Chapter I

Socio-Political Conditions in Modern Egypt
Islam came to Egypt in the fourth decade of the seventh century, when ‘Umar ibn al-Khattāb (R.A.A.), the second Caliph of Islam 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 Islamic 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. 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., became a cradle for the group of spiritual and intellectual Egyptian people. The Ottomans annexed Egypt with Islamic empire in 1516-1517 and made it part of the last great Islamic 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 18th century Cairo. 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 Mamlūkes 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, *Fallahīn*. 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 Mamlûkes up to 19th century. Mohammad Ali also followed the same tradition and engaged the Fallâhîn in agriculture rather than under arms. He intended to create a strong mercenary army of black African slaves lead by foreign officers. This plan failed when Greek war of Independence broke out. For the first time he recruited the Fallâhîn into the army in more than 2,000 years.¹²

Turks, Circassians¹³ 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 Halîm and his freemasonry group. But due to lack of coordination with the people, this attempt failed.

By the end of the reign of Khedive Ismâîl, national self-consciousness has risen to the point where revolt seemed imminent. But Ismâîl'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 Fallâhîn officers before the British occupation.¹⁴ 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 1882.¹⁵ 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 'Urabi Pâshâ 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 Ibrahīm (A.S.) and Hadrat Ismāil (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-
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."²⁰

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 1899²¹ and *al-Mar'ah al Jadīdah* (The Modern woman) in 1900. The first women’s newspaper *al-Fatiah* was already established by Hind Nawfal in 1892.²² 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.²³ 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.²⁴ 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 Islamic 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-Marʿah 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-Jaridah:

“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-Muqatta'. 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 intellectuals and gradually tried to instill liberalism and materialism in the hearts of the Egyptian youths. They accused Mustafā Kāmil 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 Mustafā 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 ‘Abbas to handover the escaped persons to him. But Lord Cromer interfered and prevented King ‘Abbas from doing so. Lord Cromer also supported Mohammad ‘Abduh, when the relation between the latter and King ‘Abbas of Egypt became strained. The Britishers also supported his companions Mustafa Fahmi, Riayz Pashä,29 Sa‘ad Zāghlūl, Fathi Zāghlūl and Qāsim Amin, 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 ‘Abbas. A large number of Egyptians supported them without knowing the results.

Poets like Naseem and Waliudin 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,\(^1\) and 'Saheefah Misr', publishing since 1895,\(^2\) 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.

Mustafā Kāmil and his companion poets and writers demanded the parliamentary system in the country and continued their struggle for its achievement. Mustafā Kāmil’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. Sharīf Pāshā was a Turk, Nubār Pāshā, an Armenian and Riyāz Pāshā, a Jew. Mustafā Pāshā Fehmī was also of Turkish extraction. He resigned in 1908 A.D. and Boutros Pāshā was the first Egyptian to hold the post.\(^3\)
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 *Tabāt al-Istibdād* (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.34

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-Azhar35 caused wide spread 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. It
was unfortunate for Egypt that these people thought that the welfare of Egypt is not in Islām but in Western culture.

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

‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawakibī wrote ‘Umm al-Qurā. 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 Islām and they gave priority to politics. He said that the Turks adopted Islām 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 Islām. In support of his views he quoted the references from the history and said that Uthmānī Caliphs sacrificed deen for their self-interest (‘Umm al-Qurā). In this book he wrote that Sūltān 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 Bānī Ahmar. So Sūltān Mohammad Fateh tolerate the bloodshed of fifty lakh Muslims of Spain and their forced conversion as Christians. The Sūltān 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.\(^{36}\)

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 Insabella 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-Kawakibī 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-Kawakibī 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.”\(^{37}\)

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.”\(^{38}\)

Another book which presented a dreadful picture of the tyranny of the Uthmānī Caliphate was \textit{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 Yakun and Hāfiz Ibrahīm were adding fuel to the fire through their poetry. At last Mustafa 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
The 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 Ramadhān. 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 Islam and maintained:

"Islam 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-Ittijāḥāt al-Wataniyah 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 Ibrahim, 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 Islam. They were of the opinion that material progress could be achieved without avoiding principles of Islam. 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 Islam. Kashif admitted that Muslims stopped their progress by keeping themselves far away from the faith. Shawquí was also in the forefront. The aims and objectives of this group were to eradicate the misunderstanding about Islam from the hearts of the people and wanted to restore their confidence in Islam.

Scholars like Mohammad ‘Abduh, ‘Abdullah al-Nadeem 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-Afghanî, the well known scholar and reformer.

Jâmâl al-dîn al-Afghânî (1837-1897) was an Afghan. He traversed Irân, India, Turkey and the Arab world sounding the theme of defensive reform while calling for local and Pan-Islâmîc revolts. He also played a great role in the history of Islâm.49

Al-Afghânî and his followers engaged in direct attacks on West, especially British imperialism. Al-Afghânî rejected the idea of European supremacy. Al-Urwah al-Wuthqâ (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-Islâmism 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 Islâm’s position in the world vis-a-vis its major enemy, the Christian West. He regarded Islâm as the essential basis for the progress of Muslims. The attack on Islâm 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 Islâm, not to modernize it.51 He proposed to the Ummah that it should base its progress on its own religion and its own Qur’ân. 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.

One of the leading disciple of al-Afghāni and reformer of that time was Shaykh Mohammad ‘Abduh (1849-1905). 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 Imām. 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.  

After the death of Mohammad ‘Abduh the only disciple who struggled, was Rashid Rida (1895-1935). He was the prominent founder of the *Salafiyyah Movement*. 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 Rā‘ī'i.

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 Islamic 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 Ḥafīz 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 Saʿād Zāghlūl and the latter requested for an Egyptian delegation (wafād) 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 Saʿād Zāghlūl was arrested and sent to Māltā. This suppression resulted union between al-Azhar Ulmmā and Hizb al-Ummah and there were strikes and demonstrations throughout the country against the detention of Saʿād 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 ‘Wafād 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 Saʿād Zāghlūl in 1927, Wafād 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:


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 Mistrs 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 *Wadū* on roads. And who are calling Pharaohs and Jews as ‘*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 *Mustaqbal al-Thaqafah fi-Misr* (The Future of Culture in Egypt). This book was more dangerous than that of Salāmah Mūsa’s book *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 *Fi al-Sh’er al Jāhilî* (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, *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 upto un-veiling but also upto 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 Zahīhūl, wife of Sa‘ad Zahīhūl 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‘aravī, who was wife of Alī Sh‘aravī 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‘aravī 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 Islām 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.

8. Ibid., p. 430 shows that Mohammad Alī lived between (1804-1841) where as according to Perlmutter, Amos in his book, Egypt: the Praetorian State, he lived between (1805-1848).

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, Khalil 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 Fırkasi), finally the People’s Party (Cümburiyet 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.