and their brothers, sons and close relatives were harassed. Representatives and voters of al-Ikhwan were also harassed. Seven hundred fifty al-Ikhwan members were arrested and the total reached more than fifteen hundred.

During the election campaign, owners of cafes, restaurants and halls were warned that they should not welcome or provide facility to al-Ikhwan candidates to address the people. If they do not care for such things, they would be beaten and their work permits would be cancelled. Shopkeepers and people residing near the mosques were
also warned that they should not allow al-Ikhwān candidates to fix their posters and hang the banners. Criminals and notorious people—both men and women—were divided into groups and they were given the task to watch the cafes, shops and restaurants to catch and handover such people to the police who would distribute or fix al-Ikhwān posters. The police brought down al-Ikhwān posters, stickers and banners and curse upon al-Ikhwān. The police beat up shopkeepers and inhabitants publicly, where it was found that the posters and banners of al-Ikhwān were fixed on their shops or houses. The localities seemed just like military camps, where al-Ikhwān candidates were in the fray. Special police forces with highly sophisticated weapons were on duty in these localities.

'To make unsuccessful the election campaign of al-Ikhwān, economic losses were done to them. Deputy commissioners of al-Manufia sealed ten al-Ikhwān economic institutions for one month, which badly affected forty families directly. Governor of Suez sealed private firm of Tariq Khalīl, an al-Ikhwān representative. The food inspector harassed al-Ikhwān shopkeepers and their supporters and heavy amounts were received from them illegally and their goods were seized in Dumyat and Delta. All these activities were done under the orders of Interior Minister Major Habīb al-Adili. A police officer of Port Sa’ed plainly said to an al-Ikhwān candidate:

“I have personal orders from Interior Minister that opponents should be suppressed, if necessary do not hesitate from killing them.”

During the polling in October/November 2000, the voters were harassed and beaten. A person was shot dead and a dozen others injured by police firing, when they were protesting for being prevented to reaching the polling booths to exercise their right to franchise. These incidents
happened in Delta, Port Sa'ed and Alexandria where al-Ikhwān candidates were known to be in majority.  

Still then Interior Minister announced a few days before the election that security forces have arrested neither any worker of al-Ikhwān nor of any other opposition party. He further stated that no candidate has been arrested during the election.

Al-Ikhwān deputy Supreme Guide while reacting on this statement said that the statement of the Interior Minister was itself worse than that of arresting the people.

The reason behind these severities and oppressions was to keep back al-Ikhwān from contesting the elections because the government did not want to repeat 1987 situation. It is necessary here to mention that al-Ikhwān won 36 seats out of 454 seats in the 1987 general elections and played an important role as an opposition in the parliament.

These were the conditions in which al-Ikhwān contested the general elections of October-November 2000. In spite of these severities, al-Ikhwān adopted democratic and peaceful way. The largest opposition party – Labour Party of Egypt announced boycott call of the polls on 21 September 2000 against the government partiality and using undemocratic means. When asked by the correspondent of a newspaper, in spite of pressure on al-Ikhwān, why did not they boycotted the polls, the representatives of Labour Party replied that they were accustomed by these conditions. Al-Ikhwān won 17 seats inspite of severe herassment on the part of Egyptian authorities.

Mustafā Mashhūr was well known among all the sections of the people especially among the youths, who were very much attached with him because of his words
that contain determination, *jihād* and provides good information about the overcoming of Islām.

He served Islāmist movement for more than 60 years. He participated in the *jihād* of Afghanistan not only spiritually but physically also. He adopted strong stand on every issue of the Muslim 'Ummah and expressed his views without any hesitation and fear. He treated each and every issue of the Muslim 'Ummah as his own. He took up the issues of Palestine, Kashmir, Sheeshan, Bosnia, Philippines, and Eritrea etc. He was not only the citizen of Egypt but also of the whole world. He was not only the leader of an Islāmist movement but also of all such movement of the world.

Professor Khurshid Ahmad says about Mustafā Mashhūr,

"His personality had intense attraction, medium height, reduced body, clear impression, eyes instilled with ability and affection, and hands were as strong as steel but at the same time as soft as silk...His whole personality was collection of fraternity, affection and fineness! He was speaking in a very low and cold tone but in both writing and addressing, he was a good writer having literary refinement."

On 29 October 2002, he got heart attack and was unconscious for some time. At last on 14 November 2002 (8 Ramadhan 1423) he left this world and Mamūn al-Hudaibi was elected his successor.

**Mamūn al-Hudaibi: The Sixth Supreme Guide of Al-Ikhwan**

Mamūn al-Huadibi (son of Hasan Ismail al-Hudaibi, second Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān), was elected as sixth Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān after the death of Mustafā
Mashhūr on 16 November 2002. Before his appointment as Supreme Guide, he was deputy of Mustafa Mashhūr.

Mamūn al-Hudaibi was born on 28 May 1921 in Cario. After completing graduation in International Rights in 1941, he got distinction in Public Service Commission Examination and was appointed as judge in appellate court. He rendered the services upto 1965. He was imprisoned in 1965 during the period of Jamāl ʿAbd al-Nasser. After his release in 1971, he formally joined al-Ikhwān.

He had been working as official correspondent of al-Ikhwān since 1990. Since there is no post of official correspondent in al-Ikhwan because Supreme Guide is also its correspondent but he can appoint any person as its correspondent. During the gulf war in 1990-91, international mass media wanted to know the stand of al-Ikhwān on the issue. In this regard correspondents of international news agencies, newspapers, Radio and T.V. channels visited the General Headquaters of al-Ikhwān to interview Hāmid Abū al-Nasr, the fourth Superme Guide of al-Ikhwān. He felt very exhansted and very difficult the responsibility. Consequently, he appointed Mamūn al-Hudaibi as the official correspondent of al-Ikhwān and the latter rendered his duties till the death of al-Ikhwān fifth Supreme Guide, Mustaf Mashhūr.

Interview of Mamūn al-Hudaibi, sixth Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān, was published in Majallah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn on 13 December 2002. In the interview he stated that there is no internal struggle and contradiction in the organization between the seniors and the youngsters. He claimed that the youngsters are being provided chances in guidance council, professional syndicates and parliamentary party in the organization according to their caliber. In support of his statement he cited the examples
of Dr. ‘Abd al-Munīm ‘Abd al-Fatah, who was elected member of guidance council in 1995 at the age 44 and another youngster Dr. Essam al-Aryan, Secretary General of Medical Syndicate, who was only 31 when he was nominated as a candidate for parliamentary elections 1987, and was declared successful.

Mamūn al-Hadaibi said that there is no disparity in the party. The organization has more than seventy-five years history and lakhs of people are related to it. So creation of misunderstanding is natural because during the travel at certain stages, a few members chose new means to achieve the ends. But some people present it otherwise. The organization has its units throughout the world, which are activating and organizing the people. So the people, who are afraid of it are busy to control it and keep public away from it.

The organization does not want any confrontation anywhere in the world with governments, but what kind of relations they would like to maintain with us depends upon them. We call upon all the governments of Muslim and Arab countries to maintain good relations with public and provide them true and equal freedom.

When he was asked that why al-Ikhwān has not been given legal status in many Arab countries? Mamūn replied: "The question could have been asked to those governments whose blemished faces are crying about the cruelty and want to veil it under the cover of democracy. We announce at many occasions that we can come up to the mark as a political organization, to legal and constitutional demands within the notice of twenty-four hours. If we are provided the chance, we can come up to the mark to constitutional demands not only in Egypt alone but also in Algiers, the Südan, Yemen, Jordan, Lebanon and Kuwait as the first organization."
About the success of Islāmists in certain Muslim countries like Algiers, Bahrain, Pākistān and Morocco, he stated that the success of these Islāmists is the proof of this thing that the ‘Ummah is awakening. Islām and only Islām is the need of all the nations. No world order contains the solution of man’s all problems. Each and every weapon of suppression is used to erase the faith of Islām, develop the Western culture and create chaos and confusion among the Muslims. Muslim rulers should review over their behavior. They should not allow sowing the seeds of chaos and confusion in the ranks of the Muslims. He claimed that if the elections were to be conducted fairly in any of the Muslim country, Islāmists would definitely succeed. Public has the right to elect their rulers at their own choice. If cooperation is necessary between public and rulers, so they should demonstrate unity not stubbornness, which results the wastage of strength and leads the nations towards the decline instead of development.

Palestine problem is a core issue for al-Ikhwān. It is part of our religion and it is obligatory upon us to help Palestinians. It is our faith, that Al-Mighty will enquire us about it on the Day of Judgment. Definitely on that day, he will also enquire all the Muslim rulers that why they had been careless on the issue and put the Palestinians alone in the mouth of the enemy (Sharon-Prime Minister of Israel) that whenever he and his followers like, can arrest or kill them.

Mamūn said:
"We can sacrifice our dearest sons for the cause of Palestine but they do not need blood of youth but help in the form of medicine, finance and military weapons so that they can live with peace and rehabilitate their houses and fields destroyed by the Jews. They need support of the public and mass media, which is also a weapon."
Rallies and demonstrations by the people will directly compel the rulers to take steps to solve the problem. If we are provided political freedom, we will assemble together and be aware of the needs of our brothers and we can take steps to solve their problems. If Egyptians are provided the chance, they can lead all the nations of the region."

About the issue of Irāq, he said that destruction of Irāq is in fact strengthening of Israel. America uses its aggression against the faith of Islām Muslim nations and their states under the pretext of 11 September 2001 incidents, which shows malicious prejudice and its settled plans. These kind of loathsome activities cause severe reaction in Muslim dominated states against the cruel polices of America. In contrary to all the steps of America, the da‘wah of Islām is gaining momentum and development day by day and will not stop at any cost.

Most of the Muslims have firm faith that material strength cannot overpower Imani Quwwat (true power). America and its followers especially those people who have been enthroned by America in Muslim countries will not succeed at any cost.

Mamūn was asked if America will declare al-Ikhwān a terrorist organization, what would be his reaction? He replied:

“We do not want war but our faith in Allah will not be shaken. America should adopt the way of justice, initiate dialogue with Muslim ‘Ummah and give up oppressive, cruel and brutal policies. Americans should keep vigil over the policies of their own administration because such type of policies would sow the seeds of hatred throughout the world against them.”

Al-Ikhwān is trying its best to bring the Muslim ‘Ummah close together culturally, economically, socially and politically. Capitalists will be prepared to develop
economic activities among themselves. It will try to create harmony in the opinions of scholars and thinkers by organizing debates and discussions.

When asked, why they are not changing the name of the organization, as done by Islamic movements in Turkey? Mamūn replied:

"Why could not we keep up al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn as the name of our organization and why we should think about change in its name? Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn is popular throughout the world. It has its own history and tradition. If you call it by name al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn a particular meaning is created in the mind of the listener. In fact many governments are trying to drive us back from our stand. They are insisting upon the to change the name of our organization. So for as Turkey is concerned, there is a vast difference between ours and their circumstances."142

Mamūn al-Hudaibi, sixth Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān died on 8th of January 2004 at the age of 82. He was among the dignitaries who were active members of al-Ikhwān during the miserable period of 1960s. It is expected that the new leader will be elected within two months. Essam Aryan senior member of al-Ikhwān said that the election process would be started in a few coming months. Observers say that it is a good opportunity for youth leaders to end the traditional mastery of the elders from the oldest Muslim political organization of the Muslim world. They further said, in the past the elders clashed with the state. They stressed more upon the religious and social activities of the organization. Now the time has come to take part in political life of the country also.143

Meanwhile al-Ikhwān appointed 84-year-old Mohammad Bilal as its acting Supreme Guide. But Aryan told newsmen that he would not be nominated for
permanent responsibility. Kharyat a-Shakir leader of the group, told the newspersons that there is a possibility of either Shaykh Mohamamd al-Khalib or Mohammad Mahdi Akif to be al-Ikhwan’s new Supreme Guide.

On 12th January 2004 Mohammad Akif was elected as the new Supreme Guide of al-Ikwan al-Muslimun. He appointed Dr. Moahmmad Sayyid Habib and al-Muhnadis Mohammad Khayrat al-Shākir as his deputy-I and deputy-II respectively. He also appointed Dr. Hasan Huwaidi as his deputy outside the country.

Akif was born on 12th July 1928 at Kafr ‘Aūz al-Sanitah in District Daqahliyyah. He received primary education in al-Mansūrah. After completing his intermediate, he pursued and successfully completed a course in sports from the higher institute for Sports Training in Cairo. He joined al-Ikhwan in 1940. In 1951, at the time of his admission in the Faculty of Law at the ‘Ain-Shams-University, war broke out between the Egyptians and the British troops on the bank of Suez Canal. At this crucial juncture, Akif was entrusted the command of the volunteers’ camp in the ‘Ain Shams University.

Akif has served as the president of the students’ wing of al-Ikhwan. He has also rendered his services as incharge of the Central Scouts wing of al-Ikhwan. He was arrested in 1954 on the charges of helping the then wanted military commander ‘Abd Mun‘im ‘Abd al-Raūf from Egypt. He was awarded death sentence, which was later on changed into life-imprisonment with hard labour.

He was released in 1974 after spending 20 years behind the bars. After his release from the prison he was appointed as the Director General for youth affairs in the Ministry of Rehabilitation. After some time he left Egypt and went to Riyadh where he joined WAMY.
appointed its incharge for organizing international camps and conferences. He organized a number of large camps of WAMY in different countries. Later on he became the Director of Islāmic Center in Munich, Germany. He has also been a member of the publication division of Ikhwān since 1987. He was also elected as the Member of Parliament in 1987. He was again imprisoned in 1996. This time he was charged for being incharge of the international affairs of al-Ikhwān and sentenced by the military court for three years’ imprisonment and was released in 1999.

After his election as new Supreme Guide of the organization, he was interviewed by local Arabic newspaper, in which he expressed his views about his election and future programmes of the organization.149

When asked about his election and the conflict among certain groups within the organization, he replied that election was held in accordance to the rules and regulations of al-Ikhwān and it was a free and fair election. Al-Ikhwān respects the decision of Majlis al-Shūra. There was no conflict in the organization for the election of Supreme Guide.

About the relations with the government, he maintained that they have a concrete policy. Whatever demands they have, they present before the government and invite it to the table for talks. We don’t bear any grudge against the government and are not jealous of it. Infact it is the government, which is responsible for the hatred because it has provided our file to the security forces. They have made it clear to the Home Minister that our file should remain within the administration (i.e., our grievances should be redressed through peaceful legal means).

About the role of al-Ikhwān in perspective of flagrant attacks on Islām, he maintained that it is known to all that
they hold their stance on every issue (concerning the Ummah) and publicly announce it without any hesitation even if the world powers agree or disagree with us. They call the people towards the religion of Islām, the truth, the freedom and the justice. Anything that confronts with these principles is unacceptable to them. They will not support anything that violates the sanctity of these principles.

When asked about the practical steps to be taken against the aggression, committed by the enemies of Islām, he maintained that they take proper steps within the limits of their capacity. We make an assessment of our strategies and react against all the happenings accordingly. Regarding al-Ikhwān’s stand to the Palestine and Iraq issues, he maintained that al-Ikhwān supports these issues wholeheartedly on the political level. The important thing is to bring the Palestine dispute to the right direction. For this purpose al-Ikhwān has been endeavouring by holding conferences, publishing books and delivering lecturers. They are even eveready to go to the battlefield if permitted.

About the consequences of attacks on the Islāmic movements by the West, he maintained until the Muslims are weak, this process of propaganda and oppression will continue. However, if the power of Muslims will increase and they are able to reject the hegemony of the US, the latter’s designs will be destroyed. I think that they are on the path of destruction and their falsehood has started on unearthing. They are required to hold fast truth and never show any weakness and should be ever vigilant to withstand against such stormy wave, which tends to misguide the youth and which aims at changing the scenario and eliminating the identity of the 'Ummah.

About the Christian-Copts, he said that al-Ikhwān has been maintaining good relations with them from the period
of Hasan al-Banna and is still continuing. I have myself having good relations and friendship with many of them and in the 1940s I was the permanent member of the Young Men’s Christian Association.

About the representation of women in al-Ikhwan, he said that we do not want that women too be imprisoned. But we can’t overemphasize their role in the struggle for achieving freedom. Their role will be clearly marked when the full freedom is achieved and unless there is no freedom, there will be no progress in the country because if the freedom is lost every thing is lost.

About the charges of the involvement of the organization in the political affairs of the country for aspiring for power and its deviation from the welfare and Islamic call; he maintained that they has been never involved in acquiring political power as such; they rather planned to be busy in the affairs of da’wah and tazkiyah which are more important than any other activity.

Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun is the mother organization of all the Islamic associations surviving in the country and has proved itself a leading one in the Islamising process of Egypt. It suffered from so many deadlocks, official persecutions and internal divisions. Al-Ikhwan, however, is still a leading Islamic movement not only in Egypt but in the entire world also.

The liberal polices (al-Infitah) opted by the next president Anwar al-Sadat culminated in the way establishment of Islamic activities as well as the reassessment of Islamic revival made by Islamists in the country.

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Notes and References


(3) Zaki, op. cit., p. 61.


(7) Zaki, op. cit., p. 61.


(9) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 80.

(10) Ibid., p. 81.

(11) Ibid.


(13) Zaki, op. cit., p. 62.

(14) Tilmisānī, op. cit., p. 211, see also Mitchell, op. cit., p. 84.

(15) Husaini, op. cit., p. 115, see also Mitchell, op. cit., p. 85.


(18) Ibid., p. 89.

(19) Ibid., p. 86.


(22) Mitchell, op. cit, p. 88.
(24) Husaini, op. cit., p. 159.
(25) Dr. Said Ramadan was born on 12 April 1926 in Shibin al-Kom, 70 kms. North of Cairo. He was 14 when he heard al-Banna speak in a meeting in Tanta and joined al-Ikhwan while still at Secondary School. After he took his law degree from Cairo University in 1946, the promising young man was picked up by al-Banna as his personal secretary. He started publishing 'al-Muslimun' from Egypt in 1952. He was put behind the bars by Jamal 'Abd al-Nasser in 1954. He arrived in Geneva in 1958 and took doctorate degree in law from the University of Cologne in 1959 and restarted publication of al-Muslimun from Geneva in 1961, which was ceased later on. He published a book, Islāmic Law: Its Scope and Equity, London: Macmillan, 1961. In the same year he established an Islāmic center in Geneva, which published various aspects of Islām in the English, French and German languages. He was key figure behind the formation of Robita al-Ālam al-Islāmi (World Muslim League) in May 1962 in Makkah al-Mukarramah. He also helped to draft its constitution. He envisaged a string of Islāmic centers in the major capitals of Europe. Al-Nasser’s policy of murderous suppression of the Ikhwan had turned him a fierce opponent of the regime. He was given in absentia three separate sentences of imprisonment of 25 years each. He was not only a man of enormous knowledge of the Qur’ān and Ḥadīth but also a man of enormous ‘spirituality’. He made his last journey to country of his birth on a Pākistāni diplomatic passport. As well as being an ardent ‘Pākistāni’, he had remained a loyal Egyptian. Said Ramadan, son-in-law of al-Banna, died on 4 August 1995 in a hospital in Geneva. He was buried by the side of al-Banna in Imām Shafi’i, in Cairo on 9 August 1995.
(26) Husaini, op. cit., p. 23.

(28) Ibid.
(29) Ibid.
(30) Ibid.
(31) Ibid.
(34) Ibid.

Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdūdī was a great religious scholar and writer of Indo-Pak sub continent. He was the founder of Jamāt-i-Islāmī Pakistan. He was also the first editor of Tarjamān al-Qu‘rān, which is being published from Lahore, Pakistan.

(37) Ma‘ālim fi al-Tarīq, op. cit., p. 224.
(38) Ibid., p. 21.
(39) Ibid., p. 31.
(40) Ibid., p. 165.
(41) Ibid., p. 112.
(42) Hijrah means emigration of the Muslims to safer places. Historically it refers to the emigration of Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) and his followers from Makkah to Madinah in 622. A. D.

(44) Ma‘ālim fi al-Tarīq, op. cit., p. 54.
(48) Ibid., pp. 28-34.
(49) Ibid., pp. 104-105.
(50) Husaini, op. cit., p. 125.
(51) Ibid., p. 126.
(52) Ibid.
(53) Ibid., p. 127.
(54) Ibid.
(55) Ibid., pp. 172-173
(56) Major Mohammad Labīb had retired from the army in 1936, having distinguished himself in Egyptian
operations in the Südän; he came to know and work with al-Bannā as early as 1941. He was unofficial advisor to al-Bannā on ‘Scouting Activities’ until 1947, when he was appointed as a deputy in al-Ikhwān for ‘military affairs’ and sent to Palestine to help, train and recruit volunteers there. In the Palestine war, he was technical head of the ‘volunteer divisions’ and al-Bannā’s personal representative on matters relating to the war. He died on 18 December 1951.

(57) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 97.
(59) Husaini, op. cit., p. 127.
(60) Ibid.
(61) Ibid.
(64) Ibid., p. 150.
(65) Sadāt, Safahāt Majhūlah (The Unknown Pages), p. 99, quoted from Husaini, op. cit., p. 120.
(66) Ibid., p. 349.
(67) Ibid., p. 156.
(68) Ibid., pp. 220-230.
(69) Negūb, op. cit., p. 155.
(70) The newspaper Al-Ahrām published details of the trials in its consecutive issues of May 1954 and following.

(71) Tilmisāni, op. cit., p. 86.
(72) Husaini, op. cit., p. 130.
(73) Al-Sa‘eed, op. cit., p. 213.
(74) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 118.
(75) Al-Sa‘eed, op. cit., p. 193.
(76) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 123.
(77) Husaini, op. cit., p. 130.
(78) Ibid., p. 131.
(79) Ibid., p. 132.
(80) Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 133.
March 1999, p. 57, describes the date as 23 January 1953.

(82) Neguîb, op. cit., p. 190.
(83) Ibid., p. 203.
(84) Ibid., p. 207.
(85) Ibid., p. 209.
(86) Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 134.
(87) Ibid.
(88) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 159, see also Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 134.
(90) Ibid., p. 161.
(92) Al-Takфиr Wa al-Hijrah led by Shukri Ahmad Mustafâ (b. 1942).
(94) Falahi, Obaidullah Fahad, op. cit., p. 58.
(96) Tilmisâni, op. cit., p. 68.
(97) Ibid., p. 50.
(99) Tilmisâni, op. cit., p. 358.
(100) Ibid.
(101) Ibid. p. 361.
(107) Nadvi, op. cit., p. 49.
(110) Nadvi, op. cit., p. 50.
(112) According to Falahi, Obaidullah Fahad, op. cit., May 1999, p. 54, Mustafā Mashhūr was born in 1921 but according Professor Khursheed Ahmad, ‘Mustafā Mashhūr’ in *Tarjaman al-Qurʾān*, Vol. 29, No. 12, Lahore, December 2002, p. 70, he was born in 1919.
(113) Ahmad, Khursheed, op. cit., pp. 69-73.
(115) Ibid.
(116) Ibid.
(118) Ibid., pp. 59-60.
(119) Ibid., p. 60.
(120) Ibid., pp. 61-64.
(121) Ibid., pp. 66-67.
(122) Ibid., pp. 40-47.
(123) Ibid., p. 6. See also pp. 109-110.
(124) Ibid., p. 5
(128) Nadvi, op. cit., p. 52.
(133) Bhati, op. cit., p. 49.
Prominent Egyptian born Qatar based religious scholar, Yusuf al-Qardhawí said that he was not interested in becoming the Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwán. He further said that he had consistently opted not to tie up himself to any movement which my constrain his actions, even if this is al-Ikhwán under whose umbrella he grew and which he so defend. The statement released in Doha in which he said, "Would I, at the age 77, accept what I turned down when I was 49?"

He urged Muslims to petition French President to 'reverse his decesion' backing a ban on the headscarf in French state schools. The French president announced his support for a ban on 'conspicuous' religious insignia in schools despite opposition from French religious groups. He said that headscarf is not symbolic like the Kirpa or the Cross, but a means for Muslims to get closer to God. (Young Muslim Digest, Monthly, Banglore: February 2004, pp. 39-40).

(147) Ibid.
Chapter IV
Islāmic Resurgence
Anwar al-Sadāt Era
Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser died on 28 September 1970 due to heart attack. Anwar al-Sadāt (b.1918) was appointed his successor. He was elected President of the country by the National Assembly of Egypt and was confirmed by the process of referendum on 17 October 1970. Anwar al-Sadāt was one of the members of Revolutionary Command Council of Free Officers and close associate of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser. He had been jailed for his revolutionary activities in his student days. After the ‘Free Officers’ revolution on 23 July 1952, he was then appointed as the editor of *Jumhuriya*, the voice of the Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.). Before becoming Vice-President of Egypt in December 1969, he served as president of the Egyptian National Assembly.

After coming to power, Anwar al-Sadāt ended the state sponsored terrorism and barbaric actions of al-Nasser era. He ended the police rule and gave the superiority to the by-laws of the country. He raised voice against the secret police and burnt all papers and cassettes in the presence of the people, which were made the basis to pursue barbaric actions and attack the honour of those people who were treated as opponents in al-Nasser era. In May 1971, he removed Vice-President, Ali Sabri; War Affairs Minister, Mohammad Fauzi and Home Minister, Sharavi Juma from their portfolios and put them in jail. They were responsible for state sponsored terrorism during al-Nasser era. He also accused this group of plotting to over-throw the regime with the Soviet backing.

So far as the External policy is concerned, in the beginning, he signed a 15 year agreement with Russia in May 1971. Under this agreement, Russia had to provide arms and economic assistance. The agreement could not come to its logical conclusion due to the hypocritical role.
played by Russia. The relations between the two countries increasingly became severe due to the earstwhile Soviet Union (now only Russia) support to India during the war for East Pakistan. With the result al-Sadat, made friendship with the U.S.A. In 1972, he ordered 20,000 Soviet military observers and experts to leave the country.

After that he paid attention towards Israel. Suez Canal played an important role in the economy of Egypt but it was blocked since 1967. Due to this situation, Egypt was dependant economically upon Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. To solve this tangle, Anwar al-Sadat asked Israel, if they would leave the Eastern Coast of the Suez Canal, the canal would be opened. When he failed in this effort, he made arrangements with Syria and kept the whole operation secret. On 6th October 1973, his troops crossed the Suez Canal and broke through the Bar Lev Line. Consequently the Israeli troops left the Eastern Coast of the Suez Canal. The victory made al-Sadat popular among the Arab leaders. Egypt got back Abu Rudeis oil fields, Mitla and Giddi passes. The war began in the month of Ramadhan under the code name Badr. Al-Sadat proclaimed himself batal al-ubur, hero of the crossing. But before the cease-fire on 24th October 1973, Israel attacked Egypt and captured 300 sq. miles of Egyptian territory in South Western Coast of the Suez Canal. However, in the post war negotiations, al-Sadat worked vigorously for a negotiated settlement of the dispute, and his efforts culminated with his trip to Jerusalem and the signing of an Egyptian – Israeli peace treaty on 26th March, 1979 at Washington, known as 'Camp David Accord'. According to this agreement Israel returned the Sinai to Egyptian sovereignty as promised in the 1975 agreement. In this way Egypt achieved such type of success against Israel after a long struggle in last
Anwar al-Sadat announced that 6th October would be celebrated as National Day instead of 23rd July\textsuperscript{13}. In 1975\textsuperscript{14} Suez Canal was opened for international shipping and its income enabled Egypt to become independent from the financial dependence of the Arab countries. On the other hand the Arab country especially Syria and Iraq opposed this agreement. Most of the Arab counties such as Syria, Algeria, Yemen and Libya broke away diplomatic ties with Egypt and called back their ambassadors from Cairo. Saudi Arabia and Kuwait stopped financial assistance also.

In 1972, Anwar al-Sadat tried to make federation of Syria and Egypt, but he failed. Then he signed a treaty with president Qadhāfi of Libya, to make federation of Libya and Egypt in 1973\textsuperscript{15}. But the treaty was cancelled in 1974\textsuperscript{16} because the people of Egypt did not want moral restrictions, which they would have to accept after making confederation with Libya. The people of Egypt became so much westernized that they could not accept any kind of moral restrictions. The relations were so much strained between the two countries, about the issue of Israel, that in July 1977\textsuperscript{17} they used military strength against one another. They destroyed arms and ammunition in the war with one another, which could have been used against their common enemy i.e. the West.

He concentrated his attention on four matters: democratising the political process, \textit{Infitah} or open door policy, expanding Egypt’s relations with other countries and reforming the military.

He gave more freedom to the press. During al-Nasser era, single-party system prevailed but al-Sadat allowed other political parties too to operate. New constitution was drafted.
Religious Policies of Anwar al-Sadat

When Anwar al-Sadat came in power, in September 1970, the constitution of 1965\textsuperscript{18} was in practice in Egypt. On 11\textsuperscript{th} of September 1971\textsuperscript{19}, permanent constitution was legislated in the country. The name of the country was cancelled and the republic was named as Arab Republic of Egypt\textsuperscript{20}. It was ‘United Arab Republic’ earlier. The constitution made Islām the official religion of the country, while the Shariah was declared as a source of legislation. The following words were written in the constitution about Islām and the Shariah:

“Islām is the religion of the state, Arabic is its official language, and the principles of the Islāmic Shariah a principal source of legislation”\textsuperscript{21}

He introduced al-Infitah (the open door policy) in the economic field. According to this policy, there would be no dominance of the public sector and it would cooperate with the private sector. The policy encouraged foreign investments. Al-Sadāt accelerated the construction of commercial industries with the help of financial aid and planning policies of U.S. Aswān Dam was completed which helped in the cultivation of Upper Nile region, projects in the Delta and along the middle Nile. The Suez Canal, which was closed in 1969, was reopened in 1975.\textsuperscript{22}

He cut off relations with Soviet Union, ordered the withdrawal of Russian technicians and advisors on 18\textsuperscript{th} July 1972\textsuperscript{23}. He invited Europeans and Americans to finance and invest in Egypt. He made friendly ties with Saudi Arabia and other Arab states, and re-established diplomatic relations with Irān. Besides above-mentioned countries, Egypt received loans rom Soviet Union and China also.
He used foreign aid for the strengthening of his army, purchasing of arms, organized training programmes and constructed airfields.

He was struggling to be regarded as a leader in his own right and to enhance his political legitimacy. He appropriated the title 'The Believer President.' His prayers at the mosques and Islamic programmes were covered by the mass media. He increased Islamic programmes and courses in the schools. Besides this he built a number of mosques in the country. He used Quranic references and Islamic symbols in speeches at public gatherings and cast the 1973 Arab-Israel war as Jihād. He personally attended religious ceremonies such as (Eid-e-Milād). Islamic criminal laws were reinstated, ribā was banned and women were asked to be segregated from men in public transport and in university education and excluded from certain professions. A series of bills were introduced in the parliament on Islamic penalties for usury, apostasy, theft, adultery and drinking. Most of which were withdrawn, after the protests by both the Copts and liberal Muslims. There is no doubt, however, as to his personal devotion to the cause of Islām. As he himself said:

"After October 6th 1973 a great change was ushered into the Armed forces...there is no question the slogan 'freedom, socialism and unity', is still valid...and it will remain part of our basic principles. However, the slogan Allah-u-Akbar has become our cri de guerre; reflecting the change in the spiritual make up of our troops."

And to, Western audiences, he said:

"Al-Sadat was passionately devoted to science and technology as he was to Islām. He admitted that Egypt is an Islamic country, so it should open up to modern technology as a means of strengthening itself and Islām. Once, when questioned in this regard, al-Sadāt responded
with cool mind. As for our plans in the coming five to six years. You know that we are Muslims, first of all, and we believe in Allah’s will.”

Although his fore-most concerns were science and technology, but he was also well aware about the facts that modernity has its own shortcomings. He admitted that due to weak faith in spiritual values the rate of suicide was highest in the ‘Advanced Countries’. He emphasized that our country should not depend only on science, technology and computers but should preserve and revive our traditions and spiritual values. He cited the example of Vietnam and regarded that advanced technology in computer science could not save it. If they had depended upon scientific technology, it would have been impossible for them to win the war of 1973 against Israel. It was not scientific technology, which made us capable to overpower the enemy, but it was faith and inner spiritual strength.

He appeared in public as a devout Muslim. He allowed Islāmic legislation but also stressed democratic ways and the need to avoid fundamentalism. He received al-Azhar’s blessings for his peace initiative and condemned Irān and Libya for distorting Islām and warned al-Ikhwān that it held no monopoly over Islām. Everyone accepted al-Sadāt and his policies as long as he did not make peace with Israel. He was regarded as hero of the second Islāmic conference held in Lahore in 1974 but treated as outcast after signing the peace treaty with Israel. His move was deadly rejected by the Islāmic conferences and excluded from these gatherings since 1979. Moreover peace treaty was condemned in the Ta’-if conference of February 1981 and jihād was announced to get back the occupied lands from Israel. On this issue, a relation was maintained between Islām as an international political force and opposition to al-Sadat. Al-Ikhwān and other Islāmist
groups sought to link up with Iran and Libya, where Islamic norms have taken over most aspects of life, in the domestic matters.

**Islamic resurgence**

Anwar al-Sadāt used Islām to strengthen his legitimacy. Death of al-Nasser removed a major obstacle to the full-scale emergence of Islamic fundamentalism. A committed Muslim with a traditional background al-Sadāt paid attention to the rising Islāmic sentiment both in and outside.

The official policies of al-Sadat’s government gave greater recognition to Islāmic themes. The recognition was the product of a general resurgence of Muslim consciousness, especially among the educated political elite. Educated youth, students and administrators reaffirmed Islām. They were more regular in their prayers; the Friday prayers were attended by large number of people. School and university female students adopted Islāmic dress. Religious associations found new adherents among the young as well as the old, within the schools, colleges, universities, and government offices and in all walks of life. There was a change in the dress of the people. The men adopted modest dress and gave up wearing open shirts, tight-pants and gold-chains. The women started to wear long gowns with long sleeves and a head veil.

Al-Ikhwān al-Muslinūn encouraged new wave of Islāmic fundamentalism, which can be demonstrated in the Friday sermons in the mosques, in the press and through the sale of religious works in the street stands. That was the right time for al-Ikhwān to ride high because the movement had a stern demand of refutation of modernization and westernization, which could pave the way for the
implementation of the Shariah. In addition to this al-Ikhwān called publicly for the rescue of Palestine from Zionist occupation and the extermination of Israel.

This was the situation, which was deadly going against the steps of peace initiative and modernization programmes of al-Sadāt. He did not at first move decisively against al-Ikhwān and other Islāmist groups. He was unable to follow al Nasser, who had cruelly suppressed al-Ikhwān in 1950s and 1960s. Al-Sadāt's liberal policies allowed Islāmist groups and al-Ikhwān to operate freely, although he was well aware of the negative role played by Shah of Irān to suppress Islāmist and other opposition groups. Another aspect of the government's religious policy was its relaxation on the expression of fundamentalist ideas, controlled by al-Nasser. Suppressed by al-Nasser, al-Ikhwān was allowed to declare its goals publicly and permitted its resurgence in order to search allies against leftist factions. Governor of Asyūt, Mohammad Uthmān Ismail mobilized Islāmic groups to take action against the Nasserist group, which helped small Islāmist groups like al-Jamā'ah al- Islāmiyyah (Islāmic Community) to gain public recognition.

The Islāmic student movement in Egypt gained influence outside al-Azhar University from December 1972 formed one pillar of the new definition of the Islāmic republic. The second important pillar consisted of secessionist tendencies, which operate from the provinces of al-Minya and Asyūt.

In almost all the universities of Egypt, the students having Islāmic understanding won the student union elections. Many books were published on 'The Oppression' of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nasser era and various editions of these books were published which became popular in the public.
The Government showed positive response in this regard but indirectly it was trying to stop these things because religious understanding could have created dangers for it. To suppress the leftist powers and the negative approach of Soviet Union, stopped Anwar al- Sadat to act against the religious minded people. In this way al-Sadāt was compelled by these circumstances, so he made such steps, which were beneficial for the religious minded people.

Al-Sadāt was more conservative than al-Nasser and had more sympathies with Egypt than Arab world. His political career had begun with the milieu of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. So after coming to power, he set-free the leaders and members of al-Ikhwān and many others from the jails, treated by al- Nasser as opponents of the government.

Although al-Ikhwān remained illegal, as an organization, its members enjoyed freedom of expression. Publication of its two monthly magazines *al-Dawāh* and *al-E'tisām* was allowed. *'Al-Dawah* started its publication in July 1976.28 Fifty thousand copies of it were published and it was so popular that all the copies were distributed in a single day. And it continued publishing the same number of every issue regularly.

Other Islāmist groups active in university campuses were also allowed to participate in student union elections and such groups engaged themselves in many social service activities.

Al-Sadāt was himself a democratic socialist. During al-Nasser era single party system prevailed in the form of Arab Socialist Union (A.S.U.). But, in 1977, al-Sadāt allowed three more socialist parties to establish. In the 1979 elections, al-Sadāt’s Nationalist Democratic Party (NDP) won 330 seats out of 392 and Socialist Labour Party
(SLP) won 29. Al-Ikhwān had not been allowed to operate as a political organization till date.

Egypt was ashamed of the defeat by the Israel in 1967, so the victory in 1973 rose up its prestige and restored its lost dignity to a great extent. But the jubilation did not long last. The Infitah started in 1974, did not produce fruitful results. There was inflation in the country and the prices of food were high, lowering the wages. In 1976-77 students and workers came out on streets in Alexandria, Cairo and other cities and towns, demonstrated against the failure of government policies. There was fighting at some places between the para-military forces and the protestors, which resulted in the arrest of a number of people. The unrest in the students and the workers was the appearance of fundamentalist Islamic groups and a series of bombings and assassinations.

In February 1977, following the directions of International Monetary Fund (IMF) the government-stopped subsidies on wheat and dairy products. Reacting on it, the demonstrators came out on streets in Cairo and Alexandria and attacked the nightclubs, cinemas and banks. They were demanding restoration of subsidies or resignation of al-Sadāt. The incident is known as ‘bread riots.’ Consequently a gulf was created between the people and al-Sadāt. On the one hand, Western leaders called him as statesman, peacemaker and best-dressed man but on the other hand his people criticized him for the domestic corruption and his inclination towards Israel and the Shah of Iran. He responded well through stressing Islāmic themes in his speeches such as İmān (faith), sulb (toughness), asalah (genuineness), sabr (patience), mahabbah (love) amal (hope), tawfiq (God-given success) and hidayah (God-given
guidance). The thrust of the propaganda was to convince
the people to accept their lot and hope for a better future.²⁹

During the mid-seventies, he pursued three tier
policies in the Islamic sphere.
(a) To gain the support of Egypt's Islamic leadership,
centered in the al-Azhar University and large Govt.
supported mosques.
(b) Some concessions to al-Ikhwan to neutralize the
fundamentalist opposition and to utilize it against the
Nasserites;
(c) To suppress the militant fundamentalist groups whose
activities threatened the regime.³⁰

'Camp David Accord' between Egypt and Israel in
March 1979 was not acceptable to other Arab countries
because they did not want Israel be recognized by the Arab
countries without solving the problem of Palestinian
autonomy. Al-Sadat's agreement cast doubts to the leaders
of Arab countries and they ousted Egypt from the Arab
community, suspended financial assistance to Egypt and
transferred the Arab League headquarters from Cairo to
Tunis. The Prime Minister of Egypt, Mohammad Ibrâhîm
Kâmil, who had been present at Camp David, resigned in
protest. Al-Sadât must have known the attachment of Islâm
with Arabism and Jerusalem.

In the 1976 elections, al Ikhwan joined other political
groups to elect the pro-government majority in the Peoples,
Assembly, which placed al-Ikhwan in an awkward position
during the riots of Jan. 1977. In these riots nightclubs, bars
and prostitution centers were destroyed by Islamist
elements.³¹ In 1977 al-Ikhwan criticized the Egypt Israel
peace Treaty, the Infitah and al-Sadât's pro-Western
outlook particularly regarding women. The former also
accused al-Sadât of favouring Christian minority in the
Muslim-Coptic riots. Islamic revolution of 1979 in Iran gave encouragement to al-Ikhwan in pursuing its goal of establishing an Islamic order in Egypt.

Little by little Islamic organizations began to show opposition to the Westernizing currents that swept the country after 1977. Now the Muslim groups formed the considerable opposition. They were not against the modernizing policies of al-Sadat but expressing their rejection of Westernization, the consequences of *al-Infitah* and peace with Israel, and increasing of corruption. They were showing disaffection with the consequences of 'Camp David Accord', which provided Israel a full opportunity to blow up the nuclear reactor in Iraq, the series of bombing raids over Lebanon, oppression of Palestinians and increased settlements on the West Bank. These groups viewed such actions as a punishment of making relations with the Western countries. They were of the strong opinion that only and only the return of Islam, religious traditions, and religious and moral values could restore Egypt's glory.

Some of these religious groups were content to perform religious duties. But some of them opted militant approach to overthrow government, seize power and establish Islamic form of government in the country. The militant groups believed that those who did not join them should not be treated as Muslims but should be killed.

During the late 1970s al-Ikhwan and al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah criticized al-Sadat government. It was the tragedy with the Egypt that its rulers always, before and after the 1952 revolution, treated Islamists as their opponents. They used their full strength to minimise their impact. God has provided Egypt with the wealth of knowledge; cultural, intellectual and military capability;
self-confidence, leadership and so many things. But unfortunately this wealth is being ruined in mutual struggle. So it is obvious that the Islamist and Islamic minded people would rebel against the cruel rulers.

Militant underground groups such as Shabāb Mohammad (Mohammad’s Youth) al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah (al-Jamā’at al-Muslimīn) and al-Jihād wanted to overthrow al-Sadāt regime and to implement Islāmic government therein. They began their guerilla war against government officials, minorities and other Muslims, whom they treated as infidels.

In 1977, al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah unveiled the un-Islāmic policies of al-Sadāt and his subordinates. They abducted and then killed Dr. Hussayn al-Dahabi, Religious and Endowments Minister. Through the mass media al-Sadāt openly launched campaign against the activities of Islamist militants. He disgraced learned men and religious books. In this way it was unveiled that al-Sadāt had that conception of Islām, of which the Western philosophers are preachers i.e. limited prayer and total segregation from daily life and politics.

In February 1979, he called for the separation of the religion and politics, a position seen as un-Islāmic by Muslim organizations calling for an Islāmic state and the implementation of Islāmic law. He banned Islāmist student groups in the universities and extended state control to private mosques. In April 1980, he made amendment in the constitution declaring that, Islām is the religion of the state and Shariah the main source of legislation. Actually he failed to implement Islāmic laws and his pro-western policies, which brought him death penalty.
Many Egyptians did not regard al-Sadat as their father and resented being called, his children, due to his economic and foreign policies. Al-Ikhwan and other Islamist groups gained control in the student unions in the universities, bureaucracy and to some extent in the army. During the Muslim-Christian communal riots in September 1981, he arrested 1500^36 people including Islamists, lawyers, doctors, journalists, university professors, political opponents, ex-ministers and religious scholars and warned that he would arrest 5000 more unless the dissidents did not behave well. He also took direct control of the mosques. The situation worsened due to the foreign policy of al-Sadat because he had failed to solve Palestinian issue and U.S. president Ronald Reagon could not help him in this situation. Finally on 6th October 1981,^37 he was killed by his own soldiers passing in front of the reviewing stand at a military parade celebrating the anniversary of the victory of 1973 war. The group was led by Khalid al-Islāmbūli of al-Jihād group. Al-Sadat was a Nobel Prize winner with Israel's P. M. Menachem Begin (1913-92) for 'Camp David Accord'.^38

Moderate policy of Anwar al-Sadat provided a chance to Islamic organizations to pursue their goals. Al-Sadat showed a much greater tolerance to Islamist groups in the beginning, which resulted in increasing power of these groups. Although he encouraged governmental and religious cooperation to moderates, he also attacked militants. He was against the critical revolution in Iran and was willing to provide political asylum to Shah of Iran deposed in 1980.^39

The slāmist militant organizations had deep roots during the period of Anwar al-Sadat. Before 1970's al-Ikhwan al-Muslimūn was a dominant organization. During
the 1970s a large number of groups emerged in Egypt, shared a common spirit with al-Ikhwān, but the latter no longer offered them a political forum. During the period of al-Sadāt, al-Ikhwān played a moderate role in Egypt. In April 1974, a year after the death of its leader al-Hudaibi, it published a declaration calling upon its members to support al-Sadāt’s *al-Infitah* policy and to side with the state to fight the isolationists. On the other hand, the militant groups, who showed their allegiance to al-Ikhwān, were thinking totally different from al-Ikhwān in terms of methods of working. In most of the programmes e.g., the creation of an Islāmic state and the enforcement of Islāmic law, they were similar to the programmes of Hasan al-Bannā. Egyptian fundamentalism is more traditional than militant and it does not differ from the basic fundamentalist ideology of the past decades. Most of the groups opposed the policies and programmes of al-Sadāt in particular the negotiations and peace treaty with Israel, close ties with United Sates and the sympathy with the Shah of Irān.

The fundamentalist groups were purely local, organized around private mosques. They performed a variety of welfare activities, which include establishment of co-operative food stores, sewing rooms for the poor women and many other aiding programmes for the students. The operating centers of these organizations were university campuses, encouraged by al-Sadāt regime to counter the influence of the leftists among students. In a short span of time, they became independent and reflected the Islāmic resurgence. The largest group Al-Jamā‘ah al-Islāmiyyah won student union elections almost in every Egyptian university in 1977-78. It follows the track of al-Ikhwān al-Muslinun. It provides students with textbooks,
tutorials, Islamic clothing to women and other social services.

**Militant Groups**

Besides al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah, al-Ilkhwān and other social service organizations, three main militant organizations emerged on the scene. Political life was shaken by these organizations during al-Sadāt era. The first is Munazzamāh al-Tahrīr al-Islāmi (Islamic Liberation Organization) known in the Arab mass media as Jamā’at al-Fanniyya al-Askariyya (the Technical Military Academy Group). It is also known as Shabāb Mohammad (Mohammad’s Youth)\(^\text{41}\). Although there have been other fundamentalist organizations under this name. The second is Jamā’at al-Muslimūn (The Society of Muslims) known in the Arab mass media as al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah (Repentance and Holy Flight).\(^\text{42}\) The Third militant organization is al-Jihād (the Holy Struggle), which is also know as, ‘New Jihād’ or ‘Islāmic Jihād’. All these three organizations were formed after 1967 war.

Several years after Sayyid Qutb’s death, a number of underground neo-activist Islamic groups arose within Egypt. Sayyid Qutb’s influence before 1970’s on al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn was also seen on the new militant organizations during 1970’s. He was a role model of these organizations. Three things are worth mentioning here in this respect. Firstly, as a theoretician, he played a key role in regenerating and redirecting Islāmic ideology. Secondly, as a member of al-Ikhwān, he provided organizational continuity between the organization and its offshoots. Thirdly as an activist, his death provided the younger militants with a model of martyrdom to emulate.

It was Sayyid Qutb, who played a pivotal role in the re-emergence of al-Ikhwān as a force in the early stage of 1960’s. The 1966 suppression of al-Ikhwān by al-Nasser
changed the ideology and action of fundamentalism. The ideological influence of Sayyid Qutb in prison shaped the Islāmist movement of the 1970’s. It was his writings in and outside the prison, which influenced the young militants.

He followed the path of Ibn Hazm, Ibn Taymiyyah and his disciples. He was also influenced by the ideas and philosophy of Hasan al-Bannā and Maulāna Abul Ala Mawdūdī. Sayyid Qutb derived the idea of al-hakîmmiyah from the larger notion of ulūhiyyah meaning divine power or sovereignty, and from rububiyyah and rabbaniyyah—meaning divinity or Lordship. In this way Qutb was trying to revive the fundamentalist theology of Ibn al-Qayym al-Jawziyyah and Ibn Taymiyyah. Qutb’s main aim was to wake up the Muslims for the establishment of al-hakimiyyah (God’s authority on earth). To achieve this goal it would be necessary to form a group of dedicated Muslims (Mujahideen) prepared to wage jihād against the sinful society. Both Qutb and Mawdūdī’s writings favoured the legitimacy (walayah) of those who joined the hijrah (Holy flight). He emphasized that the Muslims should follow the Prophet’s (S.A.W.) path of hijrah by separating themselves from the sinful society and establishes a strong group of pious Muslims to fight against the jāhili (ignorant) society for the establishment of God’s authority on earth. Now I feel it necessary to furnish a detailed report of these organizations—their ideology membership and their activities.

Munazzamāh al-Tahrīr al-Islāmi
(Islāmic Liberation Organization)

It is also known as Shabāb Mohammad (Mohammad’s Youth). In the Arab mass media, it is called Jamā’at Fanniyya al-Askariyya (the Technical Military Academy).
It was founded by al-Nabhāni after 1967, which died in 1973. The organization followed the fundamentalist ideals of al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb. It advocated strict obligation of five pillars of Islam. The organization regarded Egyptian ruling order as being corrupt and humbled by the West, Israel and the Soviet Union. They regarded government as their main enemy and centered their attack on it. It believed that *al-adl asas al-hukm* (Justice is the foundation of rule). Rulers should be faithful, pious, rational and obeying *Shariah*. It is the duty of the Shūra (elected body) to make the rulers answerable and accountable before the people. In case the latter fail in delivering the goods rightly, the ‘Shura’ should remove them. They adopted modern techniques to achieve their goals.

Basically al-Hizb al-Tahrīr (Islamic Liberation Party) was founded in Saudi Arabia and Jordan in 1953 by diaspora Palestinians led by Shaykh Taqiuddīn al-Nabhāni Filastynī (the Palestinian). A graduate from Al-Azhar University Cairo, al-Nabhāni was a schoolteacher and a local Islāmic judge before he was forced to leave Palestine to make way for the new country of Israel. He settled in Jordan in 1953, and there set up the movement. He wrote many books and leaflets during his lifetime, which form the core belief of al-Tahrīr after 1967, he founded Munazzamāh al-Tahrīr al-Islāmi in Egypt. He died in 1973.

After his death, Dr. Salih Abdullah Siriyya took the leadership responsibility on his shoulders. Dr. Salih Abdullah Siriyya was born in 1933 in Haifa in Palestine, but got the citizenship of Iraq. In his mid-thirties he became the member of Muslim Brotherhood branch in Jordan known as Islāmic Liberation Party (Hizb al-Tahrīr al-Islāmi). So Islāmic Liberation Oreganization (I.L.O.) is said to be an offshoot of al-Ikhwān. After the Arab
defeat of 1967, he joined various Palestinian groups and got involved with the revolutionary Libyan and Iraqi regimes and was jailed for a short period. He had come to Egypt via Jordan and Iraq in 1971 and worked for the Arab League. Then he formed underground cells (usār) in Cairo and Alexandria.48

Dr. Salih Siriyya was a modern educated man with Ph.D in Science. He was fearless and pious Muslim having great religious knowledge. His followers and friends loved him. He was the head of twelve-member executive council, which was making all discussions through consensus (ijma). After the expression of views, discussion was followed by and final decision was to be taken by the leader. His power of persuasion was often decisive in steering the views of the majority in one direction. But he was commanding his followers with love and affection. Only at one occasion he was not able to do so because he was not in favour of challenging al-Sadāt regime during latter’s period of popularity following the October 1973 war. But rest of the members was in favour of taking over the power from the regime by force. He stated a number of reasons in favour of his views that the regime was gaining popularity after 1973 war, the time was not ripe, the organization was not so strong to overpower the regime and in case of success, the organization had not prepared the plan of action for running the state administration. He forecasted only 30% chances of success. But unfortunately only one member was favouring his views at that very occasion and the rest were seeing otherwise. And they argued, even if success was not assured, their action would be an ‘outrage for God’ (ghadhbah lil-Allah) propaganda by deed.49 Their justification in favour of the immediate action was the saying of the Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.),
"Any of you who sees a repugnance (munkar) ought to remove it with hands; if unable, then by his tongue; and unable, then by his heart, and that is the least, a pious can do." The political justification provided by his followers was that al-Sadât regime was learning towards the West and Israel, both enemies of Islam and Muslims. At last the majority view prevailed and the leader had to bow before the Shūra. They divided the plan of attack into two stages. In the first stage the Technical Military Academy in Cairo would be attacked and arms and ammunition would be seized. In the second stage the group would move towards the headquarters of the Arab Socialist Union, where President al-Sadât and other Egyptian leaders would be assembled.

They prepared themselves for the showdown, took the training of the use of various arms, infiltration of the army and the police, daily routines of the president and other top leaders, map construction and map reading of all key points in the capital and communiqués to be aired on radio and television. A number of rehearsals were done. Technical Military Academy was successfully attacked on 18 April 1974 but the second show was foiled by the govt. troops.

Over the failure of their plan, there were two opinions of the members, one group accepted that their failure was due to tactical reasons and they would do it again. They claimed that one member of the attacking group informed the security forces about the intended plan to overthrow the regime. They also claimed that they were successful to implement the first part of the plan because at the initial stage the informant was not taken seriously. But when they moved to the Arab Socialist Union building, where Anwar al-Sadât was present, to attack the president and his
ministers, the security forces had acted on the information, ambushed the attackers and foiled the attempt.

Other members of I.L.O. considered themselves responsible for the repercussions because they had not listened to their leader and dragged him out into the action, which claimed the life of their top leaders and other members.

Whatever the cause may be, the Egyptian security forces arrested many members of I.L.O. Dr. Salih Siriyya was executed on 9th Nov. 1976 along with Karem al-Anadoli. Tallal al-Ansaris death sentence was changed into life imprisonment. Ninety two members of the organization were tried twenty-nine were found guilty, 8 were sentenced to life imprisonment, seven to 15 years, 8 to 10 years and six to 4 years.53

I.L.O. recruited young worshipers from mosques, students from universities and colleges mostly belonging to Cairo, Alexandria and the Delta. It relied on friendship and worship. The senior members of the organization found so many young people in the colleges and neighbourhood mosques. The young religious persons especially observing dawn prayer approached to attend religious discussions after regular prayers. They were recruited in the organization after their calibre was discovered in the discussions. During the recruitment, the social and educational background was kept in mind. No information is available regarding the recruitment of female members.

The ideology of I.L.O. was dominantly influenced by the writings of Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Abul ala Mawdūdi and Ali Shariati.54 There are five main aspects of this ideology:

(1) Islām is the only proper and right path to be followed by man in every field of life. There is no God but
Allah. Like other militant organizations, I.L.O. also would not tolerate Judaism and Christianity (the people of the book).

(2) Both the individual and the society should possess righteousness. And the Shariah should rule the society.

(3) Islamic societies e.g. Egypt, Jordan etc. are weak before the external enemies such as Christian West, Jewish Zionism and atheistic Communism, because they do not follow and implement the Shariah. I.L.O. condemn the political system of Egypt as its leaders are 'God-fearless.' One of the surviving leaders of the attack on Technical Military Academy stated: “We believe that the Egyptians are basically the most religious of all Islamic peoples. They were so before Islam, from the time of the pharaohs. They have continued to be very religious. Egypt would therefore be a good base to start the world Muslim resurgence. All that the religious Egyptians need is a sincere Muslim leadership”. This conviction had a decisive impact on shaping the strategy of the I.L.O.

(4) ‘Ulama are not sincere and God-fearing. They are delivering the sermons like propagandists of the Govt. In this way they are corrupting Islam. They described ‘ulama as babaghawat al-manāber (pulpit parrots), whom pity rather anger should be felt.

(5) I.L.O. engaged itself in jihad for the re-Islamisation of the society. One, who shows dedication to this cause, will achieve martyrdom, the reward for which is paradise.

Consequently I.L.O. rejected Western thinking and non-Islamic institutions and advocated the re-organization of the society on the basis of Shariah. I.L.O. also
advocated transformation from Godless and corrupt state and victimized society by the political system with the result they attacked Technical Military Academy in 1974 to seize the power and establish Islāmic political systems, but failed in the second stage.\textsuperscript{56}

**Jamā’at al-Muslimīn**

The second Islāmic revolutionary militant organization, active during the period of Anwar al-Sadāt, was Jamā’at al-Muslimīn. It was called by the Arab mass media and the government as al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah (Repentence and Holy Flight). Shukri Mustafā founded it in the early 1970s who defected from al-Ikhwān on the basis of tactics but was very much influenced by their ideology.

The ideas of this organization became perfect in Egyptian jails, where state-sponsored oppression continued on these prisoners and there was no hope of its end. No one was raising voice for justice in favour of these prisoners. It seemed that the people have forgotten them and the angel of death was also delaying. In these hopeless and helpless dark circumstances, they defected from al-Ikhwān on the basis of tactics although they had faith in their ideology. They had no faith in unconscious society, so they treated others as infidels excluding themselves. When their ideas spread outside jails, their supporters stopped offering prayers (*Salah*) behind the financed *Imāms*. They treated it ill to take up service in infidel-army, ex-communicated from the society, married among themselves and gradually went to big cities and far-flung areas to live a separate religious life.

It is an interesting thing that Egyptian secret services used the youths of this organization to crush other Islāmist organizations. According to the viewpoint of this
organization, all other Islāmists were apostates and deserving death because they were demanding the implementation of Islāmic jurisprudence, which was already reputed by this organization. In this way Egyptian government was able to kill the Islāmic leaders and youths with the help of this organization.

They threatened their members with death, who wanted to leave the group or refused to become its members.57 such defectors became easy prey for agents of Egyptian secret services. That is why this organization could not long last.

They called Jamal 'Abd al-Nasser (1918-1970) and Anwar al-Sadāt (1918-1981) as modern pharaohs because they introduced non-Islāmic political, judicial and socio-economic institutions.

The organization utilized a 'dedicated cadre' of followers- that is the group demanded full time activism and total obedience, thus creating a situation wherein members were heavily dependent upon it. Deviation from duty or group doctrine could lead to expulsion, physical punishment and even assassination. It was the Jamā’at’s punishment of deviant members in 1976-77 that alerted the Egyptian authorities to its activities.

In 1977, when the group was at its peak, it had two to three thousand active members and sympathizers throughout Egypt. The group ran business operations including bakeries, bookshops, candy-making and vegetable production. It had financial assets worth £E 50,000 throughout the country.58 There are some evidences of having sympathizers in other Arab countries. Following the arrest of its members in July 1977, a threat to bomb Egyptian Embassy in Kuwait was reported.59
Jamā'at Muslimīn discussed about several places to start its new community of believers. Outside Egypt, they included Yemen, Libya, and the Sūdān. Inside the country they debated several sites but two of them were actually used – al-Minya governorate in Upper Egypt and a desert strip between Maadi, Ma‘āsarah and Hulwān, South of Cairo. But the group never stayed permanently to either side.60

The working strategy was a patient and long run one. Besides political regime, they treated other social institutions also corrupt. Not only the rulers were Godless and sinful but also other members of the society as well. They wanted to establish a society of ‘Community of Believers’, who would act out the true life of Islām. This was the first step of Jamā'at al-Muslimīn. The second step was, growth in number and spiritual and material strength of this ‘Community of Believers.’ At a certain stage, this ‘Community’ would march onward to bring down the already corrupt and sinful social order of Egypt.

They justified this strategy by providing the example of the period of Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) and his followers. Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.), when harassed by the ‘Pagan Makkans’, migrated to Madīnah along with handful followers (Mu‘minīn) and established there the first community of true Muslims on 13th of September 622 A.D. The flight (hijrah) from Makkah to Madinah is the first day of the first year of the Islāmic calendar.61 As the community gained strength, it engaged the infidels of Makkah in a series of battles (ghazwāt) and finally conquered Makkah itself in 8 A.H. corresponding to 630 A.D. 62

The group suffered serious arrests in May 1975, Agugust and November 1976, and in January 1977.
Members of this organization claimed that it was the suppression and the detention without trial of several group members by the government, which provoked the members to act violently against the regime in July 1977. Whereas others claimed that violent acts of the group themselves clarify their designs regarding the regime and Islamic militant organizations.

Regarding the July 1977 action by the group, they demanded the release of their members but the government ignored their pleas. In retaliation they kidnapped the former minister of waqf (Religions Endowments) Shaykh Mohammad Hussain Dhahabi, a noted scholar and strong opponent of religious extremism, on 3rd July 1977 and kept him as a hostage. On 4th July, at about 11 o'clock, the telephone bell rang in certain people's rooms, a young man was repeatedly calling on the other end of the line:

"We are the group that the atheists call al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah. We have kidnapped Dr. Hussain al-Dhahabi, who published an article against us on 30th May in the blasphemous newspaper al-Akbār."

Anwar al-Sadat president of Egypt was not at home. He was in Morocco. Prime Minister and the former police officer, Mamduh Salem ordered the security forces to search for the kidnapped Shaykh and his kidnappers. On the other hand, the kidnappers demanded a huge cash of £E 200,000, the release of sixty prisoners of the organization and an aircraft in exchange for al-Dhahabi’s release. Prime Minister failed to show positive response and a manhunt against the kidnappers was launched, but the security forces failed to trace the kidnappers and the kidnapped Shaykh. When the demand of the kidnappers was not met with, they killed al-Dhahabi on 6th July 1977. The group carried out a number of bombings over the next few days.
Egyptian forces also came in action and there was a heavy exchange of fire between the two sides resulting in the death and injury to many members and 400 members of the Jamā’at were arrested including their leader Shukri Mustafā. 198 of them were tried in courts and only 36 were found guilty. Shukri Mustafā along with Maher Abakri Zanati, Ahmad Tariq Abd al-Alim, Anwar Mamun Saqr and Mustafā A. Ghāzi were hanged to death on 29th March, 1978. Twelve of them were sentenced life imprisonment, six got ten years imprisonment with hard labour and thirteen were sentenced five to 25 years imprisonment. At the time of his death, Mustafā was 37. The loss of Mustafā was a heavy blow to Jamā’at al-Muslimīn because most of the members left the group either joined other Islāmic organizations or left the Islāmic movement altogether. In this way the group collapsed after the death of its leader, Mustafā, but some of them joined another militant and anti-regime group, al-Jihād, which became very much active after 1977. Some of them emigrated to Yemen, for the establishment of another Islāmic society. A dedicated group under the leadership of Mohammad Amīn ‘Abd al-Fattah established a new Islāmic society outside Egypt. A nine member advisory council was formed in Egypt to implement the guidelines of this organization headed by external leadership. Its membership reached 150 in Egypt and a somewhat large number outside the country. It is also reported that the group aligns its policy with that of the Islāmic Liberation Party.

Al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah, the name which was given by the government and mass-media to the group suggests its tactics. Takfīr means ‘to excommunicate the infidels from the society’ while hijrah means flight, they accused nominal Muslim society as ‘the Society of unbelief’ (takfīr)
and urged true Muslims 'to emigrate' (*hijrah*) from the paganism of modern society. They declared that true Muslims must emigrate to Muslim-controlled political communities. They regarded people, who do not live according to the Qur'an, as unbelievers and themselves as the real and true Muslims. This group separated themselves from Egyptian society, because they treat it as un-Islamic society. They did so giving the logic that Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) also migrated from Makkah to Madīnah to abandon the immoral society in order to establish a faithful society. They cramped their flats in Cairo and started living in caves in Upper Egypt. During the transformation, some members of the organization left the group and joined other Islamist organizations. Mustafa ordered his members to punish the dissidents by death as he regarded quitting his organization as quitting Islām. In 1976 the group lead raids and used violence against such people and confrontation started with the regime. the police also lead raids on the group and arrested many of them but Mustafā escaped.

The group was very active in universities of Cairo, Alexandria, ‘Ain Shams and al-Mansūrah. Some members of the organization, who were at the same time students of the Faculty of Commerce at the University of Cairo, participated in the religious programmes of the television. Some of the members permanently lived in the mosques of Cairo, Guizeh, Ābidīn and in the al-Qulāli quarter. The group was also active in al-Minya, Asyūt and Giza villages of Upper Egypt. They had their training camps there and lived there along with their wives, who were simple, dressed.

Killing of al-Dhahabi was the first political assassination in Egyptian history for the last thirty years.
Important al-Azhar personalities denounced the militants of Jamā’at al-Muslimīn for the act. The leader of the Mohamadiyyah fraternity stated that members of al-Jamā’at were suffering from psychological complexe’.73

The president of Shabāb Mohammad said, “The principles of al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah are against the teachings of Islām.” The president of the Association for the Upholding of the Qurān stated, “Islām does not recognize these terrorist barbarians who threaten the safety of society,” The then Mufti of Egypt, Shaykh Hassanain Makhfūl, said that this group was like ‘criminals with no scruples, spreading corruption (fasād) through the land.’ Mohammad Sallam Makdūr, the then head of the Shariah section of the Cairo Faculty of law, saw them as ignisniuous men. Ahmad Shalabi, the then Director of the History of Islām Section at the Dār al-‘Ulūm Institute, declared that such an event was unique in the history of Islām.74

Egyptian people also enquired about the incident because they did not know what was the controversy between the Shaykh and al-Jamā’at. They even knew that he had not done anything wrong with Islām. Although he had written that “this group aspired to live the religious life at the most sublime level and free from all aspects of immorality”. These words are taken from a book written by Shaykh al-Dhahabi, while he was Minister of Property in Mortmain in 1976.75 He had also written in a research paper, ‘The effects of the restriction of the communities on social stability’ presented to the Muslim Fiqh Congress at the Mohammad Ibn Sa‘ūd University at Riyādhi: ‘Muslim societies are now experiencing a rebirth of hope; the return of Muslims to Divine law, the return of blind who miraculously regain their sight, the return of the dead resurrected by Divine Grace’.76 This was the clear cut
support in favour of the transformation of Egypt constitutionally and socially into an Islamic society.

Some intellectuals openly opposed the official point of view. Among them was Sayyid al-Tawīl, Professor at the Faculty of Islamic Studies. He wrote regarding the name of the organization:

‘May our revered mullah be careful in making judgments against this group in the name of Islam. They must consider the members objectively in the light of Islam. These young people did not give themselves the name al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah. The name was given to them in the security publications. The name that they chose for themselves is, ‘The call to Islam Group’.

Shukri Mustafā grants himself the title ‘Amīr of Believers’, ‘Amīr of End of time and their to land’ in his booklet al-Tawassumat (Searching books). His followers secretly circulated the booklet, which was in the form of a manuscript to avoid the blasphemy of printing.

Shukri says in this booklet (Manuscript):

“But it is not possible to establish this state without treading the path traced out by the Prophet of Islam because neither state nor Islam can be established before this emigration. Death of the atheists and the destruction of their state cannot be achieved while the faithful are still living among them. Furthermore, the Prophet (S.A.W.) requires Muslims to leave the blasphemous land; it is then that the retribution of God will fall upon the infidels.”

He divided the jihad into three phases:

“First, the faithful must escape the pitfall of the Shirk of ascribing another divinity to God. He must avoid being tortured by the infidels. He must spread ‘the knowledge’ throughout the land. Finally, the Holy war must be fought to establish the Islamic state.”
According to this group the war would start from Egypt and would spread to the every part of the world, till the establishment of rule of God in the whole world. Their ideology states:

"God be praised. He will prepare the land for the group of the just by provoking a war between the two great powers, Russia and America. Each one is trying to extend its domination all over the world. The war is inevitable; they will destroy each other. God will thus have prepared the land for the Islamic state and the society that follows the right path. Following the destruction of the two great powers in the third world war, the forces of the Muslim nations will be about equal in number to those of its their enemies. It is then the true jihad will start."80

This ideology given by Shukri does not seem new as it was already told by founder of al-Ikhwan, Hasan al-Bannā to his followers sixty years ago. He addressed his followers with these words:

"Muslim Brothers, when the time comes that among you are three hundred companies, spiritually strengthened by the faith and by the doctrine, and physically exercised, you will ask me to invade Heaven and Earth with you and to conquer the most violent of the infidels and I will do it by the will of God.81 [or again] You will be a formidable enemy of those in power and of those not in power."82

Shukri Mustafā, disciple of Hasan al-Bannā, represents the ideas of his guide in the purest form. Al-Ikhwān endorsed that Islām is a religion, a state, a country and a nationality. It is not only the religion of God but also His state in the world.

Shukri Mustafā, leader of Jamāʼat al-Muslimīn, was influenced by the writings of the Khawarijites, Ibn Taymiyyah, Mohammad Ibn, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Jamāl al-dīn al-Afghāni, Hasan al-Bannā, Sayyid Qutb, Abul Ala
Mawdūdi and Ali Shariati. This group had not endorsed the works of some Modern Egyptian writers like Mohammad Abduh, ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Rāziq, Rifa‘ah Al-Tahtawi and Tahā Hussain. The particular reason for that seems to be the association of them with secularist trends that opted for separation of religion and state. ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Rāziq wrote a book *al-Islām wa usūl al-Hukm* (Islām and foundations of Governance), in which he gave a statement regarding the concept of a secular state. In 1977, Shukri Mustafā gave a statement regarding the ideology of his organization, before a military tribunal. The main principles of the ideology are as under:

1. All existing societies are pagan.
2. The only true Islām is the Islām of the Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.), his companions and the *salf* (the first three generations of Muslims).
3. Interpretation of the Qur’ān – *qiyaṣ, ijma* and *ijtiḥād* - are rejected.
4. Membership in the Jamā’at al-Muslimīn is the right path to be a good Muslim.
5. Not everyone who claims to be a Muslim is one. Only those who accept and live by the tenets of al-Jamā’at al-Muslimīn are good Muslims. Others are infidels.

The group made no distinction between state and society. Both were Godless and corrupt and interrelated. They stated that there is no difference between contemporary Egypt and *jāhiliyyah* (ignorant) period of pre-Islāmic Arabia. Following the example set forth by the Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) in his flight from Makkah to Madinah and the conquest of Arabia. To achieve such type of goal, the group established a community of believers, which would form a base, where from the re-Islāmicfication

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of Egyptian society could take place. Mission of the group *al-Khilâfah* (establishment of Islamic rule) categorized into three stages, beginning with communications (*balâgh*), followed by organization, emergence (*tabaw*), and migration; and culminating in Holy war and its strategy. Shukri Mustafâ claimed that there was no salvation for the Muslims unless they joined his group in order to separate themselves from the *jâhiliyyah* society.

Al-Jamâ’at drew this type of ideological inspiration from the thinking of ‘Ali ‘Abduh Ismail, a graduate of al-Azhar University,* who sought to pattern al-Jamâ’at’s beliefs and activities according to the Prophet Mohammad’s (S.A.W.) tactics adopted during the early Makkah period, when the community was weak and the circumstances were not favourable, the Prophet (S.A.W.) stressed and worked for the strengthening and expanding of his *‘Ummah* through spiritual and physical separation from the *jâhiliyyah* society. During this period, he had refrained from *jihâd*. Muslims are advised by Shaykh Ismail to practise spiritual separation (*mufasilah al-Shiriyyah*) to strengthen their allegiance (*wala*) to Islam through al-Jamâ’at organization, and advised the group not to wage *jihâd*, as it had not achieved strength then. They should not make efforts for the seizure of power, which was also impossible then.

The group denounced usury, extravagance, excessive wealth and property, called for state collection of the *zakat* and regulation of the economy in the interest of justice and welfare. They accepted private property, inheritance, profit and social distinctions, provided they resulted solely from the expenditure of labour.*

Shukri Mustafa leader of Jamâ’at al-Muslimîn was born in Asyût province in Upper Egypt. He was a student of Faculty of Agriculture in Asyût University, where he joined
al-Ikhwān and was arrested by al-Nasser regime in 1965 on
the charges of distributing the pamphlet of al-Ikhwān. He
was first kept in Tura prison and then shifted to Abū Zabal
concentration camp in 1967. When al-Sadāt came in power
in 1970, he released many Islāmists and political prisoners
from various jails. Shukri Mustafa was also released from
jail in 1971. Jamāʿat al-Muslimīn had already recruited
members, while Mustafā was still in prison. After his
release, he went straight to Asyūt University and completed
his B.Sc. Agriculture, preached throughout Asyūt and
recruited members for Jamāʿat al-Muslimīn and moved to
Cairo. He was very much influenced by Sayyid Qutb’s book
‘Maʿālim fi al-Tariq (The Milestones), in which the author
declared the Egyptian society unfaithful to Allah and
Mohammad’s (S.A.W) Teachings. So Jamāʿat al-Muslimīn
separated itself from the Egyptian society and began to
live in caves in Upper Egypt.

He was condemned in the 1972 hearing and arrest
warrant was issued against him, but was not apprehended
because he several times left the country and took shelter
in Yemen.

He declared all Muslim societies as un-Islāmic
societies and only the ‘Society of Muslims’ (Jamāʿat al-
Muslimīn) is true Muslims. He declared that whole Islāmic
jurisprudence is rejectable because it is not the word of
God but work of men. He also refuted the collection and
compilation of the Hadīth. He was in favour of the
destruction of the classical literature and books written on
women. Shukri stated that:

“We do not accept the words ascribed to the
Prophet’s (S.A.W) contemporaries, or the
opinions of those verses in Islāmic law, the
fuqahā. We do not accept the opinion of the
early jurists, or their consensus (ijma), or the
other idols (asnām) like analogy (qiyās). How can words of mere humans be a source of divine guidance?"  

They wanted to put the power of the omnipotent modern state into the hands of the best possible Muslims. They challenged the authority of the Govt. and demanded the establishment of nonsecular Islāmic state. This direct confrontation with the government makes them dangerous in the eyes of the authorities.

Mustafā exercised final judgment on all matters as the Amīr of Jamā'at al-Muslimīn (commander of the Faithful). His followers were obedient to him and respected him. He elicited sometimes awe (fear) while commanding his followers. They considered him and the group had been ordained by God to restore Islām. He encouraged discussion and dialogue; the final word was always that of the Amīr. He made final judgment on individual (e.g., marriage and divorce), inter-group and international issues. His followers regarded him as an authority on matters of doctrinal theology, Islāmic jurisprudence, worship and Islāmic social transaction. He was an omnipotent figure in the group. His followers would not believe that the Govt. could hang him to death. His followers refused to believe the news of his hanging, because they believed that he would not die before completing his mission i.e. the restoration of Islām.

Jamā'at al-Muslimīn relied on kinship and friendship. Shukri Mustafā began recruiting his close friends and relatives like his brother and a nephew, from prison days. These in turn enlisted their close friends and relatives as members to the group. Mustafa operated from Asyūt, his hometown in Upper Egypt and later moved to Cairo. So he first recruited the members in the organization from Asyūt
and then members from major cities like Cairo, who had recently arrived to these cities.

Jamā'at also recruited female members in their organization. Some eighty women were arrested along with several hundred male members during crackdown on the group. Analysis showed that the women arrested were mostly relatives or wives of male members.

The members belonged to middle and lower middle class background. On the average they were well educated, particularly in technical and scientific fields having good qualities like deep conviction, sense of mission and eagerness of martyrdom.³³ Jamā'at provided a good environment to its enterprises. Membership was made dependent on the group in each and every aspect of life. Defectors would face serious action including excommunication and physical punishment.³⁴ Excommunicated or defected members were considered as infidels (kufār) because existed no pure society outside the group, they were even sentenced death penalty.

Some Common features

Some similarities have been viewed in I.L.O. and in al-Jamā'at although the tactics were different. The similarities can be given separately in different fields as under:

(1) Leadership:

Both the leaders, Dr. Sirriyya and Shukri Mustafā had been members of al-Ikhwān. Both had prison experience, a disposition towards secret organizing and were hanged to death by Anwar al-Sadāt regime for anti-state activities. The followers of these two
leaders tremendously respected their leaders and considered them true Muslims (*Mu'minīn*).

Dr. Siriyya commanded his followers with love whereas Mustafā used *awe* at certain occasions, while commanding his followers. But in both the cases, none of the members of the two groups had anything negative to say about their fallen leaders. Both were perceived as virtuous, courageous, fearless of death, and even eager for martyrdom (*Istishahād*).

(2) Recruitment: -

(a) Age: - It ranged from seventeen to twenty-six at the time of recruitment in the organization. The medium age for Jamā'at al-Muslimīn was twenty-four and that for I.L.O. were twenty-two years. Mustafā, leader of al-Jamā'at was sixteen years older than the average age of his followers, where as Dr. Sirriya, leader of I.L.O. was fourteen years older than that of the average age of his followers. In both the cases, the followers were younger than their leaders.

(b) Geographical background

Two third of members of both the organizations were born either in villages or in towns. They had recently come to big cities at the time of joining these organizations. After completing secondary education, they had come to big cities e.g., Cario, Alexandria or Asyūt for further studies. Fifty percent lived in these cities without parents; fifteen percent with their government employed fathers and thirty five percent born in urban centers had lived in smaller communities during their teen age.
(c) Social background

With regard to occupation, there was no difference between the members of the two organizations. About sixty-two percent were the children of government employees, mostly in middle grades of the civil service; 11.5 percent were, those whose fathers held high level professional occupations and same percentage were, those whose fathers were small merchants; nine percent were small farmers having six to eleven acres of land; and same percentage was from the working class. With regard to the education, fifty-six percent fathers had intermediate education, twenty percent had university education, fifteen percent had below intermediate education and nine percent were illiterate. Sixty-two percent occupational and fifty-six percent educational attainment of the parents show that affiliation of most of the members of these militant Islāmic groups in middle and lower middle class.®

(d) Educational and occupational background of the members

Eighty-five percent of the members were graduates or undergraduates. Occupationally, forty-seven percent were government employees or self-employed and the rest were students.® Student members of the two militant Islāmic groups were decidedly high in both motivation and achievement.

(3) Discipline

Both the organizations demanded discipline and total commitment from their members. Orders of the leadership, either semi-democratic in the case of I.L.O. or autocratic in
the case of al-Jamā’at, were to be carried out with joy and zeal in the unshakeable belief that they were serving the cause of Islām. The Jamā’at engaged its members in group related activities — worshipping, studying, proselytizing, exercising etc. It also engaged them in its enterprises—bakeries, bookshops, candy-making and vegetable gardening. These types of engagements made them quite dependent on the group to satisfy their spiritual, social and economic needs. Sometimes the members were ordered to resign from their jobs in the society.

Both I.L.O. and al-Jamā’at were mentally prepared for the maximum sacrifice of worldly possession as well as life itself. According to them, adherence to Islām provides a complete and righteous vision for a healthy society on earth and provides for a healthy hereafter. That is why the physical and mental torture made by the enemies of Islām was bearable to them.

Another factor, which bond a member with the organization, was the threat of being excommunicated from the group. Al-Jamā’at many times even did physical punishment to the expelled members.97

The most important controlling factor is the socialization of the members of these two organizations. Every member was provided the opportunity to engage in a serious transformation of his own behaviour, attitudes and relationships along with the adherence to the ideas and principles of the group. Both the organizations aim at fundamental and simultaneous development of the individual as well as the society on the Islāmic path. Besides these bindings and restrictions, the members feel great joy by living in this environment for the cause of the motherland in general and for the Islām in particular. Since then they have heard the stories of torture on al-Ikhwān
members in 1966 and desired for the same. But now they are dreaming that the saints, prophets and martyrs to the ‘Garden of Eden’, while tortured severely in jails, welcome them. They were ready to bear every kind of cruelty for the establishment of Islāmic society in Egypt.98

(4) Ideological Similarities

Both I.L.O. and al-Jamā’at were of the opinion that the man was created for a great purpose. So he should lead a pious and righteous life and follow the right path (al-Sirat al-Mustaqim). The guidelines, for leading the way of life, are given in detail in the Qur’ān and in the Sunnah. It is the duty of every righteous Muslim to strictly follow the five pillars of Islām. He cannot live individually but he must build a righteous community of the faithful. In this way it is a duty of every Muslim to struggle for this purpose.

The ideology of these two organizations was based on this last component. They believe that this was their religious duty to establish a truly Muslim social order on the earth. This belief strikes their minds to work in the form of an organization, which will raise the collective voice against the ruling class. Such an Islāmic Ideology challenged the rulers; either conforms to the percepts and edicts of Islām or face the confrontation.

Both the organizations feel that internal a political system of the country was corrupt and silly, which could be proved with a lot of evidences. Externally defeated by the enemies of Islām: the Christian West, Jewish Zionism and atheist Communism, due to the concessions made by the regime to these external forces on the basis of so-called modernization, peace and friendship. With the result these forces made intrigues to attack Dār al-Islām and the rulers
could not repel due to the deviation from the right path. Instead of implementing Islamic legal code, they adopt Western imported man-made legal codes, which could no way solve our problems e.g., moral decay, poverty, diseases, illiteracy and the spread of vices (Radhīla). The final solution to such issues exists in Islām; consequently Islamic Shariah should be implemented in Egypt and other Muslim countries, to get rid of these problems.

Both the groups had same viewpoint regarding the status of women in the Shariah. They admit that women have equal rights and obligations in the society. Men have neglected women’s rights due to the corrupt and irreligious social system of the states. They can receive highest level of education for the socialization of true Muslim children, but home is their rightful place. After fulfilling the primary obligations and in the interest of the community (maslāhāt al-‘Ummah), they could work outside the home. Both groups insisted on the imperative of modesty, the protection of women from temptation (al-fitna, al-ghiwaya), and separation of sexes in public places. They believe that the application of Hudūd (Islāmic legal codes) with regard to sexual offences is both necessary and sufficient to ensure these ends. They perceive the family as being the basic unit of Muslim society. Its soundness derives from strict observance of Shariah values and regulation. Authority and protection flow from the male head of a household down to females and the young - respect and obedience; complementary, protection, and respect - not around equality competition and self-reliance.

On economic issues, say that if the faithful follow religious edicts i.e, pay zakāt, pay fair wages to labourers, work honestly and give charity and alms to the needy, their would be no economic inequality. Rich would not become
richer and poor would not become poorer day by day, if the Muslims keep themselves away from cheating, extravagance (tabdhīr), hoarding (iktināz) receiving usury (ribā). There should be no monopoly of public utilities such as al-ma' wal-nār, w'al-kalā (water, fire and grazing land). Private property, profit and inheritance are allowed. Egypt is facing economic problems due to the handiwork of corrupt officers, the introduction and application of imported policies, low productivity and mismanagement of resources. The two groups were not holding over population, scarcity of cultivable land and other natural resources, the burdens of defence and the war efforts, responsible for Egypt's economic difficulties. Citing the examples of Sa'ūdi Arabia and Bangladesh, the two groups believe that true Muslim rulers should not allow some Muslims to enjoy too much wealth and others are starving.

On the issue of various classes in the society, both the groups believe that no one is superior to another on the basis of race, colour, creed or sex. It is man's labour, which makes him superior or inferior. The Holy Qur'ān says: "We (God) have put some of you in classes above others". The concepts of social justice (adāla) and equity (al-qistās) are central in the envisioned Muslim society. It is the responsibility of the ruler, commander of the faithful (amīr-al-mu'mīnīn) the caliph to see to it that justice and equity are observed. Such principles were strictly implemented by the Prophet Mohammad (SAW) and the rightly guided caliphs.

Both the groups are of the opinion that instead of parliament, Muslim countries should use the term 'Shūra' and it should be lead by the commander of the faithful. He should be adult, rational, pious, and male and should consult the faithful (Mu'mīnīn) in the state affairs and
decisions should be given according to the *Shariah*. It clears that there is no room for kings and queens as the rulers of the Muslim states and man-made legal code. *Shūra* have the authority to check on the rulers because they are accountable and answerable before the people. The *Shūra* could remove them, if they fail to deliver the duties rightly. They should be obeyed until they are obedient to God and to the community.

The two groups strongly reject the tradition that unjust (*Zālim*) rulers should be treated for the sake of the Muslim Community (*‘Ummah*). They believe that it is the duty of every Muslim to remove the injustice (*al-Zulm*) and misguidance (*dhalālah*) including that committed by a rule.

About *‘Ulama*, they regarded that they were mere state employees, who have become bureaucrats and are not dedicated Muslims, they are just *habbaghāwat al-manāber*.

Members of both the groups have no differences with al-Ikhwān. They consider themselves as offshoots of al-Ikhwān, which was banned before 1952 by King Farooq and by al-Nasser after it. They treat Hasan al-Bannā as their guide and torchbearer of the right path.

Now the question arises that why they part away from al-Ikhwān? The answer is that al-Ikhwān has adopted a moderate policy after its suppression before and after the revolution of 1952. The youngsters are not ready to struggle silently and peacefully. So they chose the second way, that is the use of power against the cruelty and suppression, and announce *jihād* against the corrupt rulers. They form separate militant organizations e.g. al-Jamā’at al-Muslimīn, I.L.O., al-Jihād, al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah, Jund Allah, Vanguards of conquest etc., to achieve the ends.
AL-Jihād

After the assassination of Anwar al-Sadāt on 6th October 1981, confusion was created in the minds of the people about the assassins. Later on it was cleared that an organization (Tanzīm) namely al-Jihād was responsible for the act. Now the question arises what is al-Jihād?

The two groups, Jamā'at al-Muslimīn responsible for the kidnapping and killing of al-Dhahabi in 1977 and I.L.O, which attacked Technical Military Academy in 1974, were suppressed, tried and imprisoned by al-Sadāt regime in 1974 and 1977 respectively. Some of the key leaders of these two groups either left the Islamic movement forever or joined other militant Islāmist organizations.

The survivors of I.L.O. grew up around local leaders of Asyūt, al-Minya and Fayyūm in Upper Egypt as well as in Cairo and Giza. New members from other fields e.g. presidential guard, military intelligence, civil servants, radio and television workers, university students and professors. All were united in their belief that the establishment of an Islāmic society requires the restoration of the Caliphate. All Muslim rulers are regarded as apostates: “The rulers of this age are in apostasy from Islām. They were raised at the tables of imperialism, be it crusaderism or communism and Zionism.” So Jihād was considered necessary and justified against the ‘atheist’ ruler or state.

Al-Jihād drew its members from al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn and I.L.O. of Dr. Salih Siriyya. In retaliation to 1974 attack on Technical Military Academy, the regime suppressed and arrested the leaders and members of I.L.O., two members Hasan al-Halawi and Salīm al-Rahhāl (born in Palestine), managed to escape. Both of them established militant Islāmist organization known as al-Jihād in
Alexandria, which is also known as New Jihad or Islamic Jihad. But during 1970s, and 1980s it was popular by the name of al-Jihād. The Egyptian authorities discovered this organization in August 1977 and suppressed it with might by arresting its eighty members including al-Halawi.\textsuperscript{101} According to R. Hrair Dekhmejian; "Al-Jihād organization was first uncovered in 1978 as a consequence of its involvement in anti-Coptic activities. However, its full potential was not revealed, until the assassination of president al-Sadāt".\textsuperscript{102}

There were bloody confrontations between al-Jihād militants and Egyptian security forces in Alexandria in 1978.\textsuperscript{103} Eighty members of the organization were detained and then released in 1979. 134 people were arrested on the charges that they had links with al-Jihād but due to lack of evidence all of them were released. After the suppression of top brass of al-Jihād, one of its former members, Mohammad ‘Abd al-Salām al-Faraj reorganized the group under the same name. He wrote a pamphlet entitled \textit{al-Farīda al-Ghai’bah} (The Neglected Imperative), which was treated as its constitution. He had been considered its chief ideologue. He was impressed by Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328).\textsuperscript{104} Al-Faraj argues that the situation Ibn Taymiyyah describes is similar to the Egyptian situation, as Egyptian laws are based on codes of Western inspiration. He regards such government un-Islāmic and stressed that it is the duty of every Muslim to wage Holy War against the government in order to establish Islāmic order therein. He is considered responsible for masterminding the assassination plan of Anwar al-Sadāt in 1981.

Al-Faraj joined the leadership of al-Jihād through ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr and Karem al-Zuhdi. ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr, a colonel in Egyptian military intelligence was in-charge of
military training and planning of the organization. Kareem al-Zuhdi was incharge of organization and recruitment in Upper Egypt.

*Majlis al-Shūra* was established in 1980 with sub-committees who would co-ordinate and supervise military training, fundraising and recruitment. Shaykh ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān, a 43 year old blind religious preacher and professor of religion at al-Azhar’s Asyūt branch, was appointed Chairman of the *Majlis al-Shūra*. He issued verdicts (*fatāwa*) to legitimize the policies and activities of the organization.

Attacks on specific targets were carried out after the justification and sanction of the *Majlis-al-Shūra*. There were three separate organs of the organization, whose activities were guided and supervised by the *Shūra*. The first organ was given the task of conducting propaganda, recruitment research and enforcement of religious laws. The second was given the responsibility of providing operational support in technology, engineering, arms procurement, intelligence, printing of propaganda materials, falsification of seals and documents, transportation and explosives. The third organ was provided with training in martial arts, marksmanship, medical support and weaponry, to prepare them for any type of action. Table-I shows clearly the general structure of al-Jihād organization.
Table - I
General Structure of al-Jihād organization

Leadership Apparatus
Mailis al-Shura
(Consultative Apparatus)

Supervisory Apparatus

Combat Organ
Operational Support Organ
Propaganda, Enforcement and Research organ

Weapons Training Section
Medical Section
Marksmanship and Leadership Section
Physical Training Section

Teachers
Technical Section
Intelligence Section

Chemical Section
Engineering Section
Propaganda Section
Intelligence Section

Weaponary Section
Technical Section
The main characteristic of the organization was that its members were divided into a number of groups (majmū\'ah) and cells (anqūd) scattered throughout the country. Each cell was semi-autonomous and self-contained. The benefit to the organization was that if a member or one cell was captured, it was difficult for the security forces to discover the group.\(^{107}\)

Mohammad ‘Abd-al-Salam al-Faraj, chief ideologue and lieutenant colonel Abbūd ‘Abd al-Latīf Hasan al-Zumūr—who was the operational commander, were in the group who assassinated president Anwar al-Sadāt. Shaykh ‘Abd al-Rahmān issued fatwā that al-Sadāt was Kāfir (infidel) and the Shura collectively decided to kill al-Sadāt.\(^{108}\) Al-Faraj and al-Zumūr presented several scenarios in the Shūra but they were not considered, provided the reasons of cent percent chances that al-Sadāt would escape death. When lieutenant Islāmbuli was appointed by his supervisors to participate in the October parade, the anqūd produced the plan. He was influenced by the book Saba Rasail written by Juhayman al-Utaybi, which was given to him by his brother Mohammad al-Islāmbūli, who had witnessed al-Ikhwān takeover of the Grand Mosque in Makkah. He also read books of Ibn Kathīr and Ibn Taymiyyah.\(^{109}\)

Lt. Islāmbūli gave three reasons in support of his action, when being interrogated during the trial.

(a) Egypt’s existing laws were inconsistent with Islāmic Law- a fact that brought sufferings to the Muslims;

(b) Al-Sadāt’s peace with Israel; and

(c) the arrest, persecution and humiliation of Muslim fundamentalists in September 1981.
The leader of Asyūt province claimed before the public prosecutor, after the assassination of Anwar al-Sadāt, that the organization was established in January 1980. Amīr (leader) of al-Minya stated that the first meeting of the organization was held in March 1980, which was attended by the leaders of Upper Egypt and Greater Cairo, student demonstrations were on at that time against the government’s decision to provide asylum to Shah of Iran Faraj presented a plan in the Majlis al-Shūra prepared by ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr, to attack the vital installations and homes of public officials in Cairo. Amīr of Sohāj stated before the public prosecutor that issue of overthrowing the regime was brought forward in meeting in March 1981. Public prosecutor charged 12 members of the Shūra of plotting to overthrow the government and 290 were accused of ransacking jewellery stores in Naga Hamādi (in south) and in Shubra al-Khayma (in north) of Cairo and bomb explosion in Rod al-Faraj Church in the Summer of 1981. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān was blamed for issuing a fatwā to legitimize the ransacking from Egyptian copts in 1981.

To achieve the objective, to assassinate Anwar al-Sadāt, al-Jihād used traditional means such as personal contacts with military officers, kinship ties, contacts in ahāli mosques and planting of secret apparatus of the organization in the military service. However, Abū Ghazālah, the Minister of Defence, denied the existence of secret apparatus belonging to the organization in the military service. He acknowledged the reports that an unspecified member of army personal were either retired or transferred to civilian posts.

During the interrogation, colonel ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr, the high-ranking military officer in al-Jihād, revealed that
help of other Islamic groups was not taken to plot the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat. However some al-Jihad members participate in the summer camps and the meeting held by university-affiliated groups. He also stated that al-Jihad was not fully ready for the overthrow of the regime but we were forced to do so because the security forces discovered the activities of some members.

Al-Jihad suffered heavy suppression by al-Sadat regime in September 1981. Consequently, in retaliation al-Sadat was assassinated on 6th October 1981 by Khalid Islambuli of al-Jihad, while reviewing the annual parade in observation of the ‘Egyptian victory’ in the October war of 1973 over Israel. Khalid al-Islambuli, a military officer of Egyptian military, was selected to participate only eleven days before the annual military parade on 6th October 1981.

In the aftermath of the assassination, hundreds of al-Jihad members were arrested including its key leader ‘Abd al-Salam al-Faraj. Al-Faraj and five others were executed. After three years 190 were tried and released including its chairman ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahman. Seventeen others including Kareem Zuhdi and ‘Abbud al-Zumur were sentenced to life imprisonment.

After the suppression in 1981, the organization was reconstructed and its membership reached 200 and had acquired 12 guns and explosive materials and bombs. But after only one year, in September 1982, the group was again suppressed and most of its leaders were imprisoned.

The members in the field remain in touch with the jailed leaders and were able to receive three letters from ‘Abbud al-Zumur in which he guided the group regarding the operations. They also attempted to contact Iranian government through ‘Abbud al-Zumur’s younger brother.
Mohammad ‘Abd al-Salām al-Zumūr. The group consulted Shyakh Hāfiz Salāmah, a militant religious figure, to sought fatāwa to legitimise its underground activities. He was a former member of al-Ikhwān. He is currently leader of the Islāmic Jamā‘at and chairman of Suez’s Islāmic Guidance Society. He claimed that he was not in favour of militant activities while al-Jihād claimed that at certain occasions he was against while advocated certain.

Mohammad al-Faraj was the chief ideologue of al-Jihād. He expressed his ideas regarding the Islāmic state and struggle, in his pamphlet al-Faridha al-Ghai‘bah (The Neglected Duty). The pamphlet describes ‘the establishment of the Islāmic state and the restoration of the khilāfah as the duty of every Muslim.’ This pamphlet has been reprinted in many places and circulated throughout the world among Muslim communities. The pamphlet bears no publication data. It is generally prefaced by a quotation from Sayyid Qutb.

Al-Faraj was influenced by the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyyah, al-Banna, and Mawdūdi, and followed Qutb in pushing them to their logical conclusion. He maintained in his pamphlet, the Neglected Duty, i.e. jihād is the sixth pillar of Islām, which had been often forgotten by the ‘Ulamā and majority of Muslims. His message to the Muslims was to wage the jihād against the corrupt and who have deviated from Islām, state authorities and its ruler Anwar al-Sadāt. He maintained that:

"Jihād...for God’s cause, inspite of its extreme importance for the future of religion, has been neglected by the ‘Ulamā...of this age. They have feigned ignorance of it, but they know that it is the only way to the return and the establishment of the glory of Islām anew...There is no doubt
that the idols of this world can only disappear through the power of the sword."  

It is now clear that al-Jihād’s goal is the resurgence of Islāmic state, Islāmic laws and destruction of Western style. It believed the seizure of power would be the first step to pave the way for other steps. According to al-Faraj: “We have to establish ‘the Rule of God’s Religion’ in our own country first and to make the word of God supreme.... There is no doubt that the first battlefield for jihād is the extermination of these infidel leaders and to replace them by compete Islāmic order. From here we should start”. 

Al-Faraj’s, ‘The Neglected Duty’ can be summarized in eleven propositions:

1. The duty of every Muslim is to strive for the Islāmic Ummah. This is a duty ordained by Allah and his Shari‘ah. Since the laws of the Muslim countries are the laws of unbelievers (Kuffār), the true Muslims must declare Holy War against their leaders who are trained in the West by Christians, Communists and Zionists.

2. Muslim leaders or groups who reject the laws of Islām must be considered apostates (murtadd) despite their claims that they are Muslims. In other words, ‘Muslimness’ has to be constantly validated since a sinful individual shall lose his status as a Muslim if he persists in his sinfulness. Apostasy is the highest level of sinfulness.

3. Cooperation with an infidel ruler who claims to be a Muslim is sin. The punishment for such a leader is death even if he is unable to defend himself. The Muslims should refrain from government work and military service.
(4) Perpetual *jihād* against an infidel state is the highest obligation (pillar) and only solution for all true Muslims who desire to destroy *jāhili* society and revive Islām.

(5) Armed struggle is the only acceptable form of *jihād*.

(6) *Jihād* pursued by peaceful means through rhetoric, Islāmic parties, or emigration (*hijrah*) is considered cowardice and stupidity. Islām can succeed only through the force of arms as it did in the past, when a small group of earnest believers (*saffjadd*) were able to spread the message through conquest. Thus true Muslims should engage in *jihād* even if they are few in number.

(7) First fight the internal infidel (the Egyptian state) then the external infidel (the non-Islamic world).

(8) *Every Muslim without great effort or education can study jihād.* Thus the lack of knowledge is no excuse to abstain from *jihād*.

(9) Leadership in Islām must be granted to the strongest among the believers, who also has more fear (*taqwā*) of Allah, He must be chosen collectively, and once chosen must be obeyed. An arrogant and haughty scholar should not be a leader.

(10) Abstaining from *jihād* is the main reason for the sorry situation of the Muslims today — humiliated, degraded, disdained and divided.

(11) Allah has designated five periods in Islāmic history:

(a) the ‘*Ummah* under the Prophet,

(b) the ‘*Ummah* under the Caliphs,

(c) the ‘*Ummah* under the kingdoms,

(d) the ‘*Ummah* under the dictatorships,

(e) the Islām of our time when dictatorship and tyranny will be Overthrown, and the ‘*Ummah* shall became
controlled by a system similar to the Prophet’s community, and peace will reign. 126

Al-Faraj claimed that the rulers are not ruling the country according to the laws and injections of Islam. It will continue until the rule of God (al-hakimiyya) is established on earth. A Muslim must observe all the five fundamental religious obligations: al-Shahâdah (that there is no God but Allah and Prophet Mohammad (SAW) is His messenger); five time prayers; fasting during the Holy month of Ramadhan; the offering of alms (zakât); and pilgrimage to the Holy places of Makkah. According to al-Faraj, jihâd (The forgotten obligation) is the sixth obligation and it is the duty of every true Muslim to wage jihâd against the corrupt and un-Islamic society and its rulers. Islam legitimizes “letting the blood of apostates” and “the elimination of a despot for the establishment of an Islamic government.” 127 Al-Faraj, treated rulers (al-Sadât and his colleagues) as unbelievers and compared them with Mongol rulers, who were condemned by Ibn Taymiyyah as unbelievers. Islamist militants view that establishment of Khilâfah is the only solution. They believe that the characteristics of modern societies are similar to those, which came under the domination of the Mongol rulers in medieval times. Firstly the rulers on their subjects i.e. on true Muslims do not adopt ‘Divine laws’. Secondly, they are not secure. Thirdly, they must not live among unbelievers because it is the source of danger for them. In this way al-Faraj accepted the judgment of Ibn Taymiyyah as valid that such type of societies neither belong to Dâr al-Harb (abode of war) nor to Dâr al-Islâm (abode of peace).

Al-Faraj condemned al-Azhar ‘Ulâmâ ignoring jihâd despite well aware about its need. He also criticized
moderate militants and al-Ikhwān for their maintenance that the people were not ready for a certain and violent revolution by which the government is overthrown. Al-Faraj, believed that Egypt (atheist state) would become strong if Muslims shed blood for it. True Muslims should also fight against their foreign enemy i.e. the West.

Muslims should not join the government, nor should serve the state in the police and the military services because doing so is equal to strengthen the arm of an infidel state and ruler. Such persons should be dealt severely. Militants were in favour of taking booty from the non-Muslims. The consequences of this doctrine were that the militants attacked security forces, killed hundreds of them only in Asyūt and robbed some jewellery stores belonged to Christians in different parts of the country.

Al-Faraj in contrast to Shukri Mustafā, demanded his followers to stand up and fight not flight, the situation is different from that of Makkan society in the early period of Prophet Mohammad (SAW).

Official response of Grand Mufti, the highest religious authority in the land, to al-Farīdha al-Gha‘ibah was that al-Faraj had misinterpreted Ibn Taymiyyah by selecting some verses of the Qur‘ān; whichs favour his suppression of the opposites. He admitted that there was no dis-similarity between al-Jihād militants and Khawarijites, the latter raised the slogan of ‘La hukm illa li-Allah (there in no rule bul that of God) in struggle between Hardrat Ali (R.A.) and Mu‘āwiyah (R.A.) for the caliphate. Al-Jihād group raised the slogan of al-hakimiyyah and upheld their beliefs, while rejecting all outsiders as unbelievers.\textsuperscript{128}

The then Grand Mufti opined that, “Withholding allegiance to the ruler would set the ‘Muslim community’ back to the pre-Islamic
condition of *al-jāhiliyyah* (the state of ignorance).

Muttawali Sha’rawi, the popular Islamic thinker, stressed the virtues of tolerance and patience. According to him:

“The basic concern of the Muslims is the unity of the community of believers under a rightfully guided *Imām*. If the latter does not exist as under present conditions, Muslims must endure their rulers with patience.”

Commenting on *al-Farīdha al-Ghā’ibah*, Grand Mufti stated that *jihād* is not limited to warfare. It could be exercised in multiple forms including the higher order of personal striving (*jihād al-Nafs*). He argued that learning was a higher order than fighting. In an interview on 6th December 1981, Grand Mufti said that Islām is a liberal religion, which also teaches the way of protecting non-Muslims. The Qu’rān says, ‘*La Ikrah fi al-dīn* (let there be no compulsion in religion). It teaches humanitarian values, compassion, forgiveness and social tolerance. Religious authorities supported, al-Sadāt’s peace initiative and the ‘Camp David Accord’ but vehemently denounced by militants.

Al-jihād maintained that the rulers are servants of Imperialism and have given up Islām, which lead them towards infidelity. So it is the need of the hour and duty of every Muslim to struggle against these evil rulers, to restore the glory of Islām and establish rule of the Almighty Allah on His land. Al-Faraj is of the opinion that *jihād* is the duty of every Muslim. He argues that it is the duty of every Muslim to struggle for the sake of God. Islamic state once established will be indestructible because it is God’s will. Islamic laws are sufficient and universal. There is the solution of each and every problem beginning with ablution to govern. It is worth subjugating
the corrupt people who go against the will of God. Islām teaches equality and justice, so it will be welcomed by everyone (Muslims and non-Muslims).  

The main objective of al-jihād was to establish Islāmic rule in the country and practise Islām in every field of life political as well as social. The people who would oppose their ideas were treated as unbelievers and enemies of Islām, who should be severely punished. According to them enemies of Islām—Jews and Christians (Ahl al-kitāb), atheists, secularists and Muslims, who accommodate them and religious establishment of the West.

Al-jihād wanted the change from the top to the bottom i.e., infidel rulers should be changed and true Muslims appointed Khulafa. So that they could implement the Shariah and rule according to it, which would definitely bring an Islāmic revolution as happened in Iran in 1979.

The organization had assets valued £E 17,000 including a machine, which produced cassettes, tapes, recording speeches of Iranian militants as communication and information. Fifty percent of these assets came from the sale of stolen jewellery of Christians. Members of the organization, which were living in Sa‘ūdi Arabia, send donations to the organization totaling £E 20,000. A major part of this amount had been spent on the purchase of arms and ammunition. The cost of one rifle was £E 1100 in the underground market. Scarcity and dearness of arms and ammunition forced the militants to attack the police stations and get the arms. Twenty rifles had been snatched from the assaulted security forces personal in Asyūt.

Leading members of al-jihād recruited new members in the organization. In Cairo and Giza, five leading members recruited potential members who were attending regularly local mosques. No particular regional
responsibility or division of labour, recruitment could be carried out anywhere by any responsible member. ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr stated that the activities of al-Jihād did not spread outside the locality but it had such plans to bring popular Islāmic revolution.  

According to al-Faraj, support of military officers was sought for the use of firearms and getting the hold of arms and ammunition. However, ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr revealed that they joined al-Jihād through kinsmen and friends in the service or contacts at local mosques. The military officers, who played a vital role in the assassination of al-Sadāt joined the organization just a few days before 6th October 1981. Al-Faraj enlisted the support of a reserve army officer from his hometown and Islāmbūli included in the team, his friend and kinsman, ‘Abd al-Hamīd ‘Abd al-Salām’ a retired commissioned officer, who ran a bookstore. Hussain ‘Abbās, a non-commissioned army officer also joined the team through al-Faraj. Military training was imparted to the members of al-Jihād by Abbas’s sister’s husband, who was apprehended by the security forces while carrying a suitcase full of explosives on 25th September 1981. When Islāmbūli thought about the plot, there were no connections among the four and they met Islāmbūli first time shortly before the plot.

Kinship and friendship was the important factor of recruitment. ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr and Tariq al-Zumūr were cousins and the former married latter’s sister.  

Impact of Al-Jihād  

Centers of learning the Qur’ān and other social activity centers attracted the rural migrants to join al-Jihād. Activities of Usār (fraternities) were established by al-Jihād on university campuses for the purpose of
mutual aid and support, which resulted in that the Islamists also did it in their own localities. According to the Mayor of Delinjat, militants of al-Jihād distributed clothes and meat among the poor and the needy in the hometown of al-Faraj, which gave them more popularity.\textsuperscript{141}

_Aḥāli_ mosques of al-Jihād and other groups brought the militants together. Observers assess that the establishment of private mosques and independent Imāms and preachers nourished the Islamic resurgence. According to one report, the number of _ahāli_ mosques in 1970 was 20,000 and by 1981 the number had more than doubled.\textsuperscript{142} Out of 46,000 mosques in Egypt in 1981, only 6,000 were under the control of the ministry of Religious Endowments (al-Awqāf) and were maintained by 3,000 officially approved Imāms.\textsuperscript{143} Independent authority of Imāms were responsible for the fame of _ahāli_ mosques and militants contacted freely Imāms of those mosques for instance Mahlwi in Alexandria\textsuperscript{144} and Hafiz Salāmah in Suez.\textsuperscript{145}

The _ahāli_ mosques played an important sole for establishing contacts with the new people such as al-Faraj met IslāmbHuli after the former concluded his regular sermon at the local mosques in Bolāq al-Dakrūr,\textsuperscript{146} before six month of al-Sadāt’s assassination. Afterwards they approached each other’s kinsman and friends. Sermons of al-Jihād leaders in various _ahāli_ mosques influenced several people to join the group, for instance the person who lead the attack on Jewellery stores in Naga Hamadi confessed that he was influenced by the sermons of the groups leader in Asyūt.\textsuperscript{147}

Noticing the Islamic resurgence and mass involvement of people with al-Jihād, Ministry of al-Awqāf took some popular mosques under its own control in September 1981 in Greater Cairo including ‘Umar Ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz in Bolāq
Dakrūr al-Anwar in ‘Ain Shams, al-Tawhīd in al-Harām and Masjid al-Gharabi in Nahia. In the same month security forces conducted searches, crackdowns and watched secretly the activities of al-Jihād. The then Minister of the Interior, Nabawi Ismail, made a statement after the assassination of president al-Sadāt that: “Although the backbone of the extremists was broken, some elements remained at large.” 1,536 people were detained by the government in September 1981.

Out of 302 official list of al-Jihād, 27 i.e nine percent were on the September list, of whom twenty come from Fayyūm, al-Minya, Asyūt, Sohāj and Qina. The public prosecutor accused them as principal organizers of the plot to overthrow the government, which was confirmed by the governor of Asyūt. He claimed that the attack on the security forces was led by the Amīrs of al-Jihād, who were in the wanted list since 5th September 1981. He further stated that although the orders for their arrest were issued in the first week of September, but no one was arrested which might have provided them the information regarding the plot to assassinate Anwar al-Sadāt on 6th October and clashes with the security forces in Asyūt.

The security forces detained Khālid Islāmbūlī’s brother in September 1981. According to an eyewitness, Khālid broke down upon hearing about his brother’s detention and swore to avenge the misfortune, which befell the family.

Majority of the militant groups affiliated with al-Jihād operated in Upper Egyptian region, as compared to Lower Egypt as shown in Table – II. The reason was that due to scarcity of resources, especially limited agricultural land, persistence in the extended family system and negligence of the central government. In recent years
provincial cities developed tremendously as a result of opening of universities and increase in construction with the help of hard cash remitted by the migrant workers in the Persian Gulf.

Table – II : Region-wise distribution of al-Jihād members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Cairo</td>
<td>173</td>
<td>26.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upper Egypt</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>65.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lower Egypt</td>
<td>024</td>
<td>09.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Actually the total was 302 but twenty-two (22) were overseas workers. Central Agency for Statistics and General Mobilization conducted census in 1978, which shows that Asyūt and al-Minya came under the impact of rapid urbanizations and experienced instabilities in the form of sectarian and political violence. 45% of the total urban population lives in Asyūt as compared to 34% in al-Minya i.e 214,000 as compared to 146,000.152

The increase in the enrolment of students at Asyūt University is responsible for the higher urban population rate for Asyūt. 15,000 students were enrolled in 1971-72 in Asyūt University as compared to 28,000 in 1976-77 where as it did not exceed 10,000 at al-Minya University in 1976-77.

Both the provincial capitals Asyūt and al-Minya witnessed communal disturbances and state repression. Religious extremism began in 1975 in al-Minya.153 Militant Islām’s influence was on the educational system and on certain mosques. Out of 2,000 mosques only 500 were under the control of officially approved Imāms. Whenever
there was any confrontation between the militants and the security forces in Asyūt, some of the militants joined their co-religionists. In November 1980, militants of al-Minya joined militants of Asyūt against their counterparts (security forces). Asyūt University was badly interrupted during the violence.¹⁵⁴ Tension was mounting in some parts of Asyūt and al-Minya, when security forces searched houses for the recovery of hidden weapons all through the late 1970’s and in 1980-81, which culminated with bloodiest clashes between the militants and security force in Asyūt, two days after al-Sadāt’s assassination.

Table – III ¹⁵⁵ shows provincial distribution of al-Jihād members. The table shows that Greater Cairo and Giza had the highest number of al-Jihād militants. In the northern belt of Greater Cairo such as Mataria, Zeitūn, Rod al-Faraj and al-Sahel, which “has been the receptacle for most of the twentieth century rural migrants.”¹⁵⁶ A few members were found in al-Wayli and 'Ain Shams of Heliopolis. Misr al-Qadīmah or Sayyidah Zeinab witnessed no significant militant activities.
Table – III

Provincial distribution of al-Jihād members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>%age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater Cairo</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>26.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giza</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>23.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asyūt</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sohāj</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Al-Minya</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qina</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bani Suwyf</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharqiyya</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fayyūm</td>
<td>09</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daqahliyya</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buhayra</td>
<td>04</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
<td>05</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>280</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Highest proportion of al-Jihād members were in Bolaq al-Dakrūr, in Giza, which is near Cairo University and one of the most densely populated areas. A newspaper reported that pressure of rural migrants in Bolaq al-Dakrūr resulted in low standard housing of inhabitants, which is continuously deteriorating. Al-Faraj, the chief ideologue of al-Jihād was one of the migrants, whose followers included 70 persons in Bolaq al-Dakrūr.

Large proportion of militants was also in al-Harām, near the Pyramids. Agricultural land was converted in urban areas into private property by construction of residential houses during the 1970s. Pyramid road was the cradle of vices because of the construction of many nightclubs, which dismayed religious persons. The
inhabitants of the villages of Nahia, Kirdosa and Saft al-Laban, in which some of the most active militants grew including ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr and his large family faced a number of problems to adopt Islāmic life-style and traditional values. President Mubārak issued orders for the demolition of all constructions on the Pyramids’ plateau, including the presidential Villa.\textsuperscript{157}

A number of families were forcibly evacuated from the center of Cairo, where luxury hotels and tourist centers were constructed. The families were settled in ‘Ain Shams and al-Zawiyya al-Hamra, where communal riots took place in June 1981. ‘Ain Shams was near the housing complex, Alf Maskan, in which Khālid al-Islāmbūli’s sister lived and where some of the group leaders met to plot the assassination.\textsuperscript{158}

Provincial capitals al-Minya, Asyūt and Suhāj contributed a large number of militants to the provincial areas. Unemployed or non-agricultural workers came from nearly villages, also joined militant ranks. Largest proportion was of students between the age group of 20-30 yrs. Percentage of farmers in the militants was very low because they treated Islāmic militancy as urban phenomenon.
Table-IV
Occupational and age distribution of al-Jihād members

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Students</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>43.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Workers</td>
<td>041</td>
<td>14.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professionals</td>
<td>035</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployed</td>
<td>030</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopkeepers</td>
<td>016</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Govt. officials</td>
<td>015</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Police and Military</td>
<td>014</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>006</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>280</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age categories</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>% age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>≤ 20</td>
<td>049</td>
<td>17.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-30</td>
<td>196</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31-40</td>
<td>030</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>≥ 40</td>
<td>005</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>280</strong></td>
<td><strong>100.00</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most of the militants come from lower middle classes due to political awareness, high literacy rate and higher mobility patterns. Technical education benefited the unemployed militants.

Colonel ‘Abbūd al-Zumūr and Lt. Khālid al-Islāmbūli belonged to rural elite origin, but were most effective in the execution of the assassination plot. People of rural elite origins provided the chances to the militant leaders to keep the rural areas under control.\textsuperscript{160}

‘Abbūd al-Zumūr (age 35) was the highest ransaking officer in al-Jihād who was Lt. Colonel in the army. His
uncle, a General in the army, died in the October 1973 war. Another uncle was a member of *Majlis al-Shūra*, the Upper Chamber of the Egyptian parliament. His father was the 'Umādā (Chairman of town corporation) of Nāhia, in Giza. Three member of the family were in the rank of Major in the army, a family member was the secretary of the Imbāba district (Giza Governorate) branch of the National Democratic Party. Inter-marriages provided a link with other well-established families such as Ghurāb and Milkāwī in the same district, having long-standing record in Egyptian parliamentary history before and after the July 1952 revolution.

Their property was confiscated in al-Nasser regime in 1966 by the Higher Committee for the ‘Liquidation of Feudalism.’ These decisions were cancelled by Anwar al-Sadāt to win the hearts of the rural elites. ‘Abbūd al-Zumūrs mother was sent on pilgrimage to Makkah at the states expenses. Tariq al-Zumūr was granted £E 5,000 as part of the state’s contribution for building mosques in Nahia.

Three members of al-Zumūr family lost their lives against a rival family who opposed the former’s plan to convert the village mosque to a militant stronghold before the crackdown of al-Sadāt regime on the secular and sectarian opposition. Al-Zumūr’s cousin, member and leader of the Pyramid group of al-Jihād, was forced to leave the village. He was wounded during the sectarian conflict in al-Zawīyya al-Hamra.

Leader of the assassination team, Lt. Colonel Khālid al-Islāmūli, had a good educational background particularly in the profession of Law. He was from Mālawi in al-Minya governorate. His father was a legal consultant for the sugar factory in Naga Hamādī and uncle a retired
judge. The family also enjoyed political and social influence through a close family member, who was chairman of al-Minya district council. \(^{164}\) Khālid Islāmbūli’s aunt’s husband was an army General. \(^{165}\) Khālid’s brother was also a militant, who was student of commerce faculty at Asyūt University, went twice for pilgrimage to Makkah. In 1979, he was arrested by the police station Asyūt for shouting anti-al-Sadāt slogans outside the railway station and re-arrested in September 1981.

Although al-Ikhwān denounced the activities of the militants and denied their links with them, but it is a fact that some of them were its old members who later on disagreed with their moderate behaviour towards al-Sadāt regime, hence formed their own militant groups. Al-Faraj’s father, an employee of the ‘Ministry of Health’ was a dedicated member of al-Ikhwān and had been arrested several times. He lived in Imbāba, a small village in Giza, district before setting in Delinjat (al-Buhayra province). Al-Faraj settled in Bolāq al-Dakrūr, graduated in electrical engineering and was appointed in the administrative staff of Cairo University. He wrote a pamphlet of forty-five pages \textit{al-Farīdah al-Gha’ibah} (The forgotten duty) or the Absent obligation or \textit{jihād} or Holy struggle which is also called the constitution of al-Jihād. \(^{166}\) \textit{Al-Farīdah al-Ghā’ibah} called upon the Muslims to wage armed struggle against the corrupt and un-Islāmic state and its rulers, which was interrupted by the authorities.

Primary engagements of al-Jihād were to recruit new members and make the organization active one. They also made efforts to acquire weapons and explosives. To achieve this goal, they shot and killed an Egyptian guard outside the Cypriot cosulate in Alexandria in July, 1977. \(^{167}\)
After that they engaged at large scale thefts and stealing of arms from police and army weapon stores. They were also active in violent student demonstrations in Asyût in 1980. It was involved in sectarian conflict with Egypt’s Coptic community throughout the country, which started from Upper Egypt. They robbed Christian jewellery stores, attacked Coptic churches, bombed a Coptic wedding and warned the people that Egyptian Copts were armed, to challenge Islam. In June 1981, they took an active part in the sectarian fighting which erupted Zawiya al-Hamra in Cairo.

Four al-Jihād sympathizers assassinated Anwar al-Sadāt on 6th October 1981 as he was reviewing a parade commemorating the 1973 war. Lt. Khālid Islāmbūli, the leader of the assassins, cried out: “I am Khālid Islāmbūli, I have killed pharaoh and I do not fear death.” Though al-Sadāt was regarded a popular and international figure by the West but at home both secularists as well as Islamists referred to him as a ‘Pharaoh’ For many in Egypt, “Khālid therefore appeared as a sort of ‘right arm’ of the popular will, and not merely as a militant exponent of an Islamist group.” Fifty cadres of al-Jihād attacked security forces in Asyût killing fifty-four security forces personnel. In the shoot out sixty-four others were also killed and more than two hundred injured. Security forces arrested 3000 fundamentalists mostly belonging to al-Jihād and al-Takfir wa al- Hijrah, which resulted in many other clashes.

The last group of al-Jihād, which was formed after the assassination of al-Sadāt, considers three plans whereby it would either:

(1) attempt to rescue imprisoned al-Jihād members in conjunction with an airline hijacking at Cairo airport; or
(2) engage in a series of attacks and assassinations of government targets; or
(3) attempt a combination of the two plans whereby the group would also seize arms under cover of a local riot or uprising.\textsuperscript{172}

**State Response**

Egyptian Islamic militant organizations of 1970s such as Jamā'at al-Muslimīn, al-Jihād and Islamic Liberation Organization were the direct descendants of al-Ikhwān. The connections between the newer Islāmīst groups and al-Ikhwān seem meager. There are twenty nine Egyptian Islāmīc societie as shown in Appendix–III including a semi-public organization al-Ikhwān; medium sized groups like al-Jamā'at al-Jihād and I.L.O. and smaller societies such as al Faramawiyyah, Jamā'at al-Ahrām, Jund Allah, Jamā'at al-Munazilah Shuuriyyah, Jund al-Rahmān, Jamā'at al-Muslimīn lil Takfīr, Mukafferatiyyah, Qif wa Tabayyīn, Jamā'at al-Harakiyyah and the Qutbiyyīn. Most of them are militant groups which operate secretly, however none of them possess the size and have fighting potential of Jamā'at al-Muslimīn or al-Jihād. Many more such groups are continuously formed than the twenty-nine presented in the Appendix–III. These societies appear and disappear, suppressed or contained, when unearthed by the regime. According to Egyptian authorities, some ninety-nine Islāmīst groups operate therein while as Kuwait based fundamentalist periodical puts their number at sixty.\textsuperscript{173}

There are two types of Islāmīst groups. The first type are located in the small towns of Upper Egypt and the Delta, who recruit members, educated and semi-educated elements of society, including the sons of provincial bureaucrats, college students, blue collar workers, and
lower middle class peasants. They became politically dangerous, as Shukri Mustafā. The second type operate in large cities like Cairo consist of students, unemployed graduates, blue-collar workers, soldiers, and low ranking officers. These militants were not permanent residents of these cities but came from rural areas for study purposes and to achieve professional aspirations.

Injustice oppression and foreign policy of the state is responsible for the development of these militant groups. They are not allowed to propagate their cause through public meetings, so they take the help of mosques during the Fajr and Isha. They discuss and converse various things in groups on the mosque floor after Khutbāhs (sermons). These societies discuss and assign the various types of activities to the members of self-help groups for the next day. The activities include sending food to needy, a doctor to visit the sick or a lawyer to represent a client in courts. Examples of these self-help societies are: Jamiah al-Shariyyah. Ansār al-Sunnah al-Mohammadiyyah; Jamā’ah al-Hidāyah; al-Wāz wa al-Irshād; al-Amr bi al-Ma‘rūf wa al-Nahī an al-Munkar. Alternately these societies also discuss political matters, plan public demonstrations and violent actions as anqūds (cells) of a larger organization. The regime regarded these activities of self-help groups a rebellion against state, although it is not only unable but also unwilling to perform such type of social services, which are desperately needed by the people.

Religious fervour has been seen among the cadets in military academies such as in Air force Academy where cadets gather in groups to pray in recreational activities such as playing and watching movies. Their officers often ignore such activities, despite certain branches of military discipline, fearing that any disciplinary action against such
cadets might provoke them for disobedience or even in surrection.

Members and sympathizers of Islāmist groups were present in the military as well in the state security e.g., assassins of Anwar al-Sadāt-Islāmbuli and ‘Abbūd Zumūr were army officers. Islāmists recruit among relations including members' serving in the armed force. It is not easy to block Islāmist influence from military latter being a part of society.

Consequences of al-Sadāt's Al-Infitah

*Al-infitah* is regarded as one of the primary reasons for the rising of militancy in the state. A big gap in income had been growing continuously between the rich and the poor. Table-V clearly shows the comparison of income of two main sections of the society. The data was collected from seven different reliable sources. The table shows that the top 5% of Egyptian house holds receive 19.2% of the income in 1964-65, which had increased to 22% by 1979. The income of the poorest increased by 0.5% during the same period. That of the lowest 60% decreased 9% from 28.7% to 19.93% and middle 30% experienced 5% loss in income from 40.2% to 21.52%. The income of top 10% almost doubled their wealth from 31.9% in 1964-65 to 58.55% in 1976. It is now clear with the data available that the gap between the rich and the poor is widening. In other words the rich are becoming richer and the poor poorer, with the passage of time due to the failure of *al-Infitah* economic policy introduced by al-Sadāt.
Islamists are referred as *al-jil al-dai* (lost generation) by the Egyptian authorities and the mass media. ‘Lost Generation’ includes not only the youth but also older and settled occupational categories like workers, shopkeepers, military and police officers, engineers, professors, doctors and even landowners. Al-Jihād members arrested prior to the assassination of Al-Sadāt revealed this. The later neither succeeded in blocking the Islamists nor developed his own ideological formulas to educate and socialize millions of Egyptian youth. The result was that the gap he himself filled by the fundamentalist *da’wah* of al-Ikhwān and its offshoots to counter the Nasserists, became headache for him. Table-VI shows the occupational background of 303 al-jihād members, arrested prior to al-Sadāt’s assassination, represented a cross-section of Egyptian society. Table-VI

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Top 5%</td>
<td>17.5* (rural)</td>
<td>19.2*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>21.0*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>22.0*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Top 10%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>31.9*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>58.55‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle 30%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>40.2*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>21.52‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest 60%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>28.7*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>19.93‡</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest 40%</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>14.1*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>13.9*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lowest 20%</td>
<td>6.6* (rural)</td>
<td>4.6*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.2*</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>5.1*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Neither al-Sadāt nor his associates were able to educate the youth in becoming loyal citizens. His promises proved deeply disappointing. Though he succeeded in regaining the glory of the Nile in 1973 by his peace treaty with Irasel and growing gap between the rich and the poor paved the way for his opposition from the Islāmists. The long detention and execution of militant leaders was one of the reasons, which irritated their followers, and loyalists to show severe stand against him. Moreover, he used the Azharite ‘Ulamā, who propagated and issued verdicts against the Islāmist groups. They propagated against militants through the mosques and media. This counter propaganda against the militants resulted the assassination of al-Sadāt.
The underground militants have relationships with semi-legal Islāmist movements in the form of University based Jamā'at groups and al-Ikhwān. These under ground Islāmic militants are the outcome of urbanization and rural migration into the cities. Political opportunism of al-Sadāt regime resulted in the unavailability of the militants among Marxists and Nasserites. Latter on there were confrontations between the militant groups and the regime due to the intervention of the latter in the former’s business. A minority group forms the left called ITSELF THE Islāmic Left, expressed sympathy for the militant cause. The liberal intellectuals see the militants as outside the social order because they were frightened by the Lebanese civil war and the blood bath of Ayatullah Khomeini in Iran.

Traditional ‘Ulamā wanted the unity of the Muslims because they were anxious about their authority. They should regard the militants as true Muslims. Al-Ikhwān condemned certain actions of the militants in order to demonstrate themselves as moderates to convey the regime about the manner of acting.

It was seen that many members were not well aware about the fundamentals of the organizations ideology but also of the faith they profess. The organizations have neither furnished the policies to be implemented once power is not achieved nor gave the thought about the structure of government and administration. They put these things pending till their message is to be accepted by the majority of the people and new genuine ‘Ummah has been established. In other words, once a genuine Muslim state is formed in which all citizens follow al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm (The straight way), it is necessary to establish structure, laws and regulations.
Assassination of al-Sadāt, on 6th October 1981 by Islāmbūli and his fellow members of al-Jihād, did not lead to a general revolt due to the lack of future plans and strategy of the militants. They seized power in Asyūt for a meager three days and surrendered before the strong state forces, because the former were neither supported by other Islāmic organizations (militants or moderates) nor by the public.

The peace treaty between Egypt, Israel and America did not establish peace in the Middle East but complicated the Palestine problem. It is the main cause of conflict in the Middle East. There will be no peace in the region unless and until the problem is solved. ‘The Camp David Accord’ totally failed and resulted in several new wars such as the Lebanese war. Israel took the full advantage of the peace treaty entered in the South of Lebanon and struck at Beirūt, and later reached out to attack the nuclear power plant in Bagadād. It also proved dangerous for Egypt and the Südān, who were shielded by America, threaten Libya and Chad. In this way can we say that there is no peace either, to be gained from isolating Egypt from the Arabs because it is impossible for a nation to be torn from its identity, and it is also impossible to impose a Western lifestyle in the name of modernity on a society, struggling with poverty and lastly because it is impossible to impose military bases in countries where they are not wanted, so that one occupation is exchanged for another.

In this way we can say that assassination of al-Sadāt was not of the person but of the policies such as dictatorship, ‘Camp David Accord,’ economic policies that proved fruitless and the growing poverty and continued absence of progress.
Educational background of many militants and educational and occupation of their fathers show that they were neither frustrated nor irrational. But the question arises here that why were they motivated for joining militant ranks? There were so many reasons e.g. food riots in January 1977 in Cairo, unemployment, acute housing shortages, the ‘Camp David Accord’ with Israel, secular policies of al-Sadat, his inclination towards the Americans, negligence towards the Palestine issue and support to the Shah of Iran.

Al-Sadat was not a democrat but a dictator throughout his reign and left dictatorial regime in the hands of Husni Mubarak. He commanded complete authority and never recognized any democratic constitution. He created the title of General Socialist Prosecutor and abolished the usual judicial obligations to detain anyone on trivial charges without trial and for several years.
Notes and References


4. Ibid. See also *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of ME/NA*, op. cit., p. 321.

5. Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 140.

6. Ibid.

7. East Pakistan is now called Bangladesh, which was disunited from Pakistan in 1971.

8. Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 140. According to *Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the ME/NA*, op. cit., p. 321, 15,000 military experts were present at that time in Egypt.


12. Ibid., p. 142 see also *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the ME/NA*, op. cit., p.322.

13. On 23 July 1952, the R.C.C., (Revolutinary Command Council of Free Officers) overthrew King Farooq and took over the power in their hands. Since then 23 July had been celebrated as National Day.


15. Ibid.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid.

18. Ibid. p. 143.
19. Ibid., p. 144. See also Dekmejian, op. cit., p. 86, also Armajani, op. cit., p. 408.
22. Ibid.
23. Ibid.
26. Ibid., p. 72.
30. Ibid., p. 86.
31. Ibid., p. 87.
33. Nadvi, op.cit., p. 175.
35. Ibid., p. 96.
37. *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of ME/NA*, op. cit., p. 322, see also Dekmejian, op. cit., p. 89.
41. Dekmejian, op. cit., p. 90.
43. Hasan al-Banna is the founder of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūm of Egypt and Maulāna Abul Ala Mawdūdī is the founder of Jamā’at-i-Islāmi (Indo-Pak) and well known writer of the 20th century of Indo-Pak subcontinent
44. The crisis theologian of 14th century.
45. Dekmejian, op. cit., p. 94.
47. Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, op. cit., p. 435.
48. Ibid., p. 436.
49. Ibid., p. 437.
51 Ibrahim, Saad Eddin, op. cit., p. 442.
52 Ibid.p. 452.
55 Ibid., p. 431.
56 Ibid., pp. 429-35 and 441.
57 Ibid., p. 441. see also al-Ahrām, 7 July, 1977.
60. Ibrahim, op. cit., p. 452.
62. Ibid.
63. Ismael, Tareq, Y., op. cit., p. 118.
68. Ibid.
69. Islamic Liberation Party is a branch of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, Jordan.

70. Sayyid Abul Ala-Mawdūdi (1903-79) of Jamāʿat-i-Islāmi Pākistān and Sayyid Qutb (1906-1966) of al-Ikhwān of Egypt described hijrah as withdrawal from the new jāhiliyyah, which they identified as the policies of secularism, capitalism, socialism, and modernization (westernization of the Muslim nation states).


72. Ismael, Tareq Y., p. 118.

73. Shoukri, Ghali, op. cit., p. 293, see also al-Ahrām, 30 July, 1977.


76. Shoukri, op. cit, p. 298.


79. Shoukri, Ghali, op. cit., p. 296.

80. Ibid.


82. Ibid.

83. Ibrahim, op. cit., p. 435.

84. Al-Ahrām, Cairo, 21 October, 1979; Al-Musawwar, Cairo, No. 3009, 11 June 1982.


86. Ibrahim, op. cit., p. 432.


89. Two books were written by Qāsim Amīn Tahrīr al-Mar’ah (Freedom to Women) and al-Mar’ah al-Jadīdah (The Modern Women.).

90. Abū al-Khayr, op. cit.,
91. Ibrahim, op. cit., p. 437.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., pp. 436-39
94. Ibid., p. 441.
95. Statistical figures provided by Ibrahim in his article *Anatomy*, op. cit., p. 439.
96. Ibid.
97. Ibid., p. 441.
98. Ibid.
104. Ibn Taymiyyah (1263-1328) was a medieval theologian of the Hanbali school who issued a *fatwa* ruling that the Muslim Mongol rulers in Marden (modern Turkey) were not to be considered Muslims because they applied a mixture of *Shariah* and Mongol laws (*the Yasa*), Islamists draw parallels with modern governments that only partially apply the *Shariah*.
106. Dekmejian, op. cit., p. 98.
110. Ansari, op. cit., p. 126.
111. Ibid.
112. Ibid.
113. Ibid.

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117. Ibid., p. 143.

118. *Asharq, al-Ausat*, London: 1st October 1984 cited by Ismael, Tareq Y., op. cit., p. 120.

119. *Al-Musawwar*, Cairo, 24 September 1982, pp. 4-9 cited by Ismael, Tareq Y. op. cit., p. 120.

120. Ibid.

121. *Al-Musawwar*, Cairo, 11 September 1981, pp. 10-11, 65 cited by Ismael, Tareq Y., op. cit., p. 120.

122. *Al-Musawwar*, Cairo, 24 September 1982, pp. 4-9 cited by Ismael, Tareq, Y., op. cit., p. 120.

123. *Al-Farīdah al-Gha‘ibah*, p. 7, cited by Ismael, Tareq Y., op. cit., p. 120.


125. Ibid., p. 193.


133. Ibid.

134. Ibid., p. 122.


136. Ibid., pp. 126-127.

137. Ibid., p. 127.

138. Ibid., pp. 127-128.


140. The Information is based on an interview taken by Ansari with Kamil Zahayri, the former president of the Egyptian Press Syndicate, on 24 November 1981.

142. Al-Jumhūriyya, 8 September 1981 quoted by Ansari in, Islāmic Militants, op. cit., p. 129.


144. Shaykh Hāfīz Salāmah was born in Suez in 1925, where he grew up and continued his jiḥāḍ activities. Due to this type of activities, he was put in various jails of Egypt. He was suppressed by every ruler but he never got upset or depressed, which made him more and more strong. In an interview with Kuwait based weekly international newspaper, al-Mujtama (Urdu Translation publisher in Zindagi Nav, Delhi, March 2000), he revealed that he took part shoulder to shoulder with Palestinians in jiḥāḍ against the British in 1944. He also participated alongwith al-Ikhwān volunteers in 1948 jiḥāḍ against the British military for Palestinians. He also took part in 1956 and 1973 wars against Israel and demonstrated his courage and dedication towards Islām. He criticized peace treaty of Anwar al-Sadāt with Israel and described it the treaty of Istīslām (Surrender). He was accused by the al-Sadāt Govt. of being involved in the Sectarian conflict in al Zawiyya al-Hamra in June, 1981. Sadat called him the made man.

Hafiz Salamah delivered sermons at both ahāli Mosques al-Shiyhada Mosques in Suez and al-Nūr Mosque in Cairo al-Nūr Mosque is regarded as meeting place of militants. He is currently, head of Jamīyyat al-Hidaya al Islāmiyyah (Islāmic Guidance Council Suez).

145. Shaykh Ahmad al-Mahalawi also criticized Anwar al-Sadāt for peace Treaty with Israel, over his sermons at al-Qāid Ibrāhīm Mosque in Alexandria. Ministry of al-Aqwāf dismissed him from the service in July 1981. He was the government Imām of the mosque for nine years. He always referred al-Sadāt as ‘corrupt ruler’ and in turn al-Sadāt publicly called him ‘the filthy Imām,’ which irritated Islāmic militants as well as moderates.

146. Ansari, Islāmic Militants... op. cit., p. 129.

147. Ibid.

148. Ibid.

152. Ansari, Islamic Militants, op. cit., pp. 131, 143.
158. Ibid., p. 133.
159. Ibid.
164. Al-Ahrām, 23 March 1982 quoted in Islāmic Militants, op. cit., p. 135-144.
168. Ansari, Islamic Militants... op. cit., p. 127.
175. Ibid., pp. 104-105.

177. Dekmejian, op. cit., p. 106.
Chapter V
-Islamic Resurgence
-Husni Mubarak Era
HUSNI MUBARAK: HIS SOCIAL AND RELIGIOUS POLICIES

After the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat on 6 October 1981, his deputy, Husni Mubarak, who was also on the reviewing stand but survived, succeeded him. He assumed the office as the new president of Egypt through a smooth constitutional transition, referendum, on 13 October 1981.

Husni Mubarak was appointed as Air Force Officer by Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, after the 1967 defeat of Egypt by Israel, to reorganize the Egyptian Air Force. He had never appeared on the political scene throughout al-Nasser era and in the early years of al-Sadat. The latter chose him as a member of his entourage so that the air force might be controlled by the regime itself, as was the case with the army and police. His efficiency and dedication made him a reputed negotiator in the Arab countries, who liked and respected the style of working, and the moderate approach of Mubarak. Due to all these characteristics, al-Sadat selected him as his deputy and everyone was sure that he would become the successor of al-Sadat unless any untoward incident would happen.

In the beginning, he faced a number of challenges. Firstly, Israel did not keep things easy for him. Secondly, economic situation was very tough. Thirdly, the increase in unemployment was more. Fourthly, Islamists were gaining tremendous momentum in each and every field of life.

When he came to power, many Egyptians hoped that he would bring Egypt back into the Arab fold, since his personal relations with the Arab leaders were quite satisfactory. He could not re-enter the Arab fold because Israel threatened any such move as dangerous to her
relations with Egypt. He wanted to keep the relations with Israel. Consequently, he did not enter into the Arab fold in the early years. He desired to visit Israel but the Israeli leaders insisted that he must visit Jerusalem too or not come at all. Consequently, he did not visit Israel. Two years after signing the Camp David Agreement, Israel had started building a hotel at Taba, a one-square mile section of Sinai, Egypt strongly protested and Israel evacuated the site after uprooting the trees and every other green thing. However the relations with Israel worsened when they attacked Lebanon, Egypt protested and called back its ambassador from Tel Aviv\(^1\). The Arab world readmitted Egypt into the Arab league\(^2\).

Mubarak attempted to change the face of the regime by selective reforms. Despite his best intentions, however, the new President possessed neither the ideological tools nor the dedicated cadres to address comprehensively the ills of Egyptian society. The economy was deteriorating. In order to repair the abuses of open door policy of al-Sadat, he tried to limit the import of consumer goods. In order to raise the capital, he taxed the richer citizens, but for the time being the only groups, which were taxed, were the bureaucrats, who were underpaid to begin with. Much of the foreign capital in Egypt is supplied through banks, which have mushroomed in the last two decades. Some of these banks are called ‘off-shore banks’ and are not subject to Egyptian currency regulations, and this poses a potential threat to the economic well being of the country.

In the 1980s ‘Islamic banking’ was introduced in the form of investment companies (\textit{Sharīkat Tawzīf al-Amwāl}), attracted the public insisting that their funds were invested in accordance with Islamic principles and offered high rates of return. These companies succeeded in providing
financial assistance for Islamic publications and Islamist candidates for parliament. They collapsed resulting in the loss to investors and the government accused some of the major companies such as *al-Rayyan, al-Sa'ad* and *al-Sharīf* of corruption in order to exploit the Islamists.

Government moved against these companies in order to protect private investors and to suppress the contradiction, pointed out by the U.S. commercial banks as a result of profits accumulated by investors in these companies. These companies were able to provide an alternative to government institutions by offering Islamic banking and investing national savings in the country to motivate people including nationalists and Islamists to earn profit as well as by fulfilling Islamic tenets. No doubt they failed, but they gave a signal to the government that banking can be done for profit, which is religiously legitimate.¹

Certain Egyptian Muslims who earned money in the Gulf countries and in Egypt donated it to Islamist welfare projects in addition to providing them for such welfare activities. In this way Islamists gained public support especially of the poor and the needy by providing essential service in the areas, which were neglected by the government. The Islamists also worked with dedication during the times of crisis, such as, during the earthquake in 1992. The economic situation of the country played a vital role for the support to the Islamists by the public. Though the country has made some progress in the economic field but failed to reduce the increasing rate of unemployment.²

It was *Infitah,* introduced by al-Šadāt, which is responsible for the increased gulf between the rich and the poor, increase in unemployment and the spread of *fasād.* There was 20% increase in unemployment in 1994 in Egypt.
due to the failure of economic policies. Government is also involved in corruption and it is in practice at higher levels of the society. Meagre salary to the government servants compels them to accept bribes. The government is trying to win hearts of the public by exposing cases of corruption, but it cements the public belief that the corruption is in practice at higher levels.

He wanted to continue the policies of al-Sadāt, his predecessor, including softness with al-Ikhwān. He continued to strengthen the presence of official Islām in public life. He showed tolerance and liberalization, but at the same time, reacted firmly, when his authority was challenged. He was careful while tackling his opponents—Islāmists as well as politicians. He himself intervened in clashes between Muslims and Coptic Christians and crushed Islāmist militants, who were held responsible for riots.

Despite the fact that he punished asl-Sadāt’s assassins after a noisy public trial on 15 April 1982^5, he also showed liberal approach towards the opposition and asked the exiled leaders that they could return to Egypt, if they desired so. He encouraged the dialogue with the opposition and invited them to the presidential palace for discussions so that hostility towards the government be replaced by a friendly environment. According to him, opposition is a part of the masses. Consequently, they should be invited to participate in decision-making because they are conscious of their rights and their obligation.

He sent religious experts into the jails to convince the youth militants that their interpretations of Islām are faulty. According to a report, the Azharite ‘Ulama have cooperated in this effort of reconversion, while the Ministry of Awqāf has been reluctant to participate. During the prison discussions, some militants have feigned
acceptance of the government's position only to resume their Islamic militancy after release. The government reports a 70% success rate in this programme.

Government organized a 'national dialogue' in 1994 with some opposition leaders, labour leaders and academics, to seek condemnation of the activities of Islamic activists. However it has sought acknowledgement that more time is needed in order to improve the economic situation, while baring discussion on constitutional reform.6

Government built 45,000 mosques at a cost of more than £262m and appointed 23,916 Imāms.7

Since 1970s, Egyptian government has been trying to assume Islamic credentials by using the media and al-Azhar to promote accurate and moderate interpretation. The government viewed it as its participation in the Islamization of the society, but the Islamists viewed it as secular nature of the government.

The government claims that most of the laws are in conformity with the Shariah. The Islamists both moderates as well as radicals called upon the government to apply Shariah as the sole source of law in conformity with Article 2 of the 1971 constitution, as amended in 1979.8

Islamic organizations in Egypt have been receiving close attention from the government, ever since President Husni Mubārak assumed office in 1981. Senior officials connected with such organizations have said that their organizations have made tremendous strides in various fields of life. They explained that these organizations have set up their projects in order to spread religious enlightenment and Islamic da'wah, and at the same time have been able to counter any slanderous accusations against Islām and Muslims.9
All the political parties and religious organizations were allowed to operate. More liberalization was given to the mass media and the opposition was allowed to publish newspapers and criticize the government through media but not use abusive language against leaders of the Arab world. Television debates were organized by the government in which religious scholars of al-Azhar University, Islamists, militants and scholars from other religious establishments participated. Television and radio broadcasted religious programmes and newspapers regularly published religious columns. At the same time state-supported religious establishments issued *fatwās*, declaring militants as ignorant and misguided.

According to the official Middle East News Agency, Husni Mubarak said that Muslims who die while defending their rights are martyrs. He further said:

“For whosoever dies while defending his God given rights, freedom, human dignity, wealth, religion, land and holy sites...he shall be a martyr.”

The speech was delivered during the opening session of a seminar entitled *This is Islām* organized by al-Azhar University. Muslim leaders and scholars from all over the world aimed at to present ‘the true Image of Islām’ to the world attended the seminar.

The rector of al-Azhar University warned United States of interfering in the internal affairs of the university. He said:

“We told them that al-Azhar influences others and is not influenced. We do not accept anyone to interfere in our business.”

He added that he supported the *fatwa* of boycotting American and Israeli products. The sale of these products in turn supports Israel. Speaking to nearly 15,000 demonstrators recently, he announced that the door for
*jihād* is open for the entire Islamic nation’s youth to defend Islam and the land of Palestine. He said:

“Strength is life and weakness is death,”

Proposals for measures to Islamize the laws were put forth in the 1980s. During the period of Anwar al-Sadāt, Article 2 of the constitution was amended in 1980 to make *Shariah* the principal source of legislation rather than ‘a source’.

In 1985 an attempt was made in the high constitutional court that interest should not be charged if the loan repayment is delayed as being contrary to the amended Article 2 of the Egyptian constitution. The court rejected the petition, providing the reason that the article had no retrospective effect on existing legislation, that was in conflict with the *Shariah*. Various Islamic laws were drafted under the government auspices. After the presentation of the drafts before the ‘Peoples’ Assembly’ in 1992, none of them were enacted into law. Mohammad Sa’id al-‘Ashmawi and Faraj Faudah (d.1992), proponents of the idea that the unity of the religion and state under modern conditions was harmful to both and they opposed the Islamists calls for making the state and its laws more Islamic.

Modernists are of the view that Islam should be confined only to personal matter and faith because they saw in Islam a threat to their existence. Certain intellectuals had same type of thinking in 1930s in Egypt. They argue that the West had the religious control of the state in the middle ages. These intellectuals counter the fundamentalist call for rejection of Western culture, declaring that *Sunni* Islam had never had the direct imposition of religious ideology. Unknown gunmen assassinated one of the...
Modernist, Faraj Foudah, a journalist and professor, in 1992.

Ban has not been lifted from al-Ikhwān because the government is not ready to accept its political and legal position because the former is committed to the implementation of the *Shariah*. The New Wafd Party was reestablished in 1983 under the leadership of Sirāj al-dīn. Feeling the party’s potential for popular support, Mubārak government refused to recognize it. In January 1984, the court ordered its legality for its establishment. In the Peoples’ Assembly election on 27 May 1984, the party won 57 seats with 15.1% of total votes casted, crossed the threshold of 8%. The party had alliance with al-Ikhwān in the election. NDP, government party, achieved clear majority with 72.9% of the total votes casted by wining 389 seats. In the election only 1/3 of the total voters actually exercised their franchise mostly aged and women, youth remained away from the practice.

In the 1987 elections, al-Ikhwān made ties with the Socialist Labour Party (S.L.P.) and the Liberal Socialist Party (L.S.P.) in order to overcome the requirement of 8% of the total votes casted, compulsory for the qualification for seats in the Peoples’ Assembly. Hundreds of opposition workers mostly al-Ikhwān members were arrested on the eve of election, still the Alliance won 60 seats and al-Ikhwān was the largest opposition with 37. The New Wafd won six seats.

The election manifesto of *al-Tahlīf al-Islāmi* (The Islamic Alliance) in the election of April 1987, contained the following points:

(i) Faith in God as the basis of solving economic problems;

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(ii) an end to the state of emergency, restoration of civil liberties, and the guarantee of fair elections;
(iii) the *Shariah* as a comprehensive system of government and way of life. According to *Shariah* 'The Copts are citizens whose rights and duties are like those of Muslims.'

In July 1987, Mubārak was nominated for the second six-year term and confirmed on 5 October. Al-Ikhwān could not contest the parliamentary elections held on 29 November 1990 at its own, being technically illegal. The turn out was low because main opposition parties the New Wafd, the Liberal Party and the Socialist Labour Party boycotted the election, which resulted in another victory to Nationalist Democratic Party (NDP) of Husni Mubārak. The opposition parties boycotted provided the reason that they would only participate in free and fair elections. Al-Ikhwān was also among the boycotting parties being a unit of SLP and the Liberal Party Alliance.

The Advisory Council of Political Parties Committee denied registering al-Wast as a political party in May 1994. Although, Mada and two other founder members were released after trial by a military court, however, 7 al-Ikhwān members were punished three years' imprisonment for supporting al-Wast. In this way, the regime wanted to broaden the gulf between the liberals and the conservatives of al-Ikhwān. Consequently, 13 members including three founder members of al-Wast, resigned from al-Ikhwān in October.

Just days before the November-December 1995 elections to the Peoples Assembly, some 54 of al-Ikhwān members, including many parliamentary candidates, received prison sentences of three to five years for 'unconstitutional activities' from a military court which
also closed down the movement's Headquarters in central Cairo. Minister of the Interior claimed that he had evidence of close links among al-Ikhwān, al-Jamā'ah and al-Jihād. More than 1,000 al-Ikhwān members were arrested. The NDP won 316 of the total 444 seats. The Egyptian Centre for Human Rights and Legal Aid recorded that 51 people were killed and 878 injured during the election campaign. ICER received 1,240 complaints of irregularities from candidates, party agents and voters.

In June 1998, mid-term elections were held to the Shūra council. Most of the opposition parties boycotted the poll and NDP won 85 seats out of 88. In May and September 1998 and again in June 1999, al-Wast was denied legal status on the grounds that its political agenda was not fulfilling the criteria of the Advisory Council of the Political Parties Committee. In June 1999, Mubārak was formally nominated for the fourth term.

The general election of 2000 was held in three phases i.e. 18 October, 29 October and 8 November. Al-Ikhwān fielded 100 candidates as independents. The Islāmist parties who renounced violence in 1999 were denied recognition. The New Wafd contested the elections under the leadership of Nu'mam Jum'ah, following the death of Mohammad Fuad Siraj al-dīn on 1 September 2000.

Once again NDP got the overwhelming majority of 353 seats out of 444, independents secure 72, independent al-Ikhwān supporters won 17, the New Wafd 7, the NPUP 6, the Nasserist Party 3, and the LSP one. Voting for 2 seats in Alexandria was postponed following the arrest of 20 al-Ikhwān activists 15 to 40 percent voters exercised their right to franchise. 14 people died and hundreds of others were injured in election related violence.
Islamic Resurgence

Islam has played a vital role in the development of Egyptian public life and maintained relationship with Egyptian state and society. The Islamist intellectuals and groups always criticized modernism and the West. However they are not against modernism if it influences Egypt in Islamic terms.

Since 1970s, there has been an increase in the religiosity expression in the society. Attendance in the mosques has been gradually increasing, people like to wear Islamic dress, and a number of books have been published containing religious material on Islam as faith, language, law and history.

Islamists have been able to foster and direct religious current through dedication and organizational ability. They have been struggling for the purification of the society from 'un-Islamic' practices, and its Islamization. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn profoundly contributed a lot from the time of its founding and its emphasizing on the Tarbiyya (education or Training) so that an individual will become a true-Muslim. Their struggle has borne fruits and they were able to spread religious fervour among the people especially in youth and we are noticing that a number of organizations are struggling for the same purpose.

By the mid-eighties, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn emerged as a major force due to the liberal policies of Husni Mubārak. It has been major political opposition in the parliamentary election in alliance with other parties. During 1980s and 1990s it has been major problem for Mubārak government because of its effective social and economic activities. It is demanding greater democratization, political representation and checking of human rights violations. It is dominant along with other
Islamist organizations in student groups, faculty, clubs, professional organizations, and syndicates of lawyers, doctors, engineers and journalists.

Al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah and al-Ikhwān operated a network of social services, which includes schools, clinics and banks. Al-Ikhwān’s dual call for the restoration of civil liberties (hurriyat) and implementation of the Shariah is being appreciated in the society. At the same time secularists, Islāmists professional syndicates, student groups, lawyers and writers are continuously demanding the restoration of basic liberties and denouncing the violation of human rights. Al-Ikhwān and other moderate Islāmists demand restoration of right to freedom of speech, protection against torture, access to due process of law, an end to corruption and implementation of the Shariah. In this way they promise greater democratization through implementation of Shariah than that of the existing government.

Over the past two decades, there has been a mounting pressure from the Islāmists for women to wear the hijāb. But at the same time the government wanted to strengthen the secular character of Egyptian society. It attempted to discourage the hijāb by excluding the women who wear it, from study missions and if possible discriminate against them in state controlled employment. In this way, the government creates hatred not only between the Islāmists and the state but also between the religious Muslims and those who are in favour of secularization of the Egyptian society.

Islāmization of Egypt is in progress but the political views of the people differ from person to person and from organization to organization. Among the Islāmists, militants are active against the regime, moderates criticize
certain policies of the regime and some favour it. Likewise opponents and supporters of the regime also exist among the secularists. Both the Islāmists and secularists oppose the government over certain common political issues such as the rule of law, the Arab-Israel peace process, the Gulf-war and the clashes within Bosnia. Egyptian state faces a big ideological challenge of Islāmists for the emergence of alternative government deadly based on Islām.

The Islāmists and their sympathizers demand from the government that the latter should not make political and economic cooperation with the West, especially with the U.S. and Israel. They claim that the West undermines the growth and development of Muslim states. In the shade of political support and financial assistance, the U.S. and the European Union are doing anti-Muslim activities in the Muslim countries. That is why the Islāmists are opposing the Muslim rulers of Islāmic countries and treat them their enemies and wage *jihād* against them e.g., the Islāmists of Egypt, Afghānistān etc. To remain in power these so-called Muslim leaders are undermining the Islāmic trend.

The impact of the resurgence has been seen in the religious, political, social and economic fields of life. Certain organizations were established in the form of sufi mystics, moderate Islāmists, conservative Islāmists and social welfare associations. The desire to lead a more Islāmically informed way of life can be found among the middle and upper class, uneducated and educated, peasants and professionals, young and old, women and men. Both *ahli* and government controlled mosques were filled with these Islāmists. Men and Women were active in studying Qur'ān in Sufi gatherings, mosques, and private associations. They not only perform religious practices but also organized social service camps in the form of offering
psychiatric and drug rehabilitation centers, dental clinics, day-care centers, legal aid societies, provide housing and food on subsidies, run-banks and investment centers.

Religious programming and Islāmic literature has been witnessed in the government-controlled media, in newspaper, bookshops, secular magazines and books of street vendors. Religious preachers Shaykh Mohammad Mutawalli al-Sharawi (1911-1998) and ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kishk (b.1933) became media stars in Egypt and in the Arab world. They were allowed to appear on the television and wrote newspaper columns. Their audiocassettes, pamphlets and books were sold on bookshops, at airports and hotels, and by street vendors. One find religious materials in magazines, audio taps and books though the coverage of politicians and movie stars.

Ahāli and non-government mosques and their Imāms were allowed to criticize government. ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kishk, who has been regarded an extremist and imprisoned by both al-Nasser and al-Sadāt, criticized certain policies of the government. The sermons and speeches of al-Sharawi and Kishk could be heard in mosques, religious gatherings, on cassettes-played in shops, taxicabs, on the streets, and in the homes of the poor and the middle class.

Islāmists have been also surging into scientific and technical faculties. Bright lower-middle-class youth, who do not get jobs easily, join the on going movement. Islāmists increasingly carried out student, faculty and syndicate elections. They won board elections at the doctors syndicate for the third time in 1990 and in 1991, they white washed in the engineering syndicate. They also won majority of the seats on the board of the lawyers syndicate in 1992.24
Islamic student organizations dominated university student unions in Asyūt, al-Minya, Cario and Alexandria. They pressurised authorities to ban Western music and concerts; reform curriculum, restriction of mixed socials, segregation of gender in classes, and implementation of Islamic laws.

Islamic critics claimed that Mubārak failed to provide a dynamic leadership, a sound economy, jobs to educated youth and not showing confidence in political liberalization programmes. They offer the solution to these problems by not depending upon the West, cancellation of ‘Camp David Accord’ and the implementation of Islamic laws. Egypt vitally depends on financial support of the United States. In return the latter plays a key role in shaping the policies of Cario, which are serving the interests of the Americans. On the other hand the regime claims that the Islamists have no specific, sound, concrete and alternative programme. They want to change the fate of the state and society through religio-social programmes. Even al-Ikhwān failed to provide political reform programmes and rely on educational and socio-economic programmes. The regime criticized the Islamists movements that they have not defined the nature of an Islamic state and its institutions and are lacking specific programmes and could not long last if handed over the reign of the state. The fact is totally reverse. Instead of allowing al-Ikhwān to become a political party, the state from time to time suppresses it vehemently.

A number of clusters of non-violent activities have arisen in Egypt today. The intellectuals and anti-Western young militants, who are attracted to al-Sha‘ab newspaper, is one of the circles. When the labour party adopted an Islamists orientation, the party newspaper became a
powerful voice of Islāmist opposition under the energetic leadership of Ādil Hussain and Ibrāhīm Shukri. The Labour Party registered 8% of the elected vote in 1984 elections and 18% jointly with al-Ikhwān as the Islāmic Alliance in 1987. Al-Sha'ab circle is considered the most radical and uncompromising of three circles, which criticized the Egyptian role in the U.S. sponsored peace process and cultural and economic dependency. During the Gulf crisis in 1990-91, al-Sha'ab criticized the Egyptian official failure to advance an Arab alternative to the U.S. commitment to a military strike against Iraq. Hussain emerged as an effective critic of the government policy from an Islāmist perspective. When the government failed to support for a peaceful resolution by the Jordanians, the Yemenis, the French, and the Russians, the Islāmist circle around Ādil Hussain and Ibrāhīm Shukri mounted their own mediation effort. Mājidī Hussain (on Algeria) and Ādil Hussain (on the Südān) took positions that supported developments in those countries. They were condemned and defamed by the government press and al-Sha'ab was labeled as “an Iraqi publication in Egypt” by the government supporters. On these developments, there was a dissent within the Labour Party, strains with al-Ikhwān in the Islāmic Alliance, and repression by the government and finally Ādil Hussain was arrested in January 1995 and released after a short period of time. But he was rearrested in March 1995 on the charges of supporting terrorism. Ādil Hussain narrates the story of harassment on him by the government, in al-Sha'ab of 18 February 1991.

After the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait in August 1990, Islāmist movements held an International Islāmic conference in Amman which continued for four days from 12-15 September 1990. Al-Ikhwān leaders from Egypt,
Jordan and Syria, National Front of Südān, al-Nahdah of Tunisia, Jamā’at Islāmi of Pākistān, Islāmic Party of Malaysia, Labour Party of Egypt, delegates of HAMĀS of Palestine, leaders of al-Irshād wa al-Islah of Algeria and prominent figures from all over the Muslim world took part in conference. All the participants of the conference tried their best to evade the war, military of Western countries should vacate from Muslim countries, end to blockade of Iraq and people of Kuwait live freely in their own country. So the issue could be solved in the light of Islām. To act practically on these suggestions, a delegation was formed which met Shah Hussain of Jordan, Shah Fahd of Sa’ūdi Arabia, Saddām Hussain of Iraq and Rafsanjani President of Irān. Though these efforts bore no fruits but the delegation presented an applicable plan.

The second group of Islāmist activities opted work within the professional associations and other civil society institutions treatise their dream of a more just and humane Islāmic society in Egypt. This group is doing an impressive social service in the university campuses. One of the most influential was Essam al-Aryān of the Medical Association during al-Sadāt era. Their aim was to work within the structures of civil and state institutions. They have worked to extend medical insurance to syndicate members and their families, establish social and recreational clubs, increase the stock of housing available to members at lower prices, and assist the families of those members, arrested or detained by the regime. In this way the syndicate activists have renewed the legacy of social Islām, pioneered by al-Ikhwān for a new generation of Egyptians.

Medical Association led by Essam al-Aryān acts as a national platform where the important issues faced by Egypt are discussed and debated. The Islāmists have
significantly made the associations the vehicle to extend
the message of social Islām and to define its larger vision
of centrist Islāmic elements for Egyptian society. The
extraordinary earthquake relief effort, spearheaded by
syndicate activists, proved so effective that the government
forced the Islāmists to lower their visibility. The
government uses power to manipulate and control the
syndicates. To curtail the Islāmists, the government makes
changes in the electoral laws and even arrest the Islāmists.

Third group is of religious intellectuals and scholars
who have organized themselves as a ‘School’, with the aim
of providing non-authoritarian ‘right guidance’ to the
varied groups of the Islāmic body, including both al-Sha’ab
and syndicate circles. This group calls itself, ‘The New
Islāmic Trend’. The prominent figures of this ‘School’ are
Yūsuf al-Qaradawi, Kamāl Abū al-Mājidī, Mohammad
Salīm al-Awa, Mohammad al-Ghazāli (1917-1996) and
Fahmī Huwaydī. These authors have written a large number
of books and articles, which binds them together and
creates an intellectual and cultural environment within
which their followers move. They have large number of
supporters in the general public. When al-Qaradawi or al-
Ghazāli speak publicly, more than a quarter of a million
gather to listen their speeches.

They avoid official attack by defining their group as
an intellectual school. They have been able to expand the
scope and richness of the legal political sphere by issuing
statements on national as well as on International issues
such as communal violence, Egypt’s role in the Gulf-crisis
etc. They condemned the Iraqi occupation of Kuwait but at
the same time criticized the government stand in support of
the American led-military resolution, calling for an Arab
and Islāmic diplomatic solution. Prominent leaders of this
group accept Egypt's Christians as members of the political and social community and express solidarity with them at the time of communal violence. They also showed their solidarity with the youth during the deteriorating conditions of 1990s. It was Salīm al-Awa who condemned the government repression against leaders of Hizb al-Wast, who was arrested on the charges of 'Conspiring' to establish a party.

The New Islāmist figures are unknown to the West. Consequently, misleading articles use to appear in the Western press comparing Shaykh Mohammad al-Ghazāli with Imām Khomeini or with Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahmān, leader of al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah. In fact al-Ghazāli was prominent scholar in the Muslim world, a central figure in moderate Islāmist ranks, and quite frequently a target of attack from ignorant, extremist quarters till his death in March 1996.33

A manifesto containing the commitments to democracy and pluralism; and moderate views of the group was produced by Kamāl Abū al-Mājidī in 1982. However they were not allowed to publish it for a decade despite its moderate thrust. It stressed on a rational interpretation of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. It expressed deep concern over the miserable condition of the Egyptians and Muslims not only in the fields of beliefs and religion, but also to their social, political, cultural, economic and psychological well being. They claimed that the Egyptians and Muslims could come out of this miserable condition if there exists a true resurgence of Islāmic ideas, spirit, and way of life, and they have a clear, rational knowledge and understanding of the modern world.34

The New Islāmists' tried their best to preserve their existence in Egyptian society and attempted to offer
enlightened leadership. Tariq al- Bishri prominent intellectual and distinguished jurist, Hussain Amīn, a prominent diplomat and intellectual joined these groups. The latter insisted on fully acknowledging the historical forces that had shaped the religious inheritance in interpreting Islām and taking account of new conditions wherever necessary.

The 'New Islāmists' discussed the issues of women, minority and human rights and the struggle for more just national and international orders within the Islāmic tradition. According to them, the Islāmic resurgence possesses the message of universal importance. In their view a global dialogue should be conducted on behalf of the human principles that all the great religions and cultural traditions share.

They believed that complete overthrow of existing institutions and laws are not necessary because many of the laws in Egypt do not contradict Islāmic laws in their judgment. They insisted that those areas where changes must occur can and should be approached consistently and gradually, to avoid chaos and confusion in the society.

The 'New Islāmists' insisted that direct social action was the duty of all those involved in the Islāmic movement, including both the body and the leadership. They claimed that the practical activity was the right path to spiritual and worldly salvation. They called for a healthy Islāmic body that will help create an open environment of tolerance, understanding and dialogue that will yield a current understanding of both Islām and the modern world and that can guide the steps to renewal and change.

The 'New Islāmists' succeeded in advancing these goals to a great extent during 1980s. They engaged themselves in peaceful intellectual and political struggles
aimed at creating an enlarged and tolerant Islāmic consciousness open to the world. Throughout the 1980s and in the early years of 1990s, they interfered in the controversial national and international issues such as communal violence and Gulf-crisis.

By the mid 1990s, violence and repression disrupted their efforts for holding national dialogue. The militants strike both the civil society and the government and in retaliation the latter adopted the policy of sweeping repression. The regime not only targeted the militants but also the moderates and the 'New Islāmists' as well. The regime limited their access to television and censored their writings in the press. The regime believes that there is no difference between the moderates and militants. When the latter become violent and become the focus of attention, the Egyptian regime target the clusters of non-violent Islāmists. To strike at the militants, the regime argues, it must dry up the board source of the religious renewal in Egypt.

**Militant Groups**

Being the ends same Islāmist movement is ideologically divided into two groups such as militants and moderates. Al- Jihād, al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah and other groups which used force as means to spread Islām and struggle for the implementation of **Shariah**, are called ‘Militants’, and moderates are al-Ikhwān and other Islāmists who are against the use of force as a means of spreading Islām. Al-Jihād criticizes al-Ikhwān on its denunciation of the use of violence as a means and policy of non-confrontation with the government although certain members of the latter are sympathetic to the more Islāmist militants.
The militant groups, al-Jihād and al-Jamā‘ah al-Islāmiyyah rejected the compromise and participation, and considered the political system of Egypt as illegitimate. Concept of *Hakimiyya Li Allah* (sovereignty lies only with Allah) and *al-Farīda al-Ghaiba* (*jihād* the forgotten duty) place the Islāmist militants in a different category than al-Ikhwān. Muslims are called upon to wage *jihād* against the atheist (*kāfīr*) or a Muslim ruler, who is involved in irreligious practices such as not implementing the *Shariah* or hosting moral decadence and economic corruption (*fasād*) or making undue peace with the Jews. These concepts have provided them religious legitimacy for the resort to violence and dismantling of the un-Islāmic political order.

They accuse al-Ikhwān for providing the cooperation to the government in containing the militants because al-Ikhwān criticizes the violent activities of the most radical groups Jamā‘at, al-Muslimīn, al-Jihād and al-Jamā‘ah al-Islāmiyyah. Some of the most impressive leaders separated from al-Ikhwān, to form independent Islāmist groups, although maintaining loose ties with it.

Growth of more militant groups has been witnessed since the 1980s and 1990s, which is continuing till date. In addition to above-mentioned major organizations, new groups are being formed continually. A pattern of appearance and disappearance characterizes these societies as they are unearthed by the government, suppressed or contained, only to return to Egypt’s omnipresent underground. Reportedly, the Egyptian authorities place the total number of Islāmist groups at ninety nine, while a Kuwait based fundamentalist periodical puts their number at sixty. These small organizations, are Jund Allah (God’s Warriors), Shabāb Mohammad (Mohammad’s Youth), Jund
al-Rahmān (Warriors of the Merciful), Qif wa Tab'ayyīn (Halt and Expound), Talā'i al-Fath (Vanguards of the Conquest—a breakaway group of Islamic Jihād) etc. The last one joined al-Jihād in 1993. Detailed list of these organizations is given in Appendix-III. Among the major organizations al-Jihād and Jamā’at al-Muslimīn has been discussed in detail in Chapter IV. Al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah is discussed in this chapter.

**Al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah**

The European oriented developments of Khedive Islāmist’s period nourished al-Afghāni’s movement and those of the Wafd period nourished al-Islāhān, so does al-Infitah of al-Sadāt period generate the Islāmic radicalism that is expressed in the young al-Jamā’ah, creating an eager demand for radical interpretations of the past, the present and the future. Al-Islāmiyyah is not a single organization but a conglomerate of Islāmist groups of Egypt, emerged in the 1970s as the result of liberal policies of Anwar al-Sadāt. These groups were active in mosques and universiirty campuses in student unions. All these Islāmist groups of this federation were influenced by Hasan al-Bannā’s ideas and thought, and by his al-Islāhān al-Muslimūn. These groups invited Egyptian youth towards the Islāmic resurgence.

In 1971, when Anwar al-Sadāt came in power, he released a large number of prisoners including al-Islāhān al-Muslimūn, who had been imprisoned by Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser. As an organization, al-Islāhān was still illegal, some of its members who were not favouring moderate approach of its leaders, separated from the organization and established their own groups or joined other Islāmist radical groups. Al-Sadāt allowed such groups to work under
the umbrella of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah (The Islamic Community) ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān, a blind preacher and orator from al-Fayyūm and ex-member of al-Ikhwān, has been acknowledged by the organization as its spiritual guide.⁴⁰

Throughout the 1970s these Islāmist groups were regarded as an important counterbalance to the Nasserists and the leftists, as al-Sadāt gave them full liberty to organize and activate. Al-Sadāt reduced state-control from a number of Egyptian mosques, and encouraged privatisation of a large number of mosques. In a decade the number of ahāli mosques doubled from 20,000 to 40,000.⁴¹ These Islāmist groups operated from these mosques in Cairo, Alexandria, Port Said and Suez in Lower Egypt; and Asyūt, al-Fayyūm and al-Minya in Upper Egypt. They were preaching there for the implementation of Islāmic Sharah, performing social services, and ‘organized circles’ were established therein for memorization of the Qur’ān.

Pressure of rural migration was increasing day by day in these cities and the state decreased its social welfare programmes, which provided these groups chances of organizing social service activities in these areas. Poor and needy families were provided with food and clothing. The members of these groups visited ailing persons and doctors attended them without charging any fees to them. The members of relatives who migrated to Gulf countries funded them.⁴²

Establishment of new colleges and universities in the 1970s in al-Minya, al-Fayyūm, Sohāj, Qinā and Aswān in Upper Egypt, resulted in founding of new campuses. Under the banner of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah student unions were formed in Asyūt and in these new established institutions.
A number of independent preachers of certain mosques joined this organization and issued fatāwa in favour of this organization for its stand against al-Sadāt regime on the issue of signing the ‘Camp David Accord’, which hurt their sentiments and harmed the cause of Palestine issue. The most prominent leaders were Shaykh Ahmad al-Mahālawī at Qāid Ibrāhīm Mosque in Alexandria and Shaykh Hāfiz Salāmah of al-Shuhada Mosque in Suez and al-Nūr Mosque in Criro. Al-Sadāt made publicity attacks on both, before his assassination in October 1981. Both of them became the prey of state-terrorism before and after al-Sadāt’s assassination and were imprisoned on many occasions.

In the beginning of the 1980s, ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān criticized al-Sadāt’s policies especially the ‘Camp David Accord’. In retaliation, the state government and official mass media charged him that he had links with al-Jihād, which assassinated al-Sadāt on 6 October 1981, but he always denied such allegation. However, he openly provoked the public through his preaching and speeches against the state by organizing large conferences in cities along the Nile River.

Al-Jamā’ah took part in the September 1981 violence against the regime, two lakh members of the organization distributed anti-government leaflets in Cairo’s Ābidīn Square and another one lakh offered prayer infront of the prudential palace during the month of Ramadān.

By the summer of 1988, a number of clashes occurred between the militant groups of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah and state security forces in al-Fayyūm, al-Minya in Upper Egypt and other cities of Asyūt province after the Friday sermons. Government reacted severely, closed down mosques in cities, banned student elections in the
universities and declared all the activities illegal under the name of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah. Tension was mounting in Upper Egypt where thousands were arrested and a large number were killed during the crackdown and house-to-house searches by the security forces. Shaykh ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān was twice detained, first in 1988 and then again in 1989.

During his detention and exile, his followers demonstrated further violent demonstration in Imbābah and ‘Ain Shams in Cairo which indicated the existence of the organization in Cairo. During the early 1990s he was exiled first to Afghānistān and Pākistān and then to United State. His exile created more conflict between his supporters and the government resulted the additional deployment of military troops, armoured care and helicopters to several cities. He was accused by the state authorities of issuing orders for the killing of Rif’at al-Mahjūb, speaker of Peoples’ Assembly, in 1990 and of Farāj Foudah, a liberal author in 1992. Attacks and counter attacks continued throughout the early 1990s. Al-Jamā’ah was blamed for the instigation of sectarian clashes between the Muslims and Chritians in several cities of Upper Egypt in 1991. But after the investigations by the state authorities, it came to know that the cause was old social rivalry. The activists of the organization attacked foreign tourists, visiting pharaonic monuments, in Upper Egypt in 1992 and continued in 1993. Assassination attempt was made on the life of ‘Ātif Sidqī, Prime Minister of Egypt, in November 1993. ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān was held responsible for issuing orders to the members of al-Jamā’ah to carry out attacks, in order to destroy tourism and state economy.
Government passed an anti-terrorism law in 1992 to control activities of al-Jamā’ah and announced that all the mosques and preachers would be put under state control. In an organizational meeting in Alexandria in August 1992, two foreign militants—a Sudanese and a Jordanian—along with 23 others of al-Jamā’ah, were arrested. With this the government claimed that the organization has some international ties in Iran, the Sudan and Jordan. According to the Egyptian political analysts, the conflict between the government and al-Jamā’ah is not only increasing but intensifying since June 1993. Seeing the strength of al-Jamā’ah, the government is hesitating to carry out the execution of Islamists convicted in military tribunals.

Al-Jamā’ah would not be able to seize the power due to a number of reasons that the regime is shielded by a powerful security apparatus, the army is backed by the ‘Silent Majority’ of the middle classes and intellectuals, and the organization lacks popular leadership which is necessary for organizational strength.

Al-Jamā’ah is responsible for a number of activities in Egypt in the past several years. Its leaders and members are active in the countryside.

Islamic Jihād and al-Jamā’ah agreed in November 1993 on greater co-ordination between the two groups and joint action against the security forces. Shaykh ‘Umar was selected the leader of the ‘United Front’ and a committee of members was formulated from the advisory council of the two groups to overcome differences and strengthen cooperation.

It was seen that the federation is not working under a single leadership. The self-proclaimed leader of these groups is Shaykh ‘Umar ‘Abd al- Rahmān, a blind preacher and orator from al-Fayyūm.
‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān was born in a poor rural family in al-Jamāliyah village in Lower Egypt in 1938. He received primary education on traditional religious pattern in regional urban centers, memorizing the Qur’ān. He entered al-Azhar University Cairo in 1960 and graduated from ‘Faculty of Fundamentals of Religion’ in first class in 1965. He wanted to become a teaching assistant at the university but he was appointed as a mosque preacher by the government in a poor rural village in al-Fayyūm, Upper Egypt. He did his master’s degree from al-Azhar in 1967. Along with studies, he continued preaching in al-Fayyūm. In 1968, he was appointed at al-Azhar in the ‘Faculty of Fundamentals of Religion’.

In the same year he made the pilgrimage to Makkah, where he met Dr. Said Ramadān, a leader of al-Ikhwān. The latter was exiled by Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser because he was one of the critics of al-Nasser. Dr. Ramadān provided ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān with funds for the jailed leaders of al-Ikhwān but the latter was arrested in the process. Although he was soon released but was dismissed from the university service and appointed to a bureaucratic position in 1969. He treated this as his disgrace and demotion by the authorities. So he refused to join again.

He continued to preach in al-Fayyūm. He called al-Nasser an infidel and prohibited prayers for him at a public ceremony after the latter’s death on 28 September 1970. Al-Sadāt government put him behind the bars for 8 month for issuing such type of declarations.

When al-Sadāt declared amnesty to political as well as Islāmist prisoners, ‘Abd al-Rahmān was also released and reappointed at the Azharite Institute in al-Fayyūm. He was awarded doctorate degree by al-Azhar in 1972 and was appointed as professor there. After a very short period of
time, he was transferred to the religious faculty in Asyūt, a centre of Islāmic fundamentalist activity. He strongly supported al-Ikhwān student outfit al-Jamā‘ah al-Islāmiyyah there. It is interesting to mention that regional as well as national government supported the establishment of this group.50

He married with an al-Ikhwān member’s daughter, Ishā Hasan Jūdah in 1977. He went to Saūdi Arabia in the same year, where he was appointed as a professor of Qur’ānic interpretation at Al-Saūd University. He returned to Egypt after four years and was arrested by Egyptian authorities for the involvement with al-Jihād, which assassinated Anwar al-Sadāt on 6 October 1981. He was regarded as leader of al-Jihād and accused of masterminding the assassination of al-Sadāt. He was released in 1984, when the government failed to prove the charges leveled against him.

Three factors are responsible for the popularity of ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān during the prolonged detention (1981-84). The first thing is that he wrote a book ‘Mithāq al-Āmil al-Islāmi (Charter of Islāmic Action), which became very popular for the Islāmic radical point of view. The book is an explanation of his views of correct Islāmic life. He explained the concept of al-Jihād in it, which his affiliation with the radical forces and detachment from moderate group of al-Ikhwān. He stated that restoration of the principles of the Qur’ān is impossible unless and until the secular type of government is overthrown, second, he remarried Fatin Shu‘ayb a kinswoman of several important activities of al-Jamā‘ah in Upper Egypt. He issued fatāwa in support of the activities of the federation and was called as mufti al-Jihād. Thirdly most of the leaders of al-Jihād organization were executed or sentenced to life.
imprisonment, leaving a leadership vacuum that he readily filled. He was called by the media and his opponents as the high priest of radical fundamentalism in and outside Egypt, and had great importance to radical Ijālimists in the Muslim world. He emigrated to United States in 1990, where he was arrested because he was accused of inciting his followers for bombing of the World Trade Center in New York City in February 1993. Mamūn al-Hudaibi, the then spokesman of al-Ikhwān, dismissed the charge that an elderly man like Shaykh ‘Umar should have given a fatwā to incite his followers to destroy World Trade Center in America. The charge is illogical because there is no fun in destroying it because U.S. could not change its policy towards the Muslims. Secondly Shaykh ‘Umar is not a young hothead, he is an old man who had sought refuge in the U.S. and it was against his own interest to get mixed up with any kind of plot.


Being a conglomerate of a number of groups, it is difficult rather impossible to know about the ideology of al-Jamā’ah. It was seen by their activities that they are against the secular state, non-Islāmic practices, and peace with Israel and relations with United States. They want the restoration of Islāmic traditions and injection of the state. They are against the state control and supervision of mosques through the Shykh al-Azhar and Ministry of Awqāf (Ministry of religious endowments). Shaykh ‘Umar criticised the involvement of al-Ikhwān into politics by
taking part in the electoral process. He also denounced the religious institutions of the state. He urged his followers to challenge the non-Islamic practices of the government and wanted Iranian type of revolution in Egypt.

After coming in power, though Husni Mubarak freed detained, but imprisoned thousands more, did not abolish martial law and the state of emergency. Egypt has been looking in a state of war; Husni Mubarak finished the electoral procedure just in a week contrary to the usual procedure of sixty days.\textsuperscript{54}

Husni Mubarak continued the policies of his predecessor. Clashes between the militants and the police, and security forces, detention and imprisonment; trials and death sentences; and stories of mental and physical tortures are publishing on the foreign media.

Moderate Islamists demanded political recognition but Mubarak provided them limited political liberalization, which resulted in the spread of Militant Islam. Islamists resort violence, since 1970s, as legitimate means of struggle against the regimes. The \textit{jihad} groups treat the head of the state as unbeliever (kāfir) and made him his main target, as in the case of president al-Sadāt in 1981.

According to the Islamists, the government has a number of short comings such as violation of political and civil rights', the government not answerable and accountable to the people; military defeat, poor economic development; socially and culturally demoralized society over the second half of the twentieth century. Instead of providing chances to the Islamists to participate in the mainstream of Egyptian politics, the regime adopted violent tactics for greater control of the political arena, which provided the Islamist militants to become more and more violent.
302 people were arrested on charges of belonging to al-Jihād, which allegedly plotted to overthrow the government in 1981. In September 1984, out of 302 arrested 174 were acquitted, 16 were sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour and the remaining were sentenced 2 to 15 years imprisonment.

Since the late 1980s the Islāmist militants are engaged in acts of violence targeting foreign tourists, state official security forces and police officers. Revolutionary groups intensified their activities in major cities like Cario, Alexandria, Asyūt and al-Minya. Mubārak wanted to discredit these elements, used force against them which infuriated them. Militants attacked Coptic Christian churches and destroyed their shops and property. Symbols of Western influence and immorality like nightclubs; bars, cinemas and video-stores were attacked, burnt or bombed in major towns and cities. People held protest demonstrations demanding the imposition of Islāmic law under the leadership of Shaykh Hāfiz Salāmah. Mubārak regime reacted quickly and all private mosques were placed under the control of Ministry of Religious Endowments (Awqāf), arrested Hāfiz Salāmah and closed down his mosque in July 1985.

Such type of circumstances widened the gulf between the moderate opposition groups and the government. Al-Ikhwān, opposition newspapers and leaders of opposition political parties described the killing of Israeli tourists by a disturbed border policeman in December 1985 as an act against the enemies of the nation. Leader of the Socialist Labour Party, Ibrahīm Shukri stated: “This young man who has removed the shame from Egypt after Israel has bombarded the P.L.O. headquarters in Tunisia and after the
Americans have hijacked the Egyptian plane (referring to the Achille Lauro incident).”

The security forces reacted quietly to suppress the Islamist militants even on suspicion basis. Still then militant groups kept on growing and at times confronted government forces.

There was agitation by the students in Asyūţ in October 1986, when the university authorities refused to allow women to cover their faces on university premises. Four reserve army officers and 29 civilians were arrested by the authorities in Cairo in December 1986, accused of having links with Islāmic Jihād and were plotting to overthrow the government three or four month earlier. Another such attempt inspired by communists was foiled in December 1986. Thirty-three activists including four military officers alleged as al-Sadāt assassins and having links with al-Jihād were arrested and charged with plotting to wage jihād against the state in order to overthrow the government in December 1986. An attempt to assassinate Major General Hassan Abū Bāshā, former Interior Minister, and two U.S. diplomats in May 1987, and a left wing editor in June, more than 500 Islāmic fundamentalists mostly of Islāmic Jihād and al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah were arrested after these incidents. Irānian interests section at the Swiss embassy was closed and accused of links with Muslim militants. Mubārak was nominated president for the second consecutive term in 1987 and confirmed on 5 October.

In December 1988, more than 500 militant Muslim students were arrested on suspicion basis accused of involvement in anti-state activities in Cairo and Asyūţ. Members of Egyptian Communist Workers Party, Shīte Muslims and al-Ikhwān were arrested in July August 1989 on charges of subversion.
On 12 October Dr. Rifa’at al-Mahjūb, the speaker of the Peoples' Assembly, was assassinated in Cairo which resulted in increase in tensions and led to the most comprehensive security operations since the assassination of president al-Sadāt in 1981. The security forces arrested hundreds of fundamentalists in Cairo, Asyūt and Bani Suef and the Ministry of Interior claimed that eight al-Jihād militants were arrested at the end of October, who had been responsible for the attack. According to Jane Freedman, ten thousand Islāmic militants were arrested in 1989. The Arab Human Rights Organization accused the government of arresting thousands of innocent people.

In the 1990s, the militants targeted tourists, senior government officials, and heads of military courts, security personnel and their informers. Bank, charging interest (riba), were attacked with bombs. Militants in retaliation of arresting their comrades or awarding them sentence had killed security personnel or heads of military courts.

Militant Islāmists intensified their campaign to overthrow the government to establish an Islāmic state during 1992. They had been most active in Asyūt Governorate in Upper Egypt and in Imbāba, and other districts of Cario. In Asyūt Governorate, 5000 security personnel were deployed to arrest the Islāmic militants in June 1992. Peoples' Assembly adopted new law, to counter the militancy, which imposed the death sentence for some crimes including militant activities, and the militants would be tried in military courts. Egyptain military courts in December 1992, accused of conspiring to overthrow the government sentenced eight militant Islāmists to death. 70 people were killed in 1992 including foreign tourists. The leader of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah criticized the concept of foreign tourism in Egypt and warned government that if it
would not be stopped, the militants would attack the pharaonic sites, major tourist attraction. By the end of 1992, tourist numbers have fallen by 40%, which resulted in $1500m loss to Egyptian tourism. On 9 June 1992, Islāmic Jihād killed Faraj Foudah, writer and outspoken critic of the militant Islām for his publication, ‘The Satanic Verses’. Mohammad al-Ghazāli (1917-1996), a prominent Islāmic Scholar, was among the people charged with Faraj’s murder and tried in 1993. During the trial, al-Ghazāli, stated that anyone who opposed the application of Islāmic law should be killed.

It was reported that leaders of certain Islāmic groups were operating in the U.S. and other European countries. Shaykh ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān leader of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah was arrested in the U.S., charged with the masterminding of bombing World Trade Center in February 1993 and Egyptian authorities requested the U.S. government for the extradition of ‘Umar ‘Abd al-Rahmān, so that he could be tried in Egyptian courts for his involvement in inciting the militants to violence. Tal‘at Mohammad, leader of the Vanguards of Conquest, was reported to be living in Denmark and Egyptian government also requested for his extradition, which was rejected by the Denmark government. Ayman al-Zawāhiri, the leader of Islāmic Jihād, reported to be living in Switzerland, was sentenced to death in absentia for his involvement in the assassination of Anwar al-Sadāt. Mohammad Mekawi, the field officer of the Vanguards Conquests in Afgānistān, linked to Ayman al-Zawāhiri, was held responsible for the training of Egyptian militants in Afgānistān.

A number of violent incidents occurred in 1993. Militant Islāmists exploded car-bombs at several places in Cairo. Most of the attacks were directed against the police
and senior members of the security forces. Cinemas, videotape shops, Coptic churches and leading politicians were also targeted. The Minister of Information, Mohammad al-Sharif’s car was ambushed in April 1993 but he narrowly escaped death despite the fact that the liberals criticized him for filling the television schedules with religious programmes.

Mohammad ‘Abd al-Halim Musa, Interior Minister of Egypt, was willing to start dialogue with imprisoned leaders of Islāmic Jihād and al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah. But the President dismissed him in 1993 because the latter was not in a compromising mood, General Hassan Mohammad al-Alfi later on was assigned with the responsibility of suppressing the Islāmic militants and was appointed as Interior Minister.

Use of torture and trials by courts against the Islāmist militants was internationally criticized. Amnesty International, a human rights organization, published report in May 1993 and accused the security agencies for their brutalities and labeled military courts a ‘Travesty of Justice’.

The militants of New Jihād, who threw bombs on his motorcade, attacked Hassan Mohammad al-Alfi, Interior Minister outside his office in the center of Cairo in August 1993. He received serious injuries and was admitted in a Swiss hospital. Government authorities accused ‘Vanguards of Conquest’ a faction of Islāmic Jihād, responsible for the attack. Hasan Muhammad al-Alfi issued a statement from the hospital, which reads, “Islām means mercy, amity, peace and love. It teaches that killing one person is killing all humanity and saving one is like saving all,” He was right but, unfortunately, he belong to that group which is deadly contrary to such faith. The state has no right to kill
people except in accordance with clear rules laid down by
the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Husni Mubarak demanded from
the people that they should serve him and his companions
in the same way that they submitted to the pharaohs of the
pre-Islamic Egypt. Few people do but Islamists do not
because they do not serve those people who do not want to
submit themselves to Islam.

The growing violence is caused by the alienation of
the rulers from their society and faith. Instead of giving ear
to its subjects, the state has been answering them with guns
and repression. The Upper Egypt was fastly slipping into a
state of violent revolt. Mubarak’s chances of subduing this
revolt were as good as were Brezhnev’s when he sent the
Red Army marching into Afghanistan. The Islamist
militants do not do all the acts of violence. There are other
agencies also which are involved in such type of acts,
serving the interest of the regime as well as those of the
West. Islamist militants, like Emad Salim and Co. who
were created by the regime itself infiltrate, provoke and
even do some killings of their own in order to discredit
Islamism militancy. Many Egyptians believe that Israeli
agents are also involved in some killings because the U.S.
and Israel do not want to see a moral, stable and developed
Egypt. But, unfortunately, Husni Mubarak does not
understand the circumstances well and in desperation, he
has been seeking help from every one, including Israelis. It
would serve neither Egyptians nor Islam but only violence
and counter-violence will continue. He could remain in
power for further five years or more but he could neither
help himself nor his country as was the case with Shah of
Iran twenty four years ago. Mubarak is a Muslim and he
should know what is Islam and what is not Islam. He can
save himself and his country, not by discriminating Islamist
moderates from those of fundamentalists, but only and only by being faithful to his duties to implement Islām of the Qur’ān and the Sunnah.

Ātif Sidqī, the ten Prime Minister of Egypt, escaped unharmed in a car bomb explosion, one schoolgirl got killed and 18 others injured. Islāmic Jihād claimed the responsibility, although the officials once again accused Vanguards of Conquest responsible for the attack. Foreign tourists were attacked a number of times during 1993, resulted in 30% fall in the number of tourists upto August and a loss of $ 800m, to $ 1300m in the year to the Department of Tourism. Security forces took some severe measures to counter the Islāmists. A large number of Islāmic militants were arrested and tried by military courts, 38 were given death sentence, out of which 29 were hanged to death in 1993.

Human rights organizations severely criticized the indiscriminate arrests of the people by the government. It was revealed in August 1993 by a panel of eight judges that 24 people tried for the assassination of Rifa’at al-Mahjoub, were not found guilty of murder. The court criticized the police that 16 of them were severely tortured. The political leader of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyya Safwat ‘Abd al-Ghani criticized the military courts of doing injustice with the prisoners in the pretext of Rifat’at al-Mahjoub’s assassination. The former was charged in December 1993 that he had ordered in prison the killing of Faraj Fouda. In October 1993, General Hassan Mohammad al-Ātfī was re-appointed as Minister of Interior, denied the charges that security force used torture to extract confession from Islāmist suspects. Although he reaffirmed that the new government, elected in October 1993, would severely dealt with the Islāmic militants. The new government arrested 30
suspected Islāmist militants every day during mid-October and they were tried in military courts.

In November Egyptian security forces were accused by the U. N. committee that they were torturing the suspects severely in ordinary criminal cases. The European Organization of Human Rights (EOHR) endorsed the UN’s accusations and claimed that 13 people have been killed in custody by the security forces during 1993. The organization had also stated that there were 221 cases of torture against the security forces since July 1986. The E.O.H.R. also stated that the Islāmist groups killed 137 people in 1993. It accused the government for promoting Islāmist idea by limiting the state-controlled media and education system. Advisory council warned in November that the Islamists influence is increasing in the mass media and in the universities. NPUP, the only opposition party in the People’s Assembly, also issued the same statement early in the year.

The government presented the Islāmist as seeking to establish a backward looking, uncivilized and undeveloped state concerned only with Islām. The government-instilled fear in the minds of the people through media and cinema by giving the examples of Irān and the Sudān, were hudūd (Islāmic sanctioned punishment) are in practice, if a person commits a sin. The regime called the Islāmist militants as ‘terrorists’. Though the regime is itself unpopular, it succeeded in spreading the anger and hostility in the public against the militants.

In 1994, there were regular clashes between the militants and security forces and the latter were highly alert. The moderates challenge the government and gradual spread of Islām by al-Ikhwān and violent political confrontations by al-Jamā’ah and al-Jihād.
Egyptian security forces detained 1000 suspected Islāmist militants in January 1994 in response to attacks on the security forces during that month. Nine members of the Vanguard of Conquest (a faction of Islāmic Jihād) were awarded death sentence in March, allegedly convicted of conspiracy to assassinate the Prime Minister in November 1993.

Militants intensified their activities in February 1994, attacked tourists and foreign investors. Al-Jamā‘ah al-Islāmiyyah faxed a message through international news agency warned the tourists and foreign investors to leave the country otherwise face the consequences. They also warned that anyone helping the regime, which is opposed to Islām, would be punished as the oppressors. In a statement from Islāmabad in Pākistān, the Vanguards of Conquest condemned the strategy of attacking foreign investors and tourists, declared that it would harm the interests of the Muslims. It was earlier reported that the coordination, which was established in November 1993 between the two groups, failed.

In Cairo and other towns in Upper Egypt, banks were attacked with bombs by the activists of al-Jamā‘ah al-Islāmiyyah and warned the people to close their accounts by 22 February 1994 as the banks encourage ribā‘. In the same month un-known militants killed the chief prosecution witness in the trial against those arrested for the attempted assassination of the Prime Minister, Ātīf Sidqi.

29,000 Islāmist militants had been arrested, as per the reports provided by the Minister of the Interior, 900 were arrested in a single week in February 1994. Seven Islāmist militants were killed in custody, (according to the witnesses) by the security forces in Zāwiya al-Hamra on 1 February. The act was severely criticized by EOHR,
however the security forces claimed that they had been killed in a gun battle with them. Two army officers were executed in March blamed for the plot to assassinate president Mubārak, when the latter was arriving at Sidi Barrani Air Port near the Libyan border, on his way to visit Libya to meet colonel Qadāfi.

The action against the Islāmists by the security forces took the form of Coptic-Muslim clashes in Asyūt and Upper Egypt. When the security forces in Asyūt killed an Islāmist, the former's whole family sought avenge from the family of the force personnel, who killed him or ordered his killing. It was the situation in Upper Egypt, where the families of state authorities or security personnel killed by the Islāmists have also demanded avenge.64

Al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah and al-Jihād frustrated the regime by extending their activities. The increasing activities of these militant groups seriously affected the tourism and undermined the credibility of the regime domestically and internationally.

The regime believes that the circumstances in Egypt is a response to economic difficulties, whereas the Islāmists, both moderate and militants, claim that it is a response to the violence of the state. To curb the militancy, the government took a number of measures such as banning welfare activities of al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah in the universities, the appointment of preachers to mosques by the Ministry of Religious Affairs and Edowments, restrictions on the appointment of al-Ikhwān members to professional syndicates and appointment rather than election of mayors (Umād) for 4000 villages of Upper Egypt.

Tourist Trains were attacked in upper Egypt in February and March 1994, injuring a number of foreigners.
A German got killed, when Nile Cruiseship was fired upon.  

A series of battles took place in the southern province of Asyut between the security forces and Islamist militants, 30 policemen, 13 civilians and 11 Islamists were killed and 67 others were wounded in these clashes between January and March 1994. Outside the Muharraq monastery near Asyut, an Islamist gunman attacked Coptic Christians in March killing 5 and injuring three others. The Minister of Interior divided the area into four zones in April; each zone was given under the command of a senior officer, assisted by security forces. Raids were held in April that resulted in the death of Tal’at Yasīn Hammām, military commander of Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah along with his four comrades in Asyut and military commander of Islāmic Jihād Ādil Awad Siyam, in Giza. Almost 100 militants were arrested in May and arms and ammunition was recovered from their custody. The police also raided the office of ‘Abd al-Hārith Madani, a lawyer and arrested him. He was killed in custody and the Minister of Interior claimed that he was an intermediary between the imprisoned Islamist militants and those still in liberty and imported funds in the country raised abroad for the militant groups. The government agreed to investigate the matter after wide spread protests and demands for public inquiry.

In the same year, the government accused al-Ikhwān for its ideological inspiration of the militant groups, pointed to al-Ikhwān’s Fikr Usūli (fundamentalist thought) in its use of the writings of Ibn Taymiyya and Sayyid Qutb. In this way, the government expressed its anti-Islāmist behaviour and also arrested thousands of people, suspected to be Islāmists or their sympathizers. Such type of activities of government in turn resulted in increase in anti-

Despite the absence of direct attack by the Islāmist for overthrowing the regime, the latter faces the serious and widespread political and ideological challenge by the Islāmists. Though they are disunited, lack leadership and have limited resources.

On 10 April 1994, Minister of Interior was given the powers to appoint Umād (mayors) and the local elections were abolished. Opposition criticized the move, although government claimed that many Umād were corrupt and refused to co-operate in security matters. Emergency laws were renewed for a further three years on 11 April, in order to provide more powers to the security forces to arrest and detain any suspect. Efforts were made to curb the activities of the militant leaders living abroad. Extradition treaty was signed with Pākistān. Yemen and Saʿūdi Arabia were already cooperating with Egypt in these matters. Local and Western journalists were warned, not to write the articles, regarding the Islāmist challenge, after the confirmation of the authorities or face arrest or expulsion. Propaganda was launched against the militants on the television and state-controlled print media, including confession of detained militants. Members of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah assassinated Major General Raūf Khairat, chief of the anti-terrorist branch of the State Security Investigation Section, on 9 April 1994.

By killing Talaʿat Yasīn Hammam, a leader of al-Jamaʿah al-Islāmiyyah in April 1994 and his successor Ahmad Hasan ‘Abd al-Jalīl in November, the security
forces claimed that they were confident that the killing of these commanders could help in suppressing the challenge to its security. The militant Islāmists, however, succeeded in engaging the security forces in confrontations in Asyūt, al-Minya and Upper Egypt. 66

In May 1994, Egyptian Peoples’ Assembly unanimously approved Husni Mubāraks decree extending the state of emergency for three years ending 31 May 1997. It enables the state to adopt quick and necessary measures, in extraordinary circumstances, to defend security, stability, utilities, vital installations and human lives. 67

In July 1994, the Ministry of Education prevented the Schoolgirls from wearing the Niqāb (headscarf) in schools. In the same month five members of the ‘Vanguard of Conquest’ were sentenced to death in connection with the assassination of Minister of the Interior, Hassan Mohammad al-Ātīfī, in August 1993.

Meanwhile al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah continued its activities around the towns of Mallaw, and Samālūt in al-Minya province. Najīb Mahfūz, a renowned novelist and Nobel Prize winner, was stabbed in October 1994 in Cairo; the government accused al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah responsible for the incident. Intellectuals of all political tendencies condemned the act, however he survived. The Islāmist militants denounced the 82-year-old novelist as an infidel. Government launched a massive hunt against the militants in the wake of hosting U.N. International conference on population and development, which was attended by 10,000 delegates from 156 countries. Islāmists warned delegates against attending the conference and al-Ikhwān condemned it as un-Islāmic and the agency that encourages abortion and sexual promiscuity. Egypt’s most prominent Islāmic Scholar, Shaykh Mohammad Muttawali
al-Sharawi stated that the meeting was ‘hostile to Islam’. However, al-Ikhwan praised the government after concluding the conference for its role and claimed that the final declaration did not offend Muslim values.

Human rights organizations criticized Egyptian security forces against their human rights violations in Egypt. Military Courts sentenced 62 Islamists to death since 1992. The security forces also continued the process of mass arrests. Ādil Hussain, Secretary General of the pro-Islamist SLP and former Marxist turned Islamist was arrested in December 1994 on the charges of having links with al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah and supported its efforts to overthrow the government. He is also a prominent journalist, who has written so many articles on state-corruption. Journalists, intellectuals and opposition party leaders demonstrated against his detention, consequently he was released after a month. In the beginning of 1995, 20 members of the same political party were arrested leveled with same charges. According to Middle East Watch security forces tortured the relatives of the Islamists and arrested more than 8,000 people, suspected to be Islamist militants. In January 1995, eighty-seven people died during the clashes between the militants and the security forces. Officials claimed that 123 people lost their lives in only first three months of 1995 as compared to 77 in the whole year of 1994.

After claiming the victory against the İslāmist militants, the government moved towards al-Ikhwān to weaken its political influence in the parliamentary elections of November 1995. President Mubārak and Interior Minister accused al-Ikhwān of having links with the militants and arrested its key leaders in January 1995. At the end of March, five members of the Doctors'
Syndicate, which is controlled by al-Ikhwān, were detained on charges of using medical relief operations as a cover for military training abroad. In order to counter Islamist influence, more control was exerted over other professional organizations. Peoples' Assembly passed an amendment in February 1995, giving more powers to judiciary to intervene in Trade Union elections and prevented al-Ikhwān members from contesting.

President Husni Mubārak's motor-cade was un-successfully attacked by two gunmen at Addis Ababa Bole International Airport in Ethiopia on 26 June 1995, where he was to be received by Ethiopian President, Meles Zenawi. Both the gun-men were killed on spot by Mubārak's body-guards. Mubārak was on his way to attend the opening session of the O.A.U. Summit meeting. The Ethiopian authorities accused the Sūdān for the attack and Mubārak also blamed the Sūdān for harbouring Egyptian militants and supplying them with arms and ammunition and imparting them weapons' training. However, the Sūdānese authorities rejected the illegations of the Egyptian president and Ethiopian authorities. Israel P.M. Yitzhak Robin accused that the 'Islamist fundamentalists', supported by Iran, had attempted to assassinate President Mubārak. Al-Ahrār, an independent newspaper accused Israel for planning the assassination attempt, in order to harm Egyptian relations with the Sūdān and Irān. However, al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah claimed the responsibility in the first week of July 1995.

In September 1995, the EOHR condemned the detention of some Islāmists in certain desert prisons, where 20 detainees died in two prisons due to inhuman torture. President Mubārak, while interviewed in Paris (France), denied the illegations and accused the organization of
making propaganda to destabilize the country. However, the arrested militants were tried in military courts rather than in civil courts.

Al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah exploded a car bomb in the Croatian port of Rajika in October 1995 and assassinated Egyptian diplomat in Geneva in November. Group for International Justice (G.I.J.) claimed the responsibility; it is believed to be a section of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah. In the same month, a suicide bomber attacked Egyptian Embassy in Islāmabād (Pākistān) killed 16 people including five Egyptians and wounded 60 others, a few days after the Geneva incident. GIJ, al-Jamā’ah and Islāmic Jihād claimed the responsibility of attack on Egyptian Embassy at Islāmabād.

In November 1995, al-Jamā’ah militants advised all foreign tourists to leave the country or face the consequences. Three Egyptians hijacked an Egyptian Air craft carrying tourists from Luxor to Cario and forced it to fly to Lisbya. However no one was hurt and the hijackers were extradited to Egyptian authorities by the end of March 1996.

Pre-election security operations intensified against al-Ikhwān after the assassination attempt on Mubārak’s life in June 1995. 19 members of Majlis al-Shūra (consultative council) were arrested from different cities, Mubārak decided that 49 members of al-Ikhwān be tried by military courts by the end of 1995, which was criticized even by political opponents of al-Ikhwān also. Different political parties including Tagammu, the Nasserist Party and the New Wafd Party decided to protest against the military trials. In order to destroy the structure of al-Ikhwān, the government imprisoned prominent leaders and many professionals. Fifty-four members including parliamentary

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candidates were imprisoned for three to five years by the military courts for their allegedly involvement in unconstitutional activities. Organization headquarters, in central Cairo, was also closed. The Minister of the Interior claimed that government had evidence of close links of al-
Ikhwan with al-Jamā’ah and Islāmic Jihad. In an interview in Paris, Mubarak blamed al-Ikhwan for killing two P.M.’s. and a finance Minister before revolution and assassination attempt on al-Nasser and assassination of al-Sadāt. He called them by ‘Islamist Extremists’ and stated that their activities were totally against the principles of Islām. More than 1,000 members of al-Ikhwan including poll observers and polling agents were arrested on the eve of elections. Certain opposition candidates complained that they had been given negative symbols like a sword or a pistol, so that the voters would treat them as the supporters of militants. 

By the end of 1995, Egyptian security forces contained militant activities. Several militants including members of Islāmic Jihad were arrested by the end of November, allegedly planning to assassinate leading politicians and explode a car bomb in the Khan al-Khalīlī, Cairo’s main tourist market. In December, some more members of Islāmic Jihad were arrested and the government claimed that they were funded and supplied with arms and ammunition by the exiled Islāmic Jihad leaders in U.K. and the Südān. During a visit to Paris, Egyptian President denounced UK and Germany for harbouring Islāmic fundamentalists including Islāmic Jihad. In the same month EOHR warned the government that severe measures of the security forces, would not control violence, it is rather freedom of expression and organization and true practising
of democracy, which would prevent the increase in violence.

The police in al-Minya killed two al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah members in February 1996. Clashes between the police and al-Jamā’ah militants and between the supporters of security force or Islāmist militants, resulted the death of 24 people by the end of February. In the mid-March, government lifted 20 month old curfew from Mallawi town, in al-Minya. In March and April 1996, 245 people allegedly members of Jamā’at al-Muslimīn, the organization which was silent since 1970s, were arrested on the charges that they were regrouping and planning a campaign of violence.

In April 1996, bar association was charged with mismanagement of finance. Twelve members of al-Ikhwān’s supreme guidance council were arrested in the same month, charged with having links with militant groups and reestablishing the activities of the organization. Among the imprisoned, three were founder members of al-Wast including ‘Abd al-Madā, a ‘former Deputy Secretarial General of the Engineers’ Syndicate, who tried to recognize the new party. They were accused of trying to use al-Wast as a cover for al-Ikhwān activities however they strongly denied the illegation and claimed that they were trying to establish a stage between the state and the Islāmist militants. Al-Wast included young Islāmists, Christians, Leftists and Nasserists.

In the same month, four gunmen of al-Jamā’ah fired upon Greek tourists outside the Europa Hotel, killing 18 including an Egyptian and injuring 15 others. Later on they stated that they wanted to attack the Israelis to take the revenge of Israeli attacks on Hisbullah basis in Lebanon. In retaliation security forces raided the hideouts of the organization and arrested a number of militants.
In mid-1996, Ministry of the Interior claimed that there was a decrease in violence due to tight security despite a series of robberies carried out by al-Jamā’ah activists, which showed that they had been delinked from their overseas leadership. Government rejected the ceasefire offer of al-Jamā’ah in early May 1996 and insisted that there would be no dialogue with extremists. In the same month, government claimed that it had arrested 33 activists of al-Jamā’ah and killed one of its leaders and also arrested 13 members of al-Shawaiyūn (a branch of al-Jamā’ah) and killed a prominent member of this group. In June, some more Islāmists were arrested. Search operations were also conducted in Asyūt and Suhāj province in September and October. Agencies claimed that 16 leading members of Islāmic Jihād and 50 of Shia group were arrested, however the independent sources revealed that the militants manged to escape. Earliar President Mubārak had accused Irān of supporting Egyptian militants and were involved in June 1995 assassination attempt on him. Human rights commissions always criticized the Egyptian security forces for their brutalities.

In September 1996, Egypt criticized the UK for supporting international terrorism by harbouring Islāmist militants, including Yassir Tawfīq al-Sirri of Vanguard of Conquest (a faction of Islāmic Jihād) and allowing the militant Islāmist groups to organize international conferences in the UK.

In September 1996, the Ethiopian Supreme Court for their involvement sentenced three Egyptians who were reported to be Islāmist militants, to death in the assassination attempt on the life of Husni Mubārak.

In 1997, The Arab Organization for Human Rights claimed that 17,000 political prisoners, most of them
Islamists had been detained since 1991. The military courts between 1991 and January 1997, of which 54 had been executed, had sentenced Eighty three thousand Islamists to death.

The Peoples' Assembly approved extension in Emergency Law Provisions, first declared in 1981, in February 1997 for three more years. The extension included trial of civilians by military courts, lengthy detention without trial and press censorship. There were a number of attacks against Coptic Christians in Upper Egypt in early months of 1997. Guerrillas attacked a church in al-Fikriya in al-Minya Governorate, killing several worshipers and also murdered Copts in nearly village in March. Al-Jamā’ah denied the illegations for the attack. Militants killed eight Christians and four Muslims in village Izbat Dawūd and fired upon the Aswan Cario train. Al-Jamā’ah again denied the illegation. In the month of March 1997, Islāmic Jihād and Vanguards of Conquest announced co-ordination for continuing a campaign of violence.

In August 1997, suspected Islāmist militants in Upper Egypt killed a number of people. In mid-September 98 people, suspected to be Islāmist militants were convicted by a military court in Haekstep, in north of Cario, on charges of subversion. Eight of them were sentenced for life-imprisonment and four were sentenced to death. In retaliation in October 1997, a few days later, a tourist bus was attacked with petrol-bombs in Cario killing nine Germans and injuring 11 others. The Higher Military Court convicted two brothers for conducting the attack and sentenced death penalty to them in October 1997 and they were hanged to death in May 1998.

Al-Jamā’at al-Islāmiyyah killed 70 people including 58 foreign Tourists near the tomb of Qur’ān Hatsheput in
Luxor, in November 1997. Al-Ikhwān condemned the attack but emphasized the need for dialogue with the opponents for the process of political, social and economic reform.

On 17 November, Vanguards of Conquest killed 74 foreign tourists in Aqṣr. Though one of the imprisoned leaders of al-Jamāʿah, Mohammad ‘Abd al-ʿAlīm declared unilateral ceasefire before two months of incident. He appealed his active followers to stop counter attacks. Such types of appeals were coming before also, but unfortunately the regime treated it as weakness of their opponents. Despite this, they continued their oppression on their opponents and killed innocent people. Outsiders make fun of Egyptian people and want to annihilate them in the name of destroying terrorism with the help of Arab states and other institutions. If the government of Egypt, which claims the leadership of Arabs in each and every field, will reconcile with its own brothers, then it would be the guiding step towards the end of terrorism in the Arab world. Local and external forces, which are benefited with this confusion, do not like this reconciliation.72

President Mubārak forced the Minister of Interior Hassan Mohammad al-Atfī; to resign for his failure in tackling the militancy and Habīb Ibrāhīm Adli was appointed as new Interior Minister. President Mubārak ordered tight security at all tourist places to safe guard the tourist industry. In November 1997, government published a list of exiled militants and condemned certain countries for harbouring them, especially the UK. It was reported that prior to the Luxor incident, al-Jamāʿah and Islāmic Jihād jailed leaders were willing for ceasefire. In early December 1997, an exiled leader of al-Jamāʿah also condemned the Luxor attack. It undermines the
government's claim that exiled leaders were behind that attack.  

Severe restrictions were imposed on the freedom of press after wide criticism of the government during 1998. Independent journalists of some newspapers were replaced by pro-government reporters and six journalists were imprisoned on charges of libel between January and October. A new law was introduced under which individuals were prohibited from owning publishing companies and printing restrictions were imposed on two English newspapers. During 1999, further charges were brought against the dissenting journalists.

In February 1998 chief editor of al-Sha’ab, Mājidī Hussain and a journalist were sentenced one year imprisonment each after found guilty on charges of defamation against two sons of Hassan al-Alfi, former Interior Minister. Jad al-Haq, Grand Shaykh of al-Azhar, had been accused of being sympathetic to Islamist militant groups. After his death in March 1996, Mohammad Sayid Tantawī, formerly the Grand Mufti was appointed as Grand Shaykh of al-Azhar.

During 1998, government intensified its measures to suppress the Islamist groups. Since 1992, 106 Islamist militants had been hanged to death by June 1998 including two members of al-Jamā’ah, who had been convicted of the murder of a policeman in 1993. Two senior police officers were dismissed and fined in June 1998, after being found guilty of negligence at Luxor’s tourist site at the time of November 1997 incident. In 1998 the Ministry of the Interior released some prisoners, who had left the militant organizations.

In December 1998, EOHR Secretary General Häfiz Abū Sa’ad was arrested. He was accused by al-Usbū, 307
weekly newspaper, that he had been paid US$ 25,000 British by a Parliamentary Human Rights Committee, through the British embassy in Cario to write a false report of brutalities on Copts in Upper Egypt in August. There were protests in 1998 and 10 strikes in February 1999 by public sector workers, which affected road, air and textiles. Al-Wast was denied recognition in May and September 1998.\(^4\)

In February 1999, three men suspected of belonging to al-Jamā’ah were arrested on Uruguayan-Brazilian border for their alleged involvement in 1997 Luxor attack. The Egyptian authorities demanded their extradition in order to face trial in Egypt. Proceedings of 107 Islāmic Jihād militants charged with the overthrow of the government began in February 1999. In April nine accused were sentenced to death for having links with illegal organization and attacks on police and state officials, 78 received prison sentences between one years to life with hard labour, 20 were acquitted including Ayman al-Zawāhiri, a senior leader of Islāmic Jihād. In retaliation, the group announced that it would continue its activities.\(^5\) EOHR claimed that the evidence produced before the court regarding the trial was not sufficient.

In May 1999 security officials in Switzerland alleged that the massacre at Luxor, in November 1997, had been organized and financed by the Afghān-based Sa‘ūdi militant Islāmist Osāma bin Laden.\(^6\)

Jamā’ah at Islāmiyyah denied the reports in 1999 that it was planning to establish a political party. It declared one-sided ceasefire in the month of March. Though the government gave no formal acknowledgement of the ceasefire, it went on releasing Islāmist militants from various jails in order to restore peace. 2,400 al-Jamā’ah
members were released including two of its leaders who were accused in al-Sadat assassination case. However the arrests and trials of Islamists continued in 1999. 23 members of the Vanguard of Conquests-breakaway group of Islamic Jihad were detained in May by the security forces on the charges that they were seeking to revive the activities in Egypt. In June 1999, twenty members of al-Jamā’ah were sentenced imprisonment for their allegedly involvement to attack President Mubārak at his residence in 1996. However they were not given death sentence due to the ceasefire. 77

In June 1999, President Mubārak was nominated for the fourth six-year term and approved by 93.8% of the total members on 26 September 1999. In the same month, a triumphal procession by President Mubārak in Port Said was disrupted, when a man armed with knife stabbed President Mubārak but the latter sustained a minor injury and the attacker was killed by his body guards. 78

In August 1999, human rights groups and political parties demanded political reforms such as abolition of emergency laws, recognition to new political parties and trade unions, more freedom to press and guarantee of free and fair elections, Peoples’ Assembly approved a law regarding the activities of NGOs in May 1999. The move was widely criticized by the human rights groups, which claimed that the new law would not allow the NGOs to operate independently.

Government released 5000 prisoners from different jails in September but the human rights groups claimed that 15,000 more are still in detention and out of them 2/3 have no link with any kind of militancy and most of them are held without charge and trial. In the same month four members of al-Jamā’ah were shot dead by Egyptian security
forces including commander of its military wing Farīd Salīm al-Kedwani. Twenty-three members of Vanguards of Conquest (a splinter group of al-Jihād) were detained on the grounds that they were seeking to revive the activities in Egypt.

In September, in Giza, four members of al-Jamā‘ah were shot dead by the security forces including its military commanders, Farīd Salīm al-Kedwani. It was the first blow to al-Jamā‘ah since its unilateral ceasefire in March 1999.79

In mid-October, 20 members of al-Ikhwan were arrested on the charges of plotting to overthrow the government and of infiltrating professional syndicates (doctors, engineers etc.), in order to undermine national security. EOHR claimed that 200 members of al-Ikhwan were arrested between January and October, of whom 100 remained in detention.

At the end of October 1999, Al-Sharq al-Awsat, British based newspaper, claimed that al-Jamā‘ah was reestablished under ‘Ali ‘Abd al-Rāziq, following the killing of Farīd al-Kedwani. In early December 1999 government released 1200 al-Jamā‘ah prisoners from different jails. Mustafa Hamzah the prime suspect in the 1995 assassination attempt on President Mubārak, is new Shūra chairman of al-Jamā‘ah.80

The security force arrested twenty members of al-Ikhwān in October 1999 on the charges of conspiring to overthrow the government and posing a threat to national security by infiltrating professional syndicates. EOHR claimed that 200 members of al-Ikhwān had been arrested between January and October 1999.

Keeping pressure on the Islāmists, security forces arrested Dr. Mohammad Badi Sami, a university professor and head of the ‘New Islāmic Call Association’ alongwith
several leading members of the association, accused of possessing leaflets containing the views of banned al-Ikhwān. Dr. Sami and some others have been imprisoned on the order from the state prosecutor.\(^8\)

Thousands of Muslims continue to languish in prisons in Egypt for no reason but that they are committed to the Islāmic movement. They are forced to sign confessions after being threatened with the rape of their daughters, sisters, mothers or wives. Such ‘confessions’ are then used to security long prison terms or even the death penalty. Any of them would rather face humiliation of their women folk than bear personal punishment.\(^2\)

The Egyptian government blocked to win legal recognition as a political party on 9 December 1999. The leader of the proposed ‘Al Shariah Party’ said he would appeal against the decision. The relatives of imprisoned members of Egyptian two largest Muslim groups, the Jamā’ah and Islāmic Jihād, also support him.

The group also requested for a new party on 2 October. The group is led by Mamdouh Ismail, a lawyer, who was a member of al-Jama’ah until the assassination of Anwar al-Sadat in October 1981.\(^4\)

In January 2000, there were rumours that Dr. Ayman al-Zawahiri had been removed from the leadership of Islāmic Jihād due to his links with Osama Bin Laden.\(^5\) In the late of the same month, the draft of ‘Personal Status Law’ was introduced in the Peoples’ Assembly. The draft had proposed that women be given the right to divorce their husbands ‘immediately and unilaterally’, in return for giving up all financial claims upon him. It also proposed that women be permitted to travel abroad without their husbands’ consent. After the declaration of the bill as un-Islāmic by many parliamentarians, certain amendments
were made in it and passed into law. Any provision for independent travel rights was abandoned while a requisite three-month period of arbitration before women could divorce their husband.86

On 26 February 2000 state of emergency was extended to further three years up to February 2003. In March, government approved Hizb al-Wifaq al-Qawmi (National Accord Party). In May, the Arab Organization for Human Rights, a regional group unofficially based in Cairo since 1989, was legalized. In the same month the government suspended S.L.P. and its newspaper al-Sha’ab on the grounds that party had exceeded its political mandate. The newspaper was accused for calling ‘Banquet of Seaweed’ (Pub. in 1983) by Haider as blasphemous and held the party responsible for the clashes between the police and students outside al-Azhar Islāmic University in May, when the students were protesting against the decision of approving the reprinting of the book by Minister of Culture in November 1997. 50 students and six policemen were wounded, when police used rubber bullets and teargas shells to disperse the violent mob. After that the government banned the sale of the book, which was already banned by most of the Muslim countries. Leaders of SLP and Majīdī Hussain, editor of al-Sha’ab, were charged in mid-July 2000, that they were disturbing public order and have links with al-Ikhwān. A court ruling in July stated that the action against SLP and its newspaper was unconstitutional. Ibn Khaldūn Center for Social and Development Studies Cairo was closed by the order of the government and its five members were arrested including Sa’ad Eddin Ibrāhīm, the academic and democracy activist. He was accused that he had accepted more than US$ 220,000 from the European Commission to produce a
documentary on the election process in Egypt ahead of the parliamentary elections scheduled for late 2000. On 21 May 2001, Ibrāhīm was sentenced to seven years imprisonment on charges of defaming Egypt, embezzlement, forgery and receiving unauthorized funds. A further 27 employers of Ibn Khaldūn center were given sentence of imprisonment between one year and seven years.

EOHR claimed that militants killed 99 Copts between 1991-98 in Egypt. In June 2000, trial of 96 Muslims began and in February 2001, ninety-two of them were acquitted and four were awarded one to ten years imprisonment.

In July 2000, the scheduled election to the government council of the lawyers’ syndicate was abruptly cancelled by the government-controlled committee overseeing them. More than 100 al-Ikhwān activists had been arrested and detained over the previous month. Finally the elections took places in February 2001. Al-Ikhwān supporters won 22 out of 24 contested seats.87

In February 2002, it was reported that the Islāmic Jihad leadership called upon its activists to stop actions in and outside Egypt and wage jihād for the liberation of al-Aqsa Mosque in Jerusalem. In this way first time the Islāmic Jihad leaders had called for ceasefire, which was backed by leaders imprisoned in jails. In mid-July 11 leaders of Jihād’s military wing, who were imprisoned in Egypt, officially declared ceasefire against the government.

At the end of February 2002, police arrested eight prominent Islāmists on charges of seeking to revive al-Ikhwān. Among them was Mohammad Ibrāhīm Badawi, who had been released in August 1999 after serving a three-year prison sentence for the same. In mid-March 500-840 Islāmists including the members of al-Jamā’ah and Islāmic
Jihād were released. Again in July, 500 more Islāmists were released.

There were violent clashes between the Muslims and Christian Copts in Al-Kosheh village in Upper Egypt in which 19 Copts and two Muslims died and 30 others injured.

Although Mubārak allowed the Islāmists in the beginning to criticises the government but overall the state control of media, the enforcement of emergency laws since 1981 and human rights violations have gravely confined democratic freedoms.
Notes and References


(2) Egypt was thrown out of Arab League, when al-Sadat signed ‘Camp David Accord’ with Israel in 1979.


(11) Ibid.

(12) Ibid.


(14) The New Wafād party is actually ‘The Wafād Party,’ which had led the Egyptian nationalist movement against British occupation between 1919 and 1922. It was founded by Sa’ad Zāghlūl in 1919, when he requested the British and the King to allow Egyptian
Wafd (delegation) to participate in the Paris conference. The request was turned down and Sa’ad Zāghlūl was arrested and sent to Malta. The Party was banned in 1952 and reformed as New Wafd Party in February 1978 and again disbanded in June 1978. It was reformed in 1983 under the leadership of Fuād Seraj al-din and Ibrāhīm Faraj as its Secretary General. It is comprised of Copts, Nasserites, Muslim fundamentalists, former army officers (both pro and anti-al-Nasser) and Socialist and liberal businessmen. After the death of Fuād Seraj al-din in August 2000, Nu’mān Jum’ah was elected its leader.

(15) Marsot, op. cit., p. 144.
(16) In July 1983, law was passed that the political parties who would like to contest 1984 elections would require to secure a minimum of 8% of the total votes in order to represent in the Peoples’ Assembly.
(26) Baker, Raymond William, ‘Invidious Comparisons: Realism, Postmodern Globalism, and Centrist Islāmic


(32) Mohammad al-Ghazâlî was born in 1917, the last days of the Ottoman Caliphate, and grew up in the age of Arab nationalism, yet he himself as an ‘Egyptian, Arabised by Islâm.’ His forte lay in his intellectual vigour: his relationship with political grassroots was indirect. His experience of politics had been brief, and in the 1940s. As a member of al-Ikhwân he spent a few years in prison during al-Nasser’s regime. Then he differed over the election of Hasan al-Hudaibi as the new guide and resigned in 1951. But he had resigned from the organization and not from its message. He was an establishment man: Imâm and Khateeb in Masjid al-‘Atabâ al-Khadr in Cairo (1943); advisor of mosque affairs in the ministry of awqâf; religious guide and Wa‘iz (religious teacher) at Al-Azhar; supervisor of the secretariat of the Supreme Council of Islâmic Affairs; deputy director, department of mosques; director of da‘wah and training in the ministry of awqâf; director general of Islamic guidance; and deputy minister for Islâmic da‘wah affairs in the ministry of awqâf (1981).

He was professor at ‘Umm al-Qura University Makkah al-Mukarrammah, and the University of Qatar. He was also Chairman of the board of studies at Amîr ‘Abd al-Qâdir University, Constantine, Algiers.

His message to Muslim rulers was that they should not behave as if they were infallible but
encourage criticism to know the truth, because true security lies only in freedom. He did not try to dodge the real issues raised by the publication of *The Satanic Verses;* he appeared in court to say that those who had killed a self admitted apostate, Faraj Fouda, had done so because the state had failed to do its own duty to punish apostasy and so the defendants had committed manslaughter, not murder. He died on 11 March 1996.


(34) Esposito, J. L. and al-Kheir, Karen Abu, *'Islâm Without Fear',* Harvard University Press.


(42) Ibid.

(43) Ibid.


(45) Ibrahim, Ibrahim, op. cit., p. 355.

(46) Ibid.

(47) Ibid.
Ibid., p. 354.
Ibid.
Ibid. See also Regional Surveys of the World: ME/NA, op. cit., 1999, p. 408.
Ibid., p. 405.
Ibid., p. 47.
Azam, Maha, The Islāmists and the State under Mubārak, op. cit., pp. 113-114.
Ibid., p. 30.
Ibid.
(72) Nadvi, Masūd al-Rahmān, Sarkari Dehshatgardi Aur Musalah Gruh: Misri Tajrubah; in Zindagi Nav, Monthly, New Delhi, April 1999, p. 65.
(78) Ibid. p. 295.
(81) Ibid., p. 292.
(83) Ibid., p. 2.
(86) Ibid., p. 297.
(87) Ibid.
Conclusion
CONCLUSION

The Islāmic resurgence is part of a general reaction to socio-political and cultural conditions, which resulted in a setback of secular liberal ideologies. Since the early years of the twentieth century, a number of Islāmic organizations and societies developed in Egypt. Among those groups the most prominent was al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, founded by Hasan al-Bannā in 1928. The Islāmic organization, which had become an important political force in 1948, lost its founder in 1949. The death of al-Bannā was a severe blow to al-Ikhwān that adversely affected the role of the organization in the society.

After becoming the Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān, al-Hudaibi introduced certain changes in the organization e.g., he replaced the highly respectable senior members with relatively new; created a new post of naib; discredited and invalidated the continuity of Special Apparatus; and openly condemned the use of force.

He provided the justification in favour of his action to discredit and invalidate the Special Apparatus that it was a mistake from the first and it should be rectified. He said, since there is no secrecy allowed in the religion of Islām and no terrorism in the religion, there is no need of such type of apparatus.

He further emphasized that violence could not liberate Egypt from the clutches of the British. This was the duty of al-Ikhwān and that of the government to educate the people and prepare them spiritually, which was the only way to eradicate the British occupation from Egypt.

He directed the movement towards simplification of the mission, the broadening of its base and the
strengthening of its foundations. The ‘Ulamā of al-Ikhwan and their scholars began to write detailed and comprehensive articles on various aspects of life in the light of Islamic principles, for example, political, legal, social, economic, financial etc.

‘Abd al-Qādir Awdah wrote three books: al-Tashri al-Jina'i fi al-Islām (Criminal Legislation in Islam), al-Mal wa al-Hukm fi al-Islām (Finance and Rule in Islam) and al-Islām wa Awadd'una al-Māliyah (Islam and our Financial Conditions). Mohammad al-Ghazāli (the then member of al-Ikhwan) wrote: Min Huna Na'lam (From Here We Know), in answer to the book written by Shaykh Khālid Mohammad Khālid: Min Huna Nabda (From Here We Begin), which caused a great stir. Al-Ghazāli also wrote: Aqidah al-Muslim (The Creed of Muslim), and al-Islām al-Muftara ‘Alayhi (Islam the Culminated). Other books of that period are Nuzūm al ‘Amal fi al-Islām and Nuzūm al-Harb fi al-Islām (Systems of work in Islam and Systems of War in Islam) by Jamāl al-dīn ‘Ayyād and al-Islām wa Huqūq al-Insān (Islam and Rights of Man) by ‘Abd al-Mu‘nīm Khafājī.

Sayyid Qutb, who joined al-Ikhwan in 1951, wrote many books in jail. Since these books contain call and thought of al-Ikhwan, so he is considered as the ideologue of al-Ikhwan. He made thorough study of human societies and came to the conclusion that all societies other than Islam are jāhiliyyah. He urged the Islamic movements to oppose both the West and so-called Muslim leaders whom they found to be disregarding Allah's law. He regards these leaders as jāhil. The most important work, which contains the attacks against jāhiliyyah and for which he was hanged to death, is Ma‘ālim fi al-Tarīq. In the book he wrote that we are in a similar jāhiliyyah, our beliefs,
habits, customs, rules, laws, education etc., all are products of jāhiliyyah.

To him Islām is a comprehensive way of life. He elaborates that Allah is the ultimate sovereignty, so these is no governance except for God, no legislation but from God, no sovereignty of one person over the other because all sovereignty belongs to God.

_Jihād_ is an essential characteristic of Islām commanded in the Qurʾān. It is the way to fight against jāhili system. It should be waged on two levels—individual and collective. At the individual level one should fight against the impact of jahiliyyah and should purge from within oneself all its influences. At the collective level fight against jāhili system, should be waged through the Islāmic movement.

He was of the opinion that Islām and jāhiliyyah cannot co-exist. Muslims should separate themselves from the jāhiliyyah society and should try to eradicate it. _Hijrah_ is necessary until the implementation of Islāmic laws.

He regards West as spiritually bankrupt and the greatest enemy of Islām. He was of the opinion that Islām is a liberating force; liberation is an imperative to set humans free, to bring about the kingdom of God on earth. It must control each and every field of life. It must control administration and policymaking and ensure equal distribution of wealth.

As the book, _Maʿ ālim fi al-Tarīq_, had become attractive to Islāmists, another book entitled _Duʿāh Lā Qudāh_ (Preachers, not Judges) was attributed to al-Hudaibi, the then Supreme Guide. This book was written as an effort to deflect Islāmists from the ideas set forth in Qutb’s book _Maʿālim fi al- Tarīq_.

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Al-Hudaibi tried his best to save the Islamic movement from violence, oppression and disturbance. In this context, he faced severe enmity from an extremist group of al-Ikhwan. He provided justifications from the Qur'an and the Sunnah of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) to prove that their duty was to struggle for da'wah and reformation. It was not their duty to bring people on the right path by using force and violence. And the Muslims living in an un-Islamic society are answerable to Allah according to their intention and action. To sentence or atone them was out of their jurisdiction. In the introduction of the book Du'āh La Qudāh, the writer explains that al-Ikhwan has passed through the severe phases of oppression and imprisonment. In spite of torture and oppression in the jails, they tried their best to remove the misunderstanding from their minds. They took this step not due to any danger or planning but only for the sake of pleasure of Allah. Outwardly this sedition was solved but enemies of truth were not ready to surrender, because they wanted to destroy the image of Islamic movement through their ill wishes. These people observed with their own eyes that people are waiting for Islamic call and were sure that impurity of un-Islamic movements had been unveiled. They also knew that Muslims were sincere and ready to adopt Islamic Shariah in each and every aspect of life — political, economic, social and cultural.

Hasan al-Hudaibi took in time the notice of penetrated extremism and violence in Islamic thought. After discussing all these beliefs and thoughts in the light of Qur'an and the Sunnah and the arguments of Sunni scholars, he supported moderate, clear and transparent thought and action. In fact, he was translator of his well-
known saying: “Set up rule of the Qur’ān in your hearts it will automatically be established on the earth.”

Al-Tilmisānī, the third Supreme Guide stressed during the whole period for da’wah, education and training of the youth. In the universities and colleges, the students were reorganized under the banner of al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah. Under his leadership, the demand for implementation of the Islāmic Shari‘ah gained momentum and pro-Islām candidates were successful in the student union elections. During this period al-Ikhwān became a strong public power and criticized the un-Islāmic policies of Anwar al-Sadāt. Al-Tilmisānī never recognized Israel and was against the Camp David Accord. He said that ‘Muslim Extremism’ is obvious because youths, having Islāmic thinking, were severely tortured in Egyptian jails, which could not be imagined. In reaction to this inhuman treatment, if the youth adopt the other ways, they are called extremists by the official media.

During the period of Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr, the organization achieved extraordinary success in the political field although the organization had not been recognized in the political field. It succeeded in reviewing its existence and influence among the masses. Pro-Islāmists won all the professional union, student union and other union elections in the colleges and universities. Al-Ikhwān contested 1987 elections under the banner of Islāmic Alliance in collaboration with Labour Party and liberal Party, and won sixty seats. It also contested 1989 mid-term polls of Majlis-e-Shurā, boycotted 1990 elections and fielded its candidates in the local bodies elections.

Under the leadership of Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr, al-Ikhwān members came close together and, spirit of counseling, self-confidence, sense of duty and cooperation
developed in them to the utmost. He was against each and every type of foreign interference, the U.S. interference in particular. He appealed all Muslim countries to cut off relations with those countries who directly or indirectly interfere in the affairs of Muslim countries. He stressed that the newly Gulf issue should be resolved within the Arab-Islamic perspective. He declared that the Arab rulers were responsible for the Gulf-crisis. He also criticized Saddam Hussain for the occupation of Kuwait and missile attack on Israel, because both the acts of Iraqi President helped the U.S. and Zionists for their atrocities. He urged the rulers of the Muslim Countries to establish Islamic system of government in their respective countries and learn a lesson from the Gulf-crisis.

After a gap of forty years, it was possible only under his leadership, that al-Ikhwān once again established its complete institutional and organizational structure on the basis of Šūra.

Mustafa Mashhūr did a lot for the service of al-Ikhwān in particular and for the Islāmist movements in general. During the phase of its disturbance, he visited Africa, South-East Asia and other places to make contacts with the al-Ikhwān leaders in exile. He successfully organized them together with the international Islāmic movement. He stressed for da’wah and training of the youth. Though the organization was banned but due to his tactics it played a vital role not only through professional syndicates but also through local councils and parliamentary politics. He opposed any type of violence and paid full attention towards the strengthening and organizing the movement. He expressed affection and attraction towards the youth and absorbed them in the organization. Though the leadership was in the hands of 60 to 70 years
old people but the youth were considered its real strength. They were not only in the form of the students of schools, colleges, and universities but also waiters of hotels in Cairo and other major cities.

He made it clear to the government that al-Ikhwan was not against the constitution of the country giving the reason that the organization calls for the real Islam and implementation of the Islamic Shariah, as it had been written in the constitution that Islam is the religion of the country.

Mustafa Mashhur was a senior writer, author, journalist and a good speaker. He wrote in detail about takfir in his book Tariq al-da'wah. He is of the opinion that it is not the duty of a Muslim to decide about the faith of the other. Life, wealth and honor of every Muslim is respectable. No one has the right to tear it into pieces. Tests in the way of Allah are not the faults of a man but part of the obedience of God. It is not good to declare a Muslim as infidel because it creates hatred and fear among the common Muslims and they could become enemies of da'wah.

In this book he gives the causes of deviation. Sometimes due to a little knowledge, a caller becomes a Mufti. Instead of calling for principles, he calls for minor points, which prove very dangerous. Excess of performing prayers makes man carelessness from other duties and he leaves Farā'id and Wājibāt for nafl and Sunnah. Sometimes a caller wants to discover a shortcut method and becomes ready to use power and violence, which impure the way of Islamic movement. He is of the opinion that if a Muslim wants to do well, he should follow the way of Prophet Mohammad (SAW) in real spirit.
According to him al-Ikhwan is fighting against corruption and wrongdoings and he demanded a democratic type of authority on rotation basis, end of emergency laws and release of innocent people who had nothing to do with violence.

Mamūn al-Hudaibi, sixth Supreme Guide, maintained that the destruction of Iraq was in fact strengthening of Israel; and the U.S. is trying to destroy Muslim countries under the pretext of 11 Sept. 2001 incident. But da‘wah of Islām is gaining momentum day by day and will not stop at any cost.

Most people are unaware about the activities of al-Ikhwan and treat it as a terrorist group. After the death of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, the organization got relief to some extent. Though the organization was suppressed in Iraq and Syria and its leaders were exiled from these countries but it does carry out its activities in the Sudān, Jordan, America and other parts of the world.

Besides social and religious activities, it is engaged in welfare activities also. The organization has more than seventy-five years history and millions of people have deep concern with it. It has been fully involved in all the efforts of the resurgence of Islām throughout its history. It does not want any type of confrontation with the respective governments of their countries but maintained that Islām is the need of the hour all over the world.

Palestine problem remained a core issue for al-Ikhwan since 1940s. He maintained that it was part of their religion and obligatory upon them to help Palestinians by blood, medicine, finance, military weapons and, in rehabilitation and construction of their houses destroyed by the Jews.

Death of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, removed a major obstacle to the full-scale emergence of Islāmic
fundamentalism. A committed Muslim with a traditional background al-Sadat paid attention to the rising Islamic sentiments both in and outside. The 1965 Constitution was in practice in Egypt and permanent constitution was legislated on 11 September 1971. The name of the country ‘United Arab Republic’ was changed into ‘Arab Republic of Egypt.’ According to the constitution Islam was declared as the religion of the country; Shariah as principal source of legislation and Arabic its official language.

Al-Sadat appropriated the title ‘The Believer President’. His prayers at the mosque his Islamic activities programmes were covered by the mass media. He increased Islamic programmes and course in the schools. He used Qur’anic references and Islamic symbols in speeches at public gatherings and cast the 1973 Arab-Israel war as jihād. He attended religious ceremonies such as Milād al-Nabi etc. Islamic criminal laws were reinstated, ribā was banned and women were asked to be segregated from men in public transport and in university education and excluded from certain professions. A series of bills were introduced in the parliament on Islamic penalties for usury, apostasy, theft, adultery and drinking. After the protests by the Copts and liberal Muslims, most of them were withdrawn.

Although his foremost concern was science and technology, but he was also well aware about the fact that modernity has its own shortcomings. He admitted that due to ill faith and spirit, the rate of suicide was the highest in the ‘Advanced Countries’. He emphasized that his country should not depend on science and technology only but should preserve and revive its traditions and spiritual values. He cited the example of Vietnam and regarded that advanced technology in computer science could not save it. If they had depended upon scientific technology, it would
have been impossible for them to win the war of 1973 against Israel. It was not scientific technology alone that made them capable to overpower the enemy, but it was the faith and inner spiritual strength that made them successful.

The official policies of al-Sadat government have greater recognition to Islamic themes. The recognition was the product of a general resurgence of Muslim consciousness, especially among the educated political elite. Educated youth, students and administrators reaffirmed Islam. They were more regular in their daily. School and university female students adopted Islamic dress. Religious associations found new adherents among the young as well as the old, within the school, colleges, universities and government offices and in all walks of life. There was a change in the dress of the people. The men adopted modest dress and gave up wearing open-shirts, tight-pants and gold-chains. Most of the women started wearing long gowns with long sleeves and a head veil.

Al-Sadat was more conservative than al-Nasser. He set free the leaders and members of al-Ikhwan, and other Islamist and political prisoners. In almost all the universities, the students having Islamic understanding won the student union elections. Many books were published on 'the oppression' committed by Jamâl 'Abd al-Nasser. Though al-Ikhwan was still banned as a political organization, but its members enjoyed freedom of expression. Its two magazines *al-Da'wah* and *al-I'etisâm* was allowed to publish and circulate. Other Islamist groups active on university campuses were also allowed to participate in student union elections and such groups engaged themselves in many social service activities.
After the death of Sayyid Qutb and the bitter experience with the regime, the Islamists lost confidence in the moderate policy opted by the leadership of al-Ikhwān. Subsequently, the Islamists founded militant Islamic groups of their own strategy and means. Among the movements inspired by Qutb especially his rightings on jāhiliyyah, hakimīyyah etc. are Munazzamat al-Tahrīr al-Islāmi (I.L.O.), Jamā’at al-Muslimīn (al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah), al-Jihād and al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah.

The ideology of I. L. O. was dominantly influenced by the writings of Hasan al-Bannā, Sayyid Qutb, Abul ala Maudūdi and Ali Shariati. There are five main aspects of this ideology:

1. Islām is the only proper and right path to be followed by man in every field of life. There is no God but Allah. Like other militant organizations, I.L.O. also was not ready to tolerate Judaism and Christianity.

2. Both the individual and the society should possess righteousness. And the Shariah should rule the society.

3. Islamic societies e.g., Egypt, Jordan etc. are weak before the external enemies such as Christian West, Jewish Zionism and Atheistic Communism, because they do not follow and implement the Shariah. I.L.O. condemned the political system of Egypt as its leaders were ‘God-fearless’.

4. Ulama are not sincere and God-fearing. They are delivering the sermons like propagandists of the government. In this way they are corrupting Islām. They described them babaghawat al-manābir (pulpit parrot), whom pity rather anger should be felt.

5. I.L.O. engaged itself in jihād for the re-Islāmisation of the society. One, who would show dedication to
this cause, would achieve martyrdom, whose reward would be paradise. I. L. O. rejected Western thinking and non-Islamic institutions and advocated the reorganization of the society on the basis of Shariah. It also advocated transformation from Godless and corrupt-state and victimized society by the political system, with the result they attacked the Technical Military Academy in 1974 to seize the power and establish Islamic political system, but failed.

Shukri Mustafa, leader of Jamā’at al-Muslimīn granted himself the title 'Amīr of Believers', 'Amīr of End of time' and 'Heir to land' in his booklet al-Tawassumāt. His followers secretly circulated the booklet; that was in the form of a manuscript to avoid the blasphemy of printing. In this manuscript Mustafa said that it was not possible to establish this state without treading the path traced out by the Prophet of Islam because neither state nor Islam could be established before the migration.

He divided jihād into three phases. First, the faithful must escape the pitfall of shirk of ascribing another divinity to God. He must avoid being tortured by the infidels. He must spread 'the knowledge' throughout the land. Finally, jihād must be waged to establish the Islamic state. According to this group the war would start from Egypt and would spread to every part of the world, till the establishment of rule of God in the whole world.

Shukri Mustafā represented the ideas of his guide in the purest form that Islam is a religion, a state, a country and a nationality. It is not only the religion of God but also His state in the world.

The main principles of al-Jamā’at’s ideology are as under;

(1) All existing societies are pagan.
(2) The only true Islam is the Islam of the Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.), his companions and of the salaf.

(3) Interpretation of the Qur'an through qiyās, ijmā and ijtihād is to be rejected.

(4) Membership in the Jamā'at is only the right path to be a good Muslim.

(5) No one who claims to be a Muslim is one. Only those who accept and live by the tenets of al-Jamā'at are good Muslims, others are infidels.

The group made no distinction between state and society. Both were Godless, and corrupt. They stated that there is no difference between contemporary Egypt and jāhiliyyah period of Arabia. Following the example set forth by the Prophet (S.A.W.) in his flight from Makkah to Madīnah and the conquest of Arabia; to achieve such type of goal, the group established a community of believers, which would form a base, where from the re-Islāmization of Egyptian society could take place. The mission of this group e.g. al-khilāfah was categorized into three stages; beginning with communications, followed by organization, emergence, and migration and culminating in jihād and its strategy. Shukri Mustafa claimed that there was no salvation for the Muslims unless they join his group inorder to separate themselves from the jāhiliyyah society.

Al-Jamā'at drew this type of ideological inspiration from the thinking of 'Ali 'Abduh Ismāil, a graduate of al-Azhar University, who sought to shape the al-Jamā'at beliefs and activities according to the Prophet's (S.A.W.) tactics adopted during the early Makkah period when the community was weak and the circumstances were not favourable. The Prophet (S.A.W.) consequently stressed and worked for the strengthening and expanding of his 'Ummah
through spiritual and physical separation from the *jahiliyyah* society. During this period he had refrained *jihād*. Muslims are advised by Shaykh Ismāil to practise spiritual separation strengthen their allegiance to Islām through al-Jamā'at organization, and advised the group not to wage *jihād*, as it had not achieved the required strength. They should not make efforts for capturing the power that was impossible also.

The group denounced usury, extravagance, excessive wealth and property, called for official collection of the *zakat* and regulation of the economy for the sake of justice and welfare. They accepted private property, inheritance, profit and social distinctions, provided they resulted solely from the hard earned money.

Mohammad al-Faraj was the chief ideologue of al-Jihād. He expressed his ideas regarding the Islāmic state and struggle in his pamphlet *al-Farīdhah al-Ghai'bah*. The pamphlet describes 'the establishment of the Islāmic state and the restoration of the *khilāfah* as the duty of every Muslim.

Al-Faraj was influenced by the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyah, al-Bannā and Mawdūdi, and followed by Sayyid Qutb in pushing them to their logical conclusion. He maintained in his pamphlet, that *jihād* is the sixth pillar of Islām, which had been often forgotten by the ‘*ulamā* and majority of the Muslims. His message to the Muslims was to wage the *jihād* against the corrupt people and those who have deviated from Islām.

It is now clear that al-Jihād’s goal was the resurgence of Islāmic state, Islāmic laws and destruction of Western methods. It believed the seizure of power would be the first step to pave the way for other steps. Al-Faraj’s *al-*
Farīdhah al- Ghā'ībah can be summarized in eleven propositions.

(1) The duty of every Muslim is to strive for the Muslim 'Ummah. This is a duty ordained by Allah and his Shariah. Since the laws of the Muslim countries are the laws of unbelievers, the true Muslims must declare jihād against their leaders who are trained in the West by Christians, Communists and Zionists.

(2) Muslim leaders or groups who reject the laws of Islām must be considered apostates despite their claims that they are Muslims. In other words, being a Muslim is to be constantly validated since a sinful individual shall lose his status as a Muslim if he persists in his sinfulness. Apostasy is the highest level of sinfulness.

(3) Cooperation with an infidel ruler who claims to be a Muslim is sin. The punishment for such a leader is death even if he is unable to defend himself. The Muslims should refrain from joining the administration and military services.

(4) Perpetual jihād against an infidel state is the highest obligation and is only solution for all true Muslims who desire to destroy jāhili society and revive Islām.

(5) Armed struggle is the only acceptable form of jihād.

(6) Jihād pursued by peaceful means through rhetoric, Islāmic parties, or hijrah is considered cowardice and stupidity. Islām can succeed only through the force of violence as it did in the past, when a small group of earnest believers were able to spread the message through conquests. Thus true Muslims should engage in jihād even if they are few in number.

(7) First fight the internal infidel (the Egyptian state) then the external infidel (the non-Islāmic world).
(8) *Jihād* can be learnt by every Muslim without so great effort or formal education. Thus the lack of knowledge is no excuse to abstain from *jihād*.

(9) Leadership in Islam must be granted to the strongest one among the believers, who also has more *taqwā* of Allah. He must be chosen collectively, and once chosen must be obeyed. An arrogant and haughty scholar should not be a leader.

(10) Abstaining from *jihād* is the main reason for the status quo. The Muslims today, therefore, humiliated, degraded, disdained and divided.

(11) Allah has designated five periods in Islamic history:
(a) the 'Ummah under the Prophet,
(b) the 'Ummah under the Caliphs,
(c) the 'Ummah under the Kingdoms,
(d) the 'Ummah under the dictatorship,
(e) Islam of our time when dictatorship and tyranny will be overthrown, and the 'Ummah would be controlled by a system of the Prophet's community.

Being a conglomerate of a number of groups, it is very difficult to ascertain the ideology of al-Jamā'ah. It is assessed through the members' activities that they were against the secular state, non-Islamic practices, and also against maintaining the peace with Israel and the U.S. They want the restoration of Islamic traditions. They were against the state control and the supervision of mosques through the Shaykh al-Azhar and Ministry of *Awqāf*. Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahmān, leader of al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah, criticized the involvement of al-Ikhwān into politics by taking part in the electoral process. He also denounced the religious institutions of the state. He urged his followers to
challenge the non-Islāmic practices of the government and demanded Irānian type of Islāmic revolution in Egypt.

Husni Mubārak continued to strengthen the 'official Islām' in public life. He demonstrated the tolerance and liberalization like his predecessor al-Sadāt. He asked the exiled leaders to come to the native land. He encouraged dialogue with the opposition and treated them as part of the masses. The political parties and religious organizations were allowed to operate. More liberty provided to the mass media and the opposition was allowed to publish newspapers and criticize the government. Television debates were organized by the government in which religious scholars of al-Azhar University, Islāmists and scholars from other religious circles establishment participated. The newspaper regularly published the columns on the religion. Al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah and al-Ikhwān operated a network of social services that included schools, clinics and private banks.

Islāmists not only performed religious practices but also organize social service camps in the form of offering psychiatric and drug rehabilitation centers, dental clinics, day-care centers, legal aid societies, provide housing and food on subsidies, run banks and investment centers.

The impact of resurgence had been seen in the religious, political, social and economic fields of life. Certain organizations were established in the form of Sūfi mystics, moderate and Islāmist, traditional Islāmists and social welfare associations. The desire to lead a more Islāmically oriented way of life can be found among the middle and upper class, educated and uneducated section, peasants and professional, young and old, women and men. Both ahāli and government controlled mosques were filled with the Muslims.
Religious programmes and Islamic trends are witnessed in the government-controlled media, in newspapers, bookshops, secular magazines and books of street vendors. The religious preachers - Shaykh Mohammad Mutāwalli al-Sh'rawī and ‘Abd al-Hamīd Kishk became media stars in Egypt and in the Arab world. They were allowed to appear on the television and write in the newspaper columns. Their audiocassettes, pamphlets and books were sold on bookshops, at airports and hotels, and by street vendors.

Islamists increasingly carried out student, faculty and syndicate elections and were declared successful. Islamic student organizations dominated university student unions in Asyūt, al- Minya, Cairo and Alexandria. They pressurized authorities to ban Western music and concerts, segregation of gender in classes and implementation of Shari'ah in the society.

Mubārak followed al-Nasser in his dealing with the Islamists and other political leaders, and workers. Over the past two decades, there had been a mounting pressure from the Islamists for women to wear the hijāb. But at the same time, the government in order to strengthen the secular character of the society discourages it by excluding the hijāb-wearing women, from the study missions to abroad and if possible discriminating against them in state employments.

Islamic critics claim that Mubārak failed to provide a dynamic leadership, a sound economy, and the jobs to educated youth and to show confidence in the political liberalization. They offer to provide the solution to these problems in depending not upon the West, cancellation of Camp David Accord and in the implementation of Islamic laws. Egypt vitally depends upon the financial support of
the U.S. and in return the latter plays a key role in shaping the policies of the former.

The regime claims that the Islāmists have no specific, sound, concrete and alternative programmes. They rather demand to change the fate of the society through religious social programmes. Even al-Ikhwān failed to provide political reform programmes and relied on educational and socio-economic programmes. The regime criticized the Islāmist movements that they had not defined the nature of an Islāmic state and its institutions and were lacking specific programmes and could not long last if handed over the reign of the state. The claim of the government appears to be reverse. Instead of allowing al-Ikhwān to become a political party, the state from time to time suppressed it vehemently and they have not been provided even a single chance to convert into a political party. If they are provided the chance, they can come up to the mark not only in Egypt but also in other Muslim countries.

The government suffers from a number of shortcomings such as violation of political and civil rights, being not accountable to the people, inability in the military power, slow economic development, and socially and culturally demoralized leadership. Instead of providing chances to the Islāmists to participate in the mainstream of Egypt, the regime adopts violent tactics for greater control of the political arena, which provides the Islāmist militants a justification for their survival. They treat the head of the state as kāfir because Husni Mubārak demanded from the people the submissiveness as was to the pharaohs of the pre-Islāmic Egypt. Most of the people do but Islāmists do not because they do not serve those, who do not want to submit themselves to Islām. The growing violence is caused due to the alienation of the rulers from their society and
faith. Instead of giving ear to its subjects, the government has been suppressing them. The Islāmist militants alone do not commit all the acts of violence. There are other agencies also which are involved in such type of acts, thereby serving the interests of the regime as well as that of the West. Israeli agents are also involved in certain killings to discredit the Islāmists. Husni Mubārak is unable to understand the circumstances well; he has been seeking help from every-one including the Israelis. It could neither serve the interests of the Egyptians nor Islām, only violence and counter-violence will continue instead. He is a Muslim and he should know what is Islām and what is not. He can save himself and his country, not by discriminating Islāmist moderates from the extremists, but only and only by being faithful to his duties to implement Islām in the country.
Appendices
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>S. No</th>
<th>Name of the Rulers</th>
<th>Period</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Pharaoh Kings</td>
<td>3400 BC – 525 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Occupation of Persian Kings</td>
<td>525 BC – 332 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Invasion of Alexander and Occupation of Greeks</td>
<td>332 BC - 304 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Tolmy Kings (Greeks)</td>
<td>304 BC – 30 BC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Occupation of Roman Rulers</td>
<td>30 BC – 324 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Occupation of Byzantines</td>
<td>324 AD – 640 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Invasion of Arabs</td>
<td>641 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Khulfa –e- Rashideen</td>
<td>642 AD – 661 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Ummayad Rulers</td>
<td>661 AD – 750 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Abbasid Rulers</td>
<td>661 AD – 750 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Abbasid Rulers 1st Term</td>
<td>750 AD – 867 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>Ibn Tulūn</td>
<td>868 AD – 905 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Abbasids 2nd Term</td>
<td>905 AD – 935 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Occupation of Turks</td>
<td>935 AD – 969 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Fatimids</td>
<td>969 AD – 1171 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Salahuddin Ayūbi dynasty (Ayūbids)</td>
<td>1171 AD – 1250 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>Bahri Mamluk Sultans</td>
<td>1250 AD – 1390 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>Burji Mamluk Sultans</td>
<td>1390 AD – 1517 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>Occupation of Ottoman Turks</td>
<td>1517 AD – 1798 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>Invasion and occupation of Napolean (French)</td>
<td>1798 AD – 1801 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Chaos and confusion in the country due to the downfall Ottomans and bloodshed by Mamluks</td>
<td>1801 AD – 1805 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>Mohammad Ali (under the supervision of Ottomans)</td>
<td>1805 AD – 1849 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Khidive Abbas Pasha-I</td>
<td>1849 AD – 1854 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Khidive Sa’ed Pasha</td>
<td>1854 AD – 1863 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Khidive Ismail Pasha</td>
<td>1863 AD – 1869 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Khidive Taufiq Pasha (After the occupation of Egypt by the British in 1882, the diplomats and military officers residing in Cairo ruled till 1922)</td>
<td>1869 AD – 1892 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Khidive Abbas-II Hilmi Pasha (under the supervision of the British)</td>
<td>1892 AD – 1914 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Sutan Hussain Kamil</td>
<td>1914 AD – 1917 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>Sultan Fuad-I(under the supervision of the British)</td>
<td>1917 AD – 1922 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>King Fuad-I (Independent)</td>
<td>1922 AD – 1936 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>King Farooq</td>
<td>1936 AD – July 1952 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>Regency</td>
<td>July 1952- June 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Abolition of King rule</td>
<td>June 1953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>General Mohammad Naquib (President)</td>
<td>June 1953- Nov. 1954</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>Jamal Abd-al-Nassir (Prime Minister)</td>
<td>1954 AD – 1956 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>Jamal Abd-al-Nasser (President)</td>
<td>1956 AD – 1970 AD</td>
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<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>Anwar-al-Sadat(President)</td>
<td>1970 AD – 1981 AD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Husni Mubarak (President)</td>
<td>1981 AD till date</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix II
Organizational Structure of al-Ikhwan

Supreme Guide

Vice Guide

Deputy

Secretariat

Secretary-General

General Headquarters

Consultative Assembly

General Secretariat

Guidance Council

Technical Operation

Sections

Committees

Propagation of the message
Labour
Peasant
Family
Students
Liaison with the Islamic world
Bodily training
Professions
Press and translation

Financial Policy
Legal
Statistics
Services
Legal opinion

Field Apparatus

Administrative Office

District

Branch

Family
## Appendix - III

### Islāmist Societies in the Arab World.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the Organization</th>
<th>Beliefs and Membership</th>
<th>Militancy</th>
<th>Sect</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Current Status</th>
<th>Outside Ties</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Faramawiyyah (The Faramawites)</td>
<td>Abstain M/ed only Qur’ān</td>
<td>High/Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>(New)</td>
<td>Malaysia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Hizb Allah (Party of God)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Yahya Hashim</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Active, under ground (Ne.)</td>
<td>Yemen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Hizb al-Tahir (Liberation Party)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed under Mubarak (Ne.)</td>
<td>Arab</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Ikhwan al-Muslimūn (Muslim Brotherhood)</td>
<td>M., L. M., L.</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Al-Bannā, Ākif</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Active, Public (O.)</td>
<td>G. S., Jordan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Jamaat al-Ahram (P.S.)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>U.N. (New)</td>
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<tr>
<td>8. Jamaat al-Harakiyyah (So. Ac.)</td>
<td>Opp. “sinful leaders.”</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>V.Sec. (Ne.)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Organisation Name</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Religion</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Nature</th>
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<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Khalifah</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Un. (Ne.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Munazilah Shuuriyyah (S.S.S.)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Me.</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Me.</td>
<td>(Ne.)</td>
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<td>15.</td>
<td>Jamiyyah al-Shariyyah</td>
<td>Grassroots</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Semi-public (New)</td>
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<td>18.</td>
<td>Al-Jihād (Holy War)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Related to old S.M. (Ne.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Group Name</td>
<td>Status</td>
<td>Mission</td>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>Leader Name</td>
<td>Location</td>
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<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>Mukaffaratiyyah (D.I.)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>Munazzamat al-Tahri al-Islāmi (I.L.O./Technical/M.A.)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Sirīyya, Ch. palestinaian pro-Libya</td>
<td>Mediu m</td>
<td>Underground (New)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>Qif wa Tabayyin (Halt and Prove)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch.M.F.S.U.A.R.</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Sup. (K.S.) (Ne.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>Qutbiyyin (Q.F.)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Q.F.</td>
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<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>Samawiiyyah (T.H.)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Un. (Ne.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>Shabab Muhammad (Youth of Muhammad)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective?</td>
<td>Mediu m</td>
<td>(Old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Takfir wal-Hijrah</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Shukri Mustafa</td>
<td>Mediu m</td>
<td>Sup.Un. Active (New)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>Ansari (The Supporters)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Sup.Un., active (Ne.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>Ikwan al0Muslimin (Muslim Brotherhood-M.B.)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>S.H. Adnan Saad al-Din</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>SupUn. Islāmic Forn (Old)</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Middle</th>
<th>Me. High</th>
<th>Sunni</th>
<th>Isam (Sibai)</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Suppressed (Old)</th>
<th>Egypt</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>32.</td>
<td>Ikhwan al-Muslimin</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>Me. High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Isam (Sibai)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Suppressed (Old)</td>
<td>Egypt</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33.</td>
<td>Jammat Abi Dharr (Society of Abi Dharr)</td>
<td>Youth Ulama</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. S.M. al-Bayanuni</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>In 1981 joined Syrian I.F. (Ne.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34.</td>
<td>Al-Jihad (Holy War)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed (New)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35.</td>
<td>Junud Allah (Soldiers of God)</td>
<td>Appears and disappears</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Support Muslim Brothers (New)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>36.</td>
<td>Kataib Allah (Phalanges of Truth)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed (New)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37.</td>
<td>Kataib Muhammad (M.B. Interior/ Phalanges of Muhammad)</td>
<td>M., L.M., Merchants, Ulama</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. Marwan Hadid (Fl); Adnan Uqla</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Suppressed in 1965 (New)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38.</td>
<td>Khulash (The Puritans)</td>
<td>Youth, Students</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed, active (New)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41.</td>
<td>Talia al-Muqatila lil Mujahidin (C.V.F.) M. B.</td>
<td>M. B. faction</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. Salim M.H.</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Suppressed, underground (New)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Organization Name</th>
<th>Class Level</th>
<th>Geopolitical Orientation</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Leader</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Location</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42.</td>
<td>Hizb al-Dawah al-Islamiyah (Islamic Propagation Party)</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Ch. Ayatullah Baqir al-Sadr</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Suppressed, underground (Old)</td>
<td>Iran G.S. U.S. U.K.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Lower-middle</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kuwait, Lebano Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43.</td>
<td>Hizb al-Fatmi (The Fatimi Party)</td>
<td>Iranian</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed (pro-Shah?) (Old)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>44.</td>
<td>Hib al-Thawri al-Islami</td>
<td>(I.R.P.)</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed (New)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
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<tr>
<td>45.</td>
<td>Ikhwan Muslimin (M.B.)</td>
<td>Middle class</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Inactive, coopted by Saddam Husayn</td>
<td>Egypt, Saudi, Jordan</td>
</tr>
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<td>Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>46.</td>
<td>Ittihad al-Islami li Talabat al-Iraqi (I.U.I.S.)</td>
<td>Students</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Suppressed, underground</td>
<td>Iran</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<td>Europe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>47.</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Ulama (Society of the Ulama)</td>
<td>Umbrella organization</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Ay. M. Baqir al-Hakim</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Underground (New)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
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<tr>
<td>48.</td>
<td>Mujahidin (Fighters)</td>
<td>Intellectuals Stress E.D.</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Ch. Baqir al-Sadr</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Un. (faction of Hizb?) (New)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
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<td>50.</td>
<td>Rabitat al-Islamiyyah (Islamic Association)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed (New)</td>
<td>Iran</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Name and Affiliation</th>
<th>Political Landscape</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Leadership Style</th>
<th>Membership</th>
<th>Activity Status</th>
<th>Allies</th>
<th>Enemies</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>52.</td>
<td>Zaynab (W.A)</td>
<td>Women/Un. Students</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Iran</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>53.</td>
<td>AMAL (Hole) A.M.L. (L.R.D.)</td>
<td>Middle Lower</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Imam Musa Sadr (Fo.)</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Active, Pro-Iran, Pro-Syria, Split</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>54.</td>
<td>Al-Harakah al-Wataniyyah al-Islāmiyyah I.N.M.</td>
<td>Politicians,</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Hassan Khalid (Shaykh)</td>
<td>Medium/large</td>
<td>Active, public (Old)</td>
<td>Arabia</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bureaucrats</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Clerics</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>57.</td>
<td>Junud al-Rahman (Soldiers of the Com.)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ahmad Dauq</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Semi-active, spiritual (Old)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>58.</td>
<td>Islāmic AMAL/Hizb Allah (Party of God)</td>
<td>AMAL faction</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Ch. Hu-sayn Musawi</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Active Terrorist (New)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>59.</td>
<td>Al-Hizb al-Jumhuri (Republican Party)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Mahmud Muh. Taha</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Active (Old)</td>
<td></td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Party Name</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Ideology</th>
<th>Leadership</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Status</th>
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<tr>
<td>60.</td>
<td>Hizb al-Shaab al-Dimuqrati. Khatimiyyah (P.D.P.)</td>
<td>Middle-Lower</td>
<td>Medium/Low</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Abd al-Rahman, Sharif Hindi</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<tr>
<td>61.</td>
<td>Hizb al-Ummah (Islamic Ummah Party) (Ansar)</td>
<td>Middle-Lower</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Sadiq-al-Madhi</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<tr>
<td>62.</td>
<td>Ikhwān al-Islāmī (Muslim Brethren)</td>
<td>Middle-Medium</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>63.</td>
<td>Jabhat al-Mithaq (The Charter Front-M.B.)</td>
<td>Middle-Lower</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. Hasan al-Turabi</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<td>64.</td>
<td>Hizb al-Tahri al-Jazirah (L.P. of Jazirah)</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>65.</td>
<td>Al-Ikwān (The Brothers)</td>
<td>L. Middle, Tribal</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. Judayman Utaybi (killed 1979), Mahdist</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>66.</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Masjid (Mosque Society)</td>
<td>Middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>St. Cross-section</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Decentralized</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<tr>
<td>68.</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Dawah (Society of Propagation)</td>
<td>St. Cross-section</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Decentralized</td>
<td>Large</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69.</td>
<td>Ansar Harakat Asna al-uran (S. Sons Quran)</td>
<td>Cr. section</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Small</td>
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<tr>
<td>70.</td>
<td>Harakat al-Tawhid (Movement of Unicity)</td>
<td>Anit-Arafat</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. Al-</td>
<td>Small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Palestinian</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Tawhid</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Jordanian</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>73.</td>
<td>Amal al-Islami/Khawanjia (Islamic Action M. B.)</td>
<td>Intellectuals</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Medium</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>St. Mi. Ag. Sm. dan.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>74.</td>
<td>Ittija al-Islami (The Islamic Orientation)</td>
<td>Youth, Int.</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. (jiailed 1981, es. 70s</td>
<td>Large</td>
</tr>
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<td>Bou. Bus.</td>
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<tr>
<td>75.</td>
<td>Hizb al-Islami (Islamic Party M. B.)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective (in jail)</td>
<td>Large</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Organization</th>
<th>Type of Political Activity</th>
<th>Political Group</th>
<th>Leader(s)</th>
<th>Size</th>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Country</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>76.</td>
<td>Jamiyyah Hifz al-Qur'an (Q.P.S.)</td>
<td>Quranic study groups</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Sh. Naifar early 70s)</td>
<td>Small groups</td>
<td>Active, suppressed (Old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78.</td>
<td>Harakat al-Islamiyyah (The Islamic Movement)</td>
<td>Muslims in dispersion</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ben Bella</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Active (New)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>82.</td>
<td>Dar al-Tawhid (Unicity Publishers)</td>
<td>Intellectuals</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Active (Old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>83.</td>
<td>Jamiyyah al-Islah al-Ijtimai (Society for Social Reform –M.B.)</td>
<td>Bureaucrats, Businessmen students</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Umar Amiri (Morocco) Mujtama ed.: al-Shati</td>
<td>Large</td>
<td>Active (culturally political) (Old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84.</td>
<td>Ansar al-Dawah (Supporters of the Call)</td>
<td>Intellectuals Arab and</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Active (Old)</td>
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<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Organization</td>
<td>Region/Sector</td>
<td>Membership</td>
<td>Ideology</td>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Size</td>
<td>Activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>85</td>
<td>Jamaat al-Tabligh (Society of Transmission)</td>
<td>Indians, Arab, Pak., L./M.</td>
<td>Low</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Active Spiritual Old</td>
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<tr>
<td>86</td>
<td>Hizb Allah (The Party of God)</td>
<td>Students, Intellectuals</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Ch. Zubayri: (founder killed in 1965)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Underground (New)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>Jabhat al-Iamiyyah Lil-Tahirir al-Bahrain (Islamic Front for Liber of Bahrain)</td>
<td>Middle Lower-middle</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Charismatic Mudarris</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Suppressed, underground (New)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88</td>
<td>Ittihad al-Islāmīc (Islamic Union)</td>
<td>Students, Professionals</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Active, public (Old)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89</td>
<td>Usrah al-Jihād (Family of Jihād)</td>
<td>Israeli Palestinians</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Sup. by Israel (New)</td>
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<td>90</td>
<td>Majlish al-Thawra al-Islāmiyyah (I.R.C.)</td>
<td>—</td>
<td>High</td>
<td>Shiite</td>
<td>Charismatic</td>
<td>Small</td>
<td>Suppressed (New)</td>
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<tr>
<td>91</td>
<td>Ahl al-Hadith (People of the Hadith)</td>
<td>Students (Abroad)</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Sunni</td>
<td>Collective</td>
<td>Medium</td>
<td>Active (New)</td>
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</table>
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