

# HASAN AL-BANNA A VISION & MISSION



**DR. THAMEEM USHAMA**

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# **HASAN AL-BANNA A VISION & MISSION A**

**DR. THAMEEM USHAMA**  
International Islamic University Malaysia



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*In the name of Allah, Most Gracious, Most Merciful*

## Preface

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**T**he primary purpose of this book is to critically analyse the contribution of Ḥasan al-Banna and *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, a well-known and remarkable movement established and engineered by him in Egypt after the abrogation of caliphate to revive Islām and regenerate Islamic way of life. This undertaking is necessitated by the absence of a critical and objective study of the vision and mission of Ḥasan al-Banna whose sacrifice and martyrdom are still remembered by the International Islāmic Movements. The process of Islamization of the society in Egypt was the paramount aim. It is fervently hoped that this book, complementing other writings would thoroughly portray the personality of Ḥasan al Banna, his efforts to found the movement of revivalism, his involvement in Egyptian political, educational, economic, social, cultural and intellectual reforms carried out by *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. Furthermore, it is also aimed at eliminating the historical misunderstandings and misconceptions generated by secular forces about the movement over the last few decades.

This book consists of twelve chapters. The first chapter deals with a general survey of the Islāmic revivalism since the beginning of the eighteenth century. It discusses and traces out the historical link between *al-Ikhwān* and other earlier intellectual, socio-cultural and religious revivalist movements. It also presents a brief study of the contribution made by Muḥammad ibn al Wahhāb, Jamāl al dīn al

Afghānī, Muḥammad ‘Abduhu, and Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā for the Islāmic revival.

In the later part of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, many Islāmic socio-cultural organizations originated in Egypt. Chapter two provides a list of such organizations which were instrumental to the reforms and responsible for the creation of concrete consciousness of Egyptian intelligentsia.

The third chapter provides a brief background about the life and education of Ḥasan al Banna and the circumstances in which he lived. It also examines his devotion and commitment to the reforms while he was a student in the school and *dār al ‘ulūm*. His ideals on the establishment of Islamic state, ultimate objectives of the movement, and the expansion of da’wah activities are other essential topics discussed in this chapter.

Establishing the Islāmic movement was an indispensable effect caused by the British occupation and its foreign policy towards Egypt. The gradual dissemination of Western culture was visualized as a great menace to the Islāmic values and religiousity of the Muslims. Therefore, chapter four discusses the factors responsible for the founding of the movement in Ismailia to safeguard the basic Islamic values and principles and then the shift of the head-quarter to Cairo after the growing expansion in its activities.

In order to implement the plans and achieve the objectives of the movement, Ḥasan al Banna realized the need to take part in active politics. Consequently, the political agenda was announced by him in the historical conference held in 1939. Chapter five, therefore, comprehensively deals with the strategy of *al-Ikhwān* and its entry into the politics. It also describes the ideas of Ḥasan al Banna and *al-Ikhwān’s* strategy on the Egyptian national election. Here, the co-

operation of Ḥasan al Banna with other political parties draws our attention. Besides, the challenges encountered by him in the process of election, his negotiation with the new governments at different times, his withdrawal from the contest in the election for the sake of achieving certain objectives and other dimensions of political conspiracies which led to the dissolution of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* are included.

Differences of opinion are inevitable in any organization. *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, despite its wonderful philosophy was not an exception. Therefore, chapter six examines the evolution of differences of opinion among the top leaders and subsequent split of the movement. Then, chapter seven deals with the concept of *jihād* propounded by *al-Ikhwān* and its participation in liberating Palestine from the Jewish occupation. The activism of *al-Ikhwān* posed a challenge to the existence of the British forces in Palestine. Several conspiracies undertaken against the movement resulted in its ban are also mentioned in this part.

Martyrdom is rewarded by Allāh (s.w.t.) Devoted Muslims take it as the highest blessing and embraced it very pleasantly. The master plan assisted by foreign powers successfully worked in Egypt which resulted in assassinating Ḥasan al Banna, the founder and the chief architect of the movement. Chapter eight elaborates the planned scheme of killing Ḥasan al Banna and eliminating him off from the leading and dynamic role of the Islamic movement in Egypt.

Chapter nine concentrates on the new life of the movement which was revived after a short interval. It also focuses on the appointment of the successor to Ḥasan al Banna to lead the movement.

Chapter ten comprehensively describes various reforms carried out by the movement. The concentration of *al-*

*Ikhwān* on educational, economic, social reforms, and the reforms for peasants and labourers are cited to provide a clear picture about the remarkable achievements made in the field of public welfare. It also provides substantial information about the organization's sincere interest in comprehensive reforms with the sole objective of uplifting the Egyptian society in conformity with Islāmic norms and traditions and emancipating them from intellectual and cultural slavery.

Several Islāmic Movements were established in various countries in the second and third quarter of the twentieth century to provide an intellectual response to the existing problems. In addition, Islāmic movement's primary objective was to awaken the Muslim masses and to unite them to work to recover the glory of Islāmic civilization. Such movements were naturally influenced by the sister movements. Hence, chapter eleven examines the impact of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* on other regional and national level movements established in the Muslim World.

The last chapter of the book briefly deals with the organizational structure of the movement. It also discusses the criteria for presidentship, membership of the Founding Committee, the roles and responsibilities of general secretariate, the powers of the Founding Committee and the office bearers to highlight the democratic set up of the movement.

Dr. Thameem Ushama

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## The Author

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**D**r. Thameem Ushama is an assistant professor in the department of Islāmic Revealed knowledge and Heritage at the International Islāmic University, Malaysia. Born in Tamil Nadu, India, the author obtained B. Sc (Chemistry) and M.A. (Arabic) from University of Madras. He received M. Phil and Ph. D. in contemporary Islamic thought from Aligarh Muslim University, India. He also studied Islamic Journalism in Islāmic University of Imam Muhammad ibn Soud, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, for three years. He has taught several courses in various disciplines like Sciences of the Qur'an, Sciences of the Hadith, Islamic Da'wah, Biography of the prophet, contemporary. Islāmic Thought, Modern and Contemporary Ideologies and Islāmic Civilization. He has served as a chairperson of several academic committies in the Department and the Faculty. He has also been a member of various committies at administrative and academic levels including the University Senate. He has been constantly involved in developing student's Islāmic personality in the University. He has also served in academic administration as a Deputy Dean (Student Affairs) in the Matriculation Centre, IIU. Currently, he is a Deputy Dean (Student Affairs), Kulliyyah of Islāmic Revealed Knowledge and Human Sciences and an Acting Deputy Dean (Pre-Sessional Programme) Admissions and Records Division at International Islāmic University, Malaysia.



# CHAPTER 1

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## Islamic Revivalism

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In the beginning of the 18th century A.D., the religious and moral deterioration of the Islamic world was at its highest ebb. Not the Muslims themselves, even the non-Muslims wondered of the disparity between the Muslims of early times and those of the present era. In this regard, An American writer, Lothrop Stoddord, pictures this period of decadences by saying:

*"As for religions, it was as decadent as everything else. The austere monotheism of Muhammad (P.B.U.H) had become overloaded with a rank growth of superstitions and purile mysticism. The mosques stood unfrequented and ruinous, deserted by the ignorant multitude which, decked out in amulets, charms and rosaries, listened to the squalid faquirs or dervishes and went on pilgrimage to the tombs of the "holy men" worshipped as saints and intercessors. As for the moral precepts of the Qur'an, they were ignored or defied. Even the holy cities were the holes of iniquity. In fact, the life apparently had gone out of Islam. Could Muhammad return to earth, he would unquestionably have anathematised his followers as apostates and idolaters."*<sup>1</sup>

The description is true and strong words are used by some of the reformers to awaken the ignorant Muslims. Perhaps whatever the criticism was done by the great Shah

Waliullah<sup>2</sup> of Delhi and his followers in the 18th century about the Indian society in particular and about the Muslim World in general, is highly reflecting of what had happened then.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the fact that there were *'ulama* who tried to reform the Muslim society, and for this purpose they exerted all their energies in whatever capacity and sphere they could do. The general condition of the Muslim society was almost the same as mentioned above but there were some individuals above the mark and they revitalised the veins and nerves of the Muslim society again and again by their moral standard, intellectual efforts and by visualizing the future in right direction.

In the midst of such discouraging environment, Muhammad bin Abd al-Wahhab (1703-92) of Nejd, with extraordinary intelligence and brilliance, started admonishing the people about their corrupt performance. Not only he preached, but also tried to construct a society where Islam in its undiluted purity and form would be embodied as a practical programme and way of life. He proved himself a *mujaddid* (reformer) of the first rank and a worthy follower of Imam Ahmad (164-241 A.H.) Ibn Hanbal<sup>4</sup> and Ibn Taimiya<sup>5</sup> (661-728 A.H.). He put up a tough fight against all such innovations which were in later stages introduced in Islam as bowing to saints, symbol and grave reverence nearing to worship. The base for the opposition to such innovations is found in a tradition of the Prophet (P.B.U.H) which speaks as:<sup>6</sup> "*Kullu bid'ah dalalah wa Kullu dalalah fil nār*".

He particularly disapproved the prevailing practices diametrically opposed to the *sunnah* of the Prophet namely constructing mausoleums over graves. He demanded that all such places which provided rooms for deviation were to be demolished.

It was purely a religious thinking and in many ways a

thorough reform of the Muslim society. Although this reform of Abd-al-Wahhab was pure in its nature and corresponding to the spirit of Islam, it was branded as a political movement by some Western writers and Orientalists. Its vast appeal, and spiritual invigorating impact swept the Muslim World from one end to the other. Makka being the spiritual and religious centre of the Muslims, eventually attracted persons all over the world for the performance of *al-Hajj* (pilgrimage). This work of *al-da'wah* had a vast sphere to awaken the puritan form of Islam.<sup>7</sup> From there, this was injected specially in the mind of *ulama* and the knowledge of the Quran and Sunnah had made the mind of other *ulama* likewise. Geographically, though Egypt was not a part of Asia but was considered historically and culturally connected with Asia, was much influenced by the call of Abd-al-Wahhab.<sup>8</sup>

Dissemination of the revolutionary concept of Abd-al-Wahhab in different countries had created a lasting impact on the Muslim society. Fortunately, a group of people followed his mission and spread it, far and wide. People realised the genuineness of his ideas and thus propagated among the common and illiterate masses.<sup>9</sup> Sometimes, it so happened that such persons or a group of people who disliked the reform of puritanism, also wanted to create a wrong feeling about such persons. The fact remains that they determined to see Islam free from all impurities. The reforms brought by such persons in this period, lasted hardly for one century.

The Imperial and colonial power of the West which were observing very keenly the Islamic resurgence in the Muslim countries indirectly wanted to occupy and establish their supremacy in the Muslim world. All the West Asian and the Northern African countries except Morocco were under Ottoman Caliphate which had once shown its best ability so far as the union of Muslims was concerned. The

Muslim brotherhood, fraternity and justice were strictly observed by the respective Muslim Governments.

Napolean invaded and conquered Egypt in 1798. It remained for a short while under the foreign rule i.e. from July 1798 to September 1801. In these three years and six months, Egypt had to feel a new life. There were many reasons for that. The open atmosphere of freedom and liberty was lost during the invasion, and inspite of the fact that these colonialists had brought many things which might have proved dazzling in the eyes of the Egyptians but the suffocation of slavery compelled them to rethink. The truth was that they found their success in their defeat and the great impetus which really was craved out of the defeat. New colonialists like the French not only brought new technologies of modernization but also introduced modern printing process and used it for the projection and propagation of their so-called modern attractive life-style and value-system.

Muhammud Ali Pasha (1801-48) Father of the modern Egypt had driven away the French from its soil in 1801, and had gained back its freedom, became the third major confluence of intellectual, social and cultural conflict between the East and the West. But the consequences of their impact went very far. The seeds of western thought and civilization were sown thoroughly in the soil of Egypt.<sup>10</sup> The stage was set up for a head long clash between the Eastern and Western way of life.<sup>11</sup> He provided opportunities for students to go to Europe, especially to France, to have a first hand knowledge of culture, and way of administration in different fields, particularly in military and medicine. When, a first batch of students returned back, they were not only equipped with academic knowledge but also brought with them the French culture and alien way of life which added something to the atmosphere of western fragrance and which was already sown in its soil at the time of Napolean take over. On the other hand the conquest of

African countries by the Europeans had detached them from the Arab Muslim World and brought them under the influence of the Western thinking.

The political situation in Egypt and in many other Muslim countries, during the 19th century was worth considering as most Muslim countries of the West Asia were under the sway of Western imperialism. The Colonial domination made Muslim leaders and intellectuals to think over the deteriorating conditions of the Muslims. It was so important realisation that it had pushed aside all other problems.

Civilizational impact of the west, particularly the French influence on the Muslims in the middle of the 19th century caused the emergence of revivalism. The reform movement of Shaik Muhammad bin Abd-al-Wahhab seemed for a while to be receded. But the new influence of Western civilization made the Muslim intellectuals to trace out the future impacts easily which might occur in the Muslim Society. In this atmosphere Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani, born in Afghanistan in 1839 equipped with a remarkable familiarity with Islamic sciences like Arabic grammer, philology, rhetoric and all other ornate branches of literature, sufism, logic, philosophy, physics, metaphysics, mathematics, astronomy, medicine, anatomy and various other subjects uphold the banner of Islamic renaissance. He advocated staunchly Pan-Islamism and tried to demonstrate its different phases to the people.

In servicing the Afghan government he also entered into the politics. He found the atmosphere critical and not at home, therefore, he preferred to leave the country.

After the migration from his homeland, his intention was to propagate the Islamic concept of life which was in decay. Wherever he went he did preach the revolutionary

latent phase of the Islamic way of life. During his stay at Cairo, he frequently visited al-Azhar, the great educational seat, as a great symbol and hierarchy of wisdom, holding meetings with teachers and students. He also regularly delivered lectures at his residence to those who visited him. He discussed with people how to revive Islam and have the glory of it bestowed therein. He with the past reference, put the question how the Muslims could go side by side with the modern achievements in different spheres of life. He clearly visualized that there was no conflict and contradiction between contemporary knowledge and teachings of the Qur'an. It was quite possible for him to incorporate classical and modern knowledge of this Universe. For this he believed there must be political power in the hands of those who were equipped with both kinds of knowledge. The political unity among the people for this purpose was an essential phenomenon. Keeping this aim in view, he stressed unity under a strong leadership in order to preserve political freedom of the Muslim World against the menace of European imperialism. His farsightedness clearly visualized the danger of spearheading nationalism. The characteristic ability of division of the geographical division of land not only divides the soil but also divides the soul, Islamic brotherhood was surely to be out into pieces by this weapon of European origin.

According to al-Afghani, the spirit of Islam lay in its dynamic role in the vigorous assimilation of new ideas and the necessity for a liberal re-interpretation of doctrines in harmony with modern thoughts.<sup>13</sup> In his lectures, al-Afghani often loved to dwell upon the glorious past of the Muslim world with its political ascendancy, material brilliance and culture and intellectual achievements. His aim was to convince his disciples that the Islamic tenants, if properly followed and practised in its true spirit, inevitably would result in prosperity and success, in this world as well as in the world hereafter. He trained some of his promising

pupils for writing to the press which had acquired importance till then. The press in the days of al-Afghani had developed a common market and journalism had begun its deep effects on making and moulding the minds and behaviours. He also took an active interest in Egyptian political affairs. He did all he could to arouse the passion of the people of the country against the dangers of the foreign intervention. He feared that the political control of the country must not be in such hands who were, some how or the other, influenced by the Western way of life. His writings for the press did not conceal even his anti English thoughts.<sup>14</sup>

The above mentioned activities continued for a period of about eight years. The traditional theologians did not like al-Afghanis' advanced and progressive ideas of learning where he expressed the need for equipping the Muslim youth with modern and scientific knowledge. His revival of the study of new philosophy of life, which in conservative circles, had always been considered against Islam. Due to this profound involvement, doubt arose among the Government circles, especially of the British officials in Egypt. His such revolutionary ideas and anti-British sentiments obliged Tawfeeq Pasha, the ruler of Egypt, to banish him from Egypt.

When al-Afghani was in Paris, he started again preaching and propagating his ideas through press. In 1884, he with his inmate disciple Shaikh Muhammad Abduhu, began the publication of an Arabic weekly newspaper called "*Al-Urwa-al-Wuthqa*" (The indissoluble bond). It was with the view to incite the Muslims to unite and gather their forces against western aggression and European domination. The British government, naturally did not like such political awakening of Muslims, therefore, the newspaper was banned in Egypt and India, and consequently, the paper ceased to be published.

The cardinal aim of Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani in all his efforts was the accomplishment of the very task of brotherhood among all Muslims without any discrimination of colour, race and geographical boundaries. He nourished this desire and tried to hit the target with all his abilities. He wanted Muslims to be under one Islamic banner, under one leader (*amir*) who might exercise his power as supreme caliph; and command and should bear undisputed authority as in the early days of Islam.<sup>15</sup> The existing Muslim countries pressed heavily upon him. He believed that if these countries were once freed from the clutches of foreign domination or even from influence, Islam would be able to frame its own polity without the interference of European nations in what ever form it might be.<sup>16</sup> He thought that Islam was, in all respects, an universal appealing religion and completely capable of having the solution for day to day problems. He was convinced that by virtue of its rational approach and reason of its inner spiritual force, of adoption to the changing conditions of every age, Islam may solve the newly arising problems. He was thoroughly aware of the fact that no Islamic renaissance could ever arise under hostile foreign rule.

Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghanis' life was a testimony to his intense dedication to the welfare of the Muslims, free from any parochial, nationalistic prejudices. Wilfred Cantwell Smith in spite of christian missionary prejudices says:

*"It was his genius to see the situation in comprehensive terms and in perspective. He realised that the entire Muslim World, not just this or that part of it, was threatened by the West as a powerful dynamic entity. He saw that in comparison with that entity the whole Islamic World was weak. He realised in a sense that World was threatened by its own weakness. Moreover he seems to have been the first Muslim revivalist to use the concept of "Islam versus the West" as connoting*

*correlative - and of course, antagonistic historical phenomenon. This antimony, as is well known, has since become quite standard in virtually all Islamic thinking. It was in Afghani that this Muslim consciousness of the spectre of the West as an accusing menacing power became explicit and that the response to it became active.*"<sup>18</sup>

Though Smith does not disclose the reason for al-Afghani's criticism of the West but it is quite clear that the insurgence of nationalism was quite contradictory to the very concept of Islamic brotherhood. The West propagated the conception of nationalism in a very lucid style to achieve its end, on the other hand to cut into pieces the very paradigm of Islam and its "*ukhuwwah*".

Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani wanted to bring about spontaneous political revolution in all the Muslim countries simultaneously. He did not believe in package reform. That is why he was eager to see the reform in his own life time. Thus he attempted to organise such forces who might overthrow the prevailing un-Islamic rulers in their respective countries.

In all his purities in aims and radical methods, one may find the best for humanities and a constructive role. His activities whatever the sphere they governed had very much bearings on the society. For the purity of aims and means he would be remembered for ever in the history of Islamic revolution.

After the death of Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani, Shaikh Muhammad Abduhu (1849-1905) a prominent disciple of him and devoted student during his stay at Egypt came up advocating and disseminating the ideas of his teacher. He also believed in the doctrines which were preached and practised by al-Afghani, and brought about several reforms

in the Egyptian society under the fold of teachings of his teacher.

When in the year 1882 the 'Young Egyptian Movement' came into existence with which al-Afghani had been so prominently identified, the same culminated in the form "*Urabi*" rebellion movement and subsequent occupation of Egypt by the Great Britain took place, and after a period of one year in 1883, Abduhu was exiled because of his sympathies with Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani and his thoughts.

He went to Paris and joined his teacher in the publication of "*al-Urwa-al-Wuthqa*"; the exponent of Pan-Islamism. He explained that there basically was no conflict between Islam and Science. He followed Ibn Taimiya in the condemnation of superstitions and accretions that had contaminated the Islamic faith. His presumption embraced intellectual and political revivification of religion together with the political unification under one supreme head.<sup>19</sup>

He interpreted certain Qur'anic verses rationally and recognised the insufficiency of Islamic scholasticism. While Jamal-al-Din advocated political and economic revolution, Muhammad Abduhu advocated religious awakening to bring about reforms.<sup>20</sup> In any way they formed a part of the whole and the division of work was almost naturally observed.

Sayyid Muhammad Rashid Rida, a Syrian scholar wanted to join al-Afghani in his task for struggling for an Islamic revival and pan-Islamic movement against the forces of European imperialism and expansionism. But before having a personal meeting, al-Afghani died, then he decided to go to Egypt with approval of his parents to attach himself to Shaik Muhammad Abduhu as his disciple. He was very much impressed by the personality of Abduhu and his high character. The collaboration between mentor

and disciple continued with the improvement of intimacy until Shaik Muhammad Abduhu's death in 1905, which left Rashid Rida to carry on the mission alone.

Soon after his arrival in Cairo, Rashid Rida decided to enter in the field of journalism. This idea occurred to his mind due to the ban of "*al-Urwa-al-Wuthqa*". He named the journal as "*al-manār*" (The tower of light). In the beginning of 1897, he published it as weekly but later on, it was converted into a monthly. Rashid Rida's ambition to bring *al-manār* was to perpetuate the same ideas of "*al-Urwa-al-Wuthqa*" except its inflammatory political policies which under British rule was impossible to carry out. Shaik Mohammad Abduhu's exegesis of the Qur'an was published in *al-manar* regularly, besides some 'fatāwās' and legal opinions of the 'ulama. Thus *al-manār* had acted as the mouth-piece of Pan-Islamism and the doctrine of Abduhu had also took preference.

The objectives of reform advocated were the same as advocated in the earlier periodicals of the predecessors. Some of the guidelines included following the basic need of the Muslim Society. It did not deviate from economic progress and scientific development in the fields where Europe had taken lead.

*"To promote social, religious and economic reforms to prove the suitability of Islam as a religious system under present condition and the practicability of the divine law as an instrument of Government, to remove superstitions and beliefs that do not belong to Islam, and to counteract false teachings and interpretations of Muslim beliefs such as prevalent ideas of pre-destination, the bigotry of different schools, or Rites of canon law, the abuses connected with the cult of saints and practices of sufi orders, to encourage tolerance and unity among the different sects, to promote general*

*education and to encourage progress in the sciences and arts and to arouse the Muslim nations to competition with the other nations in all matters which are essential to national progress.*<sup>21</sup>

*Al-Manār* dedicated itself from the very first issue to the considered ambitious programme. Nadav Safran had mentioned rightly in his book about Rashid Rida and his *al-manār*:

*"Naturally Rida and the Manarists looked with marked disfavour on the modern nationalist movements among the Muslims and they did so as more than one score. Rashid Rida was one of the few Muslim thinkers in Egypt who saw clearly the threat posed by the concept of Nationalism to Islamic doctrines. He never ceased to condemn the ideological aspects of the nationalism which prevailed in Egypt and other Arab countries after the turn of the century. Nothing is more dangerous," Rida argued, "than the desire of nationalist Westernizers to replace the sentiments of Islamic solidarity with national and racist pride. This was to him not only a new source of dissension among Muslims but something close to apostasy. "They count a Muslim and Arab as a foreigner if he does not belong to the same country as themselves". Rida writes sarcastically, so that the Sharif (Descendent of Prophet) of al-Hijaz or Syria is no better to them than a leathen from China". Even in their own terms, Rida argued; was it not absurd to want to destroy all that constitutes the originality of a nation and its emblems in the slavish pursuit of alien ideals.*<sup>22</sup>

It is one of the fundamental principles of Abduhu Movement that every Muslim should think himself responsible, in order to strengthen the link of Islam among his co-religionists. This movement also encouraged the perfor-

mance of duties and ethical requirements. It also actively engaged in the dissemination of Islamic doctrines among non-Muslims and explained their universality among religions. Rashid Rida in all his writings and public addresses did the same as was done by Muhammad Abduhu, before him, urging Muslims to devote their means and energies to the most excellent of all good works, namely the founding of schools.<sup>23</sup> The establishment of schools, he says, is better than the construction of mosques, because the prayer of an ignorant man in a mosque is valueless, whereas through the founding of schools ignorance will be removed and thus both secular and religious works will be correctly performed.<sup>24</sup>

In this way Rashid Rida propagated his views through press and dedicated his whole time in bringing out political and intellectual awakening among Muslims of his era. However he succeeded partially in his efforts.

The ideas which were advocated by Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani, Abduhu and Rida paved the way for the Muslims to step further for total revolution against their mental and physical slavery. There was success in this aim of reforms, but due to the western aggression and retardation they could not see the efforts fully materialised in their life time.

The advocacy of Pan-Islamism and other reforms had also paved the way for the formation of Islamic movements in the 20th century. While such Muslim personalities as Jamal-al-Din-al-Afghani, Abduhu, and Rashid Rida had confined their Islamic activities to writings to educate the minds of the people, the later important figures like Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna's aim from the very start was to build a lofty and graceful structure of Islamic movement to lead the entire generation imbued with Islamic ideals applied to political system, economic reforms and all other areas of life.<sup>25</sup> When Rashid Rida died, al-Banna took up the charge

of the publication of *al-manār*.<sup>26</sup> Thus *al-manār* has also acted as the mouthpiece of *Al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*, which was engineered and revitalised by al-Banna.

In the later part of the 19th century, Egypt was introduced with Nationalism which created narrow ideas among the common masses. People commenced to follow blindly the philosophies of the West without taking notice of the consequences. The West, when feared that the Muslim world might gain momentum in the field of Islamic revivalism, played significant role, to disintegrate Muslims by injecting the doctrine called Nationalism, in a very beautiful guise, which paved the way for decentralization of Islamic forces. As a result, Arabs revolted against Turkey which led to the abolition of caliphate under the Ottoman rule and ultimately a secular Turkey was established. Taking advantage of the prevailing situation, the Great Britain exploited Egypt through different agencies and at suited different times. A renowned scholar of Islamic history Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi points out the facts:-

*“Exotic cultural concepts and materialistic philosophies and movements of the West were being imported freely into Egypt. Its leading intellectuals had dedicated themselves unequivocally to their propagation. The University students and the younger army officers vied with each other in their imitative zeal. Everyone who was discontented with the existing order was anxious to welcome what the west offered. Innumerable books were written in support of the need to westernize which were hurriedly read by immature minds. The west oriented ideas became something of a dogma with them. The Egyptian youth looked upon them as the only way to national salvation and to the attainment of place of equality among the so called progressive nations of the world. The prevalent system of educa-*

*tion, the entire structure of training and upbringing the topical literature-none of those could place before it an ideal different from and more sublime and effective than the worn out ideas and methods of Kamal Atatürk had put across in Turkey. The Egyptian intelligentsia had made up its mind to adopt the Kamalist movement into after substituting Turkish Nationalism with Arab Nationalism and abiding socialism to it which had not acquired much popularity during the days of Atatürk.<sup>27</sup>*

In such an atmosphere, Egypt submerged in the ocean of commotion and confusion. There was no independence in the beginning of the twentieth century. Some political leaders and religious scholars advocated the theory for independence. Scores of Islamic thinkers and writers adopted the way, following the pattern of previous scholars, either directly or indirectly and thus incorporated their ideas under the influence of the writings of above mentioned persons. These persons had appeared in the scene afresh to defend Islam and Islamic commune according to their internal urge. They knew Islam well and were very well familiar with the doctrines and teachings of Islam. They put their ideas after being influenced by their predecessors to have a refined expression.<sup>28</sup> Some names can be mentioned in this regard: for example Mustafa Sadiq al-Rafei', Hafiz Ibrahim, Ahmad Showki, Mohamed Husain Heykal, Abdul-Qadir-al-Madini and Abbas Mahmoud al-Aqqad. Hasan-al-Banna, Syed Qutub and others.

These writers could very easily see the danger of western civilization and thought. The happenings in last few decades of the century, especially the foreign influence and domination in the field of intellectualism and politics, which resulted the occupation of Egypt pressed them hard to critically examine the whole phenomenon of the society and they came out to fight with their might and pen and bent

upon openly to write about Islam and its mission which had given the world peace and tranquility. They again spoke about the revival in the 20th century and almost having the same modified methodology of the earlier writers and thinkers.

As a result of the above mentioned developments, numerous writers and scholars came to found and to inaugurate their thoughts in the practical plans, that resulted in the form of many organisations, societies and movements which strived to liberate human beings from eternal slavery of colonialism.

A comprehensive study of the organisations and movements appeared in the twentieth century in Egypt would be analysed in the following chapters which would give readers the general atmosphere of Egypt, with special reference to the life, vision and mission of Hasan al-Banna and his remarkable Islamic Movement *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* which is the purpose of this book.

## CHAPTER 2

### Islamic Organisations in Egypt

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Egypt experienced a number of religious societies and organizations in the early years of the twentieth century. This sort of sentiment germinated among the citizens due to external influence and illegal occupation by Britain which played vital role in planting the seeds of irreligiousness and modernism as mentioned in the introduction.

Although the external appearance and infrastructure of these organisations seemed to be different, their targets, programmes and the ideals were the same and almost unanimous. The first and the foremost objective of these societies was to implant the value of Islamic consciousness in their daily activities. Some of the organisations played an important role in the political life of Egypt. Among those *Jāmaʿat-al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* and *Jamāʿat Shabab Muhammad* were significantly notable. Some researchers have expressed that *al-rabitat-al-ʿarabiyyah* founded by Amin Sa'id could also be included among other societies which endeavoured to achieve the goal of implementing Islam by penetrating into Egyptian political life. However, it is not possible to agree and recognize that *al-rabitat-al-ʿarabiyyah* had contributed much in this direction because its main objectives were directed towards building the sentiment of Egyptian Nationalism, rather than promoting comprehensive religious activities as we observed in other societies.

Many societies, organisations, and clubs had come into existence during this crucial period in order to mould the minds of common masses in planning the Islamic thoughts, so that their objective of fighting against British Colonialism could be victoriously materialised. It was but natural for any such ill-fated nation to organise such societies to achieve their goal. The main aim of such organisations was to bring about an intellectual uniformity of thought and practice in line with Islamic theory of knowledge and Philosophy.

Nationalists, Socialists, Islamic ‘Ulama and others further conspicuously contributed in establishing many societies according to their own creed and doctrines. But the principal motto was to maintain the identity of their Islamic heritage which has been eliminated by the western conspiracy.

Some organisations in the process had failed to achieve their goals because of their dilution of the aims due to various reasons perhaps sometimes beyond their control. But the organization like *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* maintained its undiluted purity and never allowed anybody to dilute its doctrine and ideology despite some attempted to do so as history had recorded. Great Britain became helpless and was almost in a state of fear to face such challenges posed by *al-Ikhwān*. It, therefore devised new plans to conspire against it in order to suppress and eliminate this powerful Islamic organization from the soil of Egypt, about which a detail study is made in the succeeding pages.

Approximately 135 religious societies and organizations were established before and after the First World War in Egypt. Most of these societies were, as mentioned above, established to work for the implementation of Islamic *Shari‘ah* in their land. Some got influence over the people. Some did not. The list of some organisations and Islamic Movements which actually and truly strived for the

achievement of this goal have been listed below! Most of the listed movements promoted the welfare of human society and planned to fight British Imperialism and Colonialism. They inculcated the idea of fighting with colonial masters among each and every individual.

## LIST OF ISLAMIC ORGANISATIONS

1. Jamā<sup>c</sup>at-al-Kashafat-al-Ahliyyāt-al-Misriyyat
2. Rabitat-al-Islah-al-Ijtimā<sup>c</sup>a.
3. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-al-Ittihād-al-Sāai.
4. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-al-Ta<sup>c</sup>avunina-al-Manziliyyat.
5. Al-Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Ta<sup>c</sup>avaniyyat-Lil-Batrol.
6. Al-Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Taavaniyyat-Li-Tawrid-al-Taqwa.
7. Rabitat-al-Taalīm-al-Ilzami.
8. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-al-Muhandisina-al-Mulkiyyat.
9. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-khirrighi-al-Muallimīn (This is not a religious society)
10. Al-Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-al-Sharyiyyat-Li-Ta<sup>c</sup>avan-<sup>c</sup>Aāmilini-Bil-kitab-wal-Sunnat-al-Muhammadiya.
11. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-Makarim-al-Akhḥāq-al-Islamiyyat (founded before first world war).
12. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-al-Umma-wal-Kiāb.
13. Jāmi<sup>c</sup>at-al-Islah-al-Dini.
14. Al-Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Khairiyyāt-al-Islamiyyat.
15. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Mawasal-al-Islamiyyat.
16. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-Aayilat-al-Asakar-al-Biharat.
17. Jami<sup>c</sup>at Ahyaa Mujidd-al-Islam.
18. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-Gazvat-Badr.
19. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Wafaa-al-Islami.
20. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-Nashr-al-Fadail-wal-Adab-al-Islamiyyat.
21. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Shubbān-al-Hijaziyyin.
22. Jama<sup>c</sup>at-al-Munadat-Bil-Salat.
23. Jama<sup>c</sup>at-Ahiyaya-al-Qur'an-al-Karim.
24. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-Misr-al-Fatat.
25. Jami<sup>c</sup>at-al-Rābitat-al-Islamiyyat.

26. Jamiat-al-Ummat-U-Muhafadat-Ala-al-Qur'an-al-Karim (After first world war).
27. Jami'at-al-Urwa-al-Wuthka-al-Islamiyyat (After first World War).
28. Jama'at-Ansār-al-Sunnat-al-Muhammadiyyat. (After first World War)
29. Jami'at Ahyāya-al-Sunnat-al-Muhammadiyyat. (After first World War).
30. Jami'at-al-Akhwat-al-Islami. (After first World War).
31. Jam'iat-al-Muslim-al-Aamil (Founded after First World War).
32. Jami'at-al-Taqwa.
33. Jami'at-al-Shubbān-al-Muslimīn. (Founded After First World War).
34. Jami'at-al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimīn. (Founded After First World War).
35. Jami'at-al-Rābitat-al-Arabiyyat. (Founded After First World War).
36. Jama'at-Shabāb Muhammad. (Founded After First World War).
37. Jami'at-al-Akhwāt-al-Muslimāt. (Founded After First World War).
38. Jami'at-al-Jihād-al-Islāmi. (Founded After First World War).
39. Jami'at-al-Hidāyat-al-Islāmiyyat. (Founded After First World War).

Among the above mentioned thirty nine organisations, few were very active and contributed in transforming the society into an Islamic. For example *al-Shubbān-al-Muslimūn* in which Hasan-al-Banna associated in the beginning also could be taken into consideration in this regard.

Most important among them was the Society or movement of *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* which created a landmark in the history of the modern world in constructing the *ummah* purely based on the revealed doctrine of *tawhid*.

This movement is critically analysed in the forthcoming chapters thoroughly and profoundly with reference to the political, economic, social, cultural, educational and international aspects.

## **THE BIRTH OF AL-IKHWĀN-AL-MUSLIMŪN :**

Islam the only preserved revealed way of life in twentieth century faced with a period of serious crisis primarily due to the abrogation of Islamic Caliphate by Mustafa Kamal Atatürk, a secularistic and nationalistic minded figure of Turkey. It was well known throughout the world that this abolition of Islamic caliphate was the outcome of the British and Jewish conspiracy. Britain, through its untiring efforts was instrumental in 18th and 19th centuries to divide the Muslims in many ways in order to keep them in constant discord and dissension. It further concentrated and mobilized its strength, particularly in Egypt which had been made the stage to experiment its plans for political turmoil and discord.

The economic sources of the country were misused. Its political freedom was absolutely denied. The people of Egypt were not permitted to act autonomously in the field of politics as well as to decide the destiny of Egypt. The rulers and the Governors who were the representatives or governors of Turkish caliphate were directly or indirectly influenced by the West.

The West kept them under their control. The Sultans and Governors had in other words were the brain-product of an alien culture and civilisation. They never hesitated to advocate and disseminate their political theories, ideologies and Philosophies at the expense of Islam. The cultural invasion and ideological indoctrination of man-made ideologies gradually implanted the seeds of dissension in the soil of

Egypt. This process of dissemination became one of the important sources that contaminated the minds of uneducated Arabs and Muslims.

During British occupation of Egypt, the country had encountered innumerable problems some of which were not solved until today. The exploitation of poor by the rich was a common phenomenon promoted by the alien forces, besides its objective of making and prolonging political slavery. Nowadays, exploitation of rich over the poor is common due to Nasir's social and economic reforms.

Divergent opinions prevailed among the traditional *ʿulama* of Al-Azhar and other educated scholars had also added fuel to further the ways of the westerners to exploit this situation in favour of them. As a result, the archetypes of British conspiracy started secretly operating its machinaries in various dimensions.

Such socio-political scenario made the Muslim community helpless to express its sentiments unhesitatingly and freely. Despite many political parties struggled to liberate and emancipate their land from colonial power in order to obtain independence, they met failure because, their concept of fight was parochial and narrow in the sense it was not in conformity with the *tawhidic* paradigm of Islam. The political parties and organisations that emerged during this period were badly influenced by the philosophy of Nationalism. Hence the Nationalistic obsession reflected in their action without knowledge and consciousness. This sort of national pride and nationalistic, parochial and chauvinistic thinking were also incited and generated by the British through various platforms in order to divide the people.

Britain was under the impression that even though Egypt might be accorded independence, it should not be permitted to be the place of Islamic resurgence. According to

the understanding of Britain Islam might retaliate if its allowed its establishment of Islamic state. It also feared that the revival of Islam would establish and create unity among Arab and Islamic nations which might be instrumental to rejuvenate and bring back Islamic caliphate again.

During this transitional period of discord and confusion of the highest order in the society, it was absolutely indispensable to organise a movement which would make a revolutionary call for Islamic resurgence as well as to pose a great challenge to all sorts of exploitation taking place under the blessing of British Imperialism. The implications of the first world war had also urged and incited emotions of the people to fight for their independence.

Such anti-Islamic activities, conspiracies, confederacies, nationalistic feelings, British imperialistic intervention in the internal affairs and un-Islamic sultanates and kingdoms, opened a new way and sponsored fresh thinking, though it was already initiated by Jamal-al-din al- Afghani to establish an organization which could have struggled and sacrificed for the betterment of the Muslim Ummah in particular and the state in general, was realised by some intellectuals, leaders and scholars of twentieth century especially after the fall of Caliphate.

This implantation of an idea of fighting with foreign intervention resulted the birth of many organisations, societies, political parties and movements which struggled to achieve their respective goals. Among these organizations some became passive, some acted as agents of foreign powers, while others prolonged till they achieved their aims and objectives.

In this critical situation, an intelligent, capable and dynamic person namely Hasan-al-Banna ascended to the arena of politics and founded a historical and revolutionary

movement called "*al-Ikhuān-al-Muslimūn*" which created a remarkable landmark and profound impact on the history of twentieth century and posed greater challenges to all sorts of man-made materialistic ideologies which proved to be futile in due course of time. This movement served as a precedent and an example for the entire world Islamic Movements. The entire world from the East to the West keenly observed the activities of it. The absolute dedication, spirit of sacrifice, commitment and struggle manifested by the members of the society inspired other organisations to keep an eye on the founder and its members to learn from them multifarious aims, ambitions, and aspirations.

This movement was essentially industrious for the liberation of land in order to found an Islamic state and to introduce a system of federal government for all Muslim Countries similar to Islamic caliphate. This aim, though was sincere and pure, the ways towards the implementation was also clear, but it had to face many troubles, undergo trials and tribulations and experience incommensurable difficulties.

The spirit inculcated by *al-Ikhuān* still exists all over the world and the international Islamic movements follow the footsteps of this movement in day to day affairs. The biography of the founder and the history of the development of the movement and its aims, objectives, sacrifices, struggles and achievements and its impact can be comprehensively discussed in the following pages, profoundly, analytically and objectively to give a new orientation and to explore the hidden facts which were deliberately concealed for many decades by people who had vested interests. The Muslim English speaking audience, perhaps would acquire certain truths out of this research which was based on interviews and personal discussions by the author with some scholars who were the upholders of this movement but were put behind the iron gates of prison for many years.

## CHAPTER 3

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### Hasan-Al-Banna: Life And Education

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**H**asan-al-Banna, a socio-political thinker, reformer, leader and founder of the internationally well known remarkable Islamic movement which generated Islamic consciousness among the people in general and youth in particular was born on 17th October, 1906 in a village near the town of al-Mahmudiyyah, whose distance is about ninety miles towards south-west of Cairo. His father was Shaik Ahmad Abdul Rahman al-Banna, an *imām* of a *masjid*. His father also served as a leader of the village. He was a writer of a book on the Traditions of the Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H). He graduated from *Jāmi'ah-al-Azhar* during the period of Imam Shaikh Muhammed Abduhu.<sup>1</sup> He used to spend his leisure time in the library. Islamic Jurisprudence (*usūl al-fiqh*) was his special field of interest. Besides this, the *muwaṭṭa* of Imām Mālik and the *muṣnad* of Imām al-Shāfi'i ranked among his favourites. He was also the author of a commentary on the *muṣnad* of Imām Ahmad bin Hanbal. During an interval between his religious responsibilities and other hobbies like reading and teaching, he used to practise his profession as a watch repairer. This profession generated income for the education of his son Hasan-al-Banna to concentrate on traditional and classical education.

Hasan-al-Banna, the eldest<sup>2</sup> of his brothers received systematic education in his village at the age of eight.<sup>3</sup> His instructor was Mahmoud Zahran, who was the first among

other personalities who taught him after his father. When he grew, his father encouraged him to visit his personal home library and urged him to go through the books of whatever subject he wanted from his own collections. In this way, Hasan-al-Banna got his pure Islamic education directly from his father in an early stage. He was unique and remarkable for possessing good distinguished character during his childhood and adolescence. He commanded ardent zeal and great enthusiasm to learn numerous things. He used to wake up at mid-night and spend his time in establishing supereogatory (*nawāfil*) prayers and also observed Fast on Mondays and Thursdays<sup>4</sup> every week. He committed half of the holy Qur'an to memory when he was young, and then completed the whole Qur'an when he attained the age of puberty;<sup>5</sup> under the supreme and direct guidance of his father. His mind was so sharp to observe many things and it so happened once that he prevented reprehensible actions with his hand. It is stated that once he saw a ship in the dockyard and observed the statutes in it which could pave the way to *shirk* (syncretism), immediately he carried a hammer and entered inside the ship in order to demolish the statutes into pieces.<sup>6</sup>

## EARLY EDUCATION

At the age of twelve, Hasan-al-Banna formally got admission in the primary school where he came into contact with a religious society, for the first time unexpectedly. This society was "*jamā'at-al-sulūk-al-akhlāqiyya*"<sup>7</sup> whose objective was to develop and promote good character and generate all Islamic and universal values among the members. Hasan-al-Banna became a member of this organization. This was the starting point which led him to found the historical Islamic Movement in Egypt later on.

While as a student, he was fully involved and committed to Islamic activities with high moral standard which

infact attracted and admired many youths. He also founded another organization in his school namely "*jamā'at-al-nahy-<sup>c</sup>an-al-munkar*".<sup>8</sup> (Organization for prohibiting evil).

He assumed the leadership of the above organization to guide the followers Islamically and to impart the need for efficiency equally in worldly matters in view of the developing and newly emerging problems. The contribution of it was great and significant. Through this organization, he prevented false preachings and slanderous statements about Islam by undesirable elements. This organization further devoted in inculcating the pure orthodox and undiluted spirit of Islam among the people and appealed to them to be far away from reprehensible and evil deeds. At this young age, we observed the young Hasan-al-Banna leading the congregational prayers in the mosque, calling *adhān* from the minaret and at the dawn going from house to house knocking at the doors and windows in order to awaken people to perform their *fajr* prayer.<sup>10</sup> He sent many letters to some important personalities advising them not to involve in illegal and immoral things. The main activity of this organization was to distribute secret pamphlets constituting speeches to create awakening in the people. The events, incidents and campaigns organised against the teachings of Islam and Islamic way of life by secularists and progressives in Egypt were written by them and distributed through pamphlets which fascinated the common masses.

During this early period of his life, he also witnessed the remembering circles (*ḥalaqāt-al-dhikr*) which was a sort of sufi organization for the first time. Of course, it was natural that he became an active member of it. He submerged himself in all the activities of this sufi group approximately for twenty years without any interruption.<sup>11</sup> As he was very much attached with Sufism, he read with passion and profound desire almost all the available works of Sufism abundantly and specifically about the foundation of

*ṭarīkah* in particular and about Sufism in general. After this deep study it was said that, he was convinced of the methodology of sufism and consequently he associated himself with it and became the enthusiastic member of remembrance council.<sup>12</sup> (*ḥalaqāt al-dhikr*).

The association of Hasan-al-Banna and his group with his new members of the *ḥalaqāt al-dhikr* resulted in the projection of a new idea and thought and thus established another organisation called "*jam'iat al-ḥusāfiah-lil-bir*".<sup>13</sup> This organization endeavoured to reform the Muslims and prepare them to preserve the essential and fundamental character of Islamic Religion at any cost. It also resisted rapid missionary activities of the Christians in the town. It cautioned Muslims about the danger of proselytization and possible conversion resulting apostasy, if such missionaries were allowed to function in Egypt. It is true that they have had indirect support of ruling elites due to the fact that after all Egypt was a colony of Britain. Hasan-al-Banna assumed the secretaryship of this organization when he was thirteen years old and the presidentship was assumed by Ahmad-al-Shukri who later on played a prominent role in the formation and development of the idea of the organization of *al-Ikhuān-al-Muslimūn*.<sup>14</sup> Ahmad-al-Sukri was very young when Hasan-al-Banna was introduced with him in the *ḥalaqāt al-dhikr* (remembrance council). Hasan-al-Banna obtained massive and tremendous experience through this system practised by them which later on helped him in the establishment of *al-Ikhuān-al-Muslimūn*.<sup>15</sup>

During the revolution of 1919, Hasan al-Banna was in the final year of his primary school education. He took active part as a student in rallies, demonstrations, and processions which exploded both inside and outside the city. This revolution instilled chavunistic, nationalistic parochial spirit among the people. This took momentum as well as reached the climax, because Egypt was under British occu-

pation. The patrons and supporters of this revolution composed and recited a couplet which was memorized by almost all. Hasan-al-Banna also memorized it and repeatedly recited during the procession.

At the age of fourteen, he joined *madrasat-al-mu<sup>ʿ</sup>allimīn* (teachers' school) at Damanhour which was situated thirteen miles west of the village Mahmudiyyah. His inclination towards Sufism had become deep rooted in this period and subsequently he became a working and an active worker of *Jamī<sup>ʿ</sup>at-al-Huṣāfiyyah* in 1922.

In 1923, when he was sixteen years old, he left *madrasat-al-mu<sup>ʿ</sup>allimīn-al-awwaliyyah* and got admitted to *dār al-ʿulūm*, Cairo at the end of the same year.<sup>16</sup> As soon as he arrived Cairo, he was fully shocked after knowing moral deterioration, decadence of the people and their indifference towards Islam in Cairo. *Dār al-ʿUlūm* is the institution of higher learning established in 1873 for Egyptians as first attempt to impart modern higher education and science. Besides this, another religious traditional institution was also present in the old pattern under the supervision of conservative Al-Azhar. It became the centre of establishing the high schools for teachers. During his studentship at *dār al-ʿUlūm*, he gave an examination memorizing eighteen thousand verses of poetry and the same number of prose.<sup>17</sup> He was an intelligent, hard working and scholarly student. He also enjoyed confidence and commanded respect both from his friends as well as foes. There had been a diversity of opinion between him and the then Minister of Education on the controversial issue around the traditional dress of *jubba* and *imāmah*. The Minister fervently advocated the removal of this dress code from all the educational institutions. But Hasan-al-Banna strongly objected to this idea of withdrawal, and criticised him for this narrow minded attitude. Finally, Hasan-al-Banna succeeded in this efforts crowned with success.

Hasan al-Banna in the thirties saw the book composed

by Dr. Taha Hussain, the then Minister of Education on the title “pre-Islamic poetry” in which the author tried to hurl doubts on the authenticity of the Qur’an and the traditions of the Prophet.

The author mentioned in the book that there was resemblance between the Qur’an and pre-Islamic poetry. Besides this discord created by Taha Hussain, Hasan-al-Banna also noticed galaxy of magazines, deluge of news papers and flood of journals raising slogans and advocating the concept of Egypt as a part of Europe. Meanwhile, nationalists and secularists strongly urged the citizens to adopt traditional ways of Pharo and to re-study them as national heros of their pre-Islamic history. The fragrance of Modern, Western, Secularistic, Materialistic White men’s, civilization spread rapidly throughout the country which influenced and dominated the people in almost all walks of life and gradually began to corrupt the entire structure and the systems. The abrogation of caliphate in Turkey, establishment of many foreign schools in Cairo and Alexandria, coming of many Egyptian graduates from Europe, imposing the British curriculum in some courses, the emergence of some secular and communist newspapers and magazines led to this fear of Hasan al-Banna and his faithful generation. But it is also stated that the spread of secular philosophy was only among the elites and the lawyers who were mainly graduates of the French schools and Universities.

After observing all these incidents and sorrowful occurrences during his student life, Hasan-al-Banna was deeply worried. He determined to find out a solution for all these critical problems which pushed the country to a turmoil during his student life. Meantime, the modernists and the progressives also played a vital role to destroy and annihilate the image of Islam. He, at this juncture, then associated with Muhammad Rashid Rida and sought guidance and counselling besides receiving some inspiration from him

and from his journal *al-manār*.<sup>18</sup>

During this period of the crisis, his friends, contemporaries and companions asked Hasan-al-Banna to expound his future strategy, plans and programmes to act upon. In response to such appeal, he devotedly with sincere efforts uttered the following statements which is penned here for our reference and perusal. Hasan-al-Banna expressed:

*"I will be a counsellor and teacher. Even if I spend the whole day for the better part of the year teaching children, I will not neglect instructing their fathers in the objective of Islam, sometimes by writing and at other times making speeches and holding conversations and also by roaming and making trips. I have prepared myself for the former task with a spirit of thankfulness and optimism and for the latter with perseverance and sacrifice. Both of those are essential to the reformer and the secret of his success. Among the practical means of the reformer are a long period of study, a knowledge of those who embrace Islamic ideas and are sympathetic to them, a body incurred to roughness despite its smallness and familiar with hardships, despite its slenderness and soul I have given to God. This is my contract between my Allah and me which I have recorded, which I call upon my teacher to witness, which cannot be influenced by anything except conscience and which is insurmountable except to Allah. And he who fulfills what he promises to God shall be given a great reward".<sup>19</sup>*

## **ETERNAL TRAVELLER:**

Hasan-al-Banna lived for four decades. In this period, he transmitted an excellent and enormous impact which perforated the heart of almost each and every individual. Each and every stage of his life was purely for contemplation,

thinking and working for the welfare of *ummah*. He was an assiduous and indefatigable wheel of the activities, projects and works.<sup>20</sup>

Once, when he decided to publish a weekly journal, adequate resources were not available.<sup>21</sup> But, his decision was tenacious to implement the same idea whatever might be the form of obstacles and impediments.<sup>22</sup> When Shaikh Rizwan Mohamed Rizwan, disclosed that he had in his pocket two pounds, Hasan-al-Banna invested this amount as capital and started publishing the journal. With this two pounds, he convinced Muhibbuddin al-Khatib to be the editor of the proposed journal and after his compliance, the first issue of *Jarīdat-al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* on 28th Safar 1353 was published.<sup>23</sup>

*Al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* was dexterous to attain the fruits of this journal through free distribution. The members themselves voluntarily and zealously offered on the day of publication to distribute the journal in the mosques and other public places in order to reach out to the people. It manifests the traits and qualities of the dedicated members of the movement.

He was always convinced to make journeys on Thursdays and Fridays to any one of the villages of Egypt in order to disseminate the *fikrah* and arouse consciousness of the people on various issues particularly their upholding of Islamic *Shari'ah* and the presence of foreign forces in their land. Once when he planned, he went out of his school, proceeded to his office and supplicated financial Secretary to provide him few pounds in order to undertake his journey as preplanned.<sup>24</sup> He replied lamentably about non availability of fund in treasury. Hasan al-Banna was not disappointed of this situation. He sat for a while due to non-availability of fund for half an hour and the time of departure of the train approached.<sup>25</sup> Suddenly, a person arrived

with few pounds, immediately Hasan-al-Banna took a car and proceeded to the railway station, prior to the departure of the train. This shows his dedication and probity towards the realization of the goal. Likewise, he was not dismayed for any attempt of downfall due to inevitable environments and reasons beyond control.<sup>26</sup>

Almost on all Thursdays, he disconnected all his connection with his school affairs and attended the office of *al-Ikhuān* in order to distribute responsibilities in one or two hours and then proceeded to railway station to travel as usual. In all these villages he admired many followers and assembled many sympathisers and gave eloquent, elegant, rhetorical and fiery speeches addressing all current problems which fascinated and awakened each and every listener towards Islam. Next morning as per schedule, he was proceeding to another village for *jum'ah* prayer. After *asar* prayer, again he would be in some other village and *ishā* prayer was performed by him in the fourth village. In the next morning he would be in Cairo for his scheduled work, after completing his programme very successfully. In this way, he spent all Thursdays and Fridays in tour to deliver speeches and to consolidate people to realize the purpose their existence.

It is observed that whenever he decided to undertake journey for a complete week, his habit was to contact his house telephonically and ask few questions: How are you? Are the children well? Do you need anything? Then he would put the receiver of telephone and travel as usual, despite his house was not far away from the office. This demonstrates his dedication to the task which he undertook.

It would be worth citing at this juncture his sacrifice for the movement and *ummah* which would certainly tremble the heart of everyone who reads it. Once Hasan-al-Banna solicited an army detachment of *al-Ikhuān* to the

head-quarter in order to have comprehensive discussion concerning the future blue print of the organization and outline the future strategy to be adopted. This discussion protracted till late night. Then, they slept for an hour and got-up to perform *fajr* (morning) prayer. Meanwhile, Hasan-al-Banna went to his house, and attended his son whose breath was declining and there was no hope but was supposed to expire. By this time, his another appointment with other groups of invitees approached and hence proceeded towards the office of *al-Ikhwān* to resume the discussion. While he was in the meeting there was serious negotiation and discussion which was cheerful, a person interrupted the meeting and informed him about the sad demise of his son. He patiently told him to arrange for *kafan* (shroud) and burial, so that he would reach his house soon after the meeting was over. But the meeting continued as he was present to give his directives as he felt indispensable. It was very late and he slept with them. Next day morning, he could only visit the graveyard of his son and not *janāzah* of his son. Look at his sacrifice.

On another occasion when he stood in front of his house, his younger daughter crawled and caught his leg and held his dress, but he did not turn to her to see as though there was none who caught his dress. He felt that such affection with the children might affect and influence his *da'wah* activities. Like wise, he did not pay any attention even to his family matters. He was always thinking about his movement *al-Ikhwān*, its activities and its achievements. My observation therefore is that I read the biography of many Muslim scholars of the twentieth century and I find Hasan-al-Banna deserves applause and praise for his praiseworthy endeavour of uplifting the *ummah* socially, culturally, economically, spiritually and educationally. May Allah (s.w.t) bless his soul and rest it in peace in paradise.<sup>28</sup>

It is reported that once when his hand was injured in one of the great rallies, he raised his hand in front of his fol-

lowers whereby the people noted bleeding of his hand. The followers made a huge cry and expressed their morose and sympathy. When he advised them to keep quiet, they kept silent. When he appealed them to disperse, they dispersed and their number was tens of thousands. He enjoyed such respect of the common masses. It was due to his virtuousness.

During his journey he used to carry a small bag in which he kept some cloths, books, kerchiefs, drinks, comb, bed and some necessary things and all these things were kept in a box covered with cloth. One of the followers once asked him a question: Why are you carrying this box? He replied: who knows? Perhaps we may travel to a place where we may not know anybody, in which case we may be able to sleep in Mosques. This sort of dynamism was always seen in him. It also projects his dedication to the mission and exposes his simple way of living. Modern leaders are not seen to be possessing this type of etiquettes and sacrifice, and hence they enjoy a very little confidence of their followers.<sup>29</sup>

Mostly he preferred to deliver his speech in any place of his visit after *ḥaṣar* prayer. For example, he used to go to a mosque, and after performing his *ḥaṣar* prayer with the people congregationally, under the permission of *imām* of *masjid* he would start his lecture. Usually he gave commentary for the *ahādīth* (traditions) of Prophet Muḥammad (P.B.U.H) in a lucid style.

After his outstanding, inspiring and magnanimous lecture, people would disperse and he would spread his bed for worship and sleep in the Mosque. In this way, he spent his whole life in delivering speeches and acquiring the support of the millions of devoted successors for the movement.<sup>31</sup>

During the summer holidays, he visited Sudan and other neighbouring countries. He had also toured more

than four thousand villages during these holidays and addressed almost in all places to awaken and arouse Islamic consciousness of the people.<sup>32</sup>

One of the police officers narrated: "When he was employed in Mudiriyyah, one day suddenly a man rushed to him, informing about a programme in the village at night in which Hasan-al-Banna was going to address and further requested him to attend the programme in order to supervise his performance to avoid law and order problems. He also added that if he could find anything against law and the interest of the nation he could arrest him. The police officers agreed and accordingly went to the pavilion where the meeting was proposed to be held. Hasan-al-Banna arrived as scheduled and started to give thought provoking and eloquent speech. The police man occupied a seat in the last row and listened to the speech and also inspected the people. He found the speaker talking about the present conditions of the country. Besides giving advice to the people about the necessity of cleanliness and keeping of a basket at the door of every house to protect children and adults from infectious and contagious disease as well as an appeal to the masses to construct mosques. The policeman initially thought that Hasan-al-Banna would harm the prestige and dignity of General Secretariat and criticise the Government and announce perhaps some sabotaging plans to topple it. But there was nothing of this sort in his speech."<sup>33</sup>

The police officer continued to observe his speech until the programme was over and the people dispersed. He immediately rushed to the speaker who was none other than Hasan-al-Banna. He said: Are you not here to arrest me? The Policeman said: Yes, But there was no such arrest or detention.

But, in the next morning, the same police officer who came with an objective of detaining him carried the bag of

Hasan-al-Banna to Railway Station. Look at the personality of Hasan-al-Banna was so gentle and magnanimous, that he could attract even the police man who was ready to detain and put him behind the iron bars of prison. The charming and outstanding character manifested by Hasan-al-Banna indeed attracted him and was intoxicated by his thrilling speech and subsequently the policeman became enthusiastic follower of Hasan-al-Banna. This magnanimity shown by Hasan al-Banna should serve as a very good example for the devoted members of Islamic Movements of today. There is a lot to be learnt from his characteristics.

Whenever and wherever he travelled he spoke on different subjects without repetition. Likewise, when he moved to another village on the same evening, his speech was not similar to the previous one but entirely different. He never repeated the same subject. His personality was not subject to tiresome due to his travel and speech, as well as spending nights in adoration.

## CHAPTER 4

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### Al-Ikhwān-Al-Muslimūn: Establishment and Expansion

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Since he started his life in Ismailia, Hasan-al-Banna began to actively participate and play significant role in the life of Ismailia society, an important town in Egypt. This town took the name of its founder, Khadeve Ismail, which is situated on the Suez canal's eastern coast between Port Said and Suez, and which was the center of Suez canal's company where hundreds of European soldiers and workers with their families lived. As a consequence, they turned that town into a European environment and this provoked the Muslim citizens there. So, Hasan al-Banna could open their eyes and hearts against the foreign presence and the foreigners moral decline. He took serious interest in contacting all religious personalities in the Mosque as well as in the city. As he mentioned in his writings he did not confine his activities only to the day time, but devoted his efforts in *da'wah* work even during night hours. He used to deliver series of lectures which consequently attracted good number of people and eventually many were influenced by his thought and mission.

In Dhul Qi<sup>c</sup>dah 1347, corresponding to March 1928, the following six personalities belonging to the British army visited the chamber of Hasan-al-Banna. They were Hafiz Abdul Hameed, Ahmad-al-Hasri, Fuad Ibrahim, Abdul Rahman Hisb-allah, Ismail Aaz, Zaki-al-Maghribi. The ideas, vision, teaching, philosophy speeches and other methodologies of Hasan-al-Banna highly influenced and fascinated them.

They sat and discussed with al-Banna about the current situation and Political atmosphere of the country with earnest desire. Of course, their eyes became bright, faces were gleamed and their enthusiastic actions showed their vigorousness and their cooperation to Hasan-al-Banna. They jointly expressed their confidence in him and declared to sacrifice their every belonging for Islam.

The sincere speech, discussion and dynamic support extended by the above mentioned persons infact paved the way to operationalize and translate the ideas into practice. Hasan-al-Banna, though was essentially interested in delivering speeches as well as forbidding people from *munkarāt* (evils) had initially no plan to form such an organization or movement within a short span of time. This whole-hearted support and the oath observed by these persons encouraged him to contemplate and consider about the need of it. He immediately proclaimed in their presence and thanked Allah (s.w.t) and congratulated them for their sincere intention and said that Allah (s.w.t) would accept the deeds and the people would benefit. He further said, our duty is to work and it is left to Allah (s.w.t) to give us success and we should be the soldiers to carry out the *da'wah*.<sup>3</sup>

After his proclamation of the the above mentioned few words, Hasan-al-Banna was in a dilemma as to what would be the name and structure of the proposed organisation. He told them that we were committed to the service of Islam, we were brothers, we had an unanimous and uniform objective and approach and hence we were infact "*al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*." The name *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*<sup>4</sup> has been later on selected and kept unchanged throughout its existence until it was outlawed.<sup>5</sup>

This suprising and noble episode had really convinced them, and hence the formation of *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* was formally accepted and endorsed as a result of the efforts of these six persons.

## AL-IKHWĀN-AL-MUSLIMŪN IN ISMAILIA (1928-1932)

In the training school at Ismailia<sup>6</sup>, armed troops observed the brothers of *al-Ikhwān* studying the holy Qur'an and getting it by heart. The members also memorised the traditions of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H) besides their training in teaching and the art of public speaking. Meanwhile, within a short span of time, the membership of the organization increased to 70.<sup>7</sup> The appointment of a representative of Al-Azhar for Ismailia to establish the circle of guidance and *da'wah* was felt useful by the inhabitants. He was Shaikh Hamid, a military man. It was expected that the activities of Islamic *da'wah* would be increased manifold and it would be followed by the tremendous increase of members of *al-Ikhwān*. Hence *al-Ikhwān* discussed and eventually decided in a special session to construct a separate building for it.<sup>8</sup> There was no clear reason for secrecy which Hasan-al-Banna liked to keep the project of constructing this building. Hasan-al-Banna desired to go ahead with high speed in organising the activities in the field of *da'wah*. It was resolved in a special session which was attended by few devoted persons who were committed and dedicated to *al-Ikhwān*.<sup>9</sup> As a preliminary step, they received 500 pounds as a donation from the Suez Canal company to purchase a piece of land in order to construct the building for its office. The foundation stone was laid with this amount. It, indeed, as contemplated, became later on a centre for administrative and executive councils as well as general assembly.<sup>10</sup> After the building was completed, it consisted of a Mosque and two schools; one for male and the other for female. As a result, Hasan-al-Banna demonstrated his sincere plan and desire not to diminish and confine the activities of Islamic *da'wah* only to sermons and rituals alone. On the contrary, he disseminated the idea of implementing the *Sharī'ah* of Islam in all walks of human life, and specifically, projected his thought as well as concept

and role of *al-Ikhwān*. He decided to establish small scale industries, getting share in big and well established and successful companies, so that the revenue raised out of this effort would assist the organisation in achieving its aspirations and objectives smoothly and without any obstacle. He also decided to accumulate immovable properties for *al-Ikhwān* whose resources would help to resolve many problems that may arise in the process of its struggle.

## AL- DA<sup>ʿ</sup>WAH IN CAIRO

In october 1932, he was unexpectedly transferred by the Ministry of Education from Ismailia to Cairo to continue his work as a teacher in the Abbas School in al-Sabitiyat. The Ministry had its own reasons for this transfer. It felt his continuous stay at Ismailia would consolidate and mobilize public opinion in favour of the new movement in creating Islamic awareness which might lead to a kind of revolution in the country. But it indirectly and unconsciously assisted Hasan-al-Banna to expand his *da<sup>ʿ</sup>wah* activities outside Ismailia. Infact this was a new stage to enter in the field of *da<sup>ʿ</sup>wah* through the decision of transfer. Hasan-al-Banna was not frustrated of this move but continuously extended his message to those who realised the neccessity of *da<sup>ʿ</sup>wah* in Cairo. Before he left Ismailia to accept the new challenge, he nominated a president to solve the problems at the central office of *al-Ikhwān*.<sup>12</sup>

The office of general head quarters of *al-Ikhwān* was shifted with Hasan-al-Banna to Cairo which located in a building numbered 24, in Al-Shurabiyyah street. Before this shift, it functioned as a branch of *al-Ikhwān* which was looked after and supervised by his own brother Abdul Rahman al-Banna. It was called at the outset “the society of Islamic civilization (*Jāmi<sup>ʿ</sup>at al-Hadārat-al-Islāmiyah*). It received financial assistance from the head-quarter of *al-*

*Ikhwān* which was located in Ismailia<sup>13</sup> before it was shifted to Cario.

By shifting to the capital, *daʿwah* movement entered into a new phase which strengthened *al-Ikhwān* and expanded its endeavours in organising schools and instruction classes have been multiplied. In the next three years, *al-Ikhwān* concentrated its activities to educate people to live with an Islamic way of life. It also established an unique and incomparable network of mosques and social welfare centres almost throughout Egypt, which served as medium of communicating its vision and mission. During this time, he succeeded in transforming the lives of thousands of Western educated youth into an Islamic way and many of whom later on became his sincere and dedicated disciples and associated themselves with the movement.

Hasan-al-Banna devoted his time making sacrifices and endeavours till he collected successors and soldiers for his *daʿwah*. He successfully captivated the attention and prudence of general opinion in the city. It is also worth-mentioning that his extra ordinary abilities and etiquettes had certainly influenced all sections of the society. This was one of the symbols for his success in the future. As the movement activities remarkably progressed, he began to visit the head quarters everyday in the early morning in order to give some instructions and recommendations to execute daily activities. Then he proceeded to his personal or private activities. Before he returned home as he did in the morning, he used to pass by the central office to supervise whether the instructions given by him had been met to or not. After taking rest for a while in his house, he again returned to the office in the late evening to meet the visitors, guests and members as well as to impart lessons and deliver speeches.<sup>14</sup>

In the summer season, especially during the vacation,

he utilised his time in travelling to the villages of North and South to continue his mission and vision of *da'wah*. He strengthened the expansion of his circle of *da'wah* in these villages until the message has been disseminated in 50 villages.

Since the activities had tremendously been expanded, Hasan-al-Banna decided to add some more departments in the organisation, so that the activities might be looked after in a systematic and efficient professional manner. To expand the activities further, the "*risālat of murshid-al-ʿām*" was published for propagation in February, 1931 which delineated the structure of the organisation. The journal also explained the fundamental principles and organisational matters of *al-Ikhwān*, especially the views of Hasan-al-Banna on political and religious issues and on religious leaders of other Islamic organisations established as contemporaneous to it. Then, after two years the weekly magazine, *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimun* had been published in May, 1933 corresponding to 28th safar 1352 *hijra* and Syed Muhibuddin-al-Khatib a man of extraordinary intelligence and expertise was appointed as an editor of it.<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, *al-Ikhwān* had already convened its two successive conferences in the year 1933. Both the conferences were specially convened in conjunction with the activities of *al-Ikhwān* and it passed resolutions to demand king Fuad to remove the control of the government which was put on its activities.

The summer of the year 1933 witnessed an excursion of Supreme Guide towards outside Cairo. This visit was restricted only to its fourteen branches which were able to organise all activities by themselves, so that they could become a regular office as well as a systematic one, similar to the system adopted by head-quarters, which has completed its organisational structure before this journey. In

the year 1934 many regional conferences were held which confirmed the systems and approved the policy of increase of members and helpers.<sup>17</sup> After holding all these regional conferences, the third general conference was held in March, 1935. In this conference the main objective was to explore the ways and means of thinking scientific measures to reach out and attain the goals. It also discussed and evaluated the realisation of its targets, among them the formation or "*jawālah*" (Volunteers group) which was the nucleus as well as primary step towards the idea of forming battalions.<sup>18</sup>

The episodes and events in the year 1936 helped them to generate the activities of *al-Ikhwān*. It was the treaty of 1936 which was exposed by *al-Ikhwān*. It transmitted and provided new plans to resolve external problems which was directed towards the internal reform. Therefore, it called for many appeals demanding the reconstruction of Islamic systems of life and the relationship between the people and particularly the Arabs. On the other hand, the events in Palestine in the same year was also responsible for the dissemination of *da'wah* of *al-Ikhwān* outside Egypt, where the members of *al-Ikhwān* went out under the banner of "Call to help Palestine". It called the people to accept its ideology and archetype, objective and methodology in many Arab countries and introduced the movement particularly in Palestine, Syria and Lebanon.<sup>20</sup>

In the same year *al-Ikhwān* organized its fourth conference in connection with the coronation of king Faruq as a successor to his late father king Fuad.<sup>21</sup> Mustafa al-Nahas Pasha, the then Prime-Minister of Egypt once praised Mustafa Kamal of Turkey and declared his satisfactions for his steps without realizing his nationalistic and secularistic attitude and Westernization of his country. Hasan-al-Banna, the Supreme Guide of *al-Ikhwān* sent a letter to Mustafa Nahas Pasha disapproving and condemning his policy of

supporting the abolition of Islamic caliphate in 1924. He demanded him to give response and eliminate his erroneous concept.

Despite the *da'wah* of *al-Ikhwān* continued in training the *ummah* and purifying their souls, this did not bring about any change in the attitude of the Government.

## CHAPTER 5

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### Al-Ikhwān Al-Muslimūn and Egyptian Politics

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In order to commemorate the memory of the tenth year of its establishment, *al-Ikhwān* organized its fifth conference in February, 1939 corresponding to 13th Dil Haj 1357. It, during this conference, announced its new strategy by proclaiming the entry into the second stage. It was the formation stage, selection and the preparation for the third stage which was the step for implementation and execution of its strategy. Its entry into the political life was unanimously accepted and approved by the delegates during the conference.<sup>1</sup> This conference prescribed and limited its scope of work for the subsequent period and concentrated towards the following three dimensions:

- (i) That Islam is the Universal and complete system and it is the way of life in all areas;
- (ii) That Islam originated from the two fundamental sources namely the holy Qur'an and the traditions of Prophet Muhammad (P.B.U.H.);
- (iii) That Islam is valid and qualified for the implementation and adoption in all stages.<sup>2</sup>

This conference passed six resolutions at its concluding session. The most important among them was a decision to immediately start the Office of General Guidance.

Limited specific objectives of *al-Ikhwān* were soon to be achieved while constant emphasis has been frequently made to mould the Egyptian society, socially economically, intellectually and militarily to be useful and courageous in establishing Islamic state, thus implementing the *Shari'ah* of Islam.

It was also obvious, that *al-Ikhwān* would have provided rational and new interpretation to the philosophy of Nationalism which would differ from that of the general understanding of Egyptian Nationalism. *Al-Ikhwān* always desired to link and take care of all the problems of the Muslim World. Besides this, *al-Ikhwān* proposed an unified government for the Muslim world, and for the achievement of these objectives, it used all its potentials and man power and other resources. But history noticed that incommensurable conspiracies of the un-Islamic forces within and from outside of the Muslim world prevented even the realization of the objectives of Ummatic cause.

The question, which would be eligible for reply was that why *al-Ikhwān* selected this time none other than that the ministry of Muhammad Mahmud for proclaiming its steps? On the other hand *al-Ikhwān* became in keeping their possibility of shifting to this stage where the number of branches have been increased, ways and means were widened, and some journals like "*al nādhīr*" and "*al-manār*" became the mouthpiece of *al-Ikhwān*.

## **AL-IKHWĀN DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR:**

The development of *al-Ikhwān* during the second world war can best be studied into the perspectives of the war effects on general political trends in Egypt. The second world war broke-out on 1st September 1939 on account of German

army's invasion on the border of Poland. On third September, Great Britain and France declared war against Germany, since Germany refused to withdraw its forces from the occupied territories of Poland. This was the starting point of the war which spread gradually.

It was natural for the embassy of Britain in Egypt to expect unanimous, unconditional and undivided support of Egyptian people in favour of Britain in the second world war. As Egypt was already economically and politically exploited, it did not express its policy about the war. It was not even its concern for the same to do so because there were other internal factors which pressed it to be an observer and neutral in the second World war.

As far as the Palace was concerned, the general feeling shown by it was against British interest in the war. But it materially supported to increase the strength of Egyptian military. This attempt by the palace was the principal reason which forced the ministry of Mohammad Mahmoud to resign and ultimately Ali Mahir formed a new cabinet with the support of Britain.<sup>3</sup>

In accordance with a demand of British embassy of Egypt, the cabinet of Ali Mahir prepared to proclaim martial order in the country. This emergency ordinance was issued and Ali Mahir was nominated as military Commander. The newspapers, journals and magazines were controlled, in addition to press censorship. The parliament, which on summer vacation, was called to authorise and endorse this ordinance.<sup>4</sup> The government of *hizb-al-ahrar-al-dusturriyyin* accepted the declaration of Martial Law Order. As for *Wafd* party, despite opposition raised by its official organ against Martial Law Order, it surrendered to this order so as to avoid its collision and conflict with Britain. The Parties *Hizb-al-Watan* and *Al-Sa'adiyyun* had also cleared up their position in favour of the Government

by joining the ministry. Generally, it was felt that Egypt was involved in the war without making a formal declaration. The support increased to the above mentioned opinion because of the call, besides the good performance of Germany in the first years of the war.

The general opinion of *al-Ikhwān* was presented towards the direction where they saw the necessity of commitment to the treaty of 1936, despite there was an injustice in it. The assistance of Egypt to Britain, although not declared, was not welcomed by the Muslim *ummah*. At the same time the Government was urged to concentrate on internal reforms rather than wasting its resources by supporting and indirectly taking part in the war.

During the cabinet of ʿAli Māhir and the cabinet of Hasan-Sabri which succeeded the previous in July, 1940, and in the beginning of the ministry of Husain Sirri which was formed after the demise of Hasan-al-Sabri in November, 1940, *al-Ikhwān* further advanced and strengthened its organizational structure, increased its branches, expanded its reconnoiterer wing and formed supreme council for them, which was pioneered by Hasan-al-Banna and *Al-Sagh* Mahmoud Labib was appointed General Inspector for the wing of *al-jawālāh*<sup>8</sup> (reconnoiterer wing). During the rule of Hasan Sirri, Hasan-al-Banna was transferred to Qina in upper Egypt, besides Sudan on May 20th 1941. That was in accordance with the instruction of Britain to the Prime-Minister, that Hasan-al-Banna and his movement were alleged to be working for the advantage of Italy.<sup>9</sup> Haykal<sup>10</sup> commented that his transfer order was issued to another school, but one of the members of parliament of the party *al-dustūriyyīn* interfered and used his influence to withdraw the order and demanded his return to Cairo. This message reached the office of Hasan Sirri Pasha who finally agreed on his return. Haykal further commented that Hasan Sirri Pasha knew the influence, strength and multifold activities

of Hasan-al-Banna, and was scared of consequences of his transfer. It had been generally construed that he was influenced by the development of *al-Ikhwān*.

This was the time when the Egyptian government started taking negative steps against *al-Ikhwān* under the pressure of British embassy once again. Consequently their weekly magazines "*al-ta'awun*", "*al-shu'aw*" and a monthly magazine *al-manār* were confiscated. The Government prohibited it to publish its journals, sealed its offices, restricted its meetings, besides the detention of Hasan-al-Banna and Ahmad-al-Shukri. Then after sometimes these two were released. This sort of antagonistic attitude of the Government had resulted in favour of *al-Ikhwān*, and as a consequence it acquired more sympathisers, helpers and members.<sup>11</sup>

After the incident of 4th February 1942, the cabinet of *Wafd* party under the Chairmanship of Mustafa Nahas was formed and this new government essentially favoured dissolution of the parliament and called for fresh elections.<sup>12</sup> Meanwhile, the sixth conference of *al-Ikhwān* was held in the year 1941, which unanimously passed a resolution and examined the possibilities of the members taking part in the general election. Hasan-al-Banna disclosed his desire to nominate himself for the constituency of Ismailia as a candidate of *al-Ikhwān*. Immediately after his decision to contest, he submitted his nomination papers and started canvassing for election. The Prime-Minister called on him and demanded him to withdraw from the contest. Hasan-al-Banna positively responded following his consultation with the members of *al-Ikhwān* and agreed on the request of Nahas Pasha for withdrawal. There was a secret pact between them which paved the way to hold many meetings, publish pamphlets and advance towards fresh activities, besides the receipt of the promise from the Government to take measures to prohibit debauchery, licentiousness and selling of alcoholic and intoxicated drinks. Hasan-al-Banna

withdrew from the contest which helped to achieve some of his objectives which included the prohibition of the above activities. The Government fulfilled majority of his demands during this time.<sup>13</sup> The personality of Hasan-al-Banna, therefore, became clear as a man who would sacrifice his political gain for collective renaissance and for the implementation of general reforms.<sup>14</sup> The gain of *al-Ikhwān* did not stand during the period of *wafd* Government.

When the *Wafd* Party returned into power, it tightened the circle of *al-Ikhwān* on the inspiration of British embassy and again began to suppress *al-Ikhwān* and started sealing some of its branches. Hasan-al-Banna gave warning to its followers and explained the difficulties and challenges which they had to face in the future either in prisons or through exile. In October 1941 *wafd* Government was forced to tender its resignation.

The new ministry was formed by the Party *al-saʿdiyyūn* under the chairmanship of Dr. Ahmad Mahir. This new ministry arranged for fresh elections and *al-Ikhwān* prepared to embark on the elections. Subsequently it forwarded an application to contest from Ismailia constituency. Meanwhile the British embassy sent a letter to Ahmad Mahir, the president of the cabinet to prohibit Hasan-al-Banna from this contest. When this news reached Hasan-al-Banna, he only laughed at. The next day, Ahmad Mahir fixed an appointment to meet Hasan-al-Banna and demanded him to withdraw from the contest as happened before. He tried to convince him in various ways, but all attempts met failure. This refusal to comply with the request of the Government by Hasan-al-Banna became the major reason to make vehement attacks over *al-Ikhwān* and subvert its activities. However, *al-Ikhwān* could not win in the election because the general opinion of Egyptian people had been poisoned by some of the new personalities who contested, against *al-Ikhwān*. There was a systematic character assassi-

nation campaign against the candidates of *al-Ikhwān*. The situation turned into the favour of other nationalists and secularists. The members of *al-Ikhwān* were defeated in many constituencies.<sup>15</sup> The results of the election were not as the basis for the opposition of *al-Ikhwān* against Ahmad Mahir's declaration of war on Germany, but it was the continuation of their stand since beginning of the war, which was agreed by majority of national forces from *al-wafd* party for which Ahmad Mahir had to donate his life at the hand of an youth who belong to *al-hizb-al-waṭan*.<sup>16</sup>

Despite Ahmad Mahir was assassinated by an youth belonging to *al-hizb-al-waṭani*, the accusation was levelled against *al-Ikhwān* and as a result Hasan-al-Banna, Ahmad-al-Shukri, Abdul Hakeem Abidin and others were re-arrested. Then they were released after the court had come to know about the real assassin. In spite of the visit of Hasan-al-Banna to the office of Ahmad Mahir in order to clear their doubts about *al-Ikhwān* which they had, and to explain the message of *al-Ikhwān*, allegation was made against it. Al-Naqrashi did not respond to their demand for allowing them to work freely and independently, and put severe restriction on them. It was also declared that the Government of *wafd* was less obstinate with *al-Ikhwān*.

## **AL-IKHWĀN AFTER SECOND WORLD WAR:**

After the end of the second World War, *al-Ikhwān* assembled and collected its members once again in a general manner on 8th December, 1945 and started functioning based on their normal fundamental concept without any alteration which was adopted during the fifth conference in 1939, with an introduction of some amendments which had accepted some compromise due to new developments in the country. This new system was operationalized through the policy of

distribution and decentralisation of powers between Murshid, Office of the Guidance and Founding Committee.

Thus, the new department for social service and charity was established and was registered in the ministry of social affairs so that it would receive some allocation of financial assistance from the Government which would be a security for the confirmation of its activities.<sup>17</sup> Similarly, it was also contemplated to expand the activities of *al-Ikhwān*. It also considered and reviewed their fear, apprehension, vicissitudes, ups and downs of the politics.

On the other hand, efforts and endeavours of *al-Ikhwān* since the proclamation of peace and tranquility as a basic aim had continued. While the Government of Naqrashi Pasha was in power, *al-Ikhwān* concentrated its efforts in awakening the common masses in the villages and towns through speeches, writings, letters, sending messages and holding conferences with the sole objective of obtaining independence for the country.<sup>18</sup>

During this period, the public meetings and rallies of *al-Ikhwān* have gained the momentum before the beginning of the academic year in the Universities, which enabled them to play a prominent role in the Nationalistic movement and to prepare them for the leadership of the future. Opinion was divided between the students of Fu'ad University (Cairo University later on) particularly among the supporters of *wafd* and the students of communist groups besides the supporters of *al-Ikhwān* with the students of *al-hizb-al-watani* and *misr-al-fatah* and small parties along with others,<sup>19</sup> around some strategical points regarding this treatment with Government.

Egyptian Government presented a memorandum to the external affairs Ministry of Britain seeking to prepare for negotiation between them and to reconsider the treaty of

1936. The British response to this demand was, however, neglected and it expressed that the treaty of 1936 was peaceful and useful to the people of Egypt.<sup>20</sup> The students became intolerable to hear this insignificant response and concentrated to arrange public demonstrations to express their sentiments and dissatisfactions. The students assembled together and organised a great rally on 9th and 10th February 1946 and proceeded to Abidin Palace where the king was aristocratically put up. During their arrival near Abbas Bridge, they found the traffic opened but when they approached, the way was blocked. The police personnels fired at the students without any prior information or notification besides making lathi charge. Great number of students were injured and this episode was historically called as "*Abbas Bridge Episode*" in the Egyptian history. Immediately afterwards, the Government of Al-Naqrashi tendered its resignation on 15th February 1946 and the ministry of Ismail Sidqi was formed.<sup>21</sup>

*Wafd* party arranged to organise its line soon after the formation of ministry by Sidiqi who expanded his efforts to students with industrial workers and established a committee namely "National Committee of students and workers". The communists anteceded the *wafd* in forming a committee of labourers namely "Labourer committee to liberate the Nation" with a view to supervise strikes of textile industry of Cairo. The National Committee of students and workers appealed for general strike on February 21st 1946 which concentrated to demand the expulsion of the British army from *Wādi-al-Nile* and this day was called the "day of expulsion and the Unity of *Wādi-al-Nile*". The Wafdists and Communists felt that *al-Ikhuān* was not cooperating in the strike under its leadership, therefore it was accused unjustly for denying to coordinate with them on the day of strike. A small delegation constituting few members visited Hasan-al-Banna and appealed for his cooperation on this issue. In response to their request, he said that *al-Ikhuān* would not

participate in the strike. Deliberately, this refusal of Banna was fabricated by the enemies and thus interpreted that *al-Ikhwān* was the broker of the Government of Sidqi. When the actual day of strike came, they noticed the prominent role of *al-Ikhwān* very vividly from Cairo to Alexandria, in all regions. A spokesman of *al-Ikhwān* expressed, the enemies did not find any room to hurl their allegations except to say that Hasan-al-Banna transgressed the covenant with Sidqi and participated in the strikes under the pressure of his enthusiastic and ardent followers.<sup>23</sup> *Al-Ikhwān* thought that its participation in the strikes would eliminate the misunderstanding of the enemies with them. Then Hasan-al-Banna appealed to form an united committee to organise another strike throughout the country on 4th March having the name "*Yawm-al-Hidād-al-Waṭanī*". *Wafd* did not respond to this call, rather had equipped itself to attack *al-Ikhwān*. But *al-Ikhwān* did not care for *wafd* and continued its preparations and arrangements for the national campaign in which minority parties anxiously participated. Hasan-al-Banna established a committee namely "Higher Executive Committee". The day of strike passed peacefully without any violence with the renewal, what has happened in Alexandria<sup>24</sup> in which they aroused the emotions of the people to agitate against British survival in Egypt.

*Al-Ikhwān* enjoyed some benefits and advantages from the Government of Sidqi, the most important among them was the license to bring about the daily journal in May 1946, and some other privileges as well as concessions in purchasing printing materials and papers at an official price. *Al-Ikhwān* was also accorded some facilities to conduct "*jawalah*" and freedom in holding para-military campaigns and was also granted a piece of land for construction in the essential places and countryside. As the Government appointed Mohamad Hasan-al-Ushmawi, a minister of education who was reputed for his religious faith and adher-

ence, extended his assistance to *al-Ikhwān*. Likewise, *al-Ikhwān* enjoyed some privileges indirectly from the Ministry of education and Social Welfare.<sup>25</sup>

When Sidqi declared his determination to initiate negotiation with Britain, *al-Ikhwān* felicitated his attempt. It demanded him to concentrate in introducing and incorporating in the negotiation, two main components namely the independence for the country at any cost and the abolition of 1936 treaty. *Al-Ikhwān* was convinced on its target mainly on this point during the negotiation. Also, it requested not to prolong the negotiation so much so that the available opportunity of raising the issue in the international security council would be hampered. It also requested Sidqi to convey Britain that we need either independence fully or it should prepare for struggle and face consequences. *Al-Ikhwān* knew the implications of its suggestion and demand as earlier and prepared to encounter all challenges.<sup>26</sup>

*Al-Ikhwān* also appealed through publications and articles addressed to King Faruk and other political parties to initiate efforts and to revive the working programme for the immediate future. *Al-Ikhwān* gladly participated with other political parties and organised rallies to remind Sidqi for his assumption and commitment. It published innumerable articles in the journals attacking the styles and the process of negotiation and accused Britain for its violation,<sup>27</sup> as it attacked all other statements contained the publicity of the so called British-Egypt friendship.

Many seminars were organised to study and analyse the position of each and every stage of conversation and resulted this matter which made the atmosphere dense with vapours due to suffocated negotiation.<sup>28</sup>

*Al-Ikhwān* was not at all contented with this negotiation. Hasan-al-Banna issued a statement mentioning the

disadvantages of continuing the negotiation and urged the necessity of preparing for an alternate solution, because the rights were snatched and seized forcefully and were not given back. This statement was issued to mobilize and conscript the public opinion and political organisations against the Government.<sup>29</sup> This stand was, on the other hand, a sponsorship of *al-Ikhwān*. Respondingly, the Government did not hesitate to attack *al-Ikhwān* and made an extensive arrest, as it compressed its meetings and also annoyed over the people who were praying even in the mosques.<sup>30</sup> This aggressive, antagonistic and negative attitude of the Government continued, resulting in revenge against *al-Ikhwān*, and thus put restrictions on its "*jawālah*" wing which was permitted and endorsed by them earlier. Hasan-al-Banna replied to this ferocious action of the Government and warned it.

*Wafd* did not change its attitude with regard to *al-Ikhwān*, rather protracted its criticism alleging and passing slanderous statements in many ways. Hasan-al-Banna interestingly observed these allegations and discussed them in their meetings and replied to these allegations in order to clear their suspicions and ambiguities. Meanwhile a few meetings in a Camera was held between Ahmad-al-Sukri (First Deputy) and Fuad Sirajuddin of *wafd*. These meetings could not infer anything about the relations. When Sidqi went to London to carryout negotiation, far from the atmosphere of Cairo, *al-Ikhwān* condemned this attitude of Government and negotiation style.<sup>31</sup> Hasan-al-Banna called on King Faruq and Sidqi to appeal to the *ummah* towards performing *jihad* against the British forces and withdrawing economic, cultural and social relations with Britain. It also declared that Sidqi was not a representative of the overall view of Egyptian *ummah*, if he kept this style of negotiation on without respecting the public opinion. The day previous to the departure of Sidqi from London, *al-Ikhwān* appealed to all sections of the society to hold rallies in every nook

and corner of the country to express their dissatisfaction and disapproval to the outcome of the negotiation.<sup>32</sup> When Sidqi returned after having signed on the treaty in which there was an article which gave provision for the continuance of previous treaty, he faced severe opposition and criticism. The very first opposition he faced was from the seven official members of *wafd* party.<sup>33</sup>

Hardly a month after the arrival of Sidqi, the academic year started in the Universities. Egypt witnessed great public rallies and demonstrations in all parts of the country which called for incineration of Trade Centres and English books as a sign of protest.<sup>34</sup> Consequently, the Government closed down the Universities for an indefinite period and banned the journals and news papers. The Government made an extensive arrest which included the wafdists, communists, and *al-Ikhwān* besides it detained Ahmad-al-Sukri who was one of the leaders of *al-Ikhwān* during the period when Hasan-al-Banna was in Hijaz to perform *Hajj*. In spite of the state of emergency, process of bringing out strikes continued. Sidqi was helpless and found no other alternative except to tender his resignation, and subsequently, he resigned practically on the 8th of December, 1946.<sup>35</sup>

The policy of *al-Ikhwān* was the same and there was no change in its objectives as far the negotiations were concerned at the commencing period of new coalition ministry formed by Al-Naqrashi on 9th of December 1946, which was shared by both *al-Saʿdiyyun* and *al-Dusturiyyūn*. On the announcement of the new cabinet, Hasan-al-Banna published an article and appealed to the new Government to explore new avenues to respect the sentiments and desire of *ummah*, and to put an end to the negotiation once for all and open the ways for *jihād*.<sup>36</sup> The journals of *al-Ikhwān* published many articles which attacked the new cabinet, political parties and other organisations and described that they were interested only in power and not inclined

towards peaceful settlement to the problems. Hasan-al-Banna explained that the actual problem was the problem of *ummah* at present, and not the negotiation or to hold the treaty or to form ministry or to conduct election. The real problem was the problem relating to *ummah*, that was the establishment of new constitution based on Qur'an and the implementation of Islamic Shari'ah.<sup>37</sup> He said further that the *ummah* aspired except to see the Qur'an as the only source of constitution of Egypt as well as outside, especially the Muslim World.<sup>38</sup>

The position was vowed with the beginning of war between Government and *al-Ikhwān*.<sup>39</sup> *Al-Ikhwān* felt that it was proceeding towards new profession. When al-Naqrashi delivered a speech in the parliament explaining in it the national demand that did not find any fruit. *Al-Ikhwān* attacked the statement, because it did not treat the disease and quench the thirst of the people. An appeal was made to the Government to abrogate the treaty of 1936 and to present this problem in the international Security Council. Incase if this way failed, then nothing would remain except *jihād*.<sup>41</sup>

The cabinet, under the presidentship of Al-Naqrashi denied on 25th January 1947 to present the problem in the International Security Council which *al-Ikhwān* had already called for. Hasan-al-Banna sent a cable congratulating and supporting Al-Naqrashi for this decision as he criticised severely the position of the leader of *wafd* who sent a cable to Security Council explaining that Al-Naqrashi was not the legitimate voice to speak on behalf of Egypt. *Al-Ikhwān* replied to *wafd* accusing its leaders for creating a gap among the *ummah* by extending its cooperation to Britain. On the other hand, *al-Ikhwān* sent its representative, Mustafa Mu'min on 26th July with Al-Naqrashi to United Nations and when he presented the proposal to the Security Council, he criticised him. The representative of *al-Ikhwān* delivered

a strong and commendable speech disapproving that, forwarded a documentary evidence with the tears of students and appealed the removal of Britain from the soil of Egypt. Mustafa Mumin further headed a rally in front of the building of United Nations and asked to throw Britain from the building of United Nations and secretly returned before the end of last session of Security Council to Egypt.<sup>42</sup>

## CHAPTER 6

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### Internal Differences

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**T**he *Jamā'at-al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* unfortunately witnessed a bitter and serious crisis in the year of 1947, which resulted in the internal split. This split had reached momentum when the members of Supreme Council found a minute difference with the Secretary General of *al-Ikhwān*. Also the political difference between Hasan-al-Banna and his assistant which already existed further added fuel in the process of split. As a result of it, many resignations were tendered and many were removed from the office. There were some difficulties in the administrative order of *al-Ikhwān* in general which was solved later on through many endeavours, particularly through compromise and upholding the spirit of trust and tolerance by eliminating unnecessary ambiguities.

Hasan-al-Banna was convinced at the end of year 1945, that there was exploitation and misuse of official power, and personal advantage by the Secretary General Abdul Hakeem Abidin. This complaint was received by Hasan-al-Banna secretly and nobody knew except him and the complainant, besides few other senior leaders of *al-Ikhwān*. Ibrahim-al-Hasan, one of the assistants of Hasan-al-Banna proposed to issue suspension order for Abdul Hakeem Abidin and other four persons from the Office of the Guidance who were accused. But this proposal was rejected. On the request, Hasan-al-Banna appointed a fact-finding committee constituting the prominent members. It

began to investigate the matters and in process it observed some more new complaints during this period. The fact-finding committee recommended the unavoidability of suspending Abdul Hakeem Abidin from *al-Ikhwān*.<sup>1</sup>

The Office of the Guidance issued its order to suspend Abdul Hakeem Abidin from *al-Ikhwān* with the absolute majority of eight votes.<sup>2</sup> After this emergency decision, the subject was presented before the Founding Committee, which in turn decided to form a new sub-committee to be entrusted with the responsibility to further investigate the allegations contained in the previous report. The report of this new sub-committee appointed by Founding Committee spent hours in confronting of the facts and eventually suggested to free him. Says Mitchel, that Hasan-al-Banna had succeeded in satisfying the majority of the committee that the interest of *al-Ikhwān* judged to be the decision advantageous to the accused.<sup>3</sup>

In fact Hasan-al-Banna endeavoured to confirm the allegations charged against Abdul Hakeem Abidin through fair investigation but Mitchel says that he by using his power influenced the committee. It was not true. One should not indulge in speculation without having any ground for his postulate. There is no evidence as to the allegation that Hasan-al-Banna had an influence and control over the fact-finding committee. It was not befitting for a high rank leader committed to a mission and vision to attempt day and night to achieve his goal to be implemented, to misbehave and manipulate in this manner which would degrade him as well as affect the whole organisation. However, this allegation against Hasan-al-Banna is viewed as a deliberate invention or conjecture. Speculation and conjecture are the two institutions approved in the Western culture, which are, of course, immoral values according to the Qur'an.

This tragic episode ended with resignation of Abdul

Hakeem, while Hasan-al-Banna interfered and requested the Office of the Guidance to refuse his resignation. His attempt of persuasion met failure. Meanwhile Dr. Ibrahim Hasan, one of the oldest members of *al-Ikhwān* tendered his resignation in April 1947.<sup>5</sup>

When four ministers of *wafd* Government declared their intention of adherence with *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* as well as their oath of allegiance to Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna, the Supreme Guide, *wafd* party assumed that *al-Ikhwān* was making preparations to overthrow the Government. Its further presumption and prediction were that *al-Ikhwān* would achieve massive victory in the forthcoming elections. Hence, Nahas Pasha proclaimed his order to wage an encounter against *al-Ikhwān* and the journals of *wafd* party attacked them ferociously. Then, the *wafd* party also instructed the members and incited the people to demand the resignation of professional committees of *al-Ikhwān*. The journal of *Wafd* party published false reports including the resignation of many committees which was untrue. Such a systematic false propaganda was carried out against *al-Ikhwān* by Wafdists. But, it eventually failed almost in all attempts.

Finally, *wafd* party masterminded a comprehensive plan to demolish and annihilate completely the image of *al-Ikhwān* among Egyptians and to create an internal split. Fuad Sirajuddin took up this important task and partly triumphed in his attempt. He was successful in contacting Ahmad-al-Sukri, the Secretary General of *al-Ikhwān*. and utilized him to extract some top secrets of *al-Ikhwān*. However, Fuad received secret documents of *al-Ikhwān* and published it in the journal of *wafd*. Hasan-al-Banna after coming to know such secrets became unhappy and accused some members for its publication. The Founding Committee was summoned by Hasan-al-Banna to discuss this crucial issue. The committee expressed its opinion to

dismiss Ahmad-al-Sukri, but as a first step he was contacted and demanded to make an apology. This news and spark of split reached Alexandria and the president of a branch tendered his resignation, possibly favouring Ahmad al-Sukri.

Hasan-al-Banna demanded from Ahmad al-Shukri to write an article in the journal denying this allegation. Ahmad-al-Sukri returned to Wafdists who consequently advised him not to write an article on this matter. They also requested him to carry out regular day to day affairs normally and not to resign, for he was also a well known and influential figure yet inside the movement. He was suggested by *wafd* to continue his work as a Secretary until some members conspire against Hasan-al-Banna to topple him from the presidentship of *al-Ikhwān*. In that case, *wafd* would extend its promise and whole hearted support to Ahmad-al-Sukri to become the new president of *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*.

*Wafd* party had a great confidence in manipulating the actions successfully, and views of Sukri in an attempt for split. It ordered its journal to devote some pages to publish and serialize the developments regarding the split of *al-Ikhwān* and to enlighten and favour the views of Ahmad al-Sukri in order to gain support and sympathy of common Muslims for him.

Meanwhile, the details of the alliance of Ahmad-al-Sukri and *wafd* reached the ears of the members, and Hasan-al-Banna openly asked Sukri about this allegation and his secret connection with Fuad. Ahmad-al-Sukri outrightly dismissed this allegation, citing the council of *al-Ikhwān* which decided already not to have any sort of contact with the members of *wafd*. He expressed that it was felt nonsensical that the Secretary to violate the decision taken by the council. This diplomatic statement issued by him did not attract the attention of the members and they

requested to suspend the Secretary because of his inappropriate attitude and betrayal. Some accused that he conspired against the movement and the Supreme Guide by joining hands with *wafd* party as well as releasing the secrets of *al-Ikhwān*

But Hasan-al-Banna could not digest and believe it and was always speaking about his profound friendship with Ahmad-al-Sukri and time and again explained how it continued for seventeen years. He was not able to survive by his separation, the old loyal friend of the Past. Dismissing him from *al-Ikhwān* was interpreted as an official declaration of war between *al-Ikhwān* and *wafd* by many of the observers.

Some youth, at last, went to Hasan-al-Banna and informed him about their decision to destroy the journal of *wafd* and its offices for which a day had been fixed. Hasan-al-Banna advised them not to involve in sabotage saying that *al-Ikhwān* believed in democracy and it would not be proper to act violently and eventually appealed them to tolerate all sorts of vehemence hurled on this movement.

Shortly after such incident, Ahmad-al-Sukri announced his decision of quitting *al-Ikhwān* and issued a press statement regarding his stand and in no time Hasan-al-Banna permitted to publish the next day in the daily newspaper of *al-Ikhwān* his reply very mildly.

## CHAPTER 7

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### Jihād of Al-Ikhwān and its Ban

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**T**he Palestine problem became acute and very critical which needed earnest attention after the decision taken by United Nations Organisation about the partition in November, 1947. The first attempt of *al-Ikhwān* started regarding Palestinian problems, when Abdul Rahman-al-Banna, the full brother of Hasan-al-Banna went to Palestine in 1935 and paid a visit to Al-Haji Amin al-Hussaini,<sup>1</sup> the *mufti* of Qudus as well as the President of Supreme Council of that time. This visit was initiated and coordinated by the anxiety of *al-Ikhwān*. Abdul Rahman-al-Banna was considered to be the chief Spokesman in Cairo, since the inception of the movement.<sup>2</sup> *Al-Ikhwān* forwarded its first cooperation during general strikes which occurred in 1936-1937, and Hasan-al-Banna made many appeals during the third annual conference held in 1935 to raise and collect fund in order to assist Arabs to solve their problems. A special committee was formed which appealed the people to send telegrammes and letters to the Rulers expressing their concern and sentiments as well as through journals, publications and public speeches. He further strengthened this stand by organizing many rallies, and supporting general strikes in Palestine by sending war appliances, equipments and other provisions.<sup>3</sup>

The fragrance of the Second World War was yet to be over, meanwhile many delegations went to Palestine to found and establish training unit of "*jawālat*" of Palestine. Mohamad Labib was prominent leader who dedicated his

services for *al-Ikhwān*. He, later on became a deputy for war affairs. He was sent to Palestine to assist *al-Ikhwān* training "*jawālat*" which provided para-military training for its members in order to take part in *jihād*, if necessary. In the year 1947, British forces demanded him to leave Palestine along with others belonging to *al-Ikhwān* by force.<sup>4</sup> British forces stationed in Palestine could not hear the para-military training of *al-Ikhwān* which strengthened the people and weakened the colonial interest.

The paramount activity became disturbed until the call was made to them to assemble in Egypt. The Palestinian problem was a major burning issue which fascinated the attention of the journals, publications, general meetings, local branch meetings and rallies. When the *mufti* Haj-al-Amin arrived Cairo in 1946, the journal of *al-Ikhwān* called on the Government of Egypt to grant him political asylum.<sup>5</sup>

Since the end of the Second World War, Hasan-al-Banna regularly maintained close contact with Arab League, especially with the Secretary General Azzam Pasha, an old friend of him. He used to discuss the Palestinian problem with him. After the proclamation of partition order in November, 1947, Hasan-al-Banna insisted some Islamic personalities like Salih Harab Pasha who was a president of *Jamā'at-al-Shubbanul Muslimūn* and Mohamad Ulubat's Pasha in formulating a committee of *Wadi-al-Nile* to start accumulating wealth, collecting money and gathering arms for volunteers who were fighting to save Palestine from deliberate conspiracy. Mustafa Mumin represented *al-Ikhwān* in this committee of *Wadi-al-Nile*.<sup>6</sup>

In October 1947, Hasan-al-Banna fervently issued his orders to all its branches throughout the country to prepare themselves for *jihād*. On 20th October, first army detachment of *al-Ikhwān* moved to the ground. The members of this first army detachment and others who were sent by *al-*

*Ikhwān* were trained fully for this purpose in *jawālat* of *al-jihāz-al-sirri*.<sup>7</sup>

On 25th April 1948, before the official explosion of war in Palestine, the above mentioned first army detachment reached al-Arish, a town in North Eastern Egyptian town on the Mediterranean with Ahmad Abdul Aziz as its leader who was an Inspector in the army. After this another officer namely Kamal-al-Din Hussain and Salim joined them, both of whom became members in the Council of revolutionary leadership after that.

As far as the number of *al-Ikhwān* who participated, Richard Mitchel observed in his book "*al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*", in Palestine, war was not known exactly, as their abilities were also unknown. Yet, it is possible to mention some of the general points. *Al-Ikhwān* clashed with Zionists openly and face to face before the arrival of the army detachment of Arab League officially. They received earlier a lesson around the art of killing during their attempt of snatching some by force.<sup>8</sup> In the mean time, the arrival of Abdul Aziz assisted them to proceed in the forefront of Zionists. Then after few months, Abdul Aziz was killed with the point of bullet of the Egyptian Watchman.<sup>10</sup>

Many things were perceived and realized around the end of November. At the end of this month, *al-Ikhwān* was rooted out constitutionally. On 8th December, the detachment and its members were put behind the bars. They could not do anything except to fear for the dissolution of *al-Ikhwān of al-Muslimūn*.

## **PROPOSAL TO BAN AL-IKHWĀN-AL-MUSLIMŪN:**

During the struggling period of its existence, *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*, faced with a number of challenges and other cru-

cial happenings in various areas. It had to pass through a period of crisis which could not be forgotten by history. Although, it endeavoured to emancipate mankind from eternal slavery and oppression from the colonial rule, it was hurled out and removed from the political scenario without realizing and recognizing its remarkable and praiseworthy contribution.

This dynamic Islamic Movement which played an important role in the modern history of Egypt was subjected to all kinds of ill-treatments and innumerable hardships. Never in history, movements of such nature had undergone such countless travails as experienced by it. It can be honestly and objectively said that even Hitler, the authorisation traitor, who exterminated the Jews for genuine reasons was accepted by the people liberally but could not tolerate the rulers of Egypt who committed their life to devastate the attempts of *al-Ikhwān* as well as the entire generation of Egypt. The apologetic behaviour of Egyptian rulers to the satisfaction of Britishers had not only disliked *al-Ikhwān* but their efforts were centralised and consolidated to eradicate the spirit of Islam among the common masses of Egypt.

As it is observed, Egyptian rulers constantly made few attempts in the forties to dissolve *al-Ikhwān* many times under the pressure of British embassy in Egypt. The rulers functioned as subordinates. They acted on the advice of British colonialists and imperialists. They were identified as the agents who devoted to serve the cause of colonial interest.

*Rawz-al-Yousuf*, the monthly magazine published an article on the topic "*muḥawalat-li-hal-al-ikhwān-al-muslimūn*" authored by Abdul Qudus, the chief editor of the magazine. He mentioned that during the meeting of the political committee of Arab League, Syed Ali-al-Muwayyat, a representative of Yemen in Arab League initiated his

objection for the stand and policies of *al-Ikhwān* on the episodes and incidents of Yemen. After observing his objection, one of the representatives proposed to dissolve the organisation of *al-Ikhwān* so that such tragedy could not repeat in various places in Yemen. But the proposal was improbable and inconsiderable. This was not the first time the demand was made to dissolve *al-Ikhwān* but it was proposed and manipulated several times during its surviving period.

The dissolution of *al-Ikhwān* was also demanded while the ministry of Husain Sirri in 1941 was in power. This demand had materialized, when *al-Ikhwān* wished to convene a ceremonial function to inaugurate a new department for them in Cairo in the locality of al-Sayyidah-Zainab. It laid a big pavillion and many followers of *al-Ikhwān* assembled there in order to celebrate this grand and historic function. This matter of holding function was totally disliked by the British embassy in Cairo at a time when Britain was attempting for the incessant defeat of Germany.

British embassy in Egypt hurled an allegation remonstrating the state of affairs of Sirri Pasha for his indifferent attitude in permitting *al-Ikhwān* to organize their activities against British colonial and imperial interest and eventually was threatened. It subsequently put pressure on the Government to dissolve *al-Ikhwān*, but Sirri Pasha apparently refused to comply to their demand. The embassy was afraid of the activities of *al-Ikhwān*.

During the prime Ministership of Mustafa Nahas Pasha, British embassy again demanded from the Government to dissolve *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. It also simultaneously threatened him to do so. Eventually, he ordered to close the departments of *al-Ikhwān*, and as a result 50 units were closed. This was the first step taken against the *Jama'at-al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*.

As soon as the news of action taken by the Government reached the members of *al-Ikhwān*, they did not hesitate to revolt against the order of closure, but they earnestly attempted to recapture their departments and units by force. Nahas Pasha found no other alternative except to permit them to return back the same to *al-Ikhwān* and their offices were re-opened. The activities were revived and carried out in full swing. After this, a treaty was signed with *al-Ikhwān*. Fuad Sirajuddin Pasha and Abdul Hamid Abdul Khaliq associated themselves with *al-Ikhwān* as honourable members.

Another attempt of conspiracy had been sketched out to dissolve *al-Ikhwān* during the ministry of Ahmad Mahir Pasha. This dissolution demand for this time made by Shaik-al-Maraghi (Rah), the then Shaik-al-Azhar who demanded to dissolve all the organisations in Egypt including *al-Ikhwān-Muslimūn*. It was because these organisations had indulged in issuing *fatwa* (legal opinion) among themselves. However Shaik al-Maraghi expired before the implementation and realization of his desire.

The fourth attempt of conspiracy was pre-planned systematically for the dissolution of *al-Ikhwān* on 10th November, 1948. Some of the ambassadors of Western countries, held a secret meeting and passed an unanimous resolution asking the ambassador of British embassy to demand Naqrashi Pasha, the then Prime Minister of Egypt to issue an order of dissolution of *al-Ikhwān*.

On 13th November Al-Magur-J. Ohberton, the political Secretary of general leader of the *Quwwat-al-Barriyat-al-Britaniyat* (Forces of British Navy) in the Middle East sent a letter to *Idarat-al-Mughabirat* (Directorate of Intelligence) in which it was directed to ban *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*.

On the 20th November 1948, the Chief of *Idarat-al-*

*Muhabir* in the British forces in the Middle East Colonel I.M. Muh Darmouth to the information centre, responded by accepting the directives.

In the middle of November, the police officials captured the jeep of *al-Ikhwān* on the complaint that there were some special equipments, arms and secret weapons. After it, they started to search the houses of the members of *al-Ikhwān* in order to hunt for weapons, which turned to be a futile.

When the *Murshid-al-ʿĀam*, Hasan-al-Banna returned to his country after performing hajj, he was also detained and thrown behind the dark prison on 28th November, 1948. Then, he was released after few days. During the rally organized by the students in the University they proclaimed peace in Palestine and on this occasion a police officer met with an accident. The student who threw bomb in the office was not known. In spite of not knowing the student who threw bomb, the Government issued a statement of allegation that *al-Ikhwān* had planned to kill the police commandant.

However, on 20th December, 1948, Egyptian Radio announced the publication of gazette of the military order of dissolution of *al-Ikhwān*. It also announced the confiscation of its properties, wealth, companies, institutions, hospitals, industries and mosques.

Like wise, the Government endeavoured to accumulate and set some false cases in order to take revenge against the movement, which strived for the implementation of Islam which was considered to be perilous and a threat to the interest of British colonialism.

The Government authorities detained all supporters and members of *al-Ikhwān*. The companies and industries of *al-Ikhwān* were seized and kept under the supervision of

Interior ministry for the charity purposes. The responsible source of the Government said that it had completely rooted out its enemies who were inside the state. Hasan-al-Banna referred to the main factor of the decision of dissolution under international pressure which was put on the Government and especially the Great Britain which considered *al-Ikhwān* as strong extreme nationalist force.

After this tragic ban of *al-Ikhwān* the only movement existed to liberate people from eternal slavery, Hasan-al-Banna endeavoured to meet Naqrash Pasha, the then Prime Minister who issued an order of dissolution. He attempted to clear the suspicions and ambiguities of Naqrash Pasha which was implanted by the British forces for their egoistic purposes. When the government took some steps and measures to suppress *al-Ikhwān*, some individuals who had already discontinued their relationship with Banna earlier, also joined hands with government to take revenge against *al-Ikhwān* and Hasan-al-Banna.

On 28th December, Abdul Hameed Abdul Hasan, a student of medical college fired on Naqrash Pasha while he was entering into the ministry of Interior. Naqrash Pasha died in this incident. The disciples and supporters of Naqrash Pasha present at the gate of the ministry shouted slogans "blood for blood" and immediately encouraged assassination attempt of Hasan-al-Banna at that very time.

## REASONS FOR DISSOLUTION OF AL-IKHWĀN

One of the Egyptian journals published four points as principal reasons regarding the dissolution of *al-Ikhwān* which are as follows.

- (i) That Great Britain considered *al-Ikhwān* as radical Nationalistic force and incriminated to them

the obstruction of project of agreement between it and Egypt.

- (ii) The *Sa<sup>ʿ</sup>ad* party wished to acquire or win majority seats in the ensuing election which was supposed to be held in October, 1949. They wanted to destroy the image of *al-Ikhwān* before the election by dissolving it and presenting before the people, they set false impeachments and indictments.
- (iii) The wish of Arab governments was in the direction of Palestinian problems and besides it, they did not like to involve in anything.
- (iv) There was an uninterrupted and constant external pressure by the colonial Masters which the Egyptian government was incompetent to reject except to accommodate and respond to it positively.

It is obvious according to majority that the Egyptian Government was constrained and coerced to dissolve *al-Ikhwān* due to external pressure. The Egyptian rulers of that time should not have considered the threat of Britain as dangerous because Islam is an universal religion, as Allah (s.w.t) says in the Qur'an, "You are the best Ummah raised up among mankind that preach Good and forbid bad".

According to this Quranic verse, Muslims are capable of facing any threat and challenge from any corner, until the day of Resurrection, if they stand and adhere to the doctrines of Islam regardless of time and space. Since the then rulers were ignorant of Islamic teachings, besides their lust for power, they became blind and functioned against their own brothers, shed their own blood, buried hundreds of corpses, ruined and betrayed their own generation, which

paved the way for innumerable problems for Muslim *ummah* not only in that period but even after three decades.

Great Britain not only intimidated the Government to operate against *al-Ikhwān* but divided the strength and the knowledge of Islam into many sections through which the people should assassinate themselves. The soil of Egypt was made the place for the drama which was set up by Britain and it trailed the same on that stage. It had succeeded to some extent in sowing seeds for intellectual dissension during its domination of Egypt. Also, in order to serve and satisfy its interests, it purchased, sometime threatened Puppets, some leaders of other political parties who acted as agents. Such factors were responsible for increasing problems among Muslim *ummah* in the days to come.

## CHAPTER 8

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### Martyrdom of Hasan Al-Banna

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**O**n Saturday evening, 14th *Rabi-<sup>c</sup>al-Akhir* corresponding to 12th February, 1949, Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna went to the central office of *Jam<sup>c</sup>iat-al-Shubbanul Muslimun*, situated at No: 12 Queen Street, Cairo. He was accompanied by Abdul-Karim Mohamed and Mohamed Mansur-al-Mahami, the husband of Hasan-al-Banna's own sister. He spent few hours in discussion as it was usual, particularly in conjunction with current crisis in the country. At 8-25 p.m., he asked from a peon to bring a taxi to return to his house. One of the office boys of *Jam<sup>c</sup>iat*, as soon as he heard, immediately rushed outside and called a taxi which by chance passed by the road.

Meanwhile, Hasan-al-Banna as he felt that it was urgent, came out of the office and stationed by the side of *Jam<sup>c</sup>iat*. When the taxi arrived, al-Mahami opened the door of the taxi from where Hasan-al-Banna got inside and sat nearby him. Prior to the departure of the taxi, suddenly an anonymous person covering his face appeared and spontaneously opened fire and shot him for seven times. Due to this unexpected and powerful firing, wind screen of the taxi was broken and scattered into pieces and spread to a far distance. It was reported that the driver of the taxi switched on the meter of the car to start as soon as Shaik Hasan-al-Banna and al-Mahami got in. Meanwhile, the anonymous person who was awaiting nearby preparing to shoot at him, opened the fire within no seconds. Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna

controlled and tried to defend himself, got down from the car immediately returned to the office of *Jam'iat-al-Shubbanul-Muslimun* without even caring for rapid effusion of blood from his body and proceeded to the room where the telephone was kept and shouted "Relief" "Relief" .....

Hasan-al-Banna lifted the receiver of telephone, and while dialing the number, his strength had gradually declined due to hamorage and he could not dial the rest of the numbers.<sup>1</sup> One of the attendants who was present there, immediately rushed and contacted the authorities of the hospital to bring ambulance and asked for medical aid. There was no proper response from the medical centre nor an ambulance was despatched by the medical aid centre so as to carry the wounded.

Since the condition of al-Mahami compared to Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna was not as dangerous, he helped Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna by carrying him on his arm and both came to the taxi that waited at the door of *Jam'iat* and proceeded to the head-quarter of medical service centre without anticipating the arrival of an ambulance which was demanded for first aid.<sup>2</sup>

The taxi reached the central office of medical aid service in Fuad street which was not far from the office of *Jam'iat-al-Shubbanul-Muslimun*. The distance might not be more than 150 meters.<sup>3</sup>

When the car reached the medical aid centre, two representatives of the hospital carried his body on a stretcher. The driver, whose health also was declined, due to the impact of this incident has fallen on the earth due to unconsciousness.<sup>4</sup>

The first aid men in the hospital arranged for first aid to Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna and his friends. They, then

decided to shift them to the *qasr-al-<sup>c</sup>ayn* hospital to recuperate, where the condition of the health of Shaik Hasan-al-Banna was declared dangerous, and was warded under intensive care.<sup>5</sup>

No sooner Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna reached the hospital, despite his blood was bleeding in abundance, he was put on a stretcher and was carried by them due to his unconsciousness. Immediately after his admission, a bed was specially vacated between the sick and was allotted to him. Then the administration of the hospital arranged for some specialists constituting surgeons after some time in order to diagnose the cause for his faintage and requested them to issue a medical report.<sup>6</sup>

The medical report which was issued stated that Hasan-al-Banna was shot and six bullets had wounded his body which were already removed from different parts of his body after surgery. One of the representatives of Egypt visited the hospital and came to know that he was severely injured and had three dangers to cross, most important among them was the injuries by bullet on his chest.<sup>7</sup>

Gradually, the condition of Shaik Hasan-al-Banna became very critical and declining hour by hour. It compelled the physicians and the experts to inject blood to his body. Hasan-al-Banna began to lose his consciousness and could not talk even after injecting blood till late night. The physicians and surgeons were always present nearby and observed the condition of his health every now and then. But Banna did not speak during the course of treatment except saying "give me water".<sup>8</sup>

Al-Mahami who accompanied Hasan-al-Banna to the hospital said that when Hasan-al-Banna reached the hospital, the specialists took lot of time for examination. Their

behaviour was totally indifferent and were very slow and less attentive, as they were generally doing to other sick persons. The physicians were very heedless to take care of him. It was observed that they were deliberately neglecting this case.<sup>9</sup>

Hasan-al-Banna possessed in his pocket six junaih and 10 qarush, when he found the rosary at the bottom of the taxi, besides this junaih, he pointed out to him to collect this. It implies that Hasan-al-Banna, while he was taken to hospital was out of danger, but the physicians under the instruction of higher authorities did not pay requisite attention to cure his injuries. They announced, just before 2 o'clock after passing half of the night, that Hasan-al-Banna had passed away.<sup>10</sup>

The above information was published by an Egyptian journal on the next day morning of this incident, under the pressure and control of the Government. The journal could not disclose and represent the truth and reality except in general frame. The news media was forced to conceal some facts about his assassination. Nothing other than the above set information was published.<sup>11</sup>

It was revealed after a long time of his death, that Shaik Hasan-al-Banna even knew the car number which was parked nearby his taxi from where the anonymous person covering his face came to fire on him, he wrote and memorised it. He disclosed the car number which almost resembled the car of the army to each and every journalist who visited him to take interview in the hospital. The facts disclosed by him did not come out immediately after his death as it would arouse the emotion of the people and pave ways for antagonism against the Government.<sup>12</sup>

There were many pre-cautionary measures taken under the name of injecting blood and medical care but not with

an aim of saving him but otherwise. There were also rumours around what had happened in addition to use weapons in order to assassinate him in the hospital itself.<sup>13</sup>

The hidden actual news of conspiracy came out during the time of the end of the year, 1949 when some journals published some details and said :- Certainly Hasan-al-Banna was assassinated at 8-20 in the evening on 12th February, 1949 and it was published in the daily newspaper on the following day which carried this dreadful, terrifying and alarming news. It did not reveal the fact that an anonymous person attacked Shaik Hasan-al-Banna in front of the office of *Jam'iat-al-Shubban-al-Muslimun* and opened fire bullets on him and Abdul Karim Mansur who were inside the taxi which was about to start towards going to his house. The Government sponsored censor board did not permit journalists to publish this original news at that time. There was no press freedom.<sup>14</sup>

It was also true and amazing that there was total detention of all followers and relatives including the husband of the sister of Hasan al-Banna before the assassination attempt. Not even a single person was left un-arrested so that he could offer his assistance to Shaik Hasan-al-Banna who was deliberately permitted to remain outside to carry out assassination in the absence of his loyal supporters and friends.<sup>15</sup>

On the day of assassination, it is reported that the personal car used by Shaik Hasan-al-Banna was confiscated. Besides this, the telephone line was disconnected by the authorities. Shaik realized that there might be some attempt on his life. Therefore he sent a memorandum to the Mayor of Cairo City expressing his feeling and mentioning the anticipated threat of assassination, and demanded a security guard on his personal account as well as requested them to grant him a license for a revolver. Several days passed

unsuccessfully and in waiting and he could-accomplish nothing from the office of the Mayor.<sup>16</sup>

In another report, Abdul Karim Mansur expressed “Mohamed-al-Lithee came to him and conveyed that Al-Naghi, Secretary General of *Jam'iat-al-Shubbān-ul-Muslimūn* was waiting to have a detailed discussion with Shaik Hasan-al-Banna regarding problems connected with *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*. He further said: “I advised him on that day not to move here and there as we felt that some sort of terror was going to happen after few hours. My advice was fruitless. I tried to prevent him from going out. But when Hasan-al-Banna determined to go alone, then I made up my mind to accompany him and eventually we went together to the office of *Jam'iat-al-Shubbān-al-Muslimūn*.<sup>17</sup>

When we departed from our house, I noticed a person was standing with bicycle in front of our house. He immediately passed towards an anonymous direction after seeing us. I twisted my view and asked Hasan-al-Banna to note that. He told me not to be very anxious over such issues and we took a taxi and reached the office of *al-Shubbān-al-Muslimūn*. Again I noticed that a car was following us. I looked and felt doubtful as it might be the car of police which tried to follow us.”

Our taxi stopped in front of the office of *al-Shubbān-al-Muslimūn*. We landed and went in, and Hasan-al-Banna finished his work. It was at 8-15 p.m. when Shaik Hasan-al-Banna came out of the office. We stood in front of the *Jam'iat*, waiting for an onward taxi. We also surprisingly noted the movements in the queen street was less and the street was quite and calm and there was no normal activities. We also observed the lights in the street were very dim, despite the fact that the road generally used to be having heavy traffic.<sup>19</sup>

The expected taxi came and Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna entered the taxi followed by me and the driver opened the benzene to start the car. Before the car moved, one man carrying a revolver suddenly advanced towards our direction. He was wearing the dress of municipality and covering his neck with some cloth. The murderer caught the door of the taxi and attempted to open it. I strongly resisted him, meanwhile he stretched his hand through the window of the car and likewise the resistance continued for five minutes. Suddenly he opened the fire from his revolver towards the direction of the car. Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna attempted to hide his head with his hand and concealed himself down the car. The sound of the bullet stopped so much so Hasan-al-Banna pushed him from the car and chased him. He escaped immediately with those people who came with him. Shaikh Hassan-al-Banna saw him getting inside the car which was waiting for him about hundred meter from the place where our taxi was standing. Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna took down the car number 9979 and handed over to me in order to memorise and remember it.<sup>20</sup>

Inspite of numerous precautionary measures and vigilant supervision put on the life of Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna, there was none from the police force appeared after such a heavy sound of the gun. We returned, and I thought there would not be any injury and specially I saw him in this activity of fighting vigorously as he was completely well. In the medical aid centre only I came to know that he was wounded like myself and we moved together to the hospital of *al-qasr-al-ʿayn*. Hasan-al-Banna on the way to the hospital told me "Don't afraid, my injury is simple."

When we arrived at the hospital, he appealed them to start treatment, but they were discussing about the assistant physician in the department of surgery and we were transferred to it and the physician was not around. Then they went on discussing about another physician who was at his

home, and later on it was learnt that he was also not present there. Finally, another physician arrived and gave him the required treatment. Hasan-al-Banna was in good condition and there was no indication of any weakness and feebleness on his part.

At night, Hasan-al-Banna who was near to me the whole day was transferred from his place. I did not know where was he moved to and why? It happened when I was sleeping at night. I got up in the morning and heard the unpleasant news that the death of Hasan-al-Banna took place because of continuous effusion of blood.

The news was reported after the separation of his soul from his pure body. The body was taken to operation theatre where his body was kept for post-mortem examination.

In the early morning of the same day he was assassinated, Hasan al-Banna woke up after seeing a dream.<sup>22</sup> The dream presented a good and positive information. He saw in his dream Imam Ali addressing him.

He disclosed the dream to one of his family members and interpreted that the particular occurrence in the dream denotes martyrdom.

The journal mentioned, how Hasan-al-Banna returned to his home on the day of the incident in a car. His dead body was brought to his home in the midst of the greatest strength of armed personnels. They showed their revolvers and guns to women and his family members and threatened them not to raise voice or cry after receiving the deceased.

Ahmad Abdul Rahman-al-Banna (the father of Hasan-al-Banna) was called on by a person at 2.00 a.m. on the same night and was asked about the whereabouts of the burial ground of his family. At this juncture, after this query,

Hasan's father understood that his son was already assassinated. He immediately expressed his feeling and the necessity of bringing his body to his home before taking to the cemetery. Then, the body of Hasan-al-Banna was taken to his house at 4.00 o'clock. According to his father, he was prohibited to approach the deceased son.

At about eight o'clock in the morning, four ladies arrived and carried the body of Shaikh-al-Banna to the masjid Qaisun, after they had completely prohibited each and everyone to be present in order to carry the *janaza*. The police forces were also ready to open fire to those people who watched the movement of *janaza* from their respective windows. Besides this, many men and women who attempted to approach the deceased were detained. The father of Hasan-al-Banna performed "*janaza*" prayer for his son lonely and none was permitted to participate in "*janaza*" prayer including the armed troops. Then, the body was carried in one of the police trucks to cemetery which was encircled and followed by many police trucks carrying arms and ammunitions. Those who attempted to follow up *janaza* and endeavoured to come near to the mosque where the *janaza* prayer was conducted by his father alone were also arrested. The entire family of Shaheed Hasan-al-Banna was forbidden to hold any funeral ceremony and to recite any sort of *du'a*. Whosoever tried to make *du'a* was thrown behind the iron gates of prison.<sup>24</sup>

It appeared in the Egyptian general supplementary memorandum "*mudakkirat-al-niyabat-al-<sup>c</sup>am-al-misriyah*" in the year 1952 the news about the incident of assassination of Hasan-al-Banna which took place at about eight O'clock in the evening on Saturday, the 12th February, 1949. On the same night, when Hasan-al-Banna was in the hospital, Mohamad Wasfi the then Prime Minister entered into the operation theatre and enquired the physicians who were present there about the health of Hasan-al-Banna.

They replied that he was out of danger. After hearing the report that Hasan-al-Banna was out of danger, Mohammad Wasfi sent out all doctors and other nurses from the operation theatre and killed Hasan-al-Banna with his own revolver. Meanwhile, an official instruction came from the special Secretary of King's palace that His majesty the king sent Mohammad Wasfi to assassinate Hasan-al-Banna if he was still alive with arms which was carried out by him in secret.<sup>27</sup>

## CHAPTER 9

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### Re-establishment of Al-Ikhwān

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**T**he Government of Husain-Sirri Pasha succeeded the ministry of Ibrahim Abdul Hadi on 26th July, 1949. The *Wafd* party participated in that ministry until November 1949. When, new ministry was formed, the parliament was dissolved and Husain Sirri started taking some measures for holding new election. On third February, 1950, *Wafd* party swept the election in majority constituencies and, new Government was formed on 12th February, 1950.

After formation of new Government, *Wafd* party announced some changes in its policy regarding *al-Ikhwān* which was constitutionally outlawed. The detainees were already released after ascendance of Hussain Sirri to power in July, 1949. The prisoners in Palestine started their activities in the form of small *Jamā'ah*, then they were arrested and then released.<sup>1</sup> The organisation which was outlawed, revived under the leadership of former Secretary Salih al-Ushmavi and rapidly invigorated its strength that continued its activities as an organisational efforts inside prisons where the members were put in great numbers.

As far as those who escaped during this period and migrated outside the country practised eagerly and tirelessly the message and propagation of *da'wah* took momentum especially in Syria, Jordan and Palestine.<sup>3</sup> Their efforts earned more sympathy of those Muslims who became oppo-

site to the affliction of *al-Ikhwān*, as it acquired new helpers of strong idea of this concept with new zeal and goal for eternal *da'wah*.

Since Abdul Hadi left the ministry in the middle of the year, 1949, *al-mu'cin*, the daily journal of *wafd* party took the problems of *al-Ikhwān* excitedly mentioning the assassination of Hasan-al-Banna and hidden realities relating to it. It was clear that it did, for the purpose of taking from al-Sa'diyyun and the acquisition for the support of *al-Ikhwān* in the forth coming election. The *wafd* also severely challenged *al-Sa'diyyun*.

As far as *al-Ikhwān*, it surpassed and dominated its activities through re-establishment with the support of political party. In fact, during the detention period *wafd* party represented majority of the parties with difference to *al-Sa'adiyyūn*.

Negotiation commenced between two groups. *Al-Ikhwān* was represented by Mustafa Mumin and *wafd* was represented by Fuad Sirajuddin, a minister of internal Affairs who was very strong in his stand. The following conditions were laid down by *wafd* to revive and re-establish the organisation. They were:

- (i) not to continue its activities officially except after the end of martial law;
- (ii) continuance of activities immediately but with the new name and;
- (iii) not to use the old name except after lifting the military legislations.

Mumin was prepared to accept the conditions of *wafd* with the sole desire to revive the organisation whatever might be the conditions so that it could function preferably in the new name, namely "Islamic Renaissance". The lead-

ership of *al-Ikhwān*, especially al-Ushmavi refused to accept these proposals.

There was another struggle inside the organisation besides the struggle with *wafd* which instigated Mustafa Mumin to resign. He continued to appeal to the members of the organization towards acceptance of these proposals, which would pave ways possibly to implement the same goals directly without any consideration. After the refusal by al-Ushmavi, Mustafa Mumin accused the *wafd* that tried to purchase him. Al-Ushmavi made use of this opportunity as Mustafa Mumin obtained the same in writing in the journal of *wafd* around Islamic reform. Meanwhile, al-Ushmavi appealed to all branches not to invite Mustafa Mumin for its meetings. Then at the end of 1950, a meeting of Office of the Guidance was called secretly and an order of dismissal of Mustafa Mumin from the organization was issued.<sup>4</sup>

This conflict between Mustafa Mumin and al-Ushmavi arose while the members of *al-Ikhwān* were still in various prisons. The call by Mustafa Mumin to introduce democratic system in the organisation was also regarded as one of the factors for difference of opinion.

## **A NEW LIFE (ELECTION OF NEW PRESIDENT):**

The first and foremost crucial issue inside the organisation was that who would succeed Hasan-al-Banna to lead and guide *al-Ikhwān*. After his assassination, this became a significant issue in the organisation. The growing general trend was that the power should be handed over to the second person in the hierarchy of leadership of the organisation. It was generally felt that Salih al-Ushmavi, the deputy Supreme Guide since 1947 would assume the new leader-

ship. The understanding of the members of *al-Ikhwān* was to appoint him officially successive to Hasan-al-Banna on the basis of the fact that he was a practical leader in the days of crisis which happened during the rule of *al-Saʿdiyyun* and *al-Wafdiyyun* and on the basis of the fact of his comprehensive and profound experience in relation to *daʿwah* and Hasan-al-Banna.<sup>5</sup>

It is worth mentioning that, al-Ushmavi was secretly exposing his willingness to become the new Supreme Guide.<sup>6</sup> There were other qualified candidates for this office. Most reputed and important among them were, Abdul Rahman-al-Banna, the full brother of Hasan-al-Banna, Abdul Hakeem Abidin, the Secretary General and Shaikh Hasan-al-Baquri the member of Office of Guidance who became after that the member of revolutionary Government. Al-Ushmavi took efforts and made sacrifices in preserving the materials and properties as well as the prestige of the organisation during the critical days of 1949 and 1950 when the organisation was under trials and tribulations.<sup>7</sup> Majority of the members were under the impression that Hasan-al-Banna had already nominated him as his successor.<sup>8</sup> As far as Mustafa was concerned, he was not considered among others with respect to his resignation in the year 1950.<sup>9</sup> Al-Ushmavi became well known among the sincere followers of Hasan-al-Banna as he used to participate generously and willingly to resolve the problems. On account of this sacrifice and dedication to the service to *al-Ikhwān* at the time of hardships and afflictions, his candidature became perceptible and audible in the discussion around the proposed election to have successor to Hasan-al-Banna in his house. The name of Hasan-al-Hudaibi was also mentioned for the first time to nominate for this post of Supreme Guide, who was a Judge for more than twenty five years.

However, a day long debate and discussion came to an end among the members and negotiation with Hasan-al-

Hudaibi was completed in October, 1951 when the official announcement of his appointment as Supreme Guide was published in the press.<sup>10</sup> But the period of the tenure of his office was not announced.

After his appointment, the Egyptian newspapers published a brief biography of him. It was mentioned that he was born in the area Shubain-al-Qanatir. He fully memorised the holy Qur'an when he was at this village. When he was ten years old, he made up his mind to be a lawyer, despite his father decided to send him to Al-Azhar. He obeyed them but atlast achieved his aim and got admitted in *Kulliyat-al-Huquq* after completing his secondary education. He passed during his studies with good academic record and was known as the master of politics in Egypt in those days. Then he got his degree from *Kulliyyat al-Huquq* in the year 1915 and got admitted in the Bar Council.

After sometime, he shifted to the city. He lived there and participated in 1919 revolution. In the year 1924, he was appointed for the first time as a Judge and spent twenty years in this office.

Hasan-al-Hudaibi mentioned that he met for the first time the member of *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* in the year 1944 and then he immediately became a friend of Hasan-al-Banna.

After his appointment as Supreme Guide, the Office of Guidance and Founding Committee according to his request appointed an assistant for him who was a lawyer and a new member namely Abdul Qadir-al-Awda. He could not even spend six months meanwhile a new post was created in accordance with his suggestion which was the post of Deputy Supreme Guide.

## AL-IKHWĀN AND THE REVOLUTION OF 1952

The vicissitudes of external history and challenges faced by *al-Ikhwān* might be understood in this column, which they faced after the success of the revolution that removed king Faruq from his office.

*Al-Ikhwān* continued its efforts after dissolution and elected new Supreme Guide. The revolution of 1952 was supported by *al-Ikhwān* on the condition that it must implement the "*Sharī'ah*" of Islam as the law of the land. Abdul Munam Abdul Rawoof, Fuad Khasir, Abdul Makarim Abdul Hai and Saleh Shadi were the best choices of *al-Ikhwān* to participate in the revolution.<sup>11</sup> Abdul Munam Abdul Rawoof arranged a siege of the palace of Alexandria where the king was put up and compelled him to sign on the resignation document and the king Faruq wrote in his memorandum saying:

*Al-Ikhwān* permitted ten thousand armed forces to take part on the day of revolution in Cairo. During this period, *al-Ikhwān* laid a campaign against Britain on the border of Suez and started threatening the existence of British army in Egypt. They systematically organised the campaign to annihilate the departments of British force. They also pulverized and atomized the locomotives, rails and set ablaze their treasury, exploded their arms and ammunitions, assassinated their military officers until the name of *al-Ikhwān* became terribly popular. British force attempted to prevent atomization and explosion. But they could not succeed.

Unfortunately this revolution, after its success moved to continue the Westernising policy of its predecessors and to set up a thoroughly nationalistic secular state. The new Government formed after King Faruq became more hostile

towards *al-Ikhwān* and started functioning against its promises given. The quest and craze for power made them to behave dictatorially and tyrannically. Essentially, *al-Ikhwān* did not like to capture power, but constantly repeated its promise to support any Government which would enforce and implement the "*Shari'ah*" of Islam as the law of the state.

In the immediate aftermath of the revolution, the opportunity for *al-Ikhwān* was better and encouraging. The declaration of general amnesty freed the prisoners, and the army officers came forward unhesitatingly to share some of their social and economic ideas, and the old order had been liquidated. But, tension rapidly developed. This new Government was not ready for any kind of ideological compromise with *al-Ikhwān* as required nor did they prefer negotiation with the British elements. The chasm widened and after a brief reprieve, *al-Ikhwān* found itself deprived of all those assets on which it had most relied, corporate order, recruitment, active instruction and social clubs. The claim for *Shari'ah's* supremacy became less viable and less attention was paid than in the forties with the abolition of the *Shari'ah* courts.

After the triumph of revolution, Hasan-al-Hudaibi demanded the Government to issue an order for agricultural reforms. The revolutionary council got angry with him for his demand for such reforms. Ali Mahir refused to declare the same. Meanwhile, the ministry of Ali Mahir fell and General Mohamed Najeeb formed the new ministry on the advice of revolutionary council. The crisis of *al-Ikhwān* originally started after the formation of new cabinet by Mohamed Najeeb.

The Revolutionary council decided to invite members of *al-Ikhwān* to take part in the cabinet which perhaps was not liked by Mohamed Najeeb. Hasan-al-Hudaibi, the

Supreme Guide was intimated about this decision to join the ministry of Mohamed Najeib. It also recommended the name of Shaikh Hasan-al-Baquri which was accepted by Al-Hudaibi. He nominated two more persons without consulting the Office of the Guidance namely Hasan-al-Ushmavi and Munir-al-Dallat and this list was sent to the Revolutionary council which later on rejected these names. Then Hasan-al-Hudaibi informed this matter of refusal to the Office of the Guidance without mentioning the names of these persons. Then the Office of the Guidance decided unanimously not to take part in the ministry. Al-Baquri, whose name was suggested by Revolutionary Council was in the mean time included in the cabinet. But, he was dismissed from *al-Ikhwān* on the same day when his appointment as Minister appeared in the press.<sup>14</sup>

On February 12, 1954, the students of the University assembled under the patronage of *al-Ikhwān* to commemorate the ceremony of some martyrs of *al-Ikhwān*. During the commemoration ceremony, a jeep of the army appeared carrying microphone and amplifier. Some members gathered at the gate of the University, besides students of the secondary schools who actually belonged to liberation organisation. Suddenly, the voice was heard by the students from the side of a jeep which sprinkled incendiary and fiery speeches and incited violence among them. The students demanded them to leave the place immediately as they were celebrating the ceremony harmoniously. Instead of dispersing from this place, it shot at the students and many arms were used to beat severely injuring them. Many fell wounded with bullet marks and consequently the Jeep was incinerated by the mob.<sup>15</sup>

After this incident, on February 13th, the Cabinet decided to dissolve *al-Ikhwān* and it was not announced until 12-45 a.m. of 15th February. The Government interpreted *al-Ikhwān* as a political party and thus according to

recent legislation of February 1953, it had to be banned. It also pointed out that the objective of revolution was to liberate the nation from external occupation and colonialism and not to change the internal secular order.

It was announced, after the dissolution, that all schools, hospitals and clinics of *al-Ikhwān* would continue their activities under different names, besides it paved the way for detention of 450 members of *al-Ikhwān*.

Meanwhile, the diversity developed between Mohamed Najeeb and Jamal Abdul Nasser. This diversity created plenty of problems among the members of revolutionary council leading to a possible split. The crisis thus developed, as a consequence, Mohamed Najeeb tendered his resignation on 23rd February 1954 which was accepted and endorsed by the council on 24th February. On the same night, his house was besieged. On 25th, the journals put headlines on the news about the split of army. Due to this leakage of split, the council was again compelled to reconsider Mohamed Najeeb for Presidentship.

On Sunday the 27th February, 1954 Abdul Qadir al-Awdah organised students rally. He addressed the gathering and distributed pamphlets. This situation made the Government to put a barrier to *da'wah* activities besides arresting 117 persons on the same day, which included 45 members of *al-Ikhwān* along with Abdul Qadir-al-Awdah. As far as others who were imprisoned, some were socialists, communists and wafdist.

This crisis could not come to an end. The Government declared the ascendance of Mohamed Najeeb once again for the post of presidentship of the cabinet and leadership of Revolutionary council. On this occasion, al-Hudaibi, the Supreme Guide of *al-Ikhwān* sent a protest message from prison to Mohamed Najeeb demanding to release all mem-

bers who were thrown inside the dark prison. Mohamed Najeeb declined to hear this demand on 15th March, but a promise was made to *al-Ikhwān* stating that he would consult others regarding this issue. On the same day, the university students exploded in the form of rallies appealing the Government to bring back parliamentary democracy. The students insisted on their demand unitedly until 25th March where Jamal Abdul Nasser stood with efficient maneuver. Immediately the leadership of Revolutionary council proclaimed that the revolution had come to an end and the country would revive the life of parliament. The ministry of interior affairs issued an order on the same day to release Hasan-al-Hudaibi, the supreme Guide of *al-Ikhwān*. The Government lifted the control over journals and provided freedom of speech and press liberty had been also given.<sup>17</sup>

Meanwhile, Britain was compelled to present a demand to make a migration treaty with Jamal Abdul Nasser, so that they could secure their own selves with some concessions and facilities. Jamal Abdul Nasser agreed to this proposal but it was objected by *al-Ikhwān*. Jamal Abdul Nasser took this opportunity to crush *al-Ikhwān*.

Jamal Abdul Nasser, the tyrannical, rude, blood thirsty dictatorial, uncivilized, boorish and autocratic buried the Islamic norms and forms under the soil of Egypt and betrayed the Muslim *Ummah*, once said in his address:

“I met the Supreme Guide of *al-Ikhwān* who then made so many demands on me. The first thing he asked was that the Government should proclaim that women should wear Veil. He then made other demands such as closing down the cinemas and theatres, in other words to make life dark and gloomy. It was of course, impossible to do such a thing”.<sup>18</sup>

After having passed few months, *al-Ikhwān* was base-

lessly alleged of making an attempt on the life of Jamal Abdul Nasser. The supporters of Jamal Abdul Nasser raised vehement slogans against *al-Ikhwān* and burnt the offices of *al-Ikhwān* throughout Egypt. Hasan-al-Hudaibi was rearrested on 30th October 1954. Then, the Government set up a special military court consisting of three members namely Jamal Salim as president, Anwar-al-Sadat and Husain Shafier as members.<sup>20</sup> Then, on 18th November Hamida was arrested. Ibrahim-al-Tayyib was arrested on 12th November and Yousuf Talat was detained on 14th November. During this interval, all members of *al-Ikhwān* were arrested before 18th November 1954.

The above mentioned special court continued its prosecution and trial in camera and on 4th December 1954, it issued an order under the influence and intervention of Jamal Abdul Nasser, the then president, against those who were alleged in the participation of the conspiracy of murder. Seven members of the Office of the Guidance were sentenced to life imprisonment with hard labour namely Kamal Khalifa, Mohamed Husain, Ahmad Abdul Azees Atiyal, Husain Kamal-al-Din, Munir-al-Dallat, Hamid Abu Nasr and Salih Abdul Raqueeq. Other two members Umar-al-Talmasi and Ahmad Sharit were sentenced to fifteen years imprisonment. Three persons namely Abdul Rahman-al-Banna, Abdul Muazzi Abdul Sattar and Al-Bahi-al-Khawli were acquitted because they were considered friends of Jamal Abdul Nasser. Other seven Members who were the great scholars and intellectuals of Islam were sentenced to death by hanging. There were Hasan-al-Hudaibi the Supreme guide of *al-Ikhwān*, Mohamed Abdul Latif, Handawi Dawir, Ibrahim-al-Tayyib, Yousuf Talat; the butcher of Britishers in Suez Canal, Shaikh Mohamad Farghly; the president of *al-Ikhwān* in Palestine and Abdul Qadir-al-Awdah. Then, the revolutionary council lightened by reducing the death sentence of al-Hudaibi to life imprisonment with hard labour due to his old age.<sup>22</sup>

In December 1954, those who were sentenced to death were hanged amidst an atmosphere of consternation and perplexity, despite the protest of the Muslim world. The people from Pacific to Atlantic agitated against this barbarian and brutal treatment. Faraghy, when heard of his death sentence expressed that he was indeed prepared for the death and verily anticipating the meeting of Allah (s.w.t). Similarly, when Awdah was informed of this death sentence, he midly expressed that praise be to Allah who made him a martyr. As for Abdul Latif and Handawi Dawir, they recited the verses of the holy Qur'an.<sup>23</sup>

After the execution of the above mentioned persons of *al-Ikhwān*, incidents took place in a climate more than the previous viciousness and wickedness, the revolutionary council ordered the court to continue the prosecution headed by an officer in other places. Hundreds of members of *al-Ikhwān* were brought to the doors of courts for trial. Among those, fifty members were condemned to death. Atlast Abdul Makarim Abdul Hai, Abdul Munam Abdul Rawoof, the two great officers of *al-Ikhwān* who participated in the revolution and were the principal cause for its success were sentenced to death in absentia with gun bullet.

Then Jamal Abdul Nasser appointed a committee to investigate the root cause of *al-Ikhwān* which made people of Egypt to revolt against the Government. After some time, this committee submitted its report which later on became instrumental to curtail the activities of *al-Ikhwān* once again in Egypt.

*Al-Ikhwān's* activities were crushed like anything which could not be revived after this for many decades.

This committee submitted its report which contained the following recommendations:

1. "The subject of *diniyyat* and Islamic history should be completely removed from the syllabus of educational institutions throughout the country and in its place a new curriculum should be introduced which is in accordance with the principles of Socialism.
2. Communism should be accorded full permission and freedom to adopt necessary measures to demolish Religion so that the status of religious people in this country is downgraded rather destroyed. As such, the whole responsibility rests on our Government to allow anti-religious communist activities to be carried in full swing while religion should be deprived of such opportunities.
3. After an analytical study of those religious personalities who are not formally affiliated to *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* but played exactly the same role should be dealt with. We have arrived at the conclusion that these two sections of religious men are some how unified in their thinking and action. Therefore both these sections should be kept apart and divided and their relations totally be put off. Otherwise, the day is not far when these two sections will join hands together and rebel against the Government openly. At that time, it will be very difficult to differentiate one from the other. Therefore at the very beginning, it is prudent to crush this danger and treat all religious mongers and reactionaries equally. All avenues of their physical development and chances of intellectual and practical work should be blocked. A continuous vigilance should be placed on their joint meeting and the process of consulting with each other. All worshippers of religion, whatever organisation they might belong to must be immediately liquidated and they should be forbidden from places of publicity, propaganda, national, social and state function.

4. *Al-Ikhwān* and all those who sympathised with them should be forcibly put into continuous and painful harassments and imprisonment. Protection for their properties and assests given should be withdrawn and there should be an announcement that the state was not at all responsible to protect them any more. All kinds of oppression, indignities and persecutions should be perpetuated on these persons so much so that they should not be relieved of those ordeals even for a single moment”.

This four point formula was submitted by this committee to Jamal Abdul Nasser, the then President as requested by him and recommended to implement those points contained in the report without any delay and reconsideration. As a result of recommendations, thousands of persons of *al-Ikhwān* including women who were detained and kept in Leeman Tara prison were subjected to harsh treatment with hard labour. They were kept inside without any judicial prosecution and trial.

This affliction caused on *al-Ikhwān* continued until the death of Jamāl Abdul Nasser and those thousands of detainees were kept for decades in the prison. All these detainees were unimaginably tortured which human being can not imagine. The aggressive attitude of Nasser increased again and acted ferociously against those who were in prisons and condemned them to death. Consequently, he sentenced to death the following leaders namely Sayyid Qutub, Mohamed Yousuf Hawash and Abdul Fateh Ismail in 1966. Besides this, 284 young blood had died under the crucial excruciation of armed forces in prisons, who were the experts of sciences, social sciences, technology, medicine, engineering, physics, atomic sciences. They were buried in the ground of the war prisons. On one day seventeen thousand Ikhwan brothers were arrested in Egypt.

The regime of Jamal Abdul Nasser was extraordinarily vehement and ruthless. It hurled its vengeance against Islam loving persons of Egypt. Many historians observed that this sort of brutal torture and killings were not even witnessed during the rule of Hitler, the autocrat of Germany. Nasser acted as a puppet and quenched his thirst through mass massacre of hundreds of dedicated Muslims of Egypt.

Some scholars and writers in the East and the West extol Nasser's approach towards *al-Ikhwān* and this is because of their hypocrisy and ignorance over the true happenings. They were fed by rumours and convinced by false information which made them to favour his stand. Some other scholars justified the judgement of Nasser's regime. It is said that even the conservative circle of Al-Azhar did not express their words in favour of *al-Ikhwān*, but they wreathed his perspective of castigation.

## **NASSER'S ATTITUDE TOWARDS AL-IKHWĀN**

The mass massacre and butchery operated by Jamal Abdul Nasser did not stop, but continued day by day, accelerating the number of dead bodies into pieces, until he was contented with this. Thousands of *al-Ikhwān* were put in the prisons that was specially constructed to punish and crush them. This prison was reported to be located under the earth. Neither the sunlight nor the fresh air could enter inside this prison. Most of the detainees tenure of imprisonment was extended to 25 years under his order. They were tortured very harshly combined with hard labour. A special time was allocated to them to climb the mountains, if they did not return on time, they would be punished with barbarous treatment.

During my interview with one member of *al-Ikhwān*

who spent twenty five years in the prison, he informed me several kinds of torture among which some members were forced to drink their urine while others food was the flesh of dog. Many were asked to carry iron bars on their shoulders for many days until they fell on the earth due to fatigue or unconsciousness. Some were put in between ice bars until they pronounce their dissociation and commitment from Islam and *al-Ikhwān*. They were neglected from visit and taking their clothes and food from their home, despite their family members and relatives wanted to visit. Sometimes, they were beaten up severely until they fell fainted in front of their wives and others. Sayyid Qutub and other important persons were forced to eat the flesh of dogs in the prison cell.

In my personal interview with some other brothers of *al-Ikhwān*, I asked number of questions, particularly their experience in the prison. They narrated some of the brutalities committed by the jailors and others who were appointed to be their supervisors.

One among the personalities, who was sentenced to 25 years imprisonment expressed upon my question that he was once beaten severely by iron rod which was counted by an officer of the Jail. He counted from one to ten and again started from one to ten instead of continuing the number.<sup>26</sup> Like wise, he was beaten from morning to evening. The injuries caused by the beating was not allowed to be treated by the physicians. Another person expressed, that he was undressed and put in the dark place on the earth to sleep where the mosquitoes, flies and other insects were normally living. Few persons were put on ice-bars and covered by ice-bars for hours until they pronounced their words in support of Jamal Abdul Nasser. Most of those who were sentenced imprisonment for years were the students of Secondary School and the school of commerce of *Jami<sup>c</sup>-al-Azhar* and few from the students of

the university.<sup>27</sup>

During this period, the Jail authorities issued an order to shift all those who were imprisoned to the locality of mountains to cut stones for 24 months. Majority of brothers of *al-Ikhwān* spent more than 24 months on this mountain spending their time in cutting the rocks of the mountain.

The day of execution came. All prisoners of *al-Ikhwān* were asked to come out of the prison cell and were dragged to the courtyard of the prison, where thousands of soldiers were ready with machine guns and other ammunitions. It was on Saturday, 1st July, 1957, the order was issued by Jamal Abdul Nasser to fire at the prisoners, despite they were neither culprits nor thieves, rather they were political prisoners. Political prisoners are not supposed to undergo this hard trail. They should have been treated well. But they were unfortunate so much so, they not only underwent hard time during the detention period, but were not released when the period of detention was over. Instead they were executed.<sup>28</sup>

It was a practice that the political prisoners were not usually killed by any Government except in few extra ordinary cases and that too if they threatened to topple the Government. But several members of *al-Ikhwān* were shot dead precisely because they invited people to adhere with the principles of Islam and to implement it in their day to day life. However, the army which was kept ready, for this purpose started firing on the members of *al-Ikhwān* who were standing in front of them. As a result of this brutal firing, 21 fell martyrs and about 35 injured seriously.<sup>29</sup>

The names of those martyrs on this incident had been listed in the succeeding pages in order to provide the readers a very clear picture about the brutalities organised and engi-

neered by Jamal Abdul Naser during his rule.

It might be the conspiracy against *al-Ikhwān*. Indeed many leaders and thinkers belonging to *al-Ikhwān* were killed. But it is confirmed historically that the rulers could not kill the spirit of this movement as we see today, the impact of this movement on different countries and in the writings of many scholars and intellectuals.

## **PERSONS EXECUTED IN LEEMAN TARA PRISON:**

1. **Anwar Mustafa Ahmad,**  
Arrested on 30.03.1955.  
His address : Abu Sufiyan Street, Old Egypt.
2. **Al-Sayed Ali Mahmoud,**  
Arrested on 08.05.1954,  
Merchant, Married and had four children  
Address : Al Jadawi Street, Alexanderia.
3. **Mahmoud Mohammad Sulaiman,**  
Arrested on 12.01.1955  
Engineer, Married and had a single child.  
Address : Abbas-al-Qadriyya Street, Cairo.
4. **Ahmad Hamid Ali Karkar,**  
Arrested on 10.08.1955.  
Accountant, Married and had a child.  
Address : Dandit Markaz Mit Kamar, Dakhaliyat.
5. **Mohmoud Abdul Jawed-al-Attar,**  
Arrested on 08.11.1954  
Tailor, Married and had two children.  
Address : 33, Walakat-al-Leman Street, Al-Jumarak Alexanderia.

6. **Ibrahim Mohamed Abu-al-Dihab,**  
Address not known.
7. **Rizk Hussain Ismail,**  
Arrested on 04.08.1955.  
Agriculturist, Married and had seven children.  
Address : Kafar-al-Marakakat, Markaz Dalein,  
Kafar-al-Shaikh.
8. **Abdullah Abdul Azeez-al-Jundhi,**  
Arrested on 03.03.1955  
Worker, Married and had three children.  
Address : 10, Alwail-al-Kabir-al-Abbaiyyat Street,  
Cairo.
9. **Asmat-Izzat Uthman,**  
Arrested on 16.11.1954.  
Employee Bachelor.  
Address : 33, Old Mohhi Street, Suez.
10. **Abdul Fattah Mohamd Ata-Allah,**  
Arrested on 27.02.1955.  
Tailor, Married and had a child.
11. **Ahmad Mahmoud-al-Shamsi,**  
Arrested on 13.05.1955.  
Fitter Bachelor, Cairo.
12. **Khavi-al-Din-Ibrahim Atayyan,**  
Arrested on 03.03.1955.  
A student of Azhar, Bachelor.  
Address : 20, Bab-al-Wazeer, Kisim-al-Darb-Ahmar,  
Cairo.
13. **Mustafa Hamid Ali,**  
Arrested on 04.03.1955.  
A student of Secondary School, Bachelor.  
Address : Al-Hey Ishaq Street, Imbaba, Cairo.

14. **Ahmad Abduhu-Mutawalh,**  
Arrested on 15.05.1955.  
A student of Bachelor of Agriculture, Bachelor.  
Address : Aba-al-Shakut, Kafar Saqar, East.
15. **Uthman-Hasan-Eid,**  
Arrested on 17.03.1955.  
A student in Darl Ulum, Bachelor.  
Address : Itm Toolun, Cairo.
16. **Mohamad Abal-Fataz Manwind,**  
Arrested on 25.05.1955.  
Printer Bachelor, Al-Manufiyyat.
17. **Ali Ibrahim Hemza,**  
Arrested on 16.12.1954.  
Tailor, Bachelor.  
Address : Abu Faisal Street, Al-Mahallat-al-Kubri.
18. **Fahmi Ibrahim Nasr,**  
Arrested on 12.09.1954.  
A student of Secondary School, Bachelor.  
Address : Mannifyan.
19. **Al Sayed Arzb-Sawan,**  
Arrested on 24.11.1954.  
Employee. Married and had three children.  
Address : Mohamad Ali Street, Al-Mahallat-al-Kubri.
20. **Saad-al-Din Mohamed Shawki,**  
Arrested on 02.03.1955.  
Employee Bachelor.  
Address : Samatral-Afjak-Nasar Street, Imbaba.
21. **Mohamed-al-Sayed-Ajiji,**  
Arrested on 17.03.1955.  
Employee, Bachelor.  
Address : 14 Mohamad Ali Street, Jeezat.

### Reforms of Al-Ikhwān and Egyptian Problems

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**R**elavant interpretation and correct understanding of Islamic Judicial system in conformity with the Qur'an and *Sunnah* were adequately explained by Hasan-al-Banna as a timely need for Egypt. Egypt was not applying Islamic *Shari'ah* law as a law of the land. Rather, it did not hesitate to promulgate Western civilization and culture as their source of life and values. This was advocated by the then rulers due to constant and repeated pressure of Imperialists and Colonialists. Hasan-al-Banna was perplexed on this issue. He expressed that the nation which was destined to adopt Islamic systems had been polluted and contaminated by adopting the alien theories and Philosophies. People gradually became inattentive and oblivious to the multi dimensional systems of Islamic legislation. It was feared that the future generation might be completely co-erced to be unconscious of Islamic teachings and principles, if this trend of dilution and conspiracy continued in this proportion and direction. This process of evolution of adopting the new Western systems and values in all fields was bitterly criticised by *al-Ikhwān* and Hasan-al-Banna forwarded relevant and timely explanation to eliminate this trend from the soil of Egypt.

While describing his motto, he declared "*Al-Quran-dusturuna*" which implies the holy Qur'an revealed by Allah (s.w.t) should be adopted as the only and ultimate source of constitution of the country as well as life. He meant, the

teachings and the message of Qur'an should be fully translated into practice and actualized. The Quran should be referred to for any purpose, whether, it is social, economic, cultural, educational, scientific and international relations.

The Qur'an contains all kinds of instructions and guidance which are infact valid, applicable and compatible for all ages to come. No man made theory or ideology like Socialism, Communism, Nationalism, Leninism, Marxism, Facism. Imperialism, Modernism, Materialism, Capitalism and Paganism could overtake or supercede or abrogate the laws of the Qur'an, because it is the revealed book which contains supreme guidelines essential and useful to whole mankind. Islam transcends every ism and ideology be it classical or modern. But, the hypothetical theories deduced by human reason on the basis of materialism, or dialectical materialism though obviously seemed to be beneficial, infact they constitute all sorts of incapacibilities, improbabilities, incompatibilities, contradictions and deficiencies, when they are taken into consideration for adoption.

Many nations and communities which implemented and experienced these ideologies and political philosophies are still living in discord and dissension and are trying to search a new way of life which could provide them peace and harmony. (Former Soviet Union and the Collapse of Communist empire is a very recent example). Due to these fallacious and deficient theories, the human problems are not solved for many centuries and they are subject to live in turmoil and turbulence. It happens due to their ignorance, negligence and rebellion with Allah (s.w.t) and His teachings and guidance.

The mankind can notice the failure and inadequacy of these man made laws and systems which were adopted by many nations for centuries. No nation which implemented these theories and ideologies seemed to be living in peace

and tranquility. Instead, they are submerged in discord and apprehension. Axiomatically, such man-made theories do not contain elements or teachings that could provide peace and tranquility, although they were derived and speculated upon the circumstances of keeping in mind poverty, unemployment and other economic problems. Most, if not all of these theories were further developed according to the basic foundation of materialism and rationalism.

Hence, to obtain peace in life, it is indispensable for all Muslims in particular and the world in general to knock at the door of Islam which is based on revelation from Allah (s.w.t) - the Sustainer and Cherisher. That is why, Hasan-al-Banna attempted rigorously to divert the attention of Egyptian people towards the right cause which was badly in need of at that time, especially when they were enslaved by colonialists for centuries together to serve their ends.

To uplift morality and spirituality, to promote equality and human freedom, to make people to be fearful and conscious of Allah (s.w.t.), to mould new generation for future, he adopted innumerable measures and various ways of reforming the human life. The reforms brought about by him were a vital proof for his sincerity, dedication, commitment, faith and trust over young generation of Egypt in particular. This educational reforms had required People to manifest Islamic norms and forms in every individual as well as collective life.

Besides his concern for educational reforms, he also promoted economic reforms and urged his people to cultivate good intention to serve the society in different ways such as social service, health and humanitarian activities.

Many different proposals presented by *al-Ikhwān* in these areas are discussed in the following pages individually. Such discussion would reveal the concept as well as the con-

tribution of this spectacular movement to the world human civilization and its uprightness towards realization of its goal.

## EDUCATIONAL REFORMS

*Al-Ikhwān* played moderately positive and active role in the field of education. One of the remarkable activities of the movement mentioned in the list was social reform, especially in the field of education. At the general headquarters of *al-Ikhwān*, a special committee<sup>1</sup> was formed to establish primary, secondary and technical schools for both boys and girls which would be distinguished from all other private institutions through their strong Islamic emphasis in the curriculum. The philosophy of education was utterly Islamic and was aimed at encountering missionary mercenaries who were intellectually and culturally involved in indoctrination process of western secular and liberal concepts in the mind of Muslim intelligentsia leading to repulsion of Islam in the final analysis. To construct future progeny and nation on the basis of Islamic Principles and norms, it recruited teachers and selected students and planned to train them in the field of education in accordance with the principles of Islamic teachings and guidance.<sup>2</sup> In other words, the process of Islamizing the school students was strongly emphasized. Concentration was focused towards the primary and secondary school students. It was necessary to give Islamic input at this level, as expressed by Hasan al-Banna.

*Al-Ikhwān* despatched, since its inception, a first delegation in 1935 which visited the office of the minister of higher education as well as the prime-Minister and solicited the members of parliament to participate in its function. It seized an opportunity of this function to proclaim its proposals to introduce Islamic moral and spiritual education in schools of Egypt prior to the reconstruction of schools on the

basis of nationalism.<sup>3</sup> It called on the Government of Egypt to accept and declare Islam as an official religion of the state and to make an appeal to all christian missionary schools to retreat their activities immediately at a time when it would permit imparting of Islamic education in the Government schools as it permitted the education of European history rather than the education of Islamic history.<sup>4</sup>

The Journal *al-nādhir* published an article appealing to the Government to close down all missionary schools which inculcated the concept of christianity that paved the way for dilution and proselytization of Muslims and ultimate conversion from their religion. Some Islamic organisations accused christian missionary movements, because of their objective of dissipating Islamic values and norms from the heart of Muslim students. Therefore, it initiated an introductory attack and resisted the movement of missionary activities. Some political parties like *wafd* and *al-ahrrar-al-dusturriyyin* actively and enthusiastically participated in this campaign to curb the activities. It was vivid that these movements of missionary activities had already developed secret contacts with colonialists and effectively promoted the interest of colonialism.<sup>7</sup> *Al-Ikhwān* appealed to all Muslims in general and its units in particular to organize campaigns to forbid people who were compelled to receive education in Christian missionary schools,<sup>8</sup> as it also attempted to prevent some of them by force in some countries, besides its premonition to the members of churches, successive Government regarding its jeopardy and eventually supplicated the closure of these schools.<sup>9</sup>

A considerable number of Muslims, particularly the rich and aristocrats felt prestigious to send their children to International schools sponsored by foreign agencies to learn foreign languages and to educate modern sciences. This response shown by Muslims was profitable to christians to preach their thought and ideologies. Consequently, the

Muslim children had been influenced intellectually by adopting the modern secular way of life and became unmindful to Islamic religious systems.<sup>10</sup> They were also moulded gradually to be the chief critic of Islam and Islamic cultural organisations.

It can be justifiably said, that the christians of missionary schools virtually made Egyptian citizens to discontinue their relation with any social or Political organisation of Egypt such as *al-Ikhwān* and the split of educational system into two compartmentalized systems namely the so called religious and the secular.

The Education Minister Mohammad Husayn Haykal proposed in the year 1938 to Shaikh-al-Azhar to design a new programme to unify and integrate both the religious and secular education. *Al-Ikhwān* participated in the general discussion which held after this proposal,<sup>11</sup> and sent a letter to the education Minister with suggestions of *al-Ikhwān* relating to integrated approach to education. The clamour and fragrance of Western Secular culture along with the traditional Azhar culture divided the people into two diametrically opposite groups.

On account of this, Hasan-al-Banna proposed to form an Islamic education system and eliminate gradually the Western Secular system. It was further suggested to give special consideration to promote religious qualities, character building and educational training. He also had propounded to form a balanced system in various dimensions. As far as education of the children was concerned, it was absolutely necessary to offer spiritual and moral inputs along with the existing curricula. As it was not necessary to teach foreign languages in the primary schools and to confine the medium of instruction to the mother tongue in the character-building process. Then, he proposed to teach two foreign languages in the secondary schools one from the

West and the other from the East.<sup>12</sup> Besides this, Islamic history, national training and subjects connected with various natural sciences and technology should be added in the curriculum. He presented a comprehensive programme for Primary schools. He also emphasized, integrated approach in the higher education imparted in Al-Azhar or in any Egyptian University. He suggested Islam, History and natural sciences should be added in the curriculum. He also suggested on the necessity to expand the faculties of Al-Azhar and to create and promote awakening in the field of research, criticism, writing, publication and compilation of Islamic Sciences.<sup>13</sup> Moreover, the study of the Qur'an be introduced as specialization, and its indepth knowledge should be made compulsory, particularly for the students of literature and sciences.

These suggestions were important for the schools of Egypt according to the Philosophy of *al-Ikhwān* for character building of students in order to produce a new generation on the basis of Islam to fight against all alien theories, man-made Philosophies and ideologies and practices which deny the existence of Allah and ultimate authority of Allah, refute divine revelation, and transcendental source of knowledge.

*Al-Ikhwān* profoundly concentrated on establishing physical training schools for children. It also established sports activities, games, etc. in primary schools as well as at the secondary levels.

The curriculum of the schools sponsored by *al-Ikhwān* had numerous aims and objectives. It aimed at imparting religious as well as moral training in the primary schools of the villages and towns. The art of reading and writing at this stage were encouraged. It also zealously established evening schools in which adult education was the chief aim. These schools were attended by elders, peasants and work-

ers. The primary objective of this programme was the eradication of illiteracy. To fight illiteracy, it opened a number of free schools for workers and peasants for memorization of the Qur'an and evening schools for instructing those adults who had no free time to attend during the day time.

It was also observed that the students of towns and cities should receive education on agriculture along with regular education, which could help students of agricultural colleges and Universities. Workers of towns were also taught more information in addition to the matters related to associations, organisations and the nature of their work. Special programmes were designed for the youth who were prohibited from education dealing with economics. Some other programmes to train the youth were also prepared on different professions, like industrial works and trade. Children at the stage of primary education were able to attend special schools which were specially established for them for the purpose of training. There were special schools for girls namely "*madaris ummahāt al-mu'minīn*". *Al-Ikhwān* also had operated its women wing, for it believed that mothers were mainly instrumental in moulding the character of children, as their future character would reflect according to the training given by their mothers. That is why *al-Ikhwān* concentrated in establishing a separate independent movement for women.

It also strongly advocated to terminate the service of all those teachers whose morals were not up to the standard, corrupt or even doubtful. It supported whole heartedly the concept of total ban on all sorts of co-education system at every level-the system which is purely a "western cultural gift" but contrary to an Islamic educational set up.

## **ECONOMIC REFORMS:**

*Al-Ikhwān* took an initiative to enlarge the scope of eco-

conomic activities of Egypt. It played a prominent and constructive role in activating and generating economic reforms. Several appeals were made to the people throughout its existence to be careful about Egyptian economy because of foreign domination and control over the local production. In this direction, Hasan-al-Banna propounded many suggestions for moral, political and cultural reforms in addition to economic reforms. Some followers of economic reforms considered that they had the right in expediting the fundamentals of reforms. On all visions and dimensions, economic problems were given a central place in the plan of *al-Ikhwān*. Economic crisis increased in Egypt after the end of second world war. *Al-Ikhwān* felt that realisation of economic revolution among employees and workers was indispensable. *Al-Ikhwān* believed that economic independence must be achieved on the basis of political independence and that the economic improvement in a picture of social and economic security with respect to the people who reined the poor in Egypt. Egypt was struggling to save it from fallacies and sophistry. *Al-Ikhwān* recommended conducive methodologies and strategies for economic reforms to be implemented by the state through legislation or administration. These were the pragmatic steps and rational postulates were proposed by *al-Ikhwān* to include them in the statute book to reconstruct Egypt on the basis of harmony and egalitarianism.

The following were some of the recommendations of *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* made to re-construct the Egyptian economy.

- (1) To abolish usury at any cost, and it was the responsibility of Government to be the explorer of this field and not to accept the benefit in any forms and methods.
- (2) It was also the duty of the Government to

nationalise all mineral resources of the country, and to put an end to every foreign domination and exploitation in general and mineral resources in particular, as it was the obligation to supplant foreign capital into local capital.

- (3) To manufacture immediately the essential commodities indispensable for day to day life and to solely depend upon local production and also to manufacture important military hardwares inside the country.
- (4) To nationalise Egyptian banks, which would be an appropriate step on the path of financial reforms. Establishment of special printing press, particularly for Egypt to print Egyptian currencies secretly and an independent office for monetary affairs.
- (5) To abolish the stock exchange centre.
- (6) To introduce constitutional amendments on tax diary so that *Zakah* (welfare due) would be made obligatory among affluents which would enhance the capital as it would be obligatory on projects. To collect tax for the development of the state, and to raise living standard of people and service to prosperity of common masses. To make restriction on luxury, extravagance, sumptuousness and to collect tax from sophisticated life and exaggerated expenses.
- (7) To undertake agricultural reform and to bring about green revolution without relaxation. There should be restrictions on the extremity of large landed cultivation. It should be sold if it was more to those who did not possess land at

reasonable price on a long term payment.

- (8) To issue a special law for new lands and that was for the protection of those who took for rent. (tenants without exploitation of land own-ery). For him taking part from the benefit of farmers was injustice.
- (9) To review the workers Act and re-generation of reforms such as security for all workers (both workers and employees). Insurance against unemployed, injured, sick, old and dead. To impose organisation of work and reliance on labourers. To train industrial workers and peasants in their professions skilfully and efficiently until they would prepare themselves to magnify production.
- (10) Lastly, to provide security to every worker which was generally called Social Insurance. Unfortunately if they got disabled to continue with their job, it was necessary for the Government to enrol them among the recipients of *Zakah*. To spend *Zakah* on poor, destitutes and needy in all regions until rich would read that poor became equal to them in all status.

## COMMUNITY SERVICE

Despite confiscation of all clinical and medical equipments, medical units, and operation and surgical tools of dispensaries in the year 1948, *al-Ikhwān* boldly and courageously renewed the activities of medical field in the year 1950. Statistics shows that in the year 1952, at least one single dispensary in each and every village, was operational and sixteen medical units in Cairo city dedicated their service and convalesced more than hundreds of thousand sick people.<sup>17</sup>

When revolutionary Government ascended the throne, many medical departments were established independently.<sup>18</sup> Before this, *al-Ikhwān* registered already 102 units for philanthropic assistance in the ministry of Social welfare. It was reported that the number had reached to 500 units in the year 1945.<sup>19</sup>

The department of community service of *al-Ikhwān* was very anxious in performing community service apart from medical service. This was conducted through regular and vocational contribution raised from individuals. For other purposes, a special treasury was set up in which some people became permanent members and subscribed huge amount on monthly basis to support social activities. It helped the needy, poor, downtrodden, and destitute, through distribution of food, dress and other basic necessities

*Al-Ikhwān* participated enthusiastically in all kinds of Social Welfare and community development activities. It created an extra-ordinary unit for raising the living standard of the Egyptians in villages and countryside areas. One of the members of *al-Ikhwān* set up a model farm in his land. In another village, four cemeteries for impoverished were constructed. The members of *al-Ikhwān* in another village decided to feed 200 destitutes daily in the month of Ramadan. Various branches of *al-Ikhwān* competed with each other in feeding the poor and helping by providing them lights, and collecting *Zakah* during the month of Ramadan.<sup>20</sup> They also conducted a survey of homeless and destitute children in order to provide them with employment suitable to their age and to help disabled and handicapped who had no means of livelihood.

## JOURNALISM

Journalism and Communication are considered the most important activities to disseminate the aims and objectives of a

group, party or society. *Al-Ikhwān* utilized this field of advanced sophisticated technology for the projection of its objectives. In order to disseminate the ideology, *al-Ikhwān* was more energetic and brisk in the field of publicity and propaganda. It published a daily newspaper and more than half a dozen magazines. Among them being monthly *al-manar* and the weeklies *al-ma'aruf*, *al-nādhir*, *al-shihab*, *al-mabahith*, *al-daw'at*, and *al-muslimun* were prominent.<sup>21</sup> Daily newspapers enjoyed huge circulation as they explained the objectives as follows: The presentation of the teachings of Islam was in a manner more appropriate to modern age to ascertain and demonstrate that Islam is the best faith and a code of life among the lives found in this contemporary period. The refutation of false allegations directed against them and reconciliation of the views of all the schools of thought in Islam to coordinate and federate Muslims. The writings of Hasan-al-Banna were published daily on the most conspicuous part of the newspapers, articles of powerful eloquence, replete with quotation from the Qur'an, the Traditions of the holy Prophet (P.H.U.H) and classical Arabic poetry. This fascinated many readers, students and intellectuals and at last they extended their support and cooperation to the ideas of Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna. After the end of the second world war, the reputation and popularity of *al-Ikhwān* grew rapidly and it enjoyed the support of all sections of the society of Egypt. The Government began to observe the increasing popularity of *al-Ikhwān* and ample circulation of the journals and magazines which excited them to draw a line of demarcation to curb their fame.

Such a spectacular support was enjoyed by *al-Ikhwān*, which finally resulted in curbing of the activities by the rulers particularly after the Palestine war.

## WOMEN

*Al-Ikhwān*, since it involved in all provincial and internal

affairs of the country, it imbibed and demonstrated keen interest in resolving some of the basic problems and problems faced by the women. Among them, the most important was the virtue and privilege of women on the eve of Islam. Many writers of Egypt interpreted the rights of women in the light of impact of western culture, civilization and west-oriented society. They also gave green signal to women to remove their veils and to wander in the streets nudely like the women of modern secular materialistic liberal democratic society of Europe without preceiving the consequences of immorality. Kasim Amin, an Arab writer compiled two books entitled "*tahrir al-mar'ah*". (liberation of Women) in 1899 and "New women" in the year in 1901, interpreting the philosophy behind using the veil. He went to the extent of describing in his first volume that wearing veil was not an Islamic proposition and the *shari'ah* had not prescribed any boundary for this.<sup>22</sup> Abul Hasan Ali Nadwi, in his book commented on the views of Kasim Amin and mentioned that Kasim Amin discussed this issue under the influence of Western Civilization.<sup>23</sup>

The participation of women in 1919 revolution could be included here for discussion. For the first time in Egyptian history, women's movement appeared under the leadership of Hada Sha'rawi, the wife of Ali Pasha Sharawi, who travelled to Paris and America and studied the subject of women. Her statements and speeches were published in the journals in addition to articles which have been published in the journals had always projected a picture of European women that instigated Egyptians to pursue their life-style in the same way as Europe had done.<sup>24</sup>

After the first world war, this unprecedented call for women was severely opposed by Mustafa Sadiq-al-Rafi'i, who serialized a short story in the journal on the topic "al-Tayishiyya" as a reply to Kasim Amin. He criticized, ridiculed and mocked at the position of women who moved

under the shape of unveiling and freedom. His rebuke encountered the system of education which could not forward women that would be fruitful and useful to their life according to Islam. Likewise, he also reproached the Government which reduced conveyance of people and their guidance.<sup>25</sup>

This problem was seriously discussed and undertaken by Islamic organisations of Egypt and the *majallah al-shubban-al-muslimun* published since its first issue. Many research articles which discussed the subject of unveiling by women appeared. These research articles with the views of western writers who invited women to go astray, helped and explained them that this call of wearing veil would not go beyond the boundary of Islam.<sup>26</sup>

But *al-Ikhwān-Muslimūn* did not stand alone inside the boundary of reform by words, but implemented the objectives in the practical life by establishing schools for women, inculcating them the message of Islam including the knowledge on the necessity of veil. It further described modern trends and compared Islamic philosophy with modern thinking. The department of *al-Ikhwān-al-muslimāt* was established among the women of *al-Ikhwān* and their relatives who taught in their schools,<sup>27</sup> which practically advocated the theory of veil and educated students to remain in the mainstream of Islam.

Before the shift of the head-quarters of *al-Ikhwān* to Cairo, it formed an unit for women declaring the aims to promote undiluted Islamic norms. It imparted lessons and conducted lectures through organizing special gatherings specifically designed for women. Through writings and publications they were urged to realise their goals and responsibilities.

The women unit accepted its membership from every

woman who consented to work according to its fundamental principles. Murshid al-<sup>ḥ</sup>Aam nominated the president for this women unit, as well as Under-Secretary who acted as a coordinator between him and the unit for women. All members of these units contributed generously which was a potential financial resource for it.<sup>28</sup>

*Al-Ikhwān* deserves to be congratulated and appreciated for its sincere and successful efforts to bring about this unit consisting of people from noble families, who devoted to defend Islam practically. The members of this unit visited the houses of poor women, and arranged for them jobs for their future. They also made visits to those poor houses in order to impart education, until they protected and safeguarded themselves from the fear of Christian and Zionist missionaries.

*Al-Ikhwān* also responded to the existing contemporary situations which called for co-education, free-mixing and unveiling, as it discussed the fate of women in education. It proclaimed that the education of women, its culture, civilization and training was not an order of struggle, but their obligation in their life was to administer their houses and train their children by promoting good moral behaviour. It appealed constantly and declared its refusal to the call of free-mixing of two sexes in education.

Despite it opposed the treaty of 1936, it exploited the opportunities of stabilizing the external problems and issued many publications explaining its demand, most important among them was to solve problems of women, reconsideration of women education and prohibition of free mixing of two sexes.<sup>29</sup> This demand gained momentum and fascinated common masses of religious minded.

This concern shown by *al-Ikhwān* on this issue was greeted by many. It received attraction from many corners

of the country among them were the workers and student communities. A civil society for employees was established<sup>30</sup> because of the initiative of *al-Ikhwān*. No sooner, the students of villages presented an application to the Directorate of the University in 1937 to introduce religious education in the University and to separate women from men. Mustafa-Sadiq-al-Rafie has commented this attitude of the students in his article thanking students for this revolutionary endeavours and assured that their demands would one day establish and promote Islamic education in Egypt in the days to come.<sup>31</sup>

This call of students faced violent attack sponsored by *majallat-al-hilal*. This magazine encouraged visibility, transparency and nakedness of women and their mixing in their domestic life like Europe.<sup>32</sup> The journals *al-misr*, and *al-misriyyat* enthusiastically participated in their violent attack and campaigned against *al-Ikhwān* and published innumerable articles of Dr. Taha Hussain, Tawfiq-al-Hakeem, Hada Sha<sup>c</sup>ravi and others who demanded as well as staunchly supported the concept of free mixing of two sexes in the universities and to deprive imparting religious education.<sup>33</sup>

The opinions and views of above mentioned persons were rebuked and criticised by Islamic magazines under the leadership of the journal of *al-Ikhwān*. Great rallies were organised by students demanding their rights and the rights of people while other colleges declared their refusal.<sup>34</sup> This variation created an impact on the members of parliament and consequently they demanded the abolition of unveiling, prevention of immorality and advocated imparting of religious education and hurled the responsibility on Haykal Pasha, the minister of education. Of course, *al-Ikhwān's* journal supported this cause.<sup>35</sup>

The journal of *al-Ikhwān* also demanded from the

Government to arrange a special compartment for women in trains, so that sacredness, virtuousness and nobility of women would be preserved. This proposal was attacked by *al-Kalm-al-Sarih*, a popular magazine of women's liberation movement and Hada Sharawi. The movement, no doubt was inspired by the ideas and thought of Western Feministic ideology.

After this extensive struggle, *al-Ikhwān* explained that Islam was not revealed for men alone, but for women too. Therefore, it is their obligation to manage their lives as Islam guides and to participate completely in all the relevant matters enjoined in the Holy Qur'an. Islam calls for equality of men and women. The equality is traced out between men and women in religion, adopting doctrines and rituals, advantages, punishment, matrimonial rights, financial dealings and seeking education. As far as ascending the throne for leading the *ummah* and nation was concerned it was not approved by Islam according to the *ḥadīth* of Prophet.<sup>37</sup>

The general trend of abolition of the veil was also opposed by *Jamā'ah Shabāb Mohammd* and some of the scholars of Al-Azhar.

Some supported the participation of women in general election. This concept lacked support from the sides of Islamic organisations as it was felt un-Islamic to push woman in the political ditch which usually corrupt her morals and values and affect her spirituality.

## WORKERS AND EMPLOYEES

We know from the antecedent pages of this monograph that *al-Ikhwān* was formed by the initiative of six workers who augmented their support to Hasan-al-Banna in the establishment of this movement. Keeping this succor in mind, *al-Ikhwān* dedicated its efforts for the upliftment of

workers and accorded priority to this section since its inception. This could even be recognised from the organisational structure of *al-Ikhwān* which allocated a separate section for workers that concentrated on the prosperity and welfare of workers. This was strongly supported by employees of Suez Canal Co. The basic efforts of *al-Ikhwān* for the first stage were directed towards the preservation of rights of workers, as it equally concentrated to propagate its message among the followers. It anxiously resolved the problems of workers, agitated against suppression and helped them to be free from poverty and disease. It always considered their needs and requirements of day to day life.

Immediately, after the second world war, many employees zealously associated with *al-Ikhwān* by becoming members and extended their wholehearted support.<sup>38</sup> On this occasion, some leftist organisations came into being to prevent the employees from their incorporation with Islamic movements. It constituted more units for workers which taught lessons to those leftist organisations of the society.<sup>39</sup> The impact of leftist society on the political and social life was felt. Hence, we find *al-Ikhwān* faced with criticism for the legislation of labour unions issued in 1940, which precluded the establishment of labour unions and hindered the right of strikes.

The journal of *al-Ikhwān* affirmed that the aim for establishing this department was not the interference in the internal affairs of labour unions and rivalry with workers organisations or remonstrating their freedom in their industries and companies. But it was established with the aim to communicate *da'wah* to them so that they would preserve the religious education.<sup>40</sup>

*Al-Ikhwān* attempted to establish labour unions in different places only to procure experts among them in order to prepare them to communicate their vision and objectives

in various corners. It realised their success proportionately in this goal where their journals published the decision of the employees of transport to found a labour union which would operate according to the advise of *al-Ikhwān*. Like this, it created an impact on the employees of petroleum company in Suez and a group of workers of textile industry. In the year 1947, the journal of *al-Ikhwān* devoted a special column for workers and discussed in it many times their problems, requested the Government to stimulate and increase productivity, encourage small scale industries, extend financial assistance to local businessmen to demolish capitalistic monopolization and increase the salary of workers.<sup>41</sup> It went beyond that to form a branch for labourers which would serve labour unions in financing the leaders of Trade Unions. Meanwhile, it faced with ferocious attack and assault from Communists and Wafdists, and before solving this crisis, *al-Ikhwān* was unjustly dissolved in 1948 by the then rulers of Egypt.<sup>42</sup>

## PEASANTS

*Al-Ikhwān* endeavoured to eradicate social as well as political corruption and exploitation in the Egyptian society, particularly the peasants. During the period between first and second World War, there was an increased exploitation of the peasant community to such an extent that they were made to be the victims of extreme poverty. The journals of *al-Ikhwān* reserved space from the beginning to highlight their multidimensional problems which were to be resolved, especially the problems of poverty, ignorance and disease. For many years, the peasant community was utterly neglected by the rulers. The peasants should have been actually considered to be the backbone of the country to magnify production and improve financial resources. The needs and necessities of peasants were sympathised by *al-Ikhwān*. The organization stood behind them in many ways and promot-

ed their interest, as it felt that it was the responsibility of every Muslim to assist his fellow brother who was a victim of sheer exploitation.

*Al-Ikhwān* absolutely depended upon the people of the countryside and villages to disseminate its message through many ways such as giving lectures, founding its units, reforming the villages, constructing burial grounds for poor, feeding poor and downtrodden, raising their living standard of life, distributing *Zakah*, protecting their children from vagabondage, erecting mosques, hospitals, and clinics.<sup>43</sup> All these activities were carried out by *al-Ikhwan* in villages, despite its limited resource and revenue. The members of *al-Ikhwān* became tireless under the leadership of Hasan-al-Banna to organise weekly picnics to countryside. Hasan-al-Banna made it possible during his visits to inaugurate several units in villages. The members also dedicated and sacrificed their lives in participating "*jawalat*" in order to combat cholera and Malaria among the poor and destitute.<sup>44</sup>

Besides this, it appealed to the Government to precinct agricultural possession and encouraged petty farmers to increase cultivation. It also requested authorities to pay compensation to farmers for properties taken from them.

After the end of the second world war, it paid greater attention to rural areas, established medical units and small hospitals to offer free medical treatment to the poor so much so the budget of medical department reached twenty three thousand pounds. The magazines of *al-Ikhwān* drew the attention of the Government towards the realisation of actual position and strength of peasants and explained to them their obligation to increase the living standard of the poor. It also gave a clear and feasible picture of the position of peasants and the villages of Egypt and their significant role and contribution in liberating the nation politically and economically.<sup>46</sup>

## Impact of Al-Ikhwān on Other Countries

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**T**he message of *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn* penetrated into the world in the year 1946. It was accepted by the Muslim people as a new universal practical concept. It had also been eulogised for its completion of the work. It published in this period, the daily newspaper entitled "*al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimūn*" which disseminated the message of *al-Ikhwān* to different corners of the world.

This newspaper was entrusted with the responsibility of propagating the message of *al-Ikhwān* at an international level had been published in May, 1949 and was unfortunately banned by the Government in November of the same year. It's publication right was withheld because it published the report of general Hakim of Sudan of British embassy. In one of the publications, it disclosed the conspiracy of the British Imperialism to separate Sudan from Egypt, which was not agreed upon by any one of the two countries. This revolutionary movement took birth in 1928 and directed the trend of renaissance in various Muslim countries, by appealing them to re-introduce an Islamic education which represented the Universal social order that could reform the entire humanity of the contemporary world. Many Islamic Movements have emerged during this period carrying the names of various categories, among them *al-Ikhwan-al-Muslimun* in Egypt, Sudan, Palestine, and Jordan and *al-Shubbanul Muslimun* and the youth movement of Mohammad (P.B.U.H) in Syria and Lebanon, were significant.

These movements had developed their contacts and accelerated relations with *al-Ikhwān* other than Arab and Islamic countries to unify their Islamic aims and objectives.

It is obvious that all international Islamic movements which came into being with the sole objective to fight all sorts of exploitation of man over man in their respective countries and to establish the Islamic system of life, had accepted the methodology, foot prints, archetypes and the concepts of *al-Ikhwān* in their system, working pattern and administrative affairs.

## **AIMS AND OBJECTIVES**

As stated above, they virtually adopted the blue print of *al-Ikhwān* in their routine and an intensive training was given to the members in conformity with the methods of *al-Ikhwān*. The following were the basic aims and objectives of the movement.

1. Formation of new generation which would understand Islam fully and correctly and act according to its ideals.
2. Resisting all anti-Islamic movements which lead towards destruction.
3. Dissemination of Islamic *da'wah* and exposition of the Universal message which could agree with modern style and period.
4. Participation in all movements of liberation and independence until their country would be liberated from foreign domination.

5. To work to achieve the establishment of decent state which could implement Islamic law and its education practically, and committed to protect its conveying the message to each Islamic country.
6. Establishment of social work and social services.

## MEASURES

*Al-Ikhwān* believed in realisation of these aims and in order to achieve the aims, it adopted the following measures.

- i. Propagation and conviction through speeches, lessons letters, publications, delegations and deputations.
- ii. Training and formation: Formation of *al-Ikhwān* as a pure and decent, physical body; intellectualism with knowledge and culture; spiritualism with character and worship; their steps would be Islamic literature and their way of life would be Islam individually in their houses.
- iii. Tawhīd and Implementation: To make programmes in all fields of life, particularly in education, training, administration, economics, health, guidance and military affairs.
- iv. Establishment and Foundation: Establishment of social, economic and religious organisations and formation of committees for *zakah* and to reform individual and families and to attention to childhood and adolescence.

## AL-IKHWĀN AND DEMOCRACY

Expressing the considered views about democracy, Hasanl-al-Banna says, “if the purpose and goal of democrat-

ic system would be to protect fundamental laws and rights of an individual and society such as religion, family, freedom and it directs its legislation to help weak and feeble and also the Government interference in social affairs with dignity which could assist to entertain the important social reform and if a democratic system really advocates the above said factors, certainly we welcome such democracy, because of the adoption of some elements which have been derived from Islamic concepts and ideals. True Islamic religion came to establish the human society under the framework of peace and harmony which could implement the revealed laws without any hesitation and violation. It came to protect the real ideology, to found the characterful family, keep the system in order and benevolence to complete the society. It implements social justice, helps poors and downtrodden and tries to improve the living standard of people. It strongly condemns the root-cause of exploitation of man over man under the garb of various ideologies and philosophies which are responsible for poverty and unhealthy atmosphere.”<sup>1</sup>

Islam had already enjoined the system of *shūra* (consultation) and commanded to adopt counselling and consultation in all matters. The *ummah* is obligated to operationalize the process of consultation in all matters. Hence, such a democratic system could be welcomed because it adopts what has come into Islam.

We have to remember besides this that we are Muslims and the true Islam came to unify, integrate and consolidate people who believe in the codes and ethics of Islam and link them as a single entity. We know that Islam came to establish and maintain this unity between those who believe it.

## **AL-IKHWĀN AND ISLAMIC DA‘WAH**

The purview, domain and the call of *al-Ikhwān* crossed

the home borders of each and every land. It reached Sudan, Syria, Lebanon and Yemen. Then its *da'wah* work and its ideology had spread in the heart of Africa and also arrived at the lands like Eritrea and also various pockets and zones of Asia, among them Pakistan and Indonesia can be cited.<sup>2</sup>

In Pakistan, *al-Ikhwān* participated in the Asian conference and nominated their representative Mustafa Mumin as the president of this conference. Aligarh Muslim University invited the representatives of *al-Ikhwān* to inaugurate the first branch of *al-Ikhwān* in India.<sup>3</sup>

In Colombu, a committee for the establishment of *al-Ikhwān* was formed and the Muslims of Burma sent a telegram expressing their comprehensive and whole hearted support for the work of *al-Ikhwān* in India.<sup>4</sup>

When the representative of *al-Ikhwān* Salih al-Ushmavi arrived in Karachi, Qaide Azam Mohamed Ali Jinnah, the great political leader of the Indian Muslims and the first Governor General of newly independent Muslim state, Pakistan, which was separated from India in 1947, proclaimed his own and his party stand regarding their support to *al-Ikhwān* and declared that the Government would go along with Qur'an and would adopt it as the way of life.<sup>5</sup>

In Indonesia, Muslims had agreed to the *Da'wah* and complied to associate under its flag and *al-Ikhwān* stood with them in liberating their country.

In England, the voice of *Da'wah* in elevated position and the conference of Arab Students was held in Kulliyyat-al-Malik in London. The representative of *al-Ikhwān* got an opportunity of taking part in this conference. An article was published about the activities of *al-Ikhwān* and it mentioned that the objective of their work in this world was to

mould and prepare a new generation according to Islamic principles and ideals.<sup>7</sup>

In America, Mustafa Mumin distributed the message of *al-Ikhwān* among the youth. In Italy, Dr. Mohamed-al-Husaini devoted to establish the office of *al-Ikhwān*. In Iraq, the common people established the branches of *al-Ikhwān* in Baghdad, Al-Masusil, Erbeil, Sulaimania and Karkuk under the leadership of Mohamed Mahmud-al-Sawf.<sup>8</sup>

Besides the above mentioned places, the nuclei of *Da'wah* of *al-Ikhwān* had disseminated in other parts of the globe, among them: Iran, Afghanistan, Ceylon, Indonesia and China could be significantly noted. In addition to the above mentioned places, the *Da'wah* activities had deeply rooted in countries like Morocco, Libya, Tunisia and Angola.<sup>9</sup>

It has already been mentioned that the establishment and the support of people of respective countries were extended towards the concept, aim, ideology and the methodology of *al-Ikhwān*. Not only people showed their desire and sincerity to accept this type of reform but tried to follow up the same in their practical life. After some years, the scholars of these countries hoisted the flags of Islamic consciousness and commitment to start new movements and new organisations similar to the mode of *al-Ikhwān*.

In the Indo-Pak sub-continent, *Jam'iate-Islami* movement was founded in 1942 by Maulana Syed Abdul Ala-al-Mawdudi. This movement represented similar thought and action as *al-Ikhwān* had held. Though the working pattern and the methodology differed in accordance with the standard and nature and psychology of the people as well as the political atmosphere, the objective, target and the motto were mainly identical.

Like wise, in Indonesia, Islamic party under the presidency of Abdul Nasser which called for Islamic resurgence came into being, which also followed the blue print of *al-Ikhwān* and had faced with many challenges and travails like *al-Ikhwān* experienced in Egypt under hostile rulers who were the brain product of the West.

## AL-IKHWĀN'S CONCEPT OF JIHĀD

Among the most important of all the characteristics of *al-Ikhwān* was its constant emphasis on the significance of *jihād*. The *Ikhwān* promoted the spirit of *jihād* and the Muslims always recognised it without any reconciliation with modern apologetic and compromising ideologies. It emphasised the actual form of *jihād* rather than confining to the rituals and the worship in the mosque all the times. Besides the establishment of regular prayer and learning the Qur'an and the practice behind the screen, it also virtually motivated the believers to understand the importance of this concept fully and comprehensively. It encouraged the spirit of *jihād* by promoting all varieties of physical exercises and body building, sports, games for the youth. It also encouraged and promoted the scout movement and created their own para-military army to protect themselves at the time of crisis. Hasan-al-Banna again and again appealed to the citizens of Egypt to proclaim *jihād* against British forces and expel them permanently from the soil of Egypt. He did not accept any sort of compromise in this regard from Britain to keep their forces inside the soil. In 1948, during the Palestine War, the volunteers of *al-Ikhwān* fought against Zionists and proved themselves as the strongest and capable among all who participated from the side of Arabs. When the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O) approved formally the formation of Zionist State in Palestine, Hasan-al-Banna, in his weekly *al-Da'wah* appealed that all Muslim countries to quit the membership of the United Nations and

unite and co-operate against the Jews in *Jihād*. His primary objective was to establish an Islamic community and an Islamic Government with the holy "*Shari'ah*" as the only and the only law of the land.

He once emphatically proclaimed : "We shall never remain quiescent nor silent nor shall we rest until we see the Qur'an an effective constitution. We shall live for this aim or we shall die in this attempt".

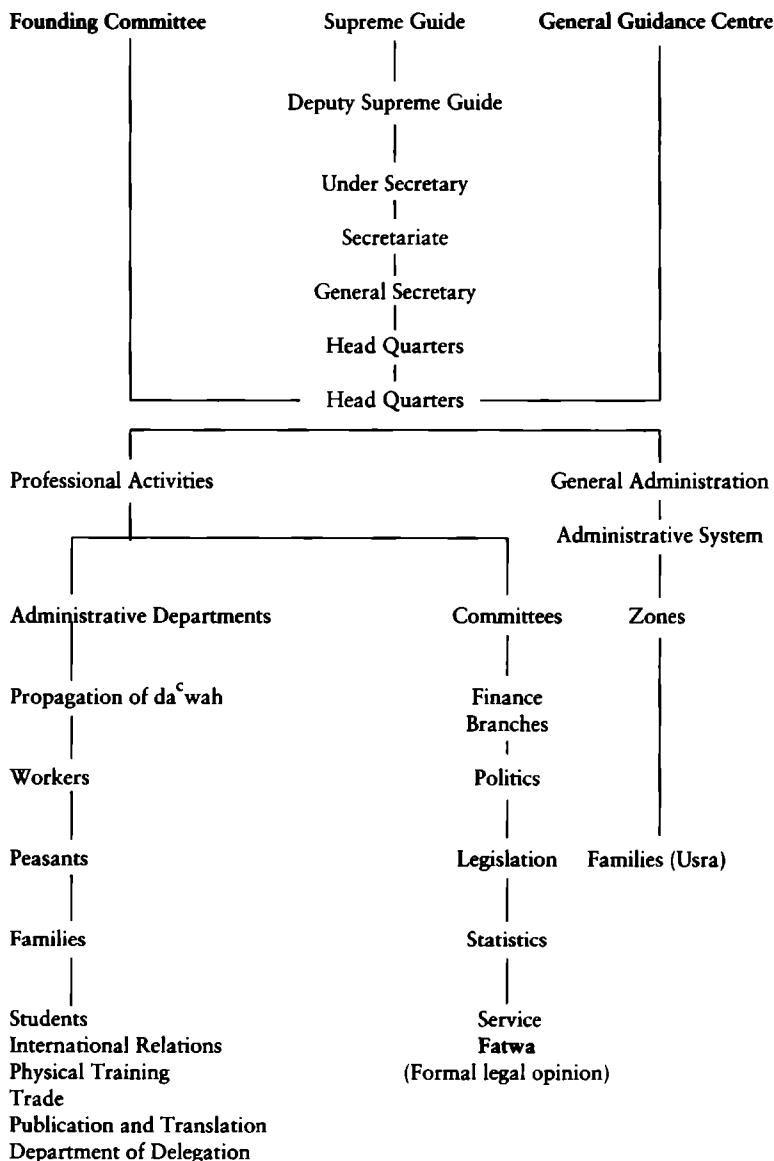
### Organisational Structure of Al-Ikhwān

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**T**he organisational structure of *al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimīn* which played a vital role in transformation of Egyptian society that was forced to plunge into innumerable problems, chaos and confusion is discussed in this chapter. The general infrastructure and set up of the organisation were not similar to other social and cultural organisations as well as political parties in general, rather it had an unique hierarchy and its own special system which was regarded superior among others. For the betterment of the society in general, it divided the organisation into many departments which directly involved in overcoming the problems of that particular section so that the problems would be eliminated without any procrastination.

Its activities were primarily concentrated among the youth and students in order to bring about an intellectual uniformity in addition to inclusion of the workers, labourers, peasants, professionals, teachers and politicians. Unlike other organizations, it never ignored the importance and role of women in the development of society. It separately formed a department of welfare for women which took keen interest to activate women's wing and brought about an awakening among them. This section of *al-Ikhwān* encountered all sorts of western concepts and philosophies of making woman a slave or a subject of sex. It also differed with the Western interpretation of the position of woman as a child producing factory and not conducive for other activities. It provided honour and dignity to women folk.

The following is an organizational structure of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*.



## **SUPREME GUIDE (MURSHID-AL- AM)**

The post of Supreme Guide was the most important and powerful position in *al-Ikhwān*. There was no system of President and Vice-President as we normally find in other organizations. The principal leader was called Supreme Guide i.e. the one who guides the members of the organization. This structure provided brotherly atmosphere to the members. Neither bureaucracy nor obstinancy were involved in its functions.

The general qualifications for a candidate to contest for this chief post was defined as follows:-

- i) That he should have been a member of the Founding Committee for a period of at least five years;
- ii) That he should have also attained the age of thirty at least, according to lunar months, and should possess the qualities of knowledge, good character and vital experience;
- iii) He would be elected by those members of Founding Committee in a meeting attended by not less than four fifth of the members, and his election should be agreed by three fourth of participants. If there would be no quorum, the meeting would be postponed for minimum two weeks and maximum four weeks from the date of first meeting. If there would be no quorum even in the second meeting, after passing the prescribed period as mentioned in the constitution, the election would be completed in this meeting with three fourth majority of votes of the participants;

- iv) The new *Murshid* would take an oath after his election declaring that he would act as a custodian of the fundamental Principles of *al-Ikhwān* and obey to and protect the basic constitution;
- v) That he would preserve the general interest of the organisation (the teachings of Qur'an and Sunnah would be his main sources of guidance along with other advice.)

It was also decided that an elected Supreme Guide should devote his full time for the organisation and should avoid participating in any economic or financial establishments till his association with the organisation would continue, and it was permitted to carry out his literary and educational activities on the condition that the office of the Guidance should endorse such activities. If he wished to enter into any venture, he should call a meeting of the Founding Committee to get its approval. It was necessary for him to tender his resignation if he could not fulfil his obligations of his position and misuse his official power.

The duration of Supreme Guide was fixed till his death. On his death, the deputy Supreme Guide would remain as Supreme Guide until a fresh election be held within a month.

The Office of the General guidance was legally constituted of twelve members, among them nine were from Cairo and three were from Zones who were elected (Basic constitution law Article 19). But it was a Phase that number of members had been twenty, till the period of Abidin in 1946-48, the then Secretary General of *al-Ikhwān*. Hasan-al-Banna determined to reduce the number to twelve to make him easy to solve this subject, officially, according to the constitution. The number of members increased to fifteen after 1951, and the office had nominated three more members from the members of the Founding Committee.

The qualifications for the candidature for the membership of the office was: (i) he should not be less than 30 years old according to lunar calender; (ii) should have been a member of Founding Committee for the period, not less than three years; (iii) and should have possessed good qualities, sound knowledge and vast experience. The election of the members of office would be completed through secret ballot among the members of Founding Committee. After this, every elected member would take an oath declaring that he should preserve the identity and fundamental Principles of *al-Ikhwān* including the basic framework of constitution. Then, the Founding Committee would elect through secret ballot a deputy Supreme Guide, Secretary General and Treasurer from among the nine members of the office of Cairo and it should be supervised by the election commission, which was responsible for holding an election without any bias, favour, difference and dispute.

The members of office were elected for a period of two years whose Position was subject to termination, if they did violate constitution and overlook the rules and regulations. This office was the most powerful, which looked after all the affairs of the organisation, supervised its administration, sketched the political trends and implemented the proposed programmes. It could call a meeting any time according to the demand of Supreme Guide.

Usually, the meeting of the office was headed by Supreme Guide or by his under secretary during his absence. If both of them were absent, then the meeting was to be conducted by a senior member of the office who was also senior in age. The office had every right to take action, whenever, it became necessary regarding its branches or departments to maintain and regulate discipline.

## **GENERAL SECRETARY**

The Founding Committee would elect the Secretary

General from among the members of the Office of the Guidance. He would be the chief representative of the Office of the Guidance and responsible for head-quarters in all matters. As far as his duties were concerned, it was upto him to implement these decisions of office, and the supervision of all other general administrative system of *al-Ikhwān* would be under him. He would be also responsible to call meetings and prepare agenda for meetings. He had to supervise and maintain minute book and prepare official report of office, besides preserving the records, documents and papers. He would be a principal function and chief coordinator between the office and running units of the organisation. He was also empowered to employ an assistant for him if he felt it necessary. The General Secretariate would be answerable and accountable before the Supreme Guide alone and not subservient to anybody.

## **TREASURER**

The treasurer was responsible on the matters of finance for the organisation in general and the expenditure of the Office of the Guidance in particular. His duty was to submit monthly financial report with vouchers and other relevant documents about the income and expenditure of the organisation in all spheres in order to get its approval and endorsement.

## **FOUNDING COMMITTEE**

According to the constitution of the organization the total number of the members of Founding Committee was between one hundred and one hundred fifty. In the later years, it was observed that there were 147 members in the Founding Committee of the organisation. The requirement for the membership was that a person would have been a

working member and completed 25 years of age, at least, and associated with *al-Ikhwān* for five years and should manifest a good moral character and experience.

The annual meeting of this Founding Committee was usually held during the first month of every year of *hijra* and the following items were the normal agenda of every meeting.

1. Report of the Office of the Guidance about activities of the ensuing year.
2. Report of accounts of previous financial year.
3. Budget of forthcoming fiscal year.
4. Election of new members in the place of those whose seats fell vacant after the period of termination of their membership.

Normally, the meeting of the Founding Committee would be chaired by the Supreme Guide. In case of his absence, it would be chaired by his under Secretary.

The Founding Committee would constitute seven members among the inhabitants of Cairo who would be the experts in the field of legal and constitutional matters. Important among the activities was to supervise and observe the conduct of members. This committee also recommended penalty for the members who violated the rules and regulations. Supreme Guide had to accept their decision regarding punishments. There was a President and Secretary for this committee to observe the attendance and maintain records.

## **MEMBERSHIP CATEGORY**

In the third general conference held in the year 1935,

Hasan-al-Banna announced the category of the membership in three stages :

1. Helper
2. Associate Member
3. Worker

Any Muslim who agree to subscribe himself to the objectives of the organisation should fill in membership card, and pay an entrance fee. He would then be admitted in the organisation as a Helper member until he would be clear to understand the principles of the movement and constant in attending meetings without fail. Then he would be promoted to become an Associate member based on good performance. Then he would be made a working member upon incorporating himself completely and perfectly in the movement and receiving physical training and memorising some parts of the holy Qur'an, performing the obligations of Islam such as Fasting, *Zakah*, and *Haj*. The membership of "*Mujahid*" was the superior form in the hierarchy of membership. It was confined to only those members who were honest, sincere, committed and devoted to the movement in all aspects. They manifested extra ordinary qualities as well as were prepared for sacrifice.

Nevertheless, the policy issued in the year, 1945 did not limit the membership except two kinds (i.e. under scrutiny and worker). New members should have to pass through the first stage of six months. There was a need to prove this establishment period by discharging the responsibilities and obligations of membership.

The movement was well organised with members classified into grades, first and second class, supporting and active workers who would advance to a higher grade only after they had passed certain examinations. When a member had become active, he was entitled to attend special

meetings presided by Shaikh Hasan-al-Banna himself. In order to facilitate the supervision of active members, they were divided into Nuclei, Cells, and Families. Whenever a branch becomes strong due to many members, it was upgraded to an administrative unit with a council whose members were selected by the general assembly. All members had to take oath of allegiance to protect *al-Ikhwân* even by sacrificing their lives and have implicit trust and confidence in their supervisors and enforcing their decision even if they personally differed with them. They were required to study the Qur'an, memorize some parts of it, and learn *hadith* as well as the principles of Islamic Jurisprudence (*fiqh*).

## HEAD – QUARTERS (MARKAZ-AL-‘AM)

The head quarters of *al-Ikhwân* consisted of three important components. They were: (i) Office of the Supreme Guide; (ii) Office of the Guidance; and (iii) Founding Committee. These three offices were together situated in the head quarter in Cairo. The office of the professional activities was also kept in the same place together with the general secretariate. The General Secretary was the most important and responsible personality in the secretariate.

The head quarters had been divided into many units. The building consisted of residence, offices, and auditorium for holding meetings. There used to be some full time workers, carrying out the office work throughout the day and night without any interval. Most of the activities were performed by the majority of the members and leaders after lunch as well as in the evening and after completing their regular personal activities. It also had a special place which functioned as a small mosque in which office workers used to perform their prayer. There was a library attached to the same building. Number of visitors visiting the office in the evening had increased day by day.

The library contained number of books in Arabic language. It had also the treasure of many books which were collected through personal contributions. The Government confiscated the library in the year 1948 when the decision of dissolution was under consideration. The Government then decided to distribute the confiscated books among the remaining libraries in Egypt, after it had incinerated all those books which contained the message of *al-Ikhwān* and its *daʿwah*. It is said that books were donated to Islamic organisation in Cairo namely "*Jamʿiat-al-Tarbiyah-al-Islamiyyah*".

*Al-Ikhwān* appealed to give back all those confiscated books which were received by *Jamʿiat-al-Tarbiyah-al-Islamiyyat* after paying the cost. The library was rebuilt and was enriched by adding 25,000 volumes of Islamic Studies, Arabic literature, grammar and history. All these preserved books were destroyed in October, 1954 when the office of *al-Ikhwān* was set fire by the conspirators.

## PROFESSIONAL ACTIVITIES

Department of professional activities was divided into two parts. First part was concerned with the specialization for the betterment of the organisation. It consisted of six committees which were responsible and answerable directly to the Office of the Guidance. There were six committees of finance, politics, legislation, statistics, services and *fatwa* (legal opinion). The second section was divided into ten departments which specialised with model and inspiration and reciprocal instruction. There were sections of dissemination of *daʿwah*, workers, peasants, families, students, contact with Islamic world, physical training and volunteer-ship, employment, publication and translation and a special section for women. The departments of workers and peasants were incorporated after the reconstruction of the

organisation in the year, 1951 and the department of publication and translation became an independent committee among the other committees.

These committees and departments had to function under the instruction of the Office of the Guidance and their centre was the headquarter's. Its activities and decisions were to be conveyed to the office through Secretary General to get approval of Supreme Guide. The Office of the Guidance had to nominate the president of all committees as the Supreme Guide nominated his assistant.

## THE COMMITTEES:

In the following few lines we would briefly discuss the role and function of six important committees. The financial committee was responsible to assist the Treasurer. It was an essential legislative committee which protected *al-Ikhwān* in all critical situations and in preparing their files. This work could not continue without the permission of the Office of Guidance. The political committee was concerned with study and analysis of the political trends of the country in particular and outside world in general which helped the organisation in various ways. The service committee appointed to necessitate *al-Ikhwān* and its members. The *Fatwa* committee was meant to explain the Islamic version and point of view on affairs in which *al-Ikhwān* was falsely accused. The statistical committee preserved and safeguarded the statements about the activities of *al-Ikhwān*, and also the accounts which were submitted after every three months to the higher leadership. Translation and publication committee was responsible to make arrangements of all publications of the organization in various languages. This committee had to work in many dimensions including the publication of organizational journals and newspapers. The Committee was also responsible to keep and to up-date record of all materials relevant to the organizational affairs.

## Chapter 1

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### INTRODUCTION

1. Lothrop Stoddard, *The New World of Islam*, n.d. pp. 25-26.
2. Born in 1703, Shah Waliullah received early education at Delhi. He went to Haj in 1720 where he studied under Shah Abu Tahir Madani for some time. On returning to India, he rose to become a moving spirit of reform and revival of Islam in India. It was he who asked Ahmed Shah Abdali to crush the power of Marathas in 1757. He wrote 23 books and a number of treatises discussing economic, political, social and religious issues.
3. Mohiddin Ahmad, *Sayed Ahmad Shahid*, Lucknow, 1975, p. 11.
4. Born in 164 A.H. at Baghdad, He came of an Arab tribe shaiban which was renowned for its courage and endurance, grit and vigour. His grandfather, Hanbal Ibn Hilal had migrated from Basrah to Khurasan and was appointed as Governor of Sarakhsh under the Umayyads but he was sympathetic to the Abbaside propaganda to supplant Bani Hisham, the descendants of the Prophet, in place of the Umayyah. He memorised the Qur'an. After completing education he

set out for Basra, Hijaz, Yemen, Syria and al-Jazirah for attending lectures of the reputed doctors of Tradition in these places.

5. Born in 661 A.H., Ibn Taimiyya came of a reputed family of theologians belonging to Havan near Edessa in Northern Iraq. This was the time when the entire world of Islam trembling with fear under terrible blows dealt with by the barbaric Tartar border. He struggled against innovations and abuses. To know fully his biography refer to: Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Saviours of Islamic Spirit*, Vol. II, Lucknow, 1974.
6. Ahmad Abdul Ghafur al-Attar, *Muhammad Ibn Abdul Wahab*, Translated into English from Arabic by Dr. Rashed al-Barrawi, 1919, Second edition, p. 167.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid, p. 173.
9. Shaikh Muhammad Abdul Wahhab, *Kitab al-Tauhid*, Translated into English by Ismail Raji al-Faruqi, I.I. F.S.O., 1979, p. XV.
10. Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, *Western Civilization*, Lucknow, 1974, Second Edition, p. 91.
11. Ibid.
12. Ahmad Anas al-Hajaj, *Ruh wa Raihan*, n.d., p. 49.
13. Maryam Jamilah, *Islam in Theory and Practice*, Lahore, 1973, p. 201.
14. c.c. Adam, *Islam and Modernism in Egypt*, London, 1933, p. 7.

15. Anwar al-Jundi, *Al-<sup>c</sup>Alam al-Islam wal-Isti<sup>c</sup>umār al-Siyasi wal Iqtisādī wal-Thaqāfi*, Dar al-Marafah, 1970, p. 170.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton Univerity Press, New Jersey, 1957, p. 49.
19. Philip K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, Mac Millan and Co Ltd., London, Tenth Edition, 1970. p. 754.
20. Muhammad Mahmud Hussain, *Al-Ittihadat al-Wataniyyah-filAdab al-Mu<sup>c</sup>asir*, Daral-Irshad, Beirut, 1970, pp. 70-75.
21. Al-Manar, i. 11, 12.
22. Nadav Safran, *Egypt in search of a Political Community*, Harward Univerity Press, 1961, p. 82.
23. c.c. Adam (1933), op. cit, p. 195.
24. Ibid.
25. Maryam Jamilah (1973), op. cit., p. 222.
26. Ibid.
27. Abul Hasan Ali Nadvi, (1974), op. cit., pp. 112-113.
28. Ahmad Abdul Ghafur al-Attar, op. cit., p. 159.

## Chapter 2

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- 1) Ahmad Anas al-Hajaj, *Ruh wa Raihan*, Cairo, 1954, pp. 11, 2 13.
- 2) Majallah al-Usur, 20th. August 1955, p. 16.
- 3) Abdul Rahman 'Dhakariyat-Hādhihi al-Ayyam-Fi-Maktabat al-Walidi, Majallah al-da'wah, pp. 33, 31, 13th. August 1951.
- 4) Sadiq Amin, *Min Tarikh al-Harakat al-Islamiyyah*, p. 4, n.d.
- 5) Ibid.
- 6) Hasan-al-Banna, *Mudhakkirah al-Dā'wah wal-Dā'iyyah*, p. 19, n.d.
- 7) Richard Mitchel, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, p. 22. This was translated by Abdul Salam Rizwan.
- 8) Hasan al-Banna, op. cit., pp. 7, 8.
- 9) Hasan al-Banna, op. cit, pp. 7,8.
- 10) Anwar al-Jundi, *Hasan al-Banna, Al-Da'wah wal-Dā'iyyah*, p. 19. n.d.

- 11) Ibid.
- 12) Hasan al-Banna, op. cit.
- 13) Ibid.
- 14) Ibid.
- 15) Ibid.
- 16) Ishaq Musa al-Husaini, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, Kubra al-Harakāt al-Islamiyyah fil-ʿĀlam al-ʿArabi*, Beirut, 1955.
- 17) Sadiq Amin, op. cit., p. 4.
- 18) Malohm H. Kerr, *Islamic Reform, The Political and Legal Theories of Muhammad Abduhu and Rashid Rida*, University of California, Los Angeles, 1966, p. 16.
- 19) Ishaq Musa al-Husaini, *The Muslim Brothren*, Khayalas College Book Cooperative, Beirut, 1956, pp. 7-8. This quotation is an excerpt from *Islam in Theory and Practice* by Maryam Jamila.
- 20) Anwar al-Jundi, *Hasan al-Banna, al-Daʿiyyah al-Imam wal-Mujaddid al-Shahid*, First edition, 1978, p. 28.
- 21) Ibid.
- 22) Ibid.
- 23) Ibid.
- 24) Ibid.

- 25) Ibid.
- 26) Ibid., p. 281.
- 27) Ibid., p. 290.
- 28) Ibid.
- 29) Ibid.
- 30) Ibid.
- 31) Ibid.
- 32) Ibid.
- 33) Ibid.

## Chapter 3

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1. ROZANTAL, *MUSLIM BROTHERN OF EGYPT*, pp. 228, 1949. This has been mentioned in the book *Al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimun* by Ritchard Mitchel translated into Arabic by Mahmud Abu Saud published in 1979, p. 76. But Zakaria Sulayman Bayumi in his doctrate thesis published in November, 1978, Cairo; says that these six personalities were from the inhabitants of Ismailia. The date of their meeting with Hasan al-Banna also differs in his book as April 1928, p. 81.
2. Richard Mitchell, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, Translated into Arabic by Mahmoud Abu Saud, 1979, 1st. edition, p. 76.
3. Hasan al-Banna, op. cit., p. 72.
4. Abdul Basit al-Banna, *Taj al-Islam wa Mulhamat al-Islam*, pp. 18-25, nd.
5. Ibid pp. 18-25.
6. It is known in the Coast of Suez Canal.
7. Hasan al-Banna, op. cit., p. 73.

8. Ibid, p. 79.
9. Ibid.
10. Abdul Basit al-Banna, op. cit p. 25, nd. and Ishaq al-Husaini *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, p. 21, nd.
11. Tariq al-Bashari, *Al-Harakat al-Siyasiyyah Fi al-Misr*, p. 46 nd. Ahmad Anas, *Ruh wa Raihan*, p. 249, nd. Abdul Azeez Ramadan, *Tatawwur al-Harakat-al-Wataniyyat-Fi-al-Misr*, Vol I, p. 304.
12. Hasan al-Banna, op. cit, pp. 113-114.
13. Ahmad Anas al-Hajaj, op. cit, p. 202.
14. Ishaq al-Husaini, op. cit, p. 30.
15. Hasan al-Banna, op. cit., pp. 139-140 and Ishaq al-Husaini, op. cit, p. 30.
16. Raffat-Sayyid, op. cit, p. 66.
17. *Jaridah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimin*, No. 41, dated 21/3/1935.
18. The resolution of the third conference did not discuss and expose any national problem. It neither spoke a word in defending poors nor tried to solve problems of Egypt. However, it concentrated in discussing the plans to educate good moral character which was a necessary tool for reform of the Muslims in each and every field.
19. *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, exposed to the people, the treaty of 1936 which contained galaxy of conspiracies. There was opposition for it. Abdul Azeez al-Ramadan, op. cit, pp. 315-316.

20. Christian Harris, *Nationalism and Revolution in Egypt*, 1964, p. 182.
21. Ritchard Mitchell, op. cit, p. 43.

## Chapter 4

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1. Hasan al-Banna, op. cit, p. 240. Muhammad Abdullah al-Saman, *Arkan al-Dawah al-Islamiyyah wa Rasail al-Fikrah al-Islamiyyah*, Vol. V, July 1954, pp. 36, 44, 54.
2. Hasan al-Banna, *Majm'uah al-Rasail al-Imam-al-shahid Risalah al-Mutamar al-Khamis*, p. 241.
3. Asim al-Dusuqi, *Misr-Fi-al-Harb-al-Alamiyyah al-Thaniyyah*, 1939-1945, p. 33.
4. Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, *Fil Awqab-al-Thawrah-al-Misriyyah*, Vol. III, pp. 73-74.
5. Muhammad Husayn Haykal, *Mudhakkirah-Fi-al-Siyasiyyah al-misriyyah*, Vol. III, p. 172.
6. Asim al-Dusuqi, op. cit, pp. 50-51.
7. Ahmad Abdul Rahim Mustafa, *Al-'Alaqāt-al-Misriyyah wal-Britaniyyah* (1936-1956), pp. 22-24.
8. Muhammad Showki, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn wal-mujtama-al-misri*, Cairo, 1954, pp. 124-127.
9. Muhammad Husayn Haykal, op. cit, pp. 208-209.

10. He was the Minister of Education who issued an order of transfer.
11. Fathi al-Asal, *Hasan al-Banna Kama Araftuhu*, p. 55, nd.
12. Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, op. cit., p. 109.
13. Jaridah al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, dated 20th May 1954.
14. Dume, J.H., *Religious and Political trends in Modern Egypt*, Washington, 1950, pp. 37-41.
15. Muhammad Showki Zaki, op. cit, p. 22.
16. Al-Dawah, dated 10th February 1953.
17. Ishaq al Husaini, op. cit, pp. 36-38.
18. Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, op. cit, p. 177. Also see: Hasan-al-Banna Al-Islah-Wahdat-la-Tatazazan, No. 62, 18th Rajab 1364H, corresponding to 28th June 1945.
19. Ritchard Mitchell, op. cit., p. 102.
20. Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, op. cit., p. 179.
21. Ibid, pp. 180-182.
22. Muhammad Hasan Ahmad, *Al-Ikhwan Fil-Mizān*, pp. 84-85.
23. Ritchard Mitcheel, op. cit., p. 105.
24. Jaridat al-Ikhwan, 5th July 1946. Also see: Abdul

- Rahman al-Rafi'i, op. cit, p. 187.,
25. Muhammad Hussain Ahmad, op. cit, pp. 38-50.
  26. Hasan al-Banna, 'Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun wal-Mufawadah' Al. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun', No. 99, 21st Jumadi al-Awwal, 1365H corresponding to 23rd April 1946.
  27. Salih al-Ushmavi, 'Nurid an-Numina bil-Quwwah', al-Ikhwān-al-Muslimun, No. 102 Jumadi al-Akhir 1365H corresponding to 18th May 1946.
  28. Jaridah Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, Jumadi al-Akhir 1365H corresponding to 8th May 1946.
  29. Salih al-Ushmavi, 'Al-Jihād Fi Sabiluna', al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn, No. 105, Rajab 1365H corresponding to 8th June 1946.
  30. Ritchard Mitchell, op. cit, p. 107.
  31. Abdul Aziz al-kamil, 'Misr Hina Tumin', Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun, No. 118, 14th September 1946.
  32. Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, op. cit, p. 195.
  33. Ibid. The seven persons who refused to accept the treaty were: Sharif Sabri, Ali Mahir, Abdul Fatah Yahya, Hussain Sirri, Al-Shamsi, Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid and Mukram Abid.
  34. Ritchard Mitchell, op. cit., p. 111.
  35. Abdul Rahman al-Rafi'i, op. cit., p. 215. Also see: Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun (journal No. 130 dated 14th December 1946).

36. Ishaq al-Husaini, op. cit, p. 42.
37. Ahmad Anas al-Hajaj, 'Daurah al-Taghyir al-Wazir', Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun, No. 130, dated 14th December 1946.
38. Ibid.

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1. Ritchard Mitchell, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, op. cit, p. 137.
2. Ibid, p. 138.
3. Ibid.
4. Zakaria Sulaiman Bayumi, op. cit, p. 285.
5. Keerah *Mahakamat*, Vol 2. pp. 31-35, *Jaridah al-jamhuriyyah*, 23rd September 1954, p. 1, 4, 7.

## Chapter 6

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1. Hasan al-Banna, *Mudhakkirat al-Dawah wal-Daiyyah*, p. 213.
2. Adul Rahman al-Banna, *Thawrah al-Dam*, 1951, p. 26. In this book many articles regarding the problems of Palestine are printed.
3. Abdul Basit al-Banna, *Taj al-Islam wa-Mulhamat al-Imam*, 1952, pp. 37-38. Also see: Kamil Ismail Sharif, *Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun fi-Harb-Filistin*, p. 42.
4. Fathi al-Asal, *Hasan al-Banna Kama Araftuhu*, p. 43.
5. *Jaridah-al-Ikhwan al-Muslimun*, 21st June 1946, p. 1, *Majallat al-da'wah*, 17th February 1951, p. 22.
6. *Ahwal-al-ta'dib*, p. 32. This is a document in which many informations are included, printed in Cairo 1951. Ritchard Mitchel writes that Salih Abu Raqiq, the secretary of the department of international contact, represented *al-Ikhwan* in this committee and Mustafa Mu min as mentioned.
7. *Majallah al-da'wah*, 13th February 1951, p. 22. Also see: *Jaridah al-Jamhurriyyah*, 12th November 1954, p. 4.
8. Muhammad Labib al-Bawhi, *Ma Shahadawr al-*

*Ikhwan*, 1951, pp. 24-36.

9. Ibid.
10. Kamil Ismail Sharif, op. cit, pp. 146-147.

## Chapter 7

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1. Kamil Ismail Sharif, op. cit, p. 237.
2. Muhammad Labib Bouhi, *al-Ikhwan Ayyam al-Mihnah*, n.d., pp. 22-25.
3. Majallah al-Mabahith, 7th November 1950, p. 13.
4. Alexander Mark, *Left and Right and Egypt* 20th Century, February 1952, p. 125. Also see: Majallah al-Mabahith, 31st October 1950, p. 9.
5. Ritchard Mitchel, Translation of Muhammad Abu Saud, op. cit, p. 182.
6. Majallah al-Da'wah, 19th January 1954, p. 3.
7. Kirah, Mahkamat, Jaridah al-Ahram p. 39.
8. Ibid.
9. Abdul Khabeer al-Khawli, *Qaid al-dawah al-Islamiyyah Hasan al-Banna*, 1952, pp. 64-65.
10. Majallah al-da'wah, 30th October 1951, p. 1.
11. They were the army officers of *al-Ikhwan* who participated in the revolution. Some said that there were

nine officers from *al-Ikhwan* took part in revolution.

12. Landon Jacob, *Parliaments and Parties in Egypt*, Tel Aviv, 1953, p. 192.
13. Jaridah al-Jamhurriyyah, 23 November 1954, p. 10.
14. Keerah 'Mahkamat', Jaridah al-Ahram, p. 43.
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16. Jaridah al-Jamhuriyyah, 15th January 1954, p. 1.
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