Conclusion
THE ISLAMIC RESURGENCE IS PART OF A GENERAL REACTION TO SOCIO-POLITICAL AND CULTURAL CONDITIONS, WHICH RESULTED IN A SETBACK OF SECULAR LIBERAL IDEOLOGIES. SINCE THE EARLY YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY, A NUMBER OF ISLAMIC ORGANIZATIONS AND SOCIETIES DEVELOPED IN EGYPT. AMONG THOSE GROUPS THE MOST PROMINENT WAS AL-IKHWAN AL-MUSLIMUN, FOUNDED BY HASAN AL-BANNA IN 1928. THE ISLAMIC ORGANIZATION, WHICH HAD BECOME AN IMPORTANT POLITICAL FORCE IN 1948, LOST ITS FOUNDER IN 1949. THE DEATH OF AL-BANNA WAS A SEVERE BLOW TO AL-IKHWAN THAT ADVERSELY AFFECTED THE ROLE OF THE ORGANIZATION IN THE SOCIETY.

AFTER BECOMING THE SUPREME GUIDE OF AL-IKHWAN, AL-HUDAIBI INTRODUCED CERTAIN CHANGES IN THE ORGANIZATION E.G., HE REPLACED THE HIGHLY RESPECTABLE SENIOR MEMBERS WITH RELATIVELY NEW; CREATED A NEW POST OF NAIB; DISCREDITED AND INVALIDATED THE CONTINUITY OF SPECIAL APPARATUS; AND OPENLY CONDEMned THE USE OF FORCE.

HE PROVIDED THE JUSTIFICATION IN FAVOUR OF HIS ACTION TO DISCREDIT AND INVALIDATE THE SPECIAL APPARATUS THAT IT WAS A MISTAKE FROM THE FIRST AND IT SHOULD BE RECTIFIED. HE SAID, SINCE THERE IS NO SECRECY ALLOWED IN THE RELIGION OF ISLAM AND NO TERRORISM IN THE RELIGION, THERE IS NO NEED OF SUCH TYPE OF APPARATUS.

HE FURTHER EMPHASIZED THAT VIOLENCE COULD NOT LIBERATE EGYPT FROM THE CLUTCHES OF THE BRITISH. THIS WAS THE DUTY OF AL-IKHWAN AND THAT OF THE GOVERNMENT TO EDUCATE THE PEOPLE AND PREPARE THEM SPIRITUALLY, WHICH WAS THE ONLY WAY TO ERADICATE THE BRITISH OCCUPATION FROM EGYPT.

strengthening of its foundations. The ‘Ulamā of al-Ikhwān and their scholars began to write detailed and comprehensive articles on various aspects of life in the light of Islamic principles, for example, political, legal, social, economic, financial etc.

‘Abd al-Qādir Awdah wrote three books: al-Tashri al-Jina’i fi al-Islām (Criminal Legislation in Islām), al-Mal wa al-Hukm fi al-Islām (Finance and Rule in Islām) and al-Islām wa Awadd’una al-Māliyah (Islām and our Financial Conditions). Mohammad al-Ghazāli (the then member of al-Ikhwān) wrote: Min Huna Na’lam (From Here We Know), in answer to the book written by Shaykh Khālid Mohammad Khālid: Min Huna Nabda (From Here We Begin), which caused a great stir. Al-Ghazāli also wrote: Aqidah al-Muslim (The Creed of Muslim), and al-Islām al-Muṣṭara ‘Alayhi (Islām the Culminated). Other books of that period are Nuzūm al ‘Amal fi al-Islām and Nuzūm al-Harb fi al-Islām (Systems of work in Islām and Systems of War in Islām) by Jamāl al-dīn ‘Ayyād and al-Islām wa Huqūq al-Insān (Islām and Rights of Man) by ‘Abd al-Mu‘nīm Khafajī.

Sayyid Qutb, who joined al-Ikhwān in 1951, wrote many books in jail. Since these books contain call and thought of al-Ikhwān, so he is considered as the ideologue of al-Ikhwān. He made thorough study of human societies and came to the conclusion that all societies other than Islām are jāhilīyyah. He urged the Islāmist movements to oppose both the West and so-called Muslim leaders whom they found to be disregarding Allah’s law. He regards these leaders as jāhil. The most important work, which contains the attacks against jāhilīyyah and for which he was hanged to death, is Ma‘ālim fi al-Tarīq. In the book he wrote that we are in a similar jāhilīyyah, our beliefs,
habits, customs, rules, laws, education etc., all are products of jāhiliyyah.

To him Islām is a comprehensive way of life. He elaborates that Allah is the ultimate sovereignty, so these is no governance except for God, no legislation but from God, no sovereignty of one person over the other because all sovereignty belongs to God.

_Jihād_ is an essential characteristic of Islām commanded in the Qur'ān. It is the way to fight against jāhili system. It should be waged on two levels—individual and collective. At the individual level one should fight against the impact of jahiliyyah and should purge from within oneself all its influences. At the collective level fight against jāhili system, should be waged through the Islāmic movement.

He was of the opinion that Islām and jāhiliyyah cannot co-exist. Muslims should separate themselves from the jāhiliyyah society and should try to eradicate it. Hijrah is necessary until the implementation of Islāmic laws.

He regards West as spiritually bankrupt and the greatest enemy of Islām. He was of the opinion that Islām is a liberating force; liberation is an imperative to set humans free, to bring about the kingdom of God on earth. It must control each and every field of life. It must control administration and policymaking and ensure equal distribution of wealth.

As the book, _Maʿ ālim fi al-Tarīq_, had become attractive to Islāmists, another book entitled _Duʿāh Lā Qudāh_ (Preachers, not Judges) was attributed to al-Hudaibi, the then Supreme Guide. This book was written as an effort to deflect Islāmists from the ideas set forth in Qutb's book _Maʿālim fi al-Tarīq_.

323
Al-Hudaibi tried his best to save the Islamic movement from violence, oppression and disturbance. In this context, he faced severe enmity from an extremist group of al-Ikhwan. He provided justifications from the Qur’ān and the Sunnah of the Prophet (P.B.U.H.) to prove that their duty was to struggle for da’wah and reformation. It was not their duty to bring people on the right path by using force and violence. And the Muslims living in an un-Islamic society are answerable to Allah according to their intention and action. To sentence or atone them was out of their jurisdiction. In the introduction of the book Du’āh La Qudāh, the writer explains that al-Ikhwān has passed through the severe phases of oppression and imprisonment. In spite of torture and oppression in the jails, they tried their best to remove the misunderstanding from their minds. They took this step not due to any danger or planning but only for the sake of pleasure of Allah. Outwardly this sedition was solved but enemies of truth were not ready to surrender, because they wanted to destroy the image of Islamic movement through their ill wishes. These people observed with their own eyes that people are waiting for Islamic call and were sure that impurity of un-Islamic movements had been unveiled. They also knew that Muslims were sincere and ready to adopt Islamic Shariah in each and every aspect of life — political, economic, social and cultural.

Hasan al-Hudaibi took in time the notice of penetrated extremism and violence in Islamic thought. After discussing all these beliefs and thoughts in the light of Qur’ān and the Sunnah and the arguments of Sunni scholars, he supported moderate, clear and transparent thought and action. In fact, he was translator of his well-
known saying: "Set up rule of the Qur'ān in your hearts it will automatically be established on the earth."

Al-Tilmisāni, the third Supreme Guide stressed during the whole period for da'wah, education and training of the youth. In the universities and colleges, the students were reorganized under the banner of al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah. Under his leadership, the demand for implementation of the Islāmic Shariah gained momentum and pro-Islām candidates were successful in the student union elections. During this period al-Ikhwān became a strong public power and criticized the un-Islāmic policies of Anwar al-Sadāt. Al-Tilmisāni never recognized Israel and was against the Camp David Accord. He said that ‘Muslim Extremism’ is obvious because youths, having Islāmic thinking, were severely tortured in Egyptian jails, which could not be imagined. In reaction to this inhuman treatment, if the youth adopt the other ways, they are called extremists by the official media.

During the period of Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr, the organization achieved extraordinary success in the political field although the organization had not been recognized in the political field. It succeeded in reviewing its existence and influence among the masses. Pro-Islāmists won all the professional union, student union and other union elections in the colleges and universities. Al-Ikhwān contested 1987 elections under the banner of Islāmic Alliance in collaboration with Labour Party and liberal Party, and won sixty seats. It also contested 1989 mid-term polls of Majlis-e-Shurā, boycotted 1990 elections and fielded its candidates in the local bodies elections.

Under the leadership of Mohammad Hāmid Abū al-Nasr, al-Ikhwān members came close together and, spirit of counseling, self-confidence, sense of duty and cooperation
developed in them to the utmost. He was against each and every type of foreign interference, the U.S. interference in particular. He appealed all Muslim countries to cut off relations with those countries who directly or indirectly interfere in the affairs of Muslim countries. He stressed that the newly Gulf issue should be resolved within the Arab-Islamic perspective. He declared that the Arab rulers were responsible for the Gulf-crisis. He also criticized Saddam Hussain for the occupation of Kuwait and missile attack on Israel, because both the acts of Iraqi President helped the U.S. and Zionists for their atrocities. He urged the rulers of the Muslim Countries to establish Islamic system of government in their respective countries and learn a lesson from the Gulf-crisis.

After a gap of forty years, it was possible only under his leadership, that al-Ikhwan once again established its complete institutional and organizational structure on the basis of Shūra.

Mustafa Mashhūr did a lot for the service of al-Ikhwān in particular and for the Islāmist movements in general. During the phase of its disturbance, he visited Africa, South-East Asia and other places to make contacts with the al-Ikhwān leaders in exile. He successfully organized them together with the international Islāmic movement. He stressed for da‘wah and training of the youth. Though the organization was banned but due to his tactics it played a vital role not only through professional syndicates but also through local councils and parliamentary politics. He opposed any type of violence and paid full attention towards the strengthening and organizing the movement. He expressed affection and attraction towards the youth and absorbed them in the organization. Though the leadership was in the hands of 60 to 70 years
old people but the youth were considered its real strength. They were not only in the form of the students of schools, colleges, and universities but also waiters of hotels in Cairo and other major cities.

He made it clear to the government that al-Ikhwān was not against the constitution of the country giving the reason that the organization calls for the real Islam and implementation of the Islamic Shariah, as it had been written in the constitution that Islam is the religion of the country.

Mustafa Mashhūr was a senior writer, author, journalist and a good speaker. He wrote in detail about takfīr in his book Tariq al-da'wah. He is of the opinion that it is not the duty of a Muslim to decide about the faith of the other. Life, wealth and honor of every Muslim is respectable. No one has the right to tear it into pieces. Tests in the way of Allah are not the faults of a man but part of the obedience of God. It is not good to declare a Muslim as infidel because it creates hatred and fear among the common Muslims and they could become enemies of da'wah.

In this book he gives the causes of deviation. Sometimes due to a little knowledge, a caller becomes a Mufti. Instead of calling for principles, he calls for minor points, which prove very dangerous. Excess of performing prayers makes man carelessness from other duties and he leaves Farā'id and Wājibāt for nafl and Sunnah. Sometimes a caller wants to discover a shortcut method and becomes ready to use power and violence, which impure the way of Islamic movement. He is of the opinion that if a Muslim wants to do well, he should follow the way of Prophet Mohammad (SAW) in real spirit.
According to him al-Ikhwān is fighting against corruption and wrongdoings and he demanded a democratic type of authority on rotation basis, end of emergency laws and release of innocent people who had nothing to do with violence.

Mamūn al-Hudaibi, sixth Supreme Guide, maintained that the destruction of Iraq was in fact strengthening of Israel; and the U.S. is trying to destroy Muslim countries under the pretext of 11 Sept. 2001 incident. But da'wah of Islām is gaining momentum day by day and will not stop at any cost.

Most people are unaware about the activities of al-Ikhwān and treat it as a terrorist group. After the death of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, the organization got relief to some extent. Though the organization was suppressed in Iraq and Syria and its leaders were exiled from these countries but it does carry out its activities in the Südān, Jordan, America and other parts of the world.

Besides social and religious activities, it is engaged in welfare activities also. The organization has more than seventy-five years history and millions of people have deep concern with it. It has been fully involved in all the efforts of the resurgence of Islām throughout its history. It does not want any type of confrontation with the respective governments of their countries but maintained that Islām is the need of the hour all over the world.

Palestine problem remained a core issue for al-Ikhwān since 1940s. He maintained that it was part of their religion and obligatory upon them to help Palestinians by blood, medicine, finance, military weapons and, in rehabilitation and construction of their houses destroyed by the Jews.

Death of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser, removed a major obstacle to the full-scale emergence of Islāmic
fundamentalism. A committed Muslim with a traditional background al-Sadat paid attention to the rising Islamic sentiments both in and outside. The 1965 Constitution was in practice in Egypt and permanent constitution was legislated on 11 September 1971. The name of the country ‘United Arab Republic’ was changed into ‘Arab Republic of Egypt.’ According to the constitution Islam was declared as the religion of the country; Shariah as principal source of legislation and Arabic its official language.

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

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

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

Al-Sadāt was more conservative than al-Nasser. He set free the leaders and members of al-Ikhwān, and other Islāmist and political prisoners. In almost all the universities, the students having Islāmic understanding won the student union elections. Many books were published on 'the oppression' committed by Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nasser. Though al-Ikhwān was still banned as a political organization, but its members enjoyed freedom of expression. Its two magazines al-Da’wah and al-I’tisām was allowed to publish and circulate. Other Islāmist groups active on university campuses were also allowed to participate in student union elections and such groups engaged themselves in many social service activities.
After the death of Sayyid Qutb and the bitter experience with the regime, the Islāmists lost confidence in the moderate policy opted by the leadership of al-Ikhwān. Subsequently, the Islāmists founded militant Islāmic groups of their own strategy and means. Among the movements inspired by Qutb especially his rightings on jāhiliyyah, hakimiyyah etc. are Munazzamat al-Tahrīr al-Islāmi (I.L.O.), Jamā’at al-Muslimīn (al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah), al-Jihād and al-Jamā’ah al-Islāmiyyah.

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

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

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

(3) Islāmic societies e.g., Egypt, Jordan etc. are weak before the external enemies such as Christian West, Jewish Zionism and Atheistic Communism, because they do not follow and implement the Shariah. I.L.O. condemned the political system of Egypt as its leaders were 'God-fearless'.

(4) ‘Ulama are not sincere and God-fearing. They are delivering the sermons like propagandists of the government. In this way they are corrupting Islām. They described them babaghawat al-manābir (pulpit parrot), whom pity rather anger should be felt.

(5) I.L.O. engaged itself in jihād for the re-Islāmisation of the society. One, who would show dedication to
this cause, would achieve martyrdom, whose reward would be paradise. I. L. O. rejected Western thinking and non-Islamic institutions and advocated the re-organization of the society on the basis of Shariah. It also advocated transformation from Godless and corrupt-state and victimized society by the political system, with the result they attacked the Technical Military Academy in 1974 to seize the power and establish Islamic political system, but failed.

Shukri Mustafa, leader of Jamã‘at al-Muslimin granted himself the title ‘Amir of Believers’, ‘Amir of End of time’ and ‘Heir to land’ in his booklet al-Tawassumāt. His followers secretly circulated the booklet; that was in the form of a manuscript to avoid the blasphemy of printing. In this manuscript Mustafa said that it was not possible to establish this state without treading the path traced out by the Prophet of Islam because neither state nor Islam could be established before the migration.

He divided jihād into three phases. First, the faithful must escape the pitfall of shirk of ascribing another divinity to God. He must avoid being tortured by the infidels. He must spread ‘the knowledge’ throughout the land. Finally, jihād must be waged to establish the Islamic state. According to this group the war would start from Egypt and would spread to every part of the world, till the establishment of rule of God in the whole world.

Shukri Mustafā represented the ideas of his guide in the purest form that Islam is a religion, a state, a country and a nationality. It is not only the religion of God but also His state in the world.

The main principles of al-Jamã‘at’s ideology are as under;

(1) All existing societies are pagan.
(2) The only true Islam is the Islam of the Prophet Mohammad (P.B.U.H.), his companions and of the salaf.

(3) Interpretation of the Qur'an through qiyās, ijmā and ijtihād is to be rejected.

(4) Membership in the Jamā'at is only the right path to be a good Muslim.

(5) No one who claims to be a Muslim is one. Only those who accept and live by the tenets of al-Jamā'at are good Muslims, others are infidels.

The group made no distinction between state and society. Both were Godless, and corrupt. They stated that there is no difference between contemporary Egypt and jāhiliyyah period of Arabia. Following the example set forth by the Prophet (S.A.W.) in his flight from Makkah to Madīnah and the conquest of Arabia; to achieve such type of goal, the group established a community of believers, which would form a base, where from the re-Islāmization of Egyptian society could take place. The mission of this group e.g. al-khilāfah was categorized into three stages; beginning with communications, followed by organization, emergence, and migration and culminating in jihād and its strategy. Shukri Mustafa claimed that there was no salvation for the Muslims unless they join his group inorder to separate themselves from the jāhiliyyah society.

Al-Jamā'at drew this type of ideological inspiration from the thinking of 'Ali 'Abduh Ismāil, a graduate of al-Azhar University, who sought to shape the al-Jamā'at beliefs and activities according to the Prophet's (S.A.W.) tactics adopted during the early Makkah period when the community was weak and the circumstances were not favourable. The Prophet (S.A.W.) consequently stressed and worked for the strengthening and expanding of his 'Ummah.
through spiritual and physical separation from the jāhiliyyah society. During this period he had refrained jihād. Muslims are advised by Shaykh Ismā'il to practise spiritual separation strengthen their allegiance to Islām through al-Jamā'at organization, and advised the group not to wage jihād, as it had not achieved the required strength. They should not make efforts for capturing the power that was impossible also.

The group denounced usury, extravagance, excessive wealth and property, called for official collection of the zakat and regulation of the economy for the sake of justice and welfare. They accepted private property, inheritance, profit and social distinctions, provided they resulted solely from the hard earned money.

Mohammad al-Faraj was the chief ideologue of al-Jihād. He expressed his ideas regarding the Islāmic state and struggle in his pamphlet al-Farīdhah al-Ghai'bah. The pamphlet describes ‘the establishment of the Islāmic state and the restoration of the khilāfah as the duty of every Muslim.

Al-Faraj was influenced by the thoughts of Ibn Taymiyah, al-Bannā and Mawdūdi, and followed by Sayyid Qutb in pushing them to their logical conclusion. He maintained in his pamphlet, that jihād is the sixth pillar of Islām, which had been often forgotten by the ‘ulamā and majority of the Muslims. His message to the Muslims was to wage the jihād against the corrupt people and those who have deviated from Islām.

It is now clear that al-Jihād’s goal was the resurgence of Islāmic state, Islāmic laws and destruction of Western methods. It believed the seizure of power would be the first step to pave the way for other steps. Al-Faraj’s al-
Farīdhah al- Ghāʾibah can be summarized in eleven propositions.

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

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

(3) Cooperation with an infidel ruler who claims to be a Muslim is sin. The punishment for such a leader is death even if he is unable to defend himself. The Muslims should refrain from joining the administration and military services.

(4) Perpetual jihad against an infidel state is the highest obligation and is only solution for all true Muslims who desire to destroy jāhili society and revive Islām.

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

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

(7) First fight the internal infidel (the Egyptian state) then the external infidel (the non-Islāmic world).
(8) *Jihād* can be learnt by every Muslim without so great effort or formal education. Thus the lack of knowledge is no excuse to abstain from *jihād*.

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

(10) Abstaining from *jihād* is the main reason for the status quo. The Muslims today, therefore, humiliated, degraded, disdained and divided.

(11) Allah has designated five periods in Islamic history:
(a) the 'Ummah under the Prophet,
(b) the 'Ummah under the Caliphs,
(c) the 'Ummah under the Kingdoms,
(d) the 'Ummah under the dictatorship,
(e) Islam of our time when dictatorship and tyranny will be overthrown, and the 'Ummah would be controlled by a system of the Prophet's community.

Being a conglomerate of a number of groups, it is very difficult to ascertain the ideology of al-Jamā'ah. It is assessed through the members' activities that they were against the secular state, non-Islamic practices, and also against maintaining the peace with Israel and the U.S. They want the restoration of Islamic traditions. They were against the state control and the supervision of mosques through the Shaykh al-Azhar and Ministry of *Awqāf*. Shaykh 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahmān, leader of al-Jamā'ah al-Islāmiyyah, criticized the involvement of al-Ikhwān into politics by taking part in the electoral process. He also denounced the religious institutions of the state. He urged his followers to
challenge the non-Islamic practices of the government and demanded Iranian type of Islamic revolution in Egypt.

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

Islamists not only performed religious practices but also organize social service camps in the form of offering psychiatric and drug rehabilitation centers, dental clinics, day-care centers, legal aid societies, provide housing and food on subsidies, run banks and investment centers.

The impact of resurgence had been seen in the religious, political, social and economic fields of life. Certain organizations were established in the form of Sūfi mystics, moderate and Islamist, traditional Islamists and social welfare associations. The desire to lead a more Islamically oriented way of life can be found among the middle and upper class, educated and uneducated section, peasants and professional, young and old, women and men. Both ahāli and government controlled mosques were filled with the Muslims.
Religious programmes and Islamic trends are witnessed in the government-controlled media, in newspapers, bookshops, secular magazines and books of street vendors. The religious preachers - Shaykh Mohammad Mutawalli al-Sh'rawi and ‘Abd al-Hamid Kishk became media stars in Egypt and in the Arab world. They were allowed to appear on the television and write in the newspaper columns. Their audiocassettes, pamphlets and books were sold on bookshops, at airports and hotels, and by street vendors.

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

Mubarak followed al-Nasser in his dealing with the Islamists and other political leaders, and workers. Over the past two decades, there had been a mounting pressure from the Islamists for women to wear the hijab. But at the same time, the government in order to strengthen the secular character of the society discourages it by excluding the hijab-wearing women, from the study missions to abroad and if possible discriminating against them in state employments.

Islamic critics claim that Mubarak failed to provide a dynamic leadership, a sound economy, and the jobs to educated youth and to show confidence in the political liberalization. They offer to provide the solution to these problems in depending not upon the West, cancellation of Camp David Accord and in the implementation of Islamic laws. Egypt vitally depends upon the financial support of
the U.S. and in return the latter plays a key role in shaping the policies of the former.

The regime claims that the Islāmists have no specific, sound, concrete and alternative programmes. They rather demand to change the fate of the society through religious social programmes. Even al-Ikhwān failed to provide political reform programmes and relied on educational and socio-economic programmes. The regime criticized the Islāmist movements that they had not defined the nature of an Islāmic state and its institutions and were lacking specific programmes and could not long last if handed over the reign of the state. The claim of the government appears to be reverse. Instead of allowing al-Ikhwān to become a political party, the state from time to time suppressed it vehemently and they have not been provided even a single chance to convert into a political party. If they are provided the chance, they can come up to the mark not only in Egypt but also in other Muslim countries.

The government suffers from a number of shortcomings such as violation of political and civil rights, being not accountable to the people, inability in the military power, slow economic development, and socially and culturally demoralized leadership. Instead of providing chances to the Islāmists to participate in the mainstream of Egypt, the regime adopts violent tactics for greater control of the political arena, which provides the Islāmist militants a justification for their survival. They treat the head of the state as kāfir because Husni Mubārak demanded from the people the submissiveness as was to the pharaohs of the pre-Islāmic Egypt. Most of the people do but Islāmists do not because they do not serve those, who do not want to submit themselves to Islām. The growing violence is caused due to the alienation of the rulers from their society and
faith. Instead of giving ear to its subjects, the government has been suppressing them. The Islāmist militants alone do not commit all the acts of violence. There are other agencies also which are involved in such type of acts, thereby serving the interests of the regime as well as that of the West. Israeli agents are also involved in certain killings to discredit the Islāmist. Husni Mubārak is unable to understand the circumstances well; he has been seeking help from every-one including the Israelis. It could neither serve the interests of the Egyptians nor Islām, only violence and counter-violence will continue instead. He is a Muslim and he should know what is Islām and what is not. He can save himself and his country, not by discriminating Islāmist moderates from the extremists, but only and only by being faithful to his duties to implement Islām in the country.