Chapter IV
Contemporary Islamic Political Activism
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ACTIVISM

(A) HASAN AL-BANNA

(i) Hasan al Banna and the Muslim Brotherhood

It was in an atmosphere of intellectual ferment about the role and the future of Islam in contemporary society that Hasan Al-Banna—the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood—was born. Exposed, due to the intellectual/religious orientation of his family, to the most "Traditional" of Islamic legal doctrines (the Hanbli), he nevertheless became acquainted with several alternative orientations towards Islam, including the Sufi and more modern views of several contemporaries.¹

Al-Banna received a religious education and teacher training, the latter at Dar al-ulum in Cairo. Early in his life, he became a member of various religious organizations and took part in anti-British activities; and his dedication to Islam, to teaching, and to missionary work was evident. His nationalist feelings were probably aroused by the British occupation of Egypt.² Al-Banna, at the age of twenty, went to Ismailia on the nineteenth of September 1927, immediately after his graduation.
from the *Dar al-ulum*, in order to take over his new job of teaching in the government preparatory school.3

While teaching in Ismallia, the administrative centre of Suez Canal, he was aware of the relatively easy life enjoyed by the British and French officials, whose standard of living was far better than that of the average Egyptian.4 In that city, in the month of March 1928, he founded Association of the Muslim Brethren, supported by six of his followers and loyal students.5

Hasan al-Banna had a propensity for joining and organizing societies. During his school days he was elected president of the literary society, *Jam'iyat al-Ikhwan al-Adabiyyah*. With other students he formed the *Jam'iyat Man'al-Muharramt* (society of prevention of sin). Then he founded a reform society, *Al-Jam'iyat al-Hasafi-yat al-Khairiyah* (The Benevolent *Hasa fiiyah* society) and became its secretary. With a group of religious men, he formed a circle, which brought out the newspaper, *Al-Fath* (the conquest) and formed the young Men's Muslim Association (*Jam'iyat al-Shubban al Muslimin*). These societies were strong links in the chain, which lead naturally to the establishment of the Association of Muslim Brethren.6

Al-Banna was a regular reader of Rashid Ridha's *Al-Manar*. He grew up during turbulent times. Following the First
World War (during which Britain declared Egypt to be its protectorate) Egyptian people revolted on a massive scale and won semi-independence in 1922. The first parliamentary elections of 1923 saw the Nationalist Wafd Party beat the liberal constitutionalists. In Turkey secular republican forces, led by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk, abolished the caliphate in 1924, an event that caused great crisis in the whole Islamic world. Al-Banna attributed the upheaval to the discord between the Wafd and liberal constitutionalists, and 'the vociferous political debating' which had erupted after the 1919 revolution; 'the orientations to apostasy and nihilism' then engulfing the Muslim world; the attacks on traditional orthodoxy, emboldened by 'the Kemalist revolt' in Turkey, which has graduated into movement for the intellectual and the social emancipation of Egypt; and the non-Islamic, secularist and libertarian trends which had pervaded the academic and intellectual circles of Egypt. As a result of this turbulence, Banna argued, Egyptian youths were inheriting a 'corrupted religion'; and imbued with 'doubt and perplexity' they were tempted by apostasy.⁷

Al-Banna responded to the prevailing conditions in moralistic terms. He sponsored discussions in public places, and went on to establish in 1928 the Muslim Brotherhood as a
youth club with its main stress on social and moral reforms through communication, information and propaganda. In retrospect the birth of Muslim Brotherhood in Ismallia seems logical. As the headquarters of Suez Canal Company and the British troops in Egypt, Ismallia was a strong out-post of the West as well as a multi dimensional threat to Egypt's political, economic and cultural identity. In his memories Hasan al-Banna portrayed the effects of the British military occupation on him, describing it as

"Some thing that brings grief and regret to the heart of every zealous patriot. It forces one to contemplate the grave disaster brought about by the hateful occupation of Egypt and the material and other opportunities which the country lost on account of it. Contemplation will reveal how this occupation remains the only barrier obstructing the progress and advancement of the country, and the principal obstacle preventing the unity of Arabs and the Muslims there for the last sixty years."

Al-Banna continued his mission in Ismallia from 1928 until 1933 spreading his movement in accordance with a special programme that he had created through experiment and study. This he carried out not openly but in a manner least calculated to attract attention.

As a means of spreading his message and movement he used pamphlets, newspapers, letters, speeches, public lectures,
and personal visits. His possession of a strong insight aided him in the selection of members and supporters. The house of the Brethren in Ismallia became the headquarters of the movement and branches were tied to it by a bond of fraternity without any one branch working through another or the function of one branch attracting the attention of another.

The association between Muslim Brotherhood and al-Banna was very close, so close that one can almost say that Hasan al-Banna himself personified the attributes and characteristics associated with the Muslim Brotherhood. His colleagues and friends recognized his great ability to influence men and to unite their divided councils; his followers identified the society completely with his personality and gave him credit for its strength and success. His face was inspiration for society's literature, Philosophy and principles and as its main moving spirit.

Al-Banna was the "Supreme Guide" (*The Murshid-e-Aam*) of Muslim Brotherhood. Being the head he sent missionaries to preach in the mosques and other public places all over the Egypt. The Brothers under his guidance undertook large-scale educational, social, charitable, and the religious work in villages and towns, and even engaged in some economic enterprises.
Hasan al-Banna's Muslim Brotherhood was but one of many organizations which provided an Islamic interpretation for the retreat from the colonial society by comparing it with the departure of Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W.) from Mecca in 622. Departure and separation were from now on to be the main themes of Islamic discussions in small circles. The aim of Islamic discourse was no longer integration, but to prove that it was subjectively right to be excluded. Because of their conceptual affinity with salaffiyah, these groups were called by the collective name of neo-salaffiyah.\textsuperscript{14} Al-Banna himself defined the Muslim Brotherhood as a Salafi movement, an orthodox way, a Sufi reality, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, and a social idea.\textsuperscript{15}

The zeal and fervor with which the Muslim Brotherhood carried out its mission entrenched it in urban and rural areas and its strongest support base was among the masses. When Al-Banna moved Muslim Brotherhood's head quarters from Ismallia to Cairo in 1933, old and young people flocked to the mosques, to hear the speeches of members of Muslim Brotherhood. Wherever there were people, even in the coffee houses and clubs, \textit{ikhwan} members spoke about Islam and inspired the people. Such attentive audiences however, were
indicative not only of Muslim Brotherhood’s popularity but also of its rapid growth.\textsuperscript{16}

(ii) The Second decade of Muslim Brotherhood (1939-1949)

The late 1930s saw the fully-fledged entrance of Muslim Brotherhood on to the political stage, in Egypt as well as in other Islamic countries. It was the issue and circumstances in Palestine, which facilitated this entrance and geographical expansion. When the Palestine Arab revolt against British colonial rule and Zionist immigration broke out in 1936, the Muslim Brotherhood seized upon the occasion to carry out active anti-British propaganda throughout Egypt. During the three years of the revolt (1936-39), Brotherhood came into contact with the Mufti of Jerusalem, and raised funds for the Palestine cause. They were also able to contact a number of Egyptian political leaders, notable Ali Maher (Prime Minister) and Abdul-Rahman Azzam, both of whom were trying to formulate an Egyptian Pan-Arab policy.\textsuperscript{17}

The Palestine issue further stimulated the expansion and growth of Muslim Brotherhood. The total number of its branches grew from 15 in 1932 to 500 in 1940.\textsuperscript{18} In Syria a branch was established in 1937, based in Aleppo and covering Syria and Lebanon.\textsuperscript{19} Brotherhood membership was drawn from most social classes, and was predominantly rural or urban
working-class in composition. Despite this, the leadership and the most active cadre of Muslim Brotherhood were from urban middle class backgrounds of Egypt.²⁰

The Muslim Brotherhood’s success also brought challenges with its achievements. It was a period of tribulation for the movement. This was not unforeseen, for even as the Brotherhood had embarked on the path of active politics, al-Banna had warned his followers of the challenges ahead:

I would like to avow to you frankly that your mission is still unknown to many people, and that on the day they find out about it and grasp its import and its aims, you will encounter violent antagonism and sharp hostility. You will find many hardships ahead of you, and many obstacles will rise up before you..... you will find among the clerical classes and the religious establishment those who will regard your understanding of Islam as outlandish, and censure your campaign on that account. Chiefs, leaders, and men of rank and authority will hate you, all governments will rise as one against you, and every government will try to set limits to your activities and to put impediments in your way ..... without a doubt, you will then experience trials and tribulations, you will be imprisoned, arrested, transported and persecuted and your goods will be confiscated, your employments suspended, and your homes searched.²¹
Muslim Brotherhood continued its anti-British and the Pan-Islamic propaganda during the outbreak of World War Second. During the war Muslim Brotherhood and Al-Banna wanted Egypt to stay neutral and not involve itself and sacrifice its young for the wars of the West. But when they saw that war was unavoidable, they joined the struggle. Al-Banna secretly contacted the anti-British elements within the Egyptian army, notable Egyptian ex-commander-in-chief Aziz Al-Misri and a young Junior army officer named Anwar al-Sadat. These developments led to increasing British pressure on Egyptian governments to deal with Muslim Brotherhood and other anti-British elements. In October 1941, the government of Prime Minister Sirri Pasha took major steps against the Muslim Brotherhood. Al-Banna and other prominent leaders of Muslim Brotherhood were arrested and weekly Brotherhood magazines *al-ta'aruf* and *al-Shua* and the monthly *al-Manar* were suppressed. Press references to the Muslim Brotherhood and the meetings of Muslim Brethren were also banned.

Al-Banna and his colleagues were realized soon, due to the palace intervention on Brotherhood's behalf. But Muslim Brotherhood was not allowed to resume its previous activities until 1942. Wafdist government lifted this ban and also imposed restrictions on the sale of alcohol, and flesh trade, in
order to placate the Muslim Brotherhood and forestall their participation in the forthcoming Egyptian elections. Thereafter, relations between the Brotherhood and Wafdist government of al-Nahhas varied between cordiality and hostility.\textsuperscript{25}

In October 1944 Al-Nahhas government was dismissed and a new government under Ahmad Mahir Pasha was formed. The new government re-imposed many restrictions on the Brotherhood. Mahir favoured Egypt declaring war on Germany and Italy a move that was strongly and vehemently opposed by Muslim Brotherhood. Mahir Pasha was assassinated while reading a declaration in favour of his decision of war on Germany and Italy in the Chamber of Deputies. Muslim Brotherhood was briefly suspected of the deed. Restrictions on the movement continued after the war under the government of Mahir's successor, Mahmud Fahmi al-Nuqrashi Pasha.\textsuperscript{26}

Crisis in Palestine were responsible for the rapid growth of militant anti-British sentiment within Muslim Brotherhood. Arms were acquired; Paramilitary training missions were dispatched to Palestine; and Brethren were trained and mobilized for future military service in the country, with the first Ikhwan 'Battalion' ready for action by October 1947. Brotherhood send its men to Palestine and they fought alongside Palestinian forces, several weeks before the official
outbreak of Palestine war and the formal intervention of Arab armies on 15 May 1948.27

Considerable expansion of Muslim Brotherhood took place between 1945-48. Muslim Brotherhood's anti-British activities and their clear commitment to Palestinian cause, as well as their social ideology, were well received by the Egyptian masses. They also managed to avoid the stigmas attached to their major political competitors. Due to these factors, the Brotherhood's support reached new heights during this period, with some estimates putting the figure at 600,000 members, organized into some two thousand branches.28

The failure of Arab military intervention to crush the Israel caused more civil unrest in Egypt in the second half of 1948. In this context, the Muslim Brotherhood's political success-coupled with their military and increasing use of violent measures-ultimately led Egyptian governments to take harsh actions against organization of Muslim Brotherhood. On 8 December 1948, government banned Muslim-Brotherhood and ordered the closing of its centers and the seizure of Brotherhood papers, documents and properties and all other assets. Al-Banna tried his best to tackle with this situation but despite of his best efforts, relation between Brothers and government deteriorated further. On December 1948, a member
of Muslim Brotherhood's secret apparatus killed prime minister al-Nuquashi. As a result, Al-Nuquashi's successor, Ibrahim Abd al-Hadi Pasha, started a ruthless campaign of arrests and property seizure against Muslim Brotherhood.29

Al-Banna deeply regretted the assassination and government reaction to it. But it was however, too late. On 12 February 1949 Hasan Al-Banna—founder, director general, and the supreme guide of Muslim Brotherhood—was assassinated outside the headquarters of the young Men's Muslim Association by members of Egyptian secret police.30

Before his death, al-Banna had already established some links with the army. These links continued and the Muslim Brotherhood played prominent role in the armies successful overthrow of the monarchy in 1952.31

(iii) Political ideology of Hasan al-Banna:

When al-Banna started his movement in 1920's Islamic Political thought was divided among three schools: (1) The conservative elements of al-Azhar, other traditionalists, who were theoretically against any compromise with secularization and modernization, but who pragmatically, dealt and compromised with the Egyptian crown and British authorities; (2) the modernizers, or the followers and students of Muhammad Abduh, who tried to understand the tenets of Islam
in light of modernization and tried to modify them according to the requirements of western "modernizing" norms. Their logical goal was secularization of Islamic society; and, (3) the conservative reformers (the students of Rashid Ridha), who agreed with the second "school" on the necessity of purifying Islam from innovations (Bid'a) which made Muslims depart from the "true" Islam, on opposition to taqlid (accepting previous scholarly opinion as binding), and on following the path of ijtihad (personal interpretation of the basic elements of the faith). However, they disagreed completely on the value of western political ideas, and argued the necessity of returning back to the roots (ideas and practices of the first generation of Islam).  

Hasan al-Banna was attracted to this latter school; his ideology was a response to the failure of liberal institutions to free the country from the British imperialism. 

Al-Banna was intellectually a combination of Muhammad Abduh's reformism, Rashid Ridha's conservatism and al-Afghani's activism. Ideologically al-Banna was firmly in line with their Salaffiyah reformism. But it was Banna who was able to establish a mass political party. Banna argued that the goal of re-creating the Islamic State could be achieved within the existing constitutional framework. What the present regime had
to do was to recognize the *Shariah* as the supreme source of law and replace the imported codes, which, by their rejection of the *Shariah*, had undermined the very foundation of Islamic order.\(^{35}\)

Ishaq Musa Husaini, in his book the ‘Moslem Brethren’ argued that the Brotherhood has six principles. The first is scientific: to provide an exact and correct explanation of the Qur'an and defend it against misinterpretation. The second is pragmatic: to unify Islamic nations around these Qur'anic principles, and to renew their noble and profound influence. The third is economic: the growth and protection of national wealth, raising the standard of living, the realization of social justice for individuals and classes, social security for all citizens, and a guarantee of equal opportunity for all. The fourth is philanthropic: the struggle against ignorance, disease and poverty. The fifth is patriotic and nationalistic: the liberation of Nile valley, all Arab countries, and all parts of the Islamic fatherland from foreigners. The sixth is humanitarian and universal: the promotion of universal peace and a humanitarian civilization on a new basis, both materially and spiritually, through the medium of principles of Islam.\(^{36}\)
To achieve these principles, Banna emphasized on the political nature of Islam. In his message to the fifth conference of brotherhood, he stated:

We believe the rules and teachings of Islam to be comprehensive, to include the people's affairs in the world and the hereafter. Those who believe that these teachings deal only with the spiritual side of life are mistaken. Islam is an ideology and worship, a home and a nationality, a religion and a state, sprite and work, and a book and sword.\(^{37}\)

The method to achieve these goals is to spread the call of Holy war (Jihad) as one of the fundamental duties of the true Muslim. Jihad has two aspects power and argument. Banna stated explicitly: Allah Almighty commanded the Muslim to do Jihad for his sake....only if the people refuse to listen to this call and resort to defiance, oppression and revolt, then, as a last resort, recourse should be had to the word to spread widely the call.\(^{38}\)

No survey of the principles and political ideology of Hasan al-Banna would be complete without a brief outline of his attitude towards other contemporary ideologies. It is important to examine Al-Banna's view of Communism, Fascism and western liberal democracy; his relationship with Nationalism and national patriotism.
Al-Banna understood a number of positive features within the western ideologies of Fascism, Communism and Liberal Democracy. Fascism inspired martial 'strength and military preparedness'; Communist doctrine displayed concern of poor, for equality and for social justice; the Liberal Democracies stood for representative government. These positive aspects were, however, more than outweighed by the dysfunctions of each system. The Communist nations suffered from tyranny and the domestic oppression. The Western democracies were prone to an excess of individualism, moral decay and capitalist economic exploitation. Both communism and capitalism were based on the inherently corrupting concepts of materialism and socialism.39

As for as nationalism and national patriotism is concerned, the Muslim Brotherhood strongly supported nationalist issues. The struggle against western political, economic and cultural domination over the Islamic world was one of the Muslim Brother's two 'fundamental goals'. Their reformist ideas and proposals reflected a concern for strong national defence, for nationalization of foreign enterprises, and the elimination of western socio-cultural influences. The national patriotism of Muslim brotherhood cannot be doubted
as they actively fought against Zionism in Palestine and against the British in the Canal Zone. 40

Nonetheless, the brotherhood's ideological relationship with nationalism is more complex than appearances first suggest, essentially revolving around their anti-imperialism and their Pan-Islamic aspirations. Al-Banna did argue that distinct nationals existed, with its 'own distinct qualities and particular moral characteristics', with Arab nations enjoying the 'fullest and most abundant share' of such qualities. He also louded patriotism, in that it implied attachment to the land, love of freedom, and commitment to community. He condemned, however, all conceptions of patriotism, which implied factionalism, and all conceptions of nationalism, which were based on 'aggression', 'victimization' and 'racial self aggrandizement'. Instead of the patriotism, of territorial boundaries and nationalism of racism, Muslim Brotherhood was said to stand for patriotism to the Islamic community, and nationalism based on the glorification of past piety and bravery, with the national standing as a focus of individual strivings. To al-Banna, "The bonds of creedal doctrine.....are...holier than those of blood or soil". 41
Sayyid Qutb

Sayyid Qutb's and his emergence as a Muslim Brother's ideologue

Qutb (1906-1966), was an Egyptian poet, educator, journalist, literary critic and leading intellectual of contemporary Islamic movement in Egypt and the Arab world.

Qutb was born in 1906 in Assiut district of Egypt. His parents were very religious and Qutb received his early religious training from them. Later when the family moved to Halwan—a satellite town of Cairo—Qutb’s education started at Tajhizia Darul uloom, a secondary school in Cairo. After completing his education at Darul uloom he joined Cairo University in 1929 from where he obtained the Bachelor of Arts degree in education in 1933. After sometime he was appointed inspector of schools in the Ministry of education and training.

The exact dates and circumstances of Qutb’s formal affiliation with the organization of Muslim Brotherhood are unclear, especially since Qutb himself did not leave written accounts of them. However, it is clear from all available sources that his affiliation grew in stages: First as a contributing writer to Muslim Brotherhood’s publications, second as an admirer and a friend of movement in the aftermath of the Brothers guerrilla war against the British in Suez canal
area, in late 1951; and the third as a member and then a leading ideologue of the Brother's in the aftermath of the 1952 free officers coup.  

Qutb's visit to USA and his observation of a totally materialist civilization had a profound influence on him. Following a two-year stay in the United States, when Qutb returned to Cairo in August 1950, a delegation of Muslim Brotherhood welcomed him at the airport. Furthermore these members often visited his house to discuss his book *al-'Adalah al-iftima' iyah fil-al-Islam* (social justice in Islam), which had appeared earlier in, Cairo in 1949 while Qutb was still in the United States.

The circumstances of late 1940s played an important role in transformation of Sayyid Qutb. This came as a result of British war policies during World War II and as aftermath of creation of the state of Israel. The latter he perceived as a rejection of rights of the Arabs to self-determination and a rejection of their equality to western man. In 1949 during his stay in USA, Qutb witnessed the wide and unquestioning support of the American press for Israel. This along what he felt to be the denigration of the Arabs left Qutb with a bitterness he was never able to shed.
Upon his return to Egypt, Sayyid Qutb started writing regularly on Islamic topics and this brought him close to the leadership of Muslim Brotherhood. In his books he proposed an Islamic ideology as an alternative to those systems competing for Egyptian allegiance, dedicating the rest of his life articulating the content, scope, and method of his ideology. This in his early books on Islamic subjects, the Islamic ideology is proposed as an alternative to those of Communism, Capitalism, Nationalism, Liberalism, and Secularism. These writings, along with those of later periods of his life, continue to provide contemporary Muslims with the ideological and emotional content presently under girding the Islamic revival. Qutb's work has had extensive dissemination throughout the Muslim world, and his ideas have become the accepted definition of Islam and its role in shaping the social, political, economic, intellectual, cultural, and ethical aspects of society. At the time, however, the content of the ideology was tentative in his mind. His writings were careful crafting of a variable synthesis of ideas that he felt might replace all others in the market place of ideologies. Writing in almost in the spirit of dialogue, he wrote in 1959:

'If it becomes evident that Islam possesses or is capable of solving our basic problems of granting us a comprehensive social justice, of restoring for us justice in government, in economics, in
opportunities and in Punishment....then without doubt it will be more capable, than any other system we may seek to borrow or imitate, to work in our nations.\textsuperscript{46}

After death of Hasan al-Banna Brotherhood faced an uncertain future both ideologically and existentially, Mawdudi (1903-1979) and his ideology pertaining to society and state came as a Godsend. Among those most impressed by Mawdudi's interpretation of the political aspects of Islam appears to have been Sayyid Qutb. Qutb frequently quoted Mawdudi in his work \textit{fi Zilal-al-Qur'an}.\textsuperscript{47}

Qutb's relation and contacts were deepened when a monthly Islamic review, \textit{Al-Muslimun} (The Muslim) of Sa'id Ramdan, a Brotherhood leader, made its appearance in November 1951. Qutb became a regular contributor, writing on many subjects including Islamic history, the Qur'an and Islamic society, up until his arrest in late 1954. Qutb's popular commentary \textit{Fi Zilal-al-Qur'an} (in the shades of the Qur'an) originated in his review. A series of the articles carrying the same title appeared between January and July of 1952.\textsuperscript{48} In the revised section of his Qur'anic interpretation Qutb tended to sharpen the distinction between those who strive for the establishment of God's order in the world and those who oppose them.\textsuperscript{49}
Al-Banna's goal of an Islamic nation was to be built up on the reform of individual hearts and souls. This would be followed by the organization of "society to be fit for the virtuous community which commands the good and forbids evil doing, then the community will arise the good state". Qutb, who called for the establishment of a nation whose foundation is Islam, also pursued this fundamental goal of the Brotherhood. Ahmad S. Moursali in his book, Sayyid Qutb: The ideologist of Islamic Fundamentalism, defines Qutb's goal as an Islamic system "where Islamic law is executed, where the Islam rules, and where its principles and regulations define the kind of government and the form of society."^50

Qutb contributed regularly to al-Da'wah (The call), of Salih Ashmawi, a Muslim Brotherhood activist. Qutb's writings and articles were highly critical of conditions then existing in Egypt. His criticism intensified in aftermath of the unilateral abrogation of the Anglo Egyptian Treaty of 1936 and the Sudan condominium of 1899 by the wafd cabinet on October 1951. Qutb joined other nationalist forces in demanding the full mobilization of the people "for armed struggle against occupation, including the formation of "Kata'ib al-fida" (Sacrifice battalions) to serve as guerrilla forces against the British. Qutb's inclination towards the Muslim-Brothers was
clarified in November 1951 when he counted them as the only group in Egypt who were actually carrying arms and fighting the British. In his view the spirit of Islam and Islamic system of belief were the prime movers behind the Brother's willing to sacrifice.\textsuperscript{51}

In December 1951 Qutb accused the Wafdist government of improvising the abrogation of the treaty and of hampering the efforts of the liberation battalions, despite the people to fight. He charged the cabinet with having the mentality of the "feudalists, capitalist and the vested interests in the export and the import business". By January 1952 Qutb publicly referred to himself as a "friend" of the Islamic movement when he demanded that the general guide of the Muslim Brothers, Hasan Hudaybi, should clarify in precise Islamic terms and programmes of society's official stand in regard to the fighting in the Canal Zone.\textsuperscript{52}

The rank and file of the Brothers, including Salih Ashmawi and his mouthpiece \textit{al-Da'wah}, had joined the call for armed struggle and, indeed, the Brothers were spearheading guerrilla warfare against the British. Confusion had arisen, however, as to the official position of the leadership in light of General Guide Hudaybi's apparent indifference toward the Brothers participation in the fighting.\textsuperscript{53} Therefore some
activists, like Qutb, were demanding that General Guide should take a clear stand in regards to the fighting.

Qutb began to merge gradually into the Muslim Brother's Orbit. In commemoration of death of al-Banna, in February 1952, Qutb wrote the call for resumption of an Islamic way of life derived its values from the Shari'ah. In March and April 1952 Qutb heavily attacked those Egyptian intellectuals who were advocating nationalism and communism, branding them faqaqi (bubbles). Qutb was a longtime supporter of 1919 popular uprising and its leadership but now he began to take a different view of the nationalist uprising and its leadership. He termed the leaders of the revolt as "miserable" and bubble-like", accusing them of having narrow horizons because they isolated themselves from the Islamic ideas and the international trend towards the emerging Islamic bloc. The Muslim world was suffering, he said, because imperialism managed to implant the narrow ideology of nationalism in order to serve its own purpose. These attacks were in conjunction with Qutb's and Brotherhood's campaign for Pan-Islamic unity and the creation of a viable Islamic bloc which they had initiated in 1951 and which continued until the 1952 revolution. The strengthening of the bond between the brotherhood and Qutb, furthermore, became clear by April 1952 when the publishing house
connected to Brotherhood, *Dar al-Ikhwan lil-Sihafah w-al-Tiba'ah*, sponsored the publication of Qutb's second printing of the Battle of Islam and Capitalism.\(^54\)

(ii) Sayyid Qutb and the Free officers

Abd al Hakim 'Abdin, former secretary general of Muslim Brotherhood is of the opinion that Qutb's relationship with the free officers and the revolutionary command council (RCC) was excellent from the first hours of the revolution. Hakim reported that, Qutb was only civilian to attend the RCC's meetings, eat and sleep in the officer's quarters, and participate in the decision making process. Qutb became a cultural advisor to the leaders of the revolution.\(^55\)

Partisan sources also claim that there were contacts between the free-officers, including Nasser, and Sayyid Qutb at the latter's home on July 19, 1952, that is four days before the free officers coup. Qutb's role in free officers coup was that of a leader who coordinated the Brothers contingency plans for the protection of the revolution. Qutb himself also confirmed his close relationship with the free officers.\(^56\)

Kamal al-Din Husayn, a leading member of the military coup, who was in charge of education, selected Qutb for the post of the minister of education and encouraged the distribution of Qutb's books and instructional pamphlets for use.
in public schools. And when Qutb organized a conference on the freedom of thought in Islam, a month after coup, the two leaders of the free officers Nasser and Naguib were quick to send messages of support to Qutb and the conference. Qutb also gave a lecture on intellectual and spiritual liberation in Islam in the officers club in August 1952, which was attended by leading Egyptian intellectuals and visitors from Arab countries, was received with much enthusiasm. Qutb supported General Naguib's demand for setting up of "a just dictatorship" for the period of six months in order to rid the country from corruption. According to Qutb the people had withstood unjust dictatorship for more than fifteen years and surely, they could withstand "a just dictatorship" for the period of six months.

(iii) The Muslim Brotherhood from 1952 to Qutb's death

After the July 1952 revolution Qutb emerged as one of the important leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood Qutb's common cause with the Muslim Brothers on a variety of subjects and his stature as a highly respected independent and progressive Muslim intellectual undoubtedly contributed greatly to his recruitment to the Brothers ranks.

When Nasser and the "Free officers" overthrew the Egyptian monarchy on July 23, 1952, the Muslim Brothers were initially delighted since they believed their troubles were now
over. The officers shared the Brotherhood's goal of freeing Egypt from British domination and were, by and large, devout Muslims. But personal piety is one thing and ideological commitment to the goal of a strictly Islamic state is another. Nasser and the most free officers definitely lacked the latter, so that conflict was inevitable.

The first serious challenge to the government's authority came on 12 January 1954 when the Brethren gathered at the University of Cairo to commemorate their martyrs. While the rally was gathering force they openly denounced the 'Free officer' regime. The active participation of the leader of *fidaiyan-1 Islam*, the extremist Iranian Islamic organization that had been involved in the assassination of Iranian General Ramzara, helped to convince the RCC (Revolutionary command council) that it was a high time to act. On the same day the Muslim Brethren were declared illegal and their leaders were imprisoned. The Brethren were allowed later an additional though brief period of legal activities as the result of the split within the RCC in February 1954, when the officers led by Nasser attempted to depose Neguib from the presidency. After a near insurrection and a popular uprising in support of Neguib, Nasser and his colleagues were forced to give in temporarily and Neguib was reinstated. On 25 October 1954 one of the
The 'secret apparatus' attempted to assassinate Nasser while he was addressing some 10,000 workers in Alexandria. '....it was then', wrote Sadat, 'that Muslim Brotherhood openly declared war on us with the obvious aim of overthrowing us and taking over the rule of Egypt....' However, Nasser and his colleagues, exploiting the extent of their intimate knowledge of the Muslim Brother's 'secret apparatus' to the full, acted swiftly and efficiently, over 1,000 Brethren were tried by a special court, consisting of three RCC members, including Sadat. Many of them were sentenced to long terms in prison while six, who were found to have been implicated in the attempted assassination, were later executed. To avoid popular support, the council of Ulama of Al-Azhar denounced the Brethren for '....deviating from the teachings of Islam....' and declared that any Muslim plotting against the legitimate rulers of the Egyptian people, namely the 'Free officers,' was guilty of heresy.\(^9\)

Thus ended the Muslim Brethren's first and the most daring challenge to Nasser's regime. Indeed, following the emergence of Nasser as the most venerated Arab leader after 1955, many of the Brethren and even more extremist Muslim movements reconciled themselves to Nasserist ideology and refrained from militant opposition. But the decline in Nasser's
fortunes following first the break-up of the Egyptian-Syrian unit in 1961, to be followed by the hopeless Egyptian involvement in the war in Yemen since 1962, which brought Nasser into direct conflict with his conservative Muslim neighbours in Saudi Arabia, pitched the Brethren once more against the regime. Sayyid Qutb, the leading ideologue of Muslim Brethren, openly challenged some of the most basic notions of Nasser's regime and the very foundations of its ideology, which he classified as *Jahiliyya*. This *Jahiliyya* included, according to Qutb, both Arab Socialism and any solidarity based on clan, tribe, nation, race, colour and land, which prophet Muhammad had described 'rotten'. This then provided the background for the second major clash between Nasser's government and the Muslim Brethren, in August 1965 official reports at the time accused the Brethren of once again plotting to assassinate Nasser and overthrow the regime. More recent reports put the number of those arrested at 27,000. Furthermore, of the hundreds, which were tried and sentenced by a special court, twenty-six were tortured to death and three, including Sayyid Qutb, were executed in 1966.⁶⁰

(iv) The revolutionary thought of Sayyid Qutb

Central to the political thought of Sayyid Qutb (as expressed in his major political work, *Ma'lim fi al-Tariq*) was
the concept of *Jahiliyya* (Ignorance of divine guidance). This term, usually used to refer to the faithlessness of pre-Islamic Arabia, was employed by Qutb to refer to those aspects of modern social and political life which do not strictly confirm to the teachings and principles of Islam. In particular Qutb condemned secularism and what he saw man's attempt to usurp God's exclusive right to define humanity's values and social system:

The *Jahiliyya* is based on rebellion against God's sovereignty on earth. It transfers to man one of the greatest attributes of God, namely sovereignty, and makes some men lords over others. It is now not in that simple and primitive form of the ancient *Jahiliyya*, but takes the form of claiming that the right to create values, to legislate rules of collective behaviour, and to choose any way of life, rest with men, without regard to what God has prescribed. The result of this rebellion against the authority of God is the oppression of his creatures. Thus the humiliation of the common man under the Communist system and the exploitation of individuals and nations due to the greed for wealth and the imperialism under the capitalist system are but a collary rebellion against God's authority and the denial of the dignity of man given to him by God.\(^{61}\)

Qutb saw *Jahiliyya* as extending into almost all aspects of modern life, including people's belief and ideas, habits, arts,
rules and law, to the extent that even what we consider to
Islamic culture, Islamic sources, Islamic philosophy, and
Islamic thought are constructs of Jihiliyya.\(^{62}\) Thus, Qutb
condemned even supposedly 'Muslim' societies as being steeped
in the godlessness of Jahiliyya.

Qutb's rejection and condemnation of Jahili society was
necessarily coupled with an advocacy of society based on
Islam. Islam alone provides the totality of social guidance and
teaching, required for righteousness and freedom from human
oppression:

Islam's way of life is unique, for in the systems other than
Islam, some people worship other's in some form or another. Only
in the Islamic way of life do all the men become free from the
servitude of some men to others and devote themselves to the
worship of God alone, and bowing before Him alone.\(^{63}\)

Qutb therefore calls for Islam to assume a position of
world leadership. This can not occur if Islam is understood
merely, as a theory; rather, it must find concrete expression in
the form of an Islamic nation within which faith-rather than
race, nationality, colour etc.-represents the criterion of
membership.\(^{64}\) The Shariah, as laws given to man by God,
represent the exclusive moral-Juridical basis of such an Islamic
state, and are a necessary condition for its existence. According
to Qutb, adherence to the Shariah is not only a matter of
religious devotion, but also a practical imperative. Man, unable to comprehend the complexity and totality of the universe, is incapable of making rules of a harmonious life. Only God has this capacity, and has done so inform of Shariah.\textsuperscript{65}

In his writings, Qutb placed particular emphasis on the dichotomy between Islam and Jahiliyya, between Dar al-Islam (the land of Islam) and Dar-al-Harb (the land of war, i.e. the non Islamic world). In the struggle for righteousness there is no place for blurred views regarding good and evil:

In the world there is only one party, all others are parties of Satan and rebellion...\textsuperscript{66}

There is only one way to reach God; all other ways do not lead to him...\textsuperscript{67}

There is only one law which ought to be followed, and that is Shari'ah from God...\textsuperscript{68}

Qutb argues that Islam, as a truth, is indivisible. It cannot be mixed or moulded with non-Islamic Jahili ideas. \textsuperscript{69}

Furthermore, his dichotomous world view leads him to warn of the ‘ultimate aim of the Jews and Christians against Muslims.’\textsuperscript{70}

The third revolutionary aspect of Qutb's thought is his call for Jihad (holy war) against modern Jahiliyya. This aspect had the most significant impact on neo-activist Islam in Egypt.
According to Qutb, 'the foremost duty of Islam in this world is to depose Jahiliyya from the leadership of man, and to take leadership into its own hands and enforce the way of life which is its permanent feature.' Since Muslim leaders who do not implement Islamic-laws are to be considered illegitimate rulers ruling by the laws of Jahiliyya, they too were to be opposed and deposed uncompromisingly. Qutb stressed that the Jihad of a true Muslim against the Jahiliyya was not an attempt to impose (Islamic) belief by force. Rather, it was the struggle to destroy those Jahili structures, which interfered with the individuals ability to embrace God through path of Islam.

Qutb envisaged the struggle against the Jahiliyya being led by a small but expanding core of believers:

......it is necessary that there should be a vanguard which sets out with....determination and then keeps walking the path, marching through the vast ocean of Jahiliyya which has encomposted the entire world. During its course, it should keep itself somewhat aloof from this allencompassing Jahiliyya and should also keep some ties with it. It is important that this vanguard should know the landmarks and milestones of the road toward this goal so that they may recognize the starting place, the nature the responsibilities, and the ultimate purpose of this long Journey. Not only this, but they also ought to be aware of their position vis-à-vis this Jahiliyya which has struck it stakes throughout the earth-when to cooperate
with the others and when to separate from them; what characteristics and qualities they should cultivate, and with what characteristics and qualities the Jihiliyya, immediately surrounding them, is armed; how to address the people of Jahiliyya in the language of Islam, and what topics and problems ought to be discussed, and when and how to obtain guidance in these matters.73

In other words Qutb totally rejected modern 'Jahili' society and called for complete understanding of its foundations in order to combat it.

(V) Qutb and Arab Nationalism

The Muslim Brothers, until their clash with Nasser, and well beyond, they would continue to profess allegiance to Pan-Arabism. Even a purist like Sayyid-Qutb would write in January 1953:

Some of us prefer to assemble around the banner of Arabism. I do not object to this being a middle-range, transitional goal for unification, on the road to unity in wider scope. There is, then no serious difference between Arab nationalism and Pan-Islam as long as we understand Arabism as a mere stage. The whole land of the Arabs falls within the scope of the Abode of Islam. And whenever we liberate an Arab territory, we set free a patch of an Islamic homeland, an organic part of the Islamic body; we would use it eventually to liberate the rest of this one and indivisible Abode.74
Less than a decade later, in one of the letters from prison, further developed in milestones, he has to say something completely different.

The prophet Muhammad was no doubt capable of setting forth a movement of Pan-Arab nationalism in order to unify the strife-riven tribes of Arabia. He was well neigh able of endowing his movement with a nationalist orientation in order to liberate Arab lands usurped by the Byzantines in the North and the Persians in the South.

Yet Allah, the omnipotent and omniscient, did not instruct his messenger to go in that direction. He only told him to preach that three is no God but Allah, why? Because Allah knew that there was no sense in liberating the land from a Byzantine or a Persian tyrant in order to put it in the hands of an Arab tyrant. Any tyrant is still a tyrant. The land is to God and should be liberated to serve him alone. Men should become his servants and none other. All domination (hakimiya) should be in the hands of Allah, all law (Shari'ah) His only. The sole collective identity Islam offers is that of the faith, where Arabs, Byzantines, Persians, and other nations and colors are equal under God's banner.

Pan-Arabism is, thence, clearly rejected by Qutb and is in his opinion incompatible with Islam. Qutb at this point said:

The homeland (watan) a Muslim should cherish and defend is not a mere piece of land, the collective identity he is known by is not that of a regime. Neither is the banner he should glory in and
die for that nation (qawm)....His Jihad is solely geared to protect the religion of Allah and his Shariah and to save the Abode of Islam and no other territory.....Any land that combats the faith, hampers Muslim from practicing their religion, or does not apply the Shari'ah, becomes Ipso facto part of the Abode of war (Dar al-Harb). It should be combated even if one's own kith and kin, national group, capital and commerce are to be found there.... A Muslim's homeland is any land governed by the laws of Islam. Islam is the only identity worthy of man.... Any other group identity....is a Jahili identity of the type humanity has known during its periods of spiritual decadence.76

Taking Qutb's view under consideration, the divorce with Pan-Arabism is thus definite, all bonds and ties to be revered, all formers alliances between it and Islam null and void. No wonder that Egyptian government made these and other similar passages the centrepiece of its case against Qutb. For it was one of the major ideas, with the help of which he conferred upon the reestablished Muslim Brotherhood under ground a sense of purpose it had lacked.77 The report of secret police on the case dissect the Mile stones in order to prove the accuser’s "rejection of Pan-Arab nationalism". So does the special report of the legislative commission of the people's Assembly and the Act of Accusation. The government of Nasser understood only too well Qutb's direct swipe at Pan-Arabism's claim that the
Arabs are God's Chosen people (*Khayr ummah*), a claim supposedly predicated up on the Quran (II,110). Qutb as an authority on Quranic-exegesis pointedly quotes this verse to prove that "Allah's real chosen people are the Muslim community (*ummah*) regardless of ethnic, racial, or territorial bond of its members. For did not the first group of Muslim consist of an Arab, Abu Bakr, an Ethiopian, Bilal, a Byzantine, Suhayb and a Persian, Salman?"^78

Qutb himself did not evade the issue during his interrogation by police in prison:

Q. What is your opinion of patriotism?

A. Patriotism should consist in bonds of faith, not to a piece of land. The present, territorial, sense given to this term should thus be greatly stretched.

Q. What do you think of Pan-Arab qawmiyya?

A. To my mind, this type of ideology that had exhausted its role in Universal history. The whole world coalesces today in large ideological formations predicated upon doctrines and beliefs. Striving towards Islamic unity is, hence much more in tune with the spirit of the times we live in."^79
The advent of the British rule following the collapse of Muslim rule in India gave birth to various political and social movements among the Muslims in India. These movements were defensive and reformist in character. The latter accepted the reality of British rule and tried to explore the possibilities of progress-social, political and economic-by remaining loyal subjects of British Empire. The former type of the movement asserted the spiritual and cultural superiority of Islam over the west and suggested a crusade for establishing Muslim supremacy in India. The reform movements offered a new and radial interpretation of the old principles of Islamic polity. The leaders of the defensive movement regarded any deviation from the traditional interpretation of Islam as un-Islamic and upheld the strictly traditional approach of Islam. Politically these defensive movements were at once militant, revivalist and reactionary. The consolidation of the British power made the employment of violent methods futile. But the spirit of the movements, however, survived. Shah Ismail Shaheed, Syed Ahmad Barelvi and Muhammed Kasim Nanotvi represent the revivalist aspect of the defensive movement. In the twentieth
century the most notable expression of the political ideas of the defensive movement is found in the writings of Abul Al'a Mawdudi. He came out with a great burning zeal for revivalism and awakening of the Muslims.

Abul Al'a Mawdudi was born on 25th of September 1903 in Aurangabad, a well-known town in former princely state of Hyderabad (Deccan), presently Andhra Pradesh, India. Mawdudi's father, Saiyyad Ahmad Hasan Mawdudi, was an advocate and had practiced at Meerut before he shifted to Hyderabad (Deccan). Ahmad Hasan, though himself educated at Aligarh, did not send his son to modern school and arrangements were made for him to be taught at home. He was taught English language and literature, modern disciplines and of course, all classical subjects and Arabic, Persian and Urdu languages at his home. According to Mawdudi himself, he had to leave the course of Mawlvi Alim in order to earn a living after his father's death.

After the interruption of his formal education and his father's death, Mawdudi turned to Journalism in order to make his living. In 1918, he started contributing to a leading Urdu newspaper, Muslim and in 1920, at the age of seventeen, he was appointed editor of Taj, which was being published from Jabalpore. Late in 1920 Mawdudi came to Delhi and first
assumed the editorship of the newspaper *Muslim* (1921-1923) and later of the *Al-Jam'iyat* (1925-28), both of which were organs of the *Jam'iyat I- 'ulama' -I Hind*, an organization of Muslim religious scholars. Under his editorship, *al-Jam'iyat* became the leading newspaper of the Muslims of India. The *al-Jami'at* was one of the most popular anti-British Urdu dailies of those times.

A significant turning point came for Mawdudi in connection with the murder of a certain Swami Shradhanand by a fanatic Muslim in 1925. Shradhanand had been a leading figure of the Shuddhi movements, an effort among Hindus to reconvert to Hinduism members of the depressed classes of India who had become, at least nominally, Muslim. The murder provoked a great public outcry, and criticisms of Islam and the Muslims began to appear in the public press. There were accusations that Islam relies upon the sword for its propagation, charges of bloodthirstiness, and repetitions of the old slender that Islam promises paradise to those who kill an unbeliever. Mawdudi undertook to answer these charges in the columns of newspaper *al-Jami'at*, and the articles, which he wrote were later, collected into a book and published by the title of *al-Jihad fil Islam*. These essays were his first serious full-scale attempt to write about an Islamic issue, and the effort
of composing them apparently brought an insight of great vividness and intensity into the nature of Islam. Many years later he said that the composition of this book was the decisive factor in bringing him to a full understanding of the Islamic way of life. \textsuperscript{83} Virtually all of the themes and emphases that characterize his later activity and more mature thought are discussed there. Indeed, the entirety of his subsequent career might be viewed as a working out of the implications of this seminal document.

In \textit{al-Jihad fil Islam} Mawdudi followed the line of the traditional \textit{ulama} who defined \textit{Jihad} as a warfare for the defence of Islam, its honour and the Muslims as a whole. A willingness to perform \textit{Jihad} at the risk of one's life was the test of true belief. \textsuperscript{84} According to Mawdudi, the real object of \textit{Jihad} was that Islam should depose 'Kufr' (disbelief) from the seat of the authority. Islam advocates war only defence of truth and, against oppression and it was true \textit{Jihad} \textit{(Fi Sabi I Allah)} only if the war was for truth. \textsuperscript{85}

In 1928, Mawdudi left the Job of the \textit{al-Jami'at} and went to Hyderabad. There he totally devoted himself to writing and research. It was in this connection that he took up the editorship of monthly \textit{Tarjuman al-Qur'an} in 1933, which became the main source for the expression of Mawdudi's
ideas. Mawdudi wrote a lot of articles in the *Tarjuman al Qur'an* some of which were later collected and published in the form of a book under various titles. The most important of these is *Musalman Aur Mawjuda siyasi Kashmakash* because in this collection Mawdudi expressed his political philosophy "what was upper-most in my mind was to keep alive in Muslims a sense of their separate entity and prevent their absorption into a non Muslim community." The third volume of this collection exposed what an Islamic state really was and what kind of action were required for the establishment of Islamic state.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal was impressed by Mawdudi's writings whom he met in 1937 at Lahore. Iqbal advised Mawdudi to shift from Hyderabad to Punjab because he thought in course of time Mawdudi would have less opportunity for carrying on his work in south-India and Punjab offered a fertile ground. Mawdudi followed Iqbal's advice and left Hyderabad in 1938. He settled in Gurdaspur on an endowment of eight acres containing a mosque and few buildings which were to become the *Darul-Islam Academy*. Mawdudi's intention was to gather sensible young representatives of both the old and the new systems of education and train them for providing a new intellectual and moral Islamic leadership. In 1938 when Iqbal died, Mawdudi
moved to Lahore, where he joined the Islamia college as Dean of the faculty of theology. After one year he left the college as he felt that he was losing his freedom. He came to Pathankot (Punjab) and continued for *Tarjuman al-Quran*.90

In August 1940, the Muslim league passed its now famous Lahore Resolution, which called for the establishment of autonomous states in the Muslim majority areas of the subcontinent. From that point on, the great weight of Muslim opinion rallied behind the demand for Pakistan, using the same argument Mawdudi had employed, that the Muslims of India were a distinct nation, but claiming also that their nationhood gave them the right to a state and territory of their own. In Mawdudi's opinion the new thrust for Indian Muslim political agitation, like what had gone before it, did not meet the needs of the Muslims but posed a new threat to them, for its ultimate result was only to substitute Muslim nationalism for the Indian nationalism and nationalism in whatever form was bad. Both were basically secularist conceptions of the Muslim density, and both were concerned with the mundane interests of the people, not their ultimate orientation.91

Around the year 1940 Mawdudi developed ideas regarding the founding of a more ambitious and comprehensive movement. These ideas led him to establish a new organization
under the name of Jama'at-i-Islami. Mawdudi, who founded this Jam'at, was elected its chief and remained so till 1972 when he withdrew the post on health grounds.\textsuperscript{92}

The foundation of the Jama'at-i-Islami was not a chance of occurrence. Mawdudi had been stressing for a party, which would be totally committed to Islam and would be different from other Muslim parties. He had pointed out that the 'present civilization' was fastly moving towards its doom. And the causes of this doom were the ideologies such as Capitalism, Socialism, Nationalism, and Fascism. Mawdudi felt that destruction of the civilization would either bring about a group of people who would advocate the qualities of Jihad and Ijtihad. Mawdudi also felt that an ideology of that kind could not be other than Islam. Therefore, he claimed that the future of humanity depended upon Islam even though he strongly felt that ideology was not enough. A right and strong ideology needed a righteous and strong party.\textsuperscript{93}

Under Mawdudi's one man show leadership the Jama'at-i-Islami became one of the leading Islamic movements of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century in the Muslim world. He traveled to many countries (Egypt, Syria, Jordan, England, U.S.A. and Canada) to spread his ideas. Mawdudi wrote 120 books and pamphlets and has over a 1000 speeches and press statements to his credit. He
openly criticized any un-Islamic practice and his movement attempted to bring change through political control. For holding revolutionary views he was often imprisoned in Pakistan and in 1953 he was even sentenced to death on charge of sedition. The sentence was later commuted because of the pressure from leader of Muslim world.

Due to the partition in 1947 two independent states were carved out of the sub-continent—Pakistan and India—the jami'at was divided in two sections the jama'at-i-silami India and the Jam'at-i-Islami Pakistan. After the creation of Pakistan Mawdudi migrated from Pathankot in India to Lahore and denounced the struggle for Kashmir as un-Islamic for which he was sent to jail in 1950, though later, in 1965, he endorsed the Kashmir war as Jihad (it is worth to note that between 1937 and 1947 Mawdudi opposed first the Indian nationalists stand of the Deoband 'ulama', and later Pakistan movement, denouncing its secular-minded leadership). In 1952-3 he aligned himself with the former anti-Pakistan group, the Ahrar, and the orthodox 'ulama' in their agitation demanding discriminative legislation and executive action against the heterodox messianistic Ahmadi sect. During the military regime from 1958, the Jama'at was banned, like other political parties, and like them it was revived in 1962. As usual the party and its
leadership aligned themselves with the other opposition groups, infiltrating their ranks and influencing their political programme in the direction of Islamic orthodoxy. After the brief imprisonment in 1964, Mawdudi emerged to support the candidacy of Miss Fatima Jinnah (sister of Ali Muhammad Jinnah) for election to the office of president of republic in opposition to Ayub Khan, though in his writings he had persistently asserted that a woman could not legally be appointed as the head of the Islamic state.\footnote{95}

Upto the present time \textit{Jamaat-I-Islami} is the only organization, which has kept up a steady pressure on all the government of Pakistan for bringing about the \textit{Nizam-I-Mustafa} (the Islamic system). Even after the death of Mawdudi in 1979 \textit{Jama'at-I-Islami} has acted both as an Islamic movement and political party. However, its effectiveness had been thwarted at every step and it has not been very successful.

(ii) Political ideology of Mawdudi

The political ideology of Mawdudi starts with the notion that Islam is not a Jumble of unrelated and incoherent mode of conduct. It is rather a well-ordered system, a consistent whole, resting on a definite set of clear-cut postulates. The entire life scheme of a truly Islamic life flows from its basic postulates.
The unity and sovereignty of God is the starting point of Islamic political philosophy.\textsuperscript{96}

To Mawdudi, the distinguishing mark of Islamic state is its complete freedom from all traces of nationalism and its influence. It is a state build completely on principles.\textsuperscript{97} Four conditions were laid by him for such state to exist:

I. Affirmation of sovereignty of Allah.

II. Acceptance of government of the limitations that it will discharge its functions and exercise its power within the bounds laid down by Allah.

III. All existing laws which were contrary to Sharia would be changed, and that.

IV. All new laws would be based on the teachings of Islam.\textsuperscript{98}

Mawdudi was of the opinion that the state according to Islam, is nothing more than the combination of men working together as servants of Allah to carryout his will and purposes. Such a state however, does not exist anywhere because man's rule over man has created ignoble governments that allow all kinds of evil practices and corruption to flourish in the whole political system. For a man of ordinary sense can understand this point that where people are quite free to commit adultery, no amount of sermons can put a stop to this. But if after getting hold of the power of government adultery is stopped by force, people will themselves give up this illicit course and take to the illicit one. It will be impossible to succeed if you want to stop by the means of sermons
the evil of gambling, usury, drinking, bribery, obscene shows, indecent dress, unethical dress and such other things......So this is an obvious matter requiring no great thinking that no scheme of the reform of the people can be implemented without acquiring control of the government machinery. Whoever really wants to root out mischief and chaos from God's earth and is genuinely anxious to ameliorate the condition of God's creation, it is useless for him to work as a mere preacher. He should stand up to finish the government run on wrong principles, snatch power from wrongdoers and establish a government based on correct principles and following a proper system.99

Mawdudi's state is a monolithic state of an authoritarian type. Mawdudi's concept of an Islamic state was that of "an all powerful, monolithic state, upholding a definite religious ideology and using the full weight of police and judicial powers to ensure that all aspect of its life will reflect the character of its Islamic ideology."100

According to Mawdudi to change the status quo of a secular Muslim state into an Islamic state is not easy because of threat to the vested interests of the elite would lead to conflict. For this reason an Islamic revolution is very essential which 'can be brought about only when a mass movement is started based on the theories and conceptions of the Qur'an and practice of prophet Muhammad (S.A.W) which would, by a powerful struggle,
effect a total change in the intellectual, moral, cultural and
Psychological foundation of social life.'

Mawdudi then talks about the people who can take up such a difficult task of leading the Islamic revolutions:

requires a group of workers who are fearful of God and implicitly follow the law of God without consideration of loss or gain, no matter where they come from, whether from this community which is now called Muslim or from outside. A handful of such men are more valuable for this purpose than the huge crowd......Islam does not stand in need of a treasure of copper coins which passed for gold mohurs. Before examining the stamp on coins, Islam seeks to find out whether or not pure gold lies beneath. One such coin is more valuable to Islam than a whole heap of spurious gold coins. Then, again the leadership, which God requires for the glory of His name, is the type of leadership, which should not budge an inch from the principles, which Islam seeks to uphold no matter what the outcome may be, whether all the Muslims perish by hunger or go down before the sword.'

Mawdudi's interpretation of Islam pertaining particularly to its social and political outlook, as presented in his Arabic translations, is very rigid and narrow. In his monograph Islam aur Jahiliyat (Islam and Jahiliyya), for example, he bifurcates the otherwise complex societies into Islamic and Jahili. His interpretation of a Jahili a society as the one, which does not believe in, revealed law and one God, and Islamic as the one

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which believes in one God and upholds the revelation is passable, though his use of term *Jahili* is inapt. But Mawdudi goes further and propagates absolutism to explain the essentials of the prophetic message suggesting that, in Islamic perception, the universe in an 'organized state' and a "totalitarian system" in which all powers are vested in *Allah* who is the only ruler. He refutes even the concept of people's sovereignty, and suggest it to be a characteristics of *Jahili* society. According to him, in the Islamic method, opinions are formed on the basis of solutions presented by the prophets regarding the basic human problems.\(^{103}\)

However, in a speech delivered at Macca on occasion of *hajj* at a gathering of Arab young in 1963,\(^{104}\) Mawdudi advised the "activists of the Islamic movements to avoid indulging in clandestine activity" and not to try "to bring revolution through the use of force". He rather stressed change of mind and true Islamization at the popular level.\(^{105}\)

(iii) Mawdudi's stand on Nationalism

Mawdudi's political thought is based on the medieval tradition of Islam that aims at the establishment of the Gods rule on earth. It is a process of revolution, which requires propagation, organization, and acquisition of political power by the righteous leaders of the movement. The political
philosophy, which is the basis of this revolution, is presented as the only acceptable way of life. In the contemporary world, however, the most inadequate system is that of the West, which stands as a great challenge to the Islamic society. According to him, western influence, has led to the degeneration and de-Islamization of the Muslims. The western civilization has forcibly severed religion from society and created a slavish mentality among the subject people and has deprived them the will and ability to protest and resist. Mawdudi maintained that western education in India has done permanent harm to the Muslim mind and culture by spreading rationalism, irreligion and atheism. The impact of the West has made the Muslims ignorant of the vitality and virility of Islamic culture. Islam is opposed to all the values, which are dear to the western mind. In the political sphere the west has created the false Gods of nationalism and democracy. Religion is alienated from the state and latter had become a toll in the hands of the opportunists and has ceased to be an instrument for the promotion of the moral life of man.

Mawdudi regarded nationalism a sentiment or a subjective feeling that produces disunity. According to him the theory and practice of nationalism is not only defective but also dangerous
and fatal to the interests of mankind as it is based on "what is selfishness in individual life is nationalism of social life."\(^{108}\)

The word \textit{Qawm} (nation) has been used in different ways and senses in Urdu language. Even Mawdudi has used word \textit{Qawm} in its various meanings. Mawdudi defined it in a manner, which means that all those who had accepted Islam were one nation, and those who had rejected Islam were another. Those two nations differed from each other not on basis of their race but on the basis of faith and practice. Father and son might well belong to the different nations because of different faiths and two strangers might belong to same nation because of their identity of their faith.\(^{109}\) To prove himself right Mawdudi launched attacks on any other definition of nation and nationalism. He was of the opinion that territorial or racial nationalism would kill all the feelings of Islamic nationalism and two could not co-exist. According to him, all other nations, except the Islamic, had been built on the basis of race, territory, language, colour, economic needs or organization of government. These factors while innocent in themselves foster the growth of nationalism which gives rise to national prejudices and produce national exclusiveness. Therefore Mawdudi propagated that nationalism and national objectives as commonly understood were not worth propagation.\(^{110}\) He was
not in favour of the concept of composite nationalism in India and believed attempts to unite the different nationalities could have two alternative results. First, the attempt could result in all the nations arriving at clear defence agreements between them for common aims and objectives. The second alternative was the all the nations would become one nation. The second one he believed that would lead to Muslims giving first priority to their motherland. Therefore Mawdudi advised the Muslims of India to forget separate electorate, fixation of seats, reservation of posts etc. and to concentrate on the demolishing the concept of one nation and not to move one step forward until their separate nationhood was accepted.\textsuperscript{111}

Between 1937 and 1940 two groups of nationalists were present among the Muslims of India. The first group was the nationalist Muslim group. This group accepted the common Indian nationhood. The second group was full of those who advocated the political and economic upliftment of Indian Muslims. They were hardly interested in principles and objectives of Islam. For Mawdudi, both groups were equally wrong because, in his opinion, Islam did not allow any nationalism and believed only the truth. Both these groups of nationalists were unaware of their un-Islamic positions. The second group of nationalists, in other words the Muslim
leagues, came in for serious and harsh condemnation at the hands of Mawdudi. To Mawdudi, they were not different from Hindu nationalists, though they considered themselves to be the flag bearers and representatives of Islam. They would be satisfied only by the capture of power by the Muslim, however un-Islamic their government might be.\(^\text{112}\)

Mawdudi was against the creation of Pakistan by Muslim Nationalists. To him, the term "Muslim" and "nationalism" were contradictory. In a speech shortly before partition he had asked:

"Why should we foolishly waste our time in expanding the so called Muslim nationalist state and fritter away our energies in setting it up, when we know that it will not only be useless for our purposes, but will rather prove on obstacle in our path."\(^\text{113}\)

(IV) The Jama'at-I-Islami and the Ikhwan al Muslimun

There are a lot of similarities between the Jama'at-i-Islami and the Ikhwan al-Muslimun of Egypt, although there were no contacts between them prior to the partition of India. It was after the creation of Pakistan that some literature of Jama'at was translated into Arabic and reached Egypt.\(^\text{114}\) Mawdudi's major works (Jihad in Islam, Islam and Jahiliyya, the principles of Islamic government) were translated from Urdu and English into Arabic in 1950s.\(^\text{115}\)

The political programme and the way of thinking of both Hasan al-Banna and the Abul Al'a Mawdudi have striking
resemblances. Both were of the opinion that Islam was all-comprehensive and deals all aspects of life. That Islam demolishes the geographical, racial and national differences was the common assertion of both al-Banna and Mawdudi. Both of them opposed the multiplicity of parties in the legislature both Ikhwan and Jama'at organized large-scale public welfare and social service activities like free education and free hospital etc. \(^{116}\)

The ideologue of Ikhwan and the father of presently Islamic fundamentalism Sayyid Qutb was a great admirer of Mawdudi. In the Quranic exegesis Qutb quoted Mawdudi at a length. The term *Jahiliyya* was borrowed by Qutb from Mawdudi.
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51. Adnan, Musallam, OP.Cit; No. 42. Pp 68, 69.

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55. Ibid p 71.

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