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

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

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

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

On 15\(^{th}\) December 1951, obeying the orders of the Supreme Court, the government released some of their properties among which was the General Headquarters building, the newspaper building the publishing house and some of their branch buildings.\(^8\) The judgment stated that decision through which al-Ikhwān was declared un-lawful, was totally wrong because the decision taken in 1948, was not under the jurisdiction of Marshal Law Administration.

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Without waiting and wasting any time, the remnants gathered, regrouped the ranks and filled the vacant posts in preparation for the new phase under the leadership of the former deputy, Saleh 'Ashmāwī. Detainees in the Palestine area were returned in small groups, subjected to investigations or minor detentions, and then released. Its rapid recovery was largely due to its having continued to operate as an organization in the prisons, grouped together in mass concentrations, it was a simple matter to reestablish the former patterns and relationships. Those who escaped abroad continued to spread the message, especially in Syria, Jordan and Pakistan, their reports of sympathy among other Muslims for the 'ordeal' of al-Ikhwān and of new conquests for the idea added to the sense of new life and eternal mission.

Asked by an associated press correspondent about the support of the Wafd, the spokesman of al-Ikhāwan, Saleh 'Ashmāwī said, “The Wafd is the popular party of Egypt and its followers come from the same classes as the partisans of al-Ikhwān—the popular classes. There is then, no competition between al-Ikhwān and the Wafd”.

There were negotiations between al-Ikhwān and the Wafd, the former was represented by Mustafa Mu’min and the latter by Sirāj al-dīn, as Minister of the Interior Sirāj al-dīn’s conditions for the return of al-Ikhwān to life included (1) formal activity might not be resumed till Martial Law was ended; (2) informal activities might be resumed without delay but under a new name; (3) The old name might only be used after the lifting of Martial Law and the full return of al-Ikhwān to legality. Mu’min, anxious to resume the functioning of al-Ikhwān, agreed to accept the offer. He went so far as to recommend a new name; al-Nahda al-Islāmiyyah (The Islamic Renaissance) but other leaders
especially Sāleh ‘Ashmāwī, rejected the offer and accused the Wafd of betrayal.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

New Leader of Al-Ikhwān

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

About these changes he said:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Sayyid Qutb: Ideologue of al-Ikhwān

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

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

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

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

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

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

He wrote many books in jail, which contain the call and the thought of al-Ikhwān. According to the secretary of the organization, ‘Abd al- Haleem Ābidīn, “Their organization got a great thinker whose opinion is very authentic.”34 He is the author of about twenty-two books. Some of them are as under: -
(1) *Al-Taswîr al-Fanni fi al-Qu‘rân* (picturization in the Qur‘ân).


(3) *Al-Âdalah al-Ijtimaiyah fi al-Islâm* (Social justice in Islâm) is the famous book written by Sayyid Qutb.

(4) *Ma‘arakah al-Islâm wa al-Rasmâliyyah* (The Struggle Between Capitalism and Islâm)

(5) *Al- Salâm al-Alâmî wa al- Islâm* (Islâm and the Universal peace).

(6) *Fi Zilâl al-Qu‘rân* (in the Shade of the Qur‘ân), which is comprised in eight volumes.

(7) *Dirâsât Islâmîyyah* (Islâmic studies)

(8) *Khasâ‘is al- Tassawwur al- Islâmî was Muqwwamâtuhû* (Characteristics and Constitutive Element of the Islâmîc thought).

(9) *Al-Islâm wa Mushkîlât al-Hâdarah* (Islâm and the problems of civilization)

(10) *Ma‘âlim fi al-Tariq* (Milestones): In this book he criticized Arab Nationalism and said that Islâm is the stable way and method. He wrote in this book that Islâmic civilization is neither Arabic nor national. It is always Islâmic civilization. It contains the revolutionary ideas and the government treated it as the call for armed struggle against the regime and accused Sayyid Qutb on the charges of sedition and terrorism. He was arrested and hanged to death along with his two associates on 29 August 1966. He was also accused that he had written the book after influenced by Sayyid Abul Ala Mawdûdi and he admitted in the court that there was no difference in their call.
(11) *Al- Mustaqbal li-Hadha al-Dīn* (the future of this Religion).


(13) *Hadha al Dīn* (This religion of Islām)

(14) *Tafsīr Āyāt al-Ribā* (verses of the Interest).

(15) *Tifl Min al-Qaryah* (A Child from the village).

(16) *Al-Shāti al-Majhūl* (The Unknown Beach).

**His Thought**

Sayyid Qutb is considered as the ideologue of al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn. He had made thorough study of human societies and come to the conclusion that all the societies other than Islam are *jahiliyyah* (Ignorant). He has urged the Islāmist movements to oppose both the west and leaders in Islāmic society whom they found to be disregarding Allah’s law. He regarded these leaders as *jāhil* (ignorants). He admits that he has borrowed this definition from Mawdūdi’s *Mabādi’ al-Islām*. “*Jāhiliyyah* is not a period of time. It is a condition that is repeated every time society veers from the Islāmic way whether in the past, the present or the future.”

His most important work, which contains the attacks against jāhiliyyah and for which he was hanged to death, is *Ma‘ālim fi al-Tariq*. In the book he wrote that we are in a similar *jāhiliyyah* period, as the Arabs before Prophet Muhammad (S.A.W). Our surrounding is *jāhiliyyah*, our beliefs, habits, customs, rules, law, education etc. - all are products of *jāhiliyyah*.

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

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

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

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

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

He Says:

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

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

About *minhāj* Sayyid Qutb Says:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Al-Banna met him at Mādi on the evening of Milād al-Nabi (P.B.U.H.) Feast. This was his first meeting with al-Banna. The second time he met al-Banna at latter’s office. Then the contacts continued. The leaders of the volunteers force of al-Ikhwān and representatives of
revolutionary committee e.g Jamāl ‘Ābd al-Nāsser, Kamal al-dīn Ḥusayn and many other officers met at Hasan al-Bannā’s residence in order to arrange the training and equipping of volunteers.\(^{49}\)

Al-Sadāt was introduced to Azīz al-Misrī by a revolutionary officer in a dentist’s clinic to avoid suspicion.\(^{50}\) Due to the imprisonment of al-Sadāt in 1942 (later on he escaped) these contacts were continued by ‘Ābd Al-Munīm ‘Ābd al-Raūf, who was both a dedicated member of al-Ikhwān and at the same time a ‘Free Officer’. He was introduced to al-Bannā by Anwar al-Sadāt.\(^{51}\)

During Palestine war of 1948, the Army and al-Ikhwān fought shoulder to shoulder against the common enemy in many battles. Anwar al-Sadāt was very much impressed by the enthusiasm and dedication of al-Ikhwān volunteers. The officers regarded it their duty to train such volunteers and lead them in battle.\(^{52}\) Fuād Sādiq, commander of the Egyptian army, was also impressed by the enthusiasm and morale of al-Ikhwān volunteers. He wanted that the government should award medals to al-Ikhwān volunteers.\(^{53}\) Al-Ikhwān sources said that when the news of al-Bannā’s death reached the army officers, “they were visited secretly by a large number of officers of varying ranks bearing on their faces the sorrow they deeply felt.”\(^{54}\) The revolutionary officers honoured al-Bannā’s memory visited his tomb and lamented his passing as was described fully by the magazine *al-Da’wah* and the Egyptian press on the occasion of his martyrdom.\(^{55}\)

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

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

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

“Some members of the executive committee of the ‘Free officers’ were secret members of al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun. All of us had friends in them. Rashad Mehanna another ‘Free Officer’ was deeply involved with the Muslim Brothers, consequently he was not included in the
Circumstances Responsible for 1952 Revolution

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

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

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

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

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

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

**Revolution and after**

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

In fact, cooperation between the civilian cabinet and the R.C.C. ended soon. Within two weeks of the coup, all parties were ordered to purge themselves and remove 'corrupt elements'. A week later General Najib warned that a dictatorship would be established because "the most evil remain untouched". Seventh purge commission was appointed to investigate past scandals, such as the purchase of faulty arms, the manipulation of the cotton market, the illicit sale of state lands, and the wide spread incorrect evasion. By August 1953, the commission had removed 800 civilians and 100 military and police officers from their posts. The bureaucrats who survived were "compelled to do a full day's work...something a good many...had never done before."^69

After the revolution, al-Ikhwan was hoping for positive treatment from the R.C.C. government because the former had good relations with the latter upto the revolution. The R.C.C. adopted two measures favourable to al-Ikhwan. Firstly, reopening of the enquiry into al-Banna's assassination that the murderer and his accomplices are punished.^70 Secondly, the imprisoned al-Ikhwan members were released from the jails along with other political prisoners.^71 In addition to this, the R.C.C. took part in the annual ceremonies of al-Banna's death. On those occasions, both Mohammad Najib and Saleh Salim spoke of the founder's qualities in glowing terms.^72
There is no doubt that al-Ikhwan supported the revolution, al-though al-Hudaibi, himself refused to support the revolution in the early days. He ‘disappeared’ in Alexandria for few days until the revolutionaries successfully.... completed the job and the King left Egypt. Nevertheless, when he later declared himself for the revolution, al-Hudaibi asked the new regime to liquidate communist and secularist forces, thus paving the way for an even greater sale of Islamization. On 26 July 1952, al-Hudaibi announced, publicly and privately to the R.C.C., the need to establish Islām as the basis of Egypt. He placed the limit on land ownership 500 acres rather than the 200 recommended by the R.C.C. Now al-Nasser and al-Hudaibi regarded each other with suspicion, which was followed by the R.C.C.’s demand to dissolve the Special Apparatus. This was also al-Hudaibi’s wish but at that time, he may have changed his mind. The R.C.C. began to dismiss the army officer who continued to associate with al-Ikhwan. The dismissed officers were then arrested and jailed.

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

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

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

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

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

"This is not in the interest of al-Ikhwān. They are the symbol of the whole nation and must not be the symbol of a party. Furthermore, army and police cannot create ideological parties. What will happen is that the opportunists will exploit the new organization and consequently hurt the reputation of the government and the revolution."^79

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“As I was delivering my speech from the presidential palace, I could see al-Ikhwān

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

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

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

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

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

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

Despite protests from the Arab world, six prominent leaders of al-Ikhwān were hanged to death on 9 December 1954. They were:
(1) ‘Abd al-Qādir Audah—deputy Supreme Guide,
(2) Shaykh Mohammad Farghali—Strongest pillar of Majlis-al- Shūra. He was the commander of al-Ikhwān fighters during Suez Canal war in 1951. British army had announced five thousand pounds for his head,
(3) Yūsuf Tal‘at – Chief Supervisor of al-Ikhwān of Syria,
(4) Ibrāhīm al-Tayyib—leader of secret organization of al-Ikhwān Cairo zone,
(5) Advocate Hindawi Duwayr, and
(6) Mahmūd ‘Abd al-Latīf—prime accused in the assassination bid.

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

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

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

"Al-Ikhwān has passed through the severe phases of oppression and imprisonment. Some people (anti-Ikhwān) created doubts regarding faith and belief of certain Muslims and announced to sentence them. Inspite of torture and oppression in the jails, al-Ikhwān tried their best to remove the misunderstanding from their minds immediately. They took this step not for any
danger or planning but only to achieve willingness of Allah. Outwardly this sedition was solved but enemies of truth were not ready to surrender, because they wanted to destroy the image of Islamic movement through their ill wishes. These elements observed with their own eyes that people are waiting for Islamic call and were sure that impurity of un-Islamic movements had been unveiled. They also know that Muslims are sincere and are ready to adopt Islamic Shariah in each and every aspect of life-political, economic, social and cultural. Suddenly I read in the newspapers about al-Hijrah's 92 echoes, which were expressing extremism, passions and excitement in their thoughts and beliefs. Probably it might be a new trend of jealousy and fraud so that people may get afraid of the Islamists and hate them. 93

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

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

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

“Set up rule of the Qur’ān in your hearts, it will automatically establish on the earth.”\(^94\)

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


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On 22 January 1995 more than twenty senior al-Ikhwān members were arrested including Dr. Essam al-Aryan, assistant secretary general of Egyptian Medical Association and Dr. Ibrahim al-Zafaran, Secretary General of Alexandria Medical Association. In the same year on 17 July, Egyptian government arrested seventeen more
prominent people including Director of Information al-Azhar University, Shaykh Sayyid Askar; Head of the Chemistry branch of the Engineers Syndicate, Mohammad ‘Abd al-Azīz al-Sarūrī; Head of the Personnel Department (Ministry of Social Affairs), Sayyid Nuzālī; former deputy industry minister Rashād Najim; three former members of the Peoples’ Assembly and other prominent people from doctors, teachers, and engineers unions. In this way more than eighty al-Ikhwān members have been arrested. 106

After the decision of the ‘Military Court’, deputy Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān in an interview with al-Mujtama explained the situation and said that President Husni Mubārak’s this step was a continuity of oppression of the government. Still then, al-Ikhwān contested 1995 parliamentary elections.107

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On 20 January 1991 in another statement, the Supreme Guide condemned U.S. and U.N. Military attack on Iraq and declared Arab rulers responsible for the problem. He clearly said that though Iraqi president and his worst administrative system was of guilty but the reality could not be changed that Iraqi public is part and parcel of Muslim ‘Ummah.'
At this stage al-Ikhwan was continually criticizing Iraqi administrative system and President Saddām Hussain and announced that Irāq did a bad thing in haste and all these steps benefited the enemies of Islām. Al-Ikhwan went to the extent that the missile attack of Irāq on Israel did not harm Israel but it benefited the Zionists because Israel got help in millions from outside.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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

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

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

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

“To come out of the severe stage and lifting of ban, we try to open such a way through which we can openly make publicity of our call and programme. Al-Ikhwān is not against the constitution of the country because it had
declared Islam as the religion of the country. So when call for real Islam and implementation of the Islamic Shariah, it means that we are not against the constitution. It is not only the duty of al-Ikhwan but also the duty of every Muslim to act upon the Islamic objectives. Islam is not only the name of prayer but also a religion and a government. It demands such type of state, which implements Islamic Shariah, protects Muslims from the enemies of Allah and makes their every attempt as a futile exercise. It is our duty but most of the Muslims do not know. Al-Ikhwan is calling them to perform this duty and implement the Islamic Shariah. If the governments implement the Shariah, al-Ikhwan would help them and become its soldiers.\(^\text{114}\)

About the strategy of the organization, he said: "We have asked the government to recognize our organization and put up the case in the parliament for lifting of ban over al-Ikhwan. On the eve of 1984 elections, we talked for the establishment of a party, but we were not allowed and the government told us that establishment of a religio-political party could not be allowed as there is the possibility of communal riots in the country. It was contrary to the reality because we have had good relations with the Christians from the time of Hasan al-Bannā and continued during the time of Hasan al-Hudaibi, al-Sayyid ʿUmar Tilmisāni and Hāmid Abū al-Nasr. But still certain al-Ikhwan youth established al-Wast Party and drafted its programme and submitted its application to the Political Parties Affairs Committee, which will be certainly disqualified. But our aim is to make dialogue with government for a way out because we are far away from any kind of riots and terrorism, and not doing anything against the laws of the country. Still then we are facing trials, severity, cruelty and or nomination papers for election are being cancelled."\(^\text{115}\)

He negated the allegations about the links with militant organizations and said:
"We are being blamed for having contacts with militant organizations like al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah and al-Jihād, which could never be proved. In reality we have no links with such type of organizations and we are criticizing the severity and terrorism."116

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

“Deviations from the way of da’wah are more dangerous than examinations to the callers. I am of the opinion that deviation of thinking is more dangerous than practical devotion because under the shade of real thinking, there is a possibility that it will lead action and practice towards the real side and would surrender or delink from the ill deeds. But if this deviation were in the thinking, every born thinking would be harmful. It would not be fruitful.”117

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

(1) It is not a duty of a Muslim to decide about the faith of the other.118
(2) Life, wealth and honour of every Muslim is respectable. No one has the right to tear it into pieces.¹¹⁹

(3) Tests in the way of Allah are not the faults of man but part of the obedience of God.¹²⁰

(4) To declare Muslims as infidels — creates hatred and fear among the common Muslims and they can become the enemies of da‘wah.¹²¹

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

(1) Knowledge and it dangers: Sometimes with a little knowledge, a caller becomes a Mufti. He holds some categorical Qur’ānic injunctions with the teeth and cancels the meaning and explanations of the scholars and jurists.

(2) Indiscrimination between principles and minor points: Sometimes sālik becomes indifferent to the spirit and skill of da‘wah and pastes himself with haikal and shape or stresses upon formal appearance before skill. In this way instead of calling for principles, he calls for minor points that prove very dangerous.

(3) Increase or decrease and severity: Excess of the performing of prayers and obedience and, carelessness from other duties makes a man isolated, onesided, and terror and he gives up Farā‘id and Wājibât for Nawāfil, and Sunnah.

(4) Hast and impatience: Upset from the severity of the right path, the caller wants to discover a short cut method and becomes ready to use power and weapons, which impure the way of Islāmic movement.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"I have personal orders from Interior Minister that opponents should be suppressed, if necessary do not hesitate from killing them." ¹³⁰

During the polling in October /November 2000, the voters were harrased and beaten. A person was shot dead and a dozen others injured by police firing, when they were protesting for being prevented to reaching the polling booths to exercise their right to franchise. These incidents
happened in Delta, Port Sa'ed and Alexandria where al-Ikhwān candidates were known to be in majority.\(^{131}\)

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

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

The reason behind these severities and oppressions was to keep back al-Ikhwān from contesting the elections because the government did not want to repeat 1987 situation. It is necessary here to mention that al-Ikhwān won 36 seats out of 454 seats in the 1987 general elections and played an important role as an opposition in the parliament.\(^{132}\)

These were the conditions in which al-Ikhwān contested the general elections of October-November 2000. In spite of these severities, al-Ikhwān adopted democratic and peaceful way. The largest opposition party – Labour Party of Egypt announced boycott call of the polls on 21 September 2000 against the government partiality and using undemocratic means. When asked by the correspondent of a newspaper, in spite of pressure on al-Ikhwān, why did not they boycotted the polls, the representatives of Labour Party replied that they were accustomed by these conditions.\(^{133}\) Al-Ikhwān won 17 seats inspite of severe harassment on the part of Egyptian authorities.\(^{134}\)

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

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

Professor Khurshid Ahmad says about Mustafā Mashhūr,  

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

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

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

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

Mamūn al-Hudaibi was born on 28 May 1921 in Cario. After completing graduation in International Rights in 1941, he got distinction in Public Service Commission Examination and was appointed as judge in appellate court. He rendered the services upto 1965. He was imprisoned in 1965 during the period of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāsser. After his release in 1971, he formally joined al-Ikhwān. 138

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mamūn said:
“We can sacrifice our dearest sons for the cause of Palestine but they do not need blood of youth but help in the form of medicine, finance and military weapons so that they can live with peace and rehabilitate their houses and fields destroyed by the Jews. They need support of the public and mass media, which is also a weapon.
Rallies and demonstrations by the people will directly compel the rulers to take steps to solve the problem. If we are provided political freedom, we will assemble together and be aware of the needs of our brothers and we can take steps to solve their problems. If Egyptians are provided the chance, they can lead all the nations of the region.”¹⁴⁰

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

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

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

“We do not want war but our faith in Allah will not be shaken. America should adopt the way of justice, initiate dialogue with Muslim ‘Ummah and give up oppressive, cruel and brutal policies. Americans should keep vigil over the policies of their own administration because such type of policies would sow the seeds of hatred throughout the world against them.”¹⁴¹

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


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


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


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

(10) Ibid., p. 81.

(11) Ibid.


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

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

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


(18) Ibid., p. 89.

(19) Ibid., p. 86.


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

Husaini, op. cit., p. 23.

(28) Ibid.

(29) Ibid.

(30) Ibid.

(31) Ibid.


(34) Ibid.


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

(37) Ma'ālim fi al-Tarīq, op. cit., p. 224.

(38) Ibid., p. 21.

(39) Ibid., p. 31.

(40) Ibid., p. 165.

(41) Ibid., p. 112.

(42) Hijrah means emigration of the Muslims to safer places. Historically it refers to the emigration of Prophet Mohammad (S.A.W.) and his followers from Makkah to Madinah in 622 A.D.


(44) Ma'ālim fi al-Tarīq, op. cit., p. 54.


(48) Ibid., pp. 28-34.

(49) Ibid., pp. 104-105.

(50) Husaini, op. cit., p. 125.

(51) Ibid., p. 126.

(52) Ibid.

(53) Ibid., p. 127.

(54) Ibid.

(55) Ibid., pp. 172-173

(56) Major Mohammad Labīb had retired from the army in 1936, having distinguished himself in Egyptian
operations in the Sudan; he came to know and work with al-Banna as early as 1941. He was unofficial advisor to al-Banna on 'Scouting Activities' until 1947, when he was appointed as a deputy in al-Ikhwan for 'military affairs' and sent to Palestine to help, train and recruit volunteers there. In the Palestine war, he was technical head of the 'volunteer divisions' and al-Banna's personal representative on matters relating to the war. He died on 18 December 1951.

(57) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 97.
(59) Husaini, op. cit., p. 127.
(60) Ibid.
(61) Ibid.
(64) Ibid., p. 150.
(65) Sadat, Safahat Majhulah (The Unknown Pages), p. 99, quoted from Husaini, op. cit., p. 120.
(66) Ibid., p. 349.
(67) Ibid., p. 156.
(68) Ibid., pp. 220-230.
(69) Neguib, op. cit., p. 155.
(70) The newspaper Al-Ahram published details of the trials in its consecutive issues of May 1954 and following.
(71) Tilmisani, op. cit., p. 86.
(72) Husaini, op. cit., p. 130.
(73) Al-Saeed, op. cit., p. 213.
(74) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 118.
(76) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 123.
(77) Husaini, op. cit., p. 130.
(78) Ibid., p. 131.
(79) Ibid., p. 132.
(80) Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 133.
March 1999, p. 57, describes the date as 23 January 1953.

(82) Neguīb, op. cit., p. 190.
(83) Ibid., p. 203.
(84) Ibid., p. 207.
(85) Ibid., p. 209.
(86) Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 134.
(87) Ibid.
(88) Mitchell, op. cit., p. 159, see also Sawlat, Tharwat, op. cit., p. 134.
(90) Ibid., p. 161.
(92) Al-Takflr Wa al-Hijrah led by Shukri Ahmad Mustafā (b. 1942).
(94) Falahi, Obaidullah Fahad, op. cit., p.58.
(96) Tilmisāni, op. cit., p. 68.
(97) Ibid., p. 50.
(99) Tilmisāni, op. cit., p. 358.
(100) Ibid.
(101) Ibid. p. 361.

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(107) Nadvi, op. cit, p. 49.
(110) Nadvi, op, cit, p. 50.
(113) Ahmad, Khursheed, op. cit., pp. 69-73.
(115) Ibid.
(116) Ibid.
(118) Ibid., pp. 59-60.
(119) Ibid., p. 60.
(120) Ibid., pp. 61-64.
(121) Ibid., pp. 66-67.
(122) Ibid., pp. 40-47.
(123) Ibid., p. 6. See also pp. 109-110.
(124) Ibid., p. 5
(128) Nadvi, op. cit., p. 52.
(133) Bhati, op. cit., p. 49.
Khurshid, Ahmad (editor), *Tarjamān al-Qur'ān* met Mustafā Mashhūr at several places such as Kuwait, Paris, Istanbul, London, Munich, Cario, Peshāwar, Islāmābād and Lahore.


Ibid., pp. 69-73.


Ibid., p. 86.

Ibid., p. 88.

Ibid., p. 91.


Ibid.

Prominent Egyptian born Qatar based religious scholar, Yusuf al-Qardhāwī said that he was not interested in becoming the Supreme Guide of al-Ikhwān. He further said that he had consistently opted not to tie up himself to any movement which my constrain his actions, even if this is al-Ikhwān under whose umbrella he grew and which he so defend. The statement released in Doha in which he said, “Would I, at the age 77, accept what I turned down when I was 49?”

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

(147) Ibid.