ABSTRACT

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

These were the conditions, which struck the mind of Shaykh Hasan al-Bannā to launch the Islāmic movement known as ‘al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn’.


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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chapter 4th deals with the Islāmic resurgence during ‘al-Sadāt era’. 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 out. The 1965 Constitution was in practice in Egypt and permanent constitution was legislated on 11 September 1971. The name of the country 'United Arab Republic' was changed into 'Arab Republic of Egypt'. According to the constitution 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 mosques and his Islamic programmes were covered by the mass media. He increased Islamic activities and courses in the schools. He used Qur'ānic references and Islamic symbols in speeches at public gatherings and cast the 1973 Arab-Isreal War as jihad. He attended religious ceremonies such as Milād al-Nabi etc. Islamic criminal laws were reinstated, ribā was banned and women were asked to be segregated from men in public transport and in university education and excluded from certain professions. A series of bills were introduced in the parliament on Islamic penalties for usury, apostasy, theft, adultery and drinking. Most of them were withdrawn after protests by the Copts and liberal Muslims.

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

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

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

After the death of Sayyid Qutb and the bitter experience with the regime, the Islamists lost confidence in the moderate policy opted by the leadership of al-Ikhwan. Subsequently, the Islamists founded militant Islamic groups of their own strategy and means. Among the movements inspired by Qutb especially his writings on jahiliyyah, hakimiyyah etc. are Munazzamat al-Tahrir al-Islami, Jam‘at al-Muslimin (al-Takfir wa al-Hijrah), al-Jihad and al-Jam‘ah al-Islamiyyah.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The study is concluded with the remarks that Islamic resurgence is a divinely arrangement to revive the pure teachings of Islam in every phase of history as per conception of tajdid in the Prophet's traditions.