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THE MOSLEM BROTHER

The Greatest of Modern Islamic Movements

by

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CHAPTER ONE

ORIGINS

The first Young Men’s Moslem Association, [Y.M.M.A.]1, was established at Cairo in December 1927, closely following the precedent of the Young Men’s Christian Association which was founded at Cairo in January 1925. A mere resemblance in name was not the only aspect of their similarity. Among the more important points of congruity were the stipulations that the association would not intervene in politics and would confine itself to social, cultural, religious, and athletic affairs. These principles are also among the provisions governing the activities of the Young Men’s Christian Association. Moreover, the establishment of an association which includes athletics, especially, in its program is a novel departure for the modern Islamic world, although such organizations were not unknown in the ancient Islamic world which, during an interval in its history, had known the Hijār al-Fuqūrah, [an order of sworn brotherhood]. The Islamic groups, a more precise term than associations, had rallied about purely religious objectives with the mosque as center. They fostered a measure of culture commensurate to that which Islamic practice assigns to culture from religion. This was also true of their social affairs.

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There is no doubt that these very topics, culture, social affairs, and athletics have taken on new meanings here which closely approached their common understanding among the sons of the West. The Young Men's Christian Associations established in the Arab countries had a share in the conveyance of these new meanings and the Young Men's'elson Association took cognisance of these new conceptions. When it adopted its first regulations, anyone who had witnessed the activities of this association in Cairo at that time could entertain no doubt that it was not keeping pace with its colleagues, the Young Men's Christian Association, in many assets of its activities.

Approximately one year following the date of the establishment of this association, i.e., in 1926, the association of the Deacon Brothers was founded in Imsilla (Egypt).

Formerly it seems strange that a second association should have been established, especially so since it was in Egypt, where it had been preceded by another similar association, i.e., this second association of the opinion that the first was falling in the realization of its objectives and did it, therefore, want to take over its work? Actually, this could not be the case — a lapse of one year would be insufficient for arriving at such a judgment. So it is patent that the causes and reasons which brought about the "Deacon Brothers" could have no relation to those which led to the appearance of the "elson Young Men's. This is confirmed by the evidence; nor is there refutation in what was said by Žilis Žarnoša, President-General of the Young Men's'elson Association, during his visit to the association of the Deacon Brothers in Egypt in 1926.
The mission of the Young Men and the Brethren is the same in aim and objective. Whosoever would stir up dissension between us could not be from amongst us. We will work together until the word of religion becomes supreme and the nation achieves its independence. However this was just so much complimentary speech-making and nothing more.

For if their mission were the same, in objective and aim, why create another association within the brief interlude of one year? Why had not the Brethren immediately flocked to the ranks of the Young Men's Moslem Association if their aims and objectives were the same? Hasan al-Jamāẓi, former Director-General of the Brethren, said in one of his speeches in 1928:

There are a great number of general Islamic matters wherein the Brethren and the Young Men see eye to eye and react as one group since they have the joint and common goal of strengthening Islam and improving the lot of the Moslems. Nevertheless, there exist slight differences in the methods of the movement, in the progress of its supporters, and in the direction of their efforts in each of the societies.

It appears to me that this statement of al-Jamāẓi is more precise although it does not completely clarify the differences between the two associations.

- Let us therefore examine the conditions which surrounded the creation of the Brethren and let us seek to discover the reasons and motives which led to their appearance.

First of all, it is certain that the movement was not borrowed, either directly or indirectly, from the West; that it had no affiliation with Fascist or Nazi organisations as Muhammad Ḥasan Aḥmad tried to prove in his book, Al-Dhimā al-Musliham fī al-Misr, [The Moslem Brethren in the Balance]; and further, that it had no connection whatsoever with any foreign organisation known to exist at the time of the inception of the movement. Although the founder of the movement, Hasan al-Jamāẓi, who had also been the Director-General of the Brethren from the time of its foundation to his death had...
been a member of the Young Men's Moslem Association; nevertheless the aims and means of his association differed from those of the Young Men's Moslem Association.

It is indeed true that al-Banna referred many times in his speeches and articles to what was happening in Italy, Germany, and Turkey in such a manner as to indicate his admiration for certain aspects of the rule in those countries. For example, he made mention of the way in which Turkey had facilitated quick reform by a consolidation of power and the abolition of political parties. He noted that Hitler was using the radio to enlighten his people and to stir up enthusiasm while at that same time the Egyptians were using radio for the portrayal of love affairs and light infatuations, nonsensical skits, and tawdry love songs. He referred to Italy's resistance to the fifty-two nations which were imposing sanctions against her and how she compelled these countries to respect her wishes without involving herself in war. However, these references have no import in this regard. Al-Banna had referred to other countries such as Romania, Iraq, and England as examples of countries which had suspended political parties in order to lend support to his argument for the necessity of abolishing them in Egypt. In brief, the allegation, which was supported by such references as these, that al-Banna copied his organisation from Western types has no justification whatsoever. However, they do show that he was a keen observer of current events, that he reacted to them, and made use of them in the furtherance of his movement. This is only natural.

Consequently the observer must acquaint himself with the events occurring in Egypt from the beginning of the twentieth century up until the year 1928, and must be concerned especially with the life of al-Banna himself; for it is these two sources which contain the motives and causes which led to the creation of the Brethren.
Fortunately for the investigator, al-Banna has written his memoirs including the history of his life. Therefore, if we may lay to one side the visionary and emotional aspects to which his enthusiastic followers attach so much importance, and confine ourselves to examining the rest of his biography, we will find the nucleus of the mission in the man.

Then he was young, al-Banna was wont to read, such popular folk tales as al-`Abydân Shâh al-Himâh, [the energetic princess], and the story of `Antarah. He was impressed by what he read and used to act out the battle scenes. He was especially fond of stories of heroes, battles, raids and history; the stories of the North African heroes, the stories of Abu `Umayr al-Safîl, and the saga of the bani Hilal.

There then appeared in him a spiritual bent which was fostered by some members of Sufi orders, so that he and his brother practised asceticism for a while and donned themselves white rilled breast, contenting themselves with coarse barley bread. While still a student, he and his brother organise a society "for the enjoinment of good and the prohibition of evil". In the first pamphlet he ever issued, [printed on a hand press], he exhorted the people to abhor the wearing of gold rings and silk clothes. This pamphlet was posted on the doors of mosques and distributed to the digitation of the town. He also used to attend Sufi rituals, [maqâsîd al-shîrā], and fast the month of Rajab and the month of Sha'bân, beside the popular fast of Ramâzân.

At this time he was not more than twelve years old. When he was fourteen, he joined the Sufi order of Hamâliyah and was initiated into its "sayyid" by the son of its founder. He was greatly influenced by this man who was continually urging the members to real brotherhood. He once said to him:

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In you I perceive signs that God will gather many hearts to you and will cause multitudes to rally about you.

He had a propensity for joining and organizing societies. In preparatory school he was elected president of the literary society, "Jam'iyat al-Jihād al-Adabiyah". With other students he formed the "Jam'iyat Hā发热 al-'Aqābārātah" [society for the prevention of sin]. Then he formed a reform society, "Al-Jam'iyat al-Hā发热 al-'Imārah," [the benevolent Hā发热 society], and became its secretary. He participated as a member of the society, "Mukhtar al-Khalīq al-Islāmīyah", [the society of Islamic thinkers], which was the only society of its kind in Cairo. With a group of religious men and notables, he formed a circle which brought out the newspaper, Al-Hathī, [the conquest] and formed the Young Men's Moslem Association, [Jam'iyat al-Shubbāb al-Muslinnīn]. These societies were the strong links in a chain which led naturally to the establishment of the Association of Moslem Brethren.

This predilection for societies was accompanied by a proclivity for preaching and spiritual guidance; the writing of pamphlets; the leading of prayers in the mosque; the calling of the faithful to prayer from the minaret; and the exhortation of the people to get up and go to prayer by awakening them in their houses and by getting up the Muslims; this, while he was still a young student.

In spite of his absorption with religious and Sufi matters, he believed that patriotic duty is obligatory and inescapable. He took active part in nationalist movements, striking with student groups and composing patriotic poetry.

These then were the natural proclivities of al-Sanā'ī which first were revealed at an early age and continued to be acted upon by external forces until they crystallized in the "Moslem Brethren".
Let us briefly review these external events. After the First
World War, especially in 1918, Egypt was exposed to violent political
upheavals. Students took an active part in the nationalist movement.
They led demonstrations, wrote pamphlets, made speeches, composed poetry,
went out on strikes, and were very often struck themselves. Egypt, particu-
larly during the time of Said Zaghlul, was burning with political emo-
tion, sometimes moody, but always ready to blaze up anew. The country-
side joined with the cities in strikes and demonstrations. In 1919 al-Bana
was just thirteen years old and yet went on strikes with the students,
composed nationalist poetry, and was witness to the British occupation
of Egypt. These stirring events made a deep impression. He became
convinced that service for the fatherland is an obligatory, inescapable
duty. In fact, he played an outstanding role in the nationalist move-
ment although precisely how is not known.

After that, as it happened, Turkey abandoned the Caliphate, discarded
the Arabic alphabet, and carried out extensive reforms. These things had
profound repercussions in Egypt. The Liberals seized this opportunity to
issue literature on Egypt's relations with the West, the substitution of
the Western hat for the fez, the emancipation of women, freedom of thought,
and the like. On the other hand, the Conservatives held there to be a
departure from the field of Islam, the message of the Koran, the essence
of the Caliphate, and religion, in its totality. It was their opinion that
Egypt had become the headquarters of the Islamic mission, the field of
its struggle, and the legal heir of its leadership. Al-Bana was among
those of the latter party.
Meanwhile the intellectual dispute between the conservatives and liberals became more violent. Literature appeared which caused conservative public opinion to flare up. Among these was Shams 'Ali 'Abd al-Rasid's book, *al-Islam wa Badi al-Rahman* (Islam and the foundations of rule), which was the cause of his being dismissed from the sultan's law court. He was the subject of an attack by the ulama of al-Jahar University for his explicit advocacy of the separation of religion and state and for denying the temporal authority of the Caliphate. Another such book was 'Abd 'Ayyub's *Shi'r al-Rahim* (a pre-Islamic poetry), in which he cast doubts on parts of the Koran dealing with Abraham. There was also the magazine, *al-Sirriat al-Usuli* (weekly politics), which carried the banner of modernism at that time and published lucid articles in support of the modernists, sometimes advocating a Pharaonic Egypt and a coalition with the West, without condition or stipulation.

During this period the Egyptian University was changed over to a governmental institution.

It became evident that it could never be secular unless it revolted against religion and the social traditions which were derived from it. "Al-Lajn al-Fikri" (the intellectual academy), was set up and was attacking religion. These had their reaction in Cairo. I was greatly grieved. 24

At that time there was no one in the field of strife who called for the Islamic idea and could stem the tide except for a few individuals. The most conspicuous of these was Mustafa Safi al-Hilali and a young man of twenty-five, active between Ismailia and Al Qahira who was3 conspicuously calling men to God --- that was our leader, 'Abd al-Rasid.

As it happened, the conservative men of religion at this time were helpless; they abandoned themselves to vio.cose spite against the supporters of the West and the proponents of modernism. They inter-
grated what was being written as a departure from Islam and a call for atheism and license. However, actually, this was not the complete picture. It was their frustrations which led to excessive doubts. In the Constitutional-Liberal’s party, there were a few politically influential individuals such as ‘Ali Takan, ‘Abd al-Khaliq Tharwat, Ismā‘īl Ṣa‘īdī, Muḥammad Ḥażīm and Luṭfī al-Ḥajj, who supported, at least in a political way, the periodical, Al-Sīḥa, [Weekly Politics], and held the religious men in check. They shielded from harm the leaders of modernism who belonged to the Constitutional-Liberal party. If it were not for these men in the government, Shāhī Alī ‘Abd al-Muḥsin and Dāvūd Ẓahār Ẓahān would have unquestionably sustained great injury.

Naturally, the intellectual dispute between the conservatives and the modernists, the high feelings invoked by the political activities, and the development of the situation after the First World War were accompanied by growing social awareness. As a result of the political revolution Egyptian women acquired rights comparable to those which had been won by Western women after the First World War. The feminist movement gathered momentum. There was a great demand for the education of girls. One group called upon the Egyptian University to open its doors to young women on the same basis as for men. The number of mixed social functions, both public and private, increased.

The conservatives saw in these unfamiliar actions, a flaunting
bravadoes, a bold-faced impudence, and grievous religious license. Family life, they picture as crumbling into ruins under the hammering blows of modernism.

In the political field, Egypt was advancing one step while falling back several. The dispute between the Wafdists and the Constitutionalists raged violently, wherein the general good was sometimes overlooked for the sake of the party. Whenever the Wafd would take over the government, they would purge the country of their political opponents rather than carrying out what they had laid the groundwork for. When the Constitutionalists got in, they would do the same thing. The rule of the government was likened to a cross-cut saw in its two cutting movements. This state of affairs caused great pain to the young men who vainly shed their blood in demonstrations and disturbances and reaped no benefit from them.

Those contemporary with this period remark how political arguments flared up at every meeting of student groups, both within the institutions and extra surus. The fever of the dispute was raging throughout the whole country.

These matters were not without effect on the psychological make-up of al-Samā, who says about them;

No one but God knows how many nights we spent going over the state of the nation and its present relation to the different aspects of life; the result of its sickness and the various remedies. We thought about a treatment and a way of cutting off the desease. With emotion which reached the point of tears, we talked at length of our decisions. How shocked we were when we compared ourselves in our violent psychological discussions to the complacent and indifferent people who were carelessly leaning about the cafes. 27

He says in his memoirs: "The Brothers were discussing these subjects and the need for undertaking Islamic counter-action." 28
He began to seek actively to organize a company of religious men to be formed as a block in an association. Consequently, he made contact with the Salafiyya bookshop, belonging to Shihab al-Din al-Khafidh, owner of al-Tariq, renowned for its severe attacks on the modernists. He went frequently to the council of Shakh Rashid Rida', owner of the Salafite magazine, al-Famik. He contacted Fakhri Najdi and was influenced by his ideas and books. Then he joined the Young Men's Moslem Association seeking to find among them what would bring his wishes to realization.

All of this occurred while al-Sunni was still a student. During the last stages of his education at Dar al-'Ulum, school of arts, in a composition which he wrote under the heading, "Explain the Greatest of Your Hopes upon the Completion of Your Studies," and Explain the Means You Will Prepare for Their Realization," he promised himself:

I will be a counselor and a teacher. If I spend the whole day long for the better part of the year, teaching children, I will still not neglect instructing the fathers in the objectives of religion, the source of their well-being and the cause of happiness in life; sometimes by making speeches and holding conversations, sometimes by writing and compositions, and at other times by reading about and making trips. I prepared myself for the former task in a spirit of thankfulness and optimism and for the latter with innate means: perseverance and sacrifice. Both of these are essential to the reformer and the secret of his success. Among the practical means are a long period of study, a knowledge of those who embrace this principle and are sympathetic to it, a body insulated to roughness despite its smallness and familiar with hardship despite its slenderess, and a soul which I have sold to God at a good bargain, and by His will, a saving one. That is the contract between my God and me, which I have record about myself, which I call upon my teacher alone to witness, and which cannot be influenced by
anything except conscience and in a night which is
inscrutable except to God; and he who fulfills what
he promises to God shall be given great reward. 30

Thus was the first germ of the movement created. Now let us
see how it grew and developed.
CHAPTER TWO
GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT

The Association of the Moslem Brethren was not the first society founded by al-Manṣūr. As was mentioned in the foregoing chapter, he had had experience during his school days with various societies. In preparatory school he had been elected president of the Jan‘īyat al-İkhwan al-İtha‘īyah, [a fraternal literary society]. With other students, he had formed Jan‘īyat Man‘ al-Ma‘ṣarrāmah, [society for the prevention of sin]. He was in charge of the establishment of a reform society called al-Jan‘īyat al-İpa‘īyah al-İḥtiyārīyah, [the benevolent Ipa‘īyah society], and became its secretary. The name of this society was taken, as a good one, from the name of the Sufi fraternal order of the Ipa‘īyah and in admiration of its shaikh whom al-Manṣūr loved and esteemed. It was the son of this shaikh who introduced him to the Ipa‘īyah "way."

It seems that al-Manṣūr was so taken with admiration of this shaikh and his methods that it may be said that he first learned of the value of collective action from him. For example, he mentions that the shaikh once said to him: "In you I perceive signs that God will gather many hearts to you and will cause multitudes to rally about you." Shortly thereafter, in Manṣūrīyah, he established al-Jan‘īyat al-İpa‘īyah al-İḥtiyārīyah which indicates that at first he was strongly influenced by Sufi leavings. Actually this group was a purely religious society. Its aim was "the realization of the objectives enjoined by..."
orthodox religion, elucidation of the mission of the Holy Koran, and a true comprehension of Islam." Al-Janã' himself relates that the idea of the movement first came to him in reaction to what he saw in Cairo. In the country, he had not known much licençe and general laxity of Islamic morality. In some of the newspapers he saw articles completely incompatible with the teachings of Islam. He was made acutely aware of the ignorance of the common people in regard to religious matters. He realised that the mosques alone were inadequate as a medium for the transmission of the teachings of Islam to the masses of the people. Thus, from the very beginning, we see that his leaning towards Sufism became intimately associated with a social reform inclination.

During his stay in Cairo, as a student in the Dár al-Ilüm, internal forces within him strongly asserted themselves. He was led finally to organise a group of students from al-Azhar University and the Dár al-Ilüm who trained themselves for preaching in the mosques. Later on they extended their activities to the coffee houses and the other common places of assembly in Cairo. A team was set up which was charged with the task of spreading the Islamic mission to the villages, the countryside, and the towns. From this activity al-Janã' benefitted in two ways. Through a sense of achievement, the experience he gained, and the practice involved, he acquired confidence in himself. Secondly, he established his personal reputation among the masses of the people who thereafter supported him.

Following this, al-Janã' wanted to raise his appeal to the educated classes, both religious and lay, in order to attract them to his ranks and to charge them with the responsibility of concerted action for reform. He mentioned that it was through his efforts that the magazines Al-Fath and later on the society of "Kooien Tung Won", [T. N. H. A.] made their appearance.
So that as it may, his accomplishments in Cairo apparently did not satisfy him, since immediately upon returning to Ismailia he renewed his appeal to the masses and abandoned his efforts with the influential, educated class. Two reasons may be given for this; first, the founders of the Young Men's Muslim Association gave this society a political complexion in as much as most of the members belonged to the Wafawi party, the opponent of the Frendi party, and famous for its solidarity and radicalism; second, he was convinced that his own mission was broader and more deeply rooted than that of the Young Men's Muslim Association. A careful comparison of the basic regulations of both societies would make the former appear more likely.

Al-Dunaf, at that time twenty-one years old, went to Ismailia on the nineteenth of September 1927, immediately after his graduation from the Dār al-Uišā that same year, in order to take over his new job of teaching in the governmental preparatory school. In that city, in the month of March 1928, he founded the Association of the Muslim Brothers, supported by six of his followers and loyal students. These were in addition to the first proponents of the idea who were spread about the country.

During the six months preceding the birth of the association, Al-Dunaf returned to his first experiment which he had begun in Cairo and this time he was successful. He chose three large cafés, capable of holding thousands of people, and arranged for two sessions a week in each of them. He, himself, took charge of the general sermon which included such elements as archeology, vivid descriptions of the pains of hell and the joys of paradise.
and interlaced with parables, stories, and Koranic verses suitable to the occasion. Then the patron of the café urged him to teach them the principles of religion, he would gather them together in an old sādiyeh, (a Sufi meeting house), and would give them instruction on how to pray and perform the ablution in a practical way. After another sādiyeh was built, he used to spend his time there between the earnest prayer and the last prayer. Thor after he would go to the café to teach. He was able to study his little group and the effective factors at work on it. Those were the ‘ulama’, the scholars of the various Sufi orders, the notables, and the clubs. He succeeded in gaining the approval of all of them by judiciously avoiding controversial subjects. He limited his instruction to matters of general interest, directing attention to those things which they could sense in their environment and attempting to smooth over the points of contention among the notables. Through experience he learned to drop the method by which he had begun his general activities as soon as he realized that their renunciation would be in the interest of the movement. Concerning this he says:

I tried to make this a broad, general movement based on science, education, and a spirit of militancy, which are the pillars of the Islamic mission. He who wishes a specialized education, (here referring to the Sufi orders), he, and what he chooses, is his own affair. As a matter of fact, the city of Isfahan exerted profound influence on him; it induced him to include a political element in his program. He had had this in mind before although it may not have been as strong nor as fixed. The presence of the English military installation there and the administration of the Suez Canal Company with its monopoly of public utilities cut deeply into his soul. So it was also with the contrast between the liv
odimientos of the foreigners and those of the workers and the mobility of foreign names written in "the language of the economic occupation" along every street. All of these things reacted and interested in his soul; especially during those times when he would isolate himself in contemplation among the luxuriant gardens of Ismailia or along the shores of beautiful Lake Timsah or in the public parks on the edge of the Sahara. "Ismailia provided the inspiration for a great many things which affected the formation of the movement and its propaganda."

This last expression of al-Sannā’s goes a long way in clearing up one point. The political element never entered his reasoning during his student days, nor while he was in Cairo, nor even in the beginning of his activity in Ismailia; or, more correctly, politics never was an outstanding element in his program during the preliminary stages. Here now, it is correct to say that there has been added to the already existent social, Sufi tendency a new political tendency born of a new environment.

Al-Sannā continued on in Ismailia from 1928 until 1933 spreading his movement in accordance with a social program which he had created through study and experiment. This he did not openly but in a way least calculated to attract attention. Thus he was like the owner of an old, ruined house who wished to build it anew. He did it from the people until he had finished building it. When the work was ended, he removed the walls and revealed the house, huge, complete, and strong. Most of those who answered his call were from the working class.

His success led him to widen the sphere of his influence. "He would never pass by a village, a town, a hamlet, nor any group of dwellings without
visiting it, spending the night and meeting with the people in their mosques, their houses and their homes." However, the mosque was his main headquarters since there he could find security and refuge; for who can prevent a man from praying in his prayer-niche or preaching in his mosque?

He used to undertake his trips on weekends and during his yearly vacation in the summer. During the former he would visit the nearby villages and during the latter, those farther away. During all this period he remained on duty teaching at the preparatory school without making excuses of illness or emergency. Perhaps it was his teaching work which increased his sense of security. His trips after two years resulted in a branch in Abujir, Port Said and al-Salo; after three years a branch in Suez, and after four years almost ten branches and a school in Ismailia for educating girls in preparation for their becoming Muslim Sisters.

As a means of spreading his movement he used pamphlets, letters, newspaper articles, speeches, personal visits and individual letters. His possession of a strong insight aided him in the selection of supporters and members. From these he formed the nucleus of a society which took over an unpretentious house as a meeting place.

The house of the Brethren in Ismailia became the headquarters of the movement and the branches were tied to it by a bond of fraternity without any one branch working through another nor without the work of one attracting the attention of another.
After about five years from the foundation of the movement in Ismailia, al-Sunna transferred as a teacher to Cairo. With his transfer, the movement entered a new stage. There is no evidence that his transfer was as a result of his activities. Up until the year 1939, (the year of the Second World War), the movement continued along its former way; in secrecy and concealment, going to the mosques and preaching; selecting supporters and establishing branches quietly and cautiously.

In one of his articles issued in the year 1933 A.H. - 1954 A.D. or about a year after his taking up in Cairo, he stated that the idea of the Brethren had been spread to more than fifty towns in the country of Egypt and in nearly every one of the towns it had brought about useful projects and beneficent establishments. In Ismailia, a mosque and a club was established for the Brethren as well as Fīrārī institution for the instruction of boys and the Usamah al-Nasifīn for the instruction of girls. In Kembshīt, there was established a mosque, a club, a school for boys and a trade school in which graduates of the boys school were taught .... in Maqādiyyah al-Nabawīyah, likewise, a loom for textiles and carpets was set up near the Koran school .... in al-Mashīlah Daqīqiyyah a school where the Koran could be taught was established. All or some of this may be applied to every branch of the Brethren all over the country from Adīf to Alexandria.

This expansion of the branches and the necessity of facing new circumstances in Cairo demanded that al-Sunna double his efforts, organize his activities, renovate his methods and broaden his program.
It was his custom to visit the general headquarters early in the morning and to leave membrandes containing instructions and works which required fulfillment. Then he would go to school; but if he were returning from a trip he would go directly from the station to the school. At noon he would stop at the general headquarters a second time, holding interviews, giving instructions and disposing of new business. In the evening he would visit the headquarters a third time and would receive delegations and visitors or would hold meetings with committees or would present lectures. This, however, would not prevent him from carrying out his trips to the country-side during the school vacations. He realized that for the effective organization each branch should be made an independent center and a prototype of the general headquarters in Cairo so as to fulfill its mission in its own environment, districts and the surrounding neighborhood. He took over the duties of supervision, leadership and direction.

He created a special magazine for the Brothers called *Khalilat al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin* [The Moslem brethren magazine] in order to publish their articles since formerly the only means of contact were visits, pamphlets, or circulars. They also contributed articles to a number of magazines such as *Al-Muhafir*, [the warrior] and *Al-Ya'qub*, [the acquaintance].

Al-Banna started holding general congresses of all the branches. In these the general program and business common to all the branches was taken up.

He looked beyond the borders of Egypt and realized that the circumstances were favorable for the spread of the movement. He began by sending propagandists to the mosques, announcing the mission, making solid contacts, and awakening enthusiasm. Then he followed this up by creating
branches in the Sudan, Syria, Lebanon, Palestine and North Africa.

During this period he entered into the political field, in the begin-
ing by delivering religious-social lectures in broadcasts and at
clubs and by sending letters to the successive prime ministers of the
Egyptian government: from the time of Muḥammad Naṣr al-Din Pasha of the iron
hand, then al-Ḥajjās, then Iṃū’il Sīdāt, then 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Taqya,
again al-Ḥajjās, then Nāṣir, then Ṭāhir, then al-Ḥajjās to the
outbreak of the Second World War. The content of the letters was a
call for a complete internal reform in the spirit of the Islamic re-
ligion and its way. "During this time the Brethren were emphasizing
productive action, virtuous education and effective organization rather
than useless propaganda." They say: "Time is a part of the treatment,
gradual progress is better than leaping by bounds." However, the govern-
ments took no note of them except on casual occasions.

The Teacher-Director mentioned in some of his stories that he met al-Ḥajjās Pasha in his house in Alexandria in the summer of 1928 concerning the demands of the government of Nāṣir Pasha at that time to take over religious instruc-
tion in the Egyptian schools. Al-Ḥajjās thought that he
(that is al-Jammā) was one of the village chiefs who are the
backbone of the Wafd. Just as he mentioned in another talk
that Muḥammad Muḥammad Pasha suggested to him that he should
set up branches for the Brethren in al-Su‘līd because he should
not be there - and all the while the Brethren ceremonies were
being held in his family guesthouse (the family of Muḥammad
Muḥammad Pasha in Abū Tī). The Egyptian Ministry of Educa-
tion continued until recently to be ignorant of the fact that
al-Jammā, the teacher in its schools, was the Director-General
of the Moslem Brethren ... although the Brethren never let
any one of the successive governments go by without submitting
to it detailed memoranda on various matters.51

This historical note indicates that the Brethren up to
that time had not attracted the attention of the governments and

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that their political activities were still hidden behind a religious
shield to which the authorities were indifferent.

In the year 1325 A.H. - 1906 A.D. - al-Dimak addressed a speech
to King Faram, al-Majlis Poche and the kings and the princes of the
Islamic world, calling upon them to follow the path of Islam, its rules,
its laws, and its civilization, and to formulate the way of the West, the
aspects of its life, its organization, and its programs. Then he de-
monstrated the characteristics of each of the ways, and pointed out
that Islam would guarantee to supply the rising nation with its re-
quirements in military life, health, science, economy and organiza-
tion. He finished by calling for them to be "the first to offer
in the name of the Prophet the vial of medicine from the medical
art of the Form in order to save the ailing world." Then he plac-
ced before them a program for the complete reform of various aspects
of life containing fifty provisions. There was no arguing of
the authorities through any of these activities, neither the
speeches nor the articles nor the letters. The foremost point
to which they were in the political field was their call for "the
abolition of parties and the channelization of the political forces
of the nation into one direction in a united way." Their position
via à vis the successive Egyptian governments was one of non-support
in the belief that any government that was founded on non-Islamic
rules and doctrines cannot proclamate any value and therefore does not
deserve any furtheance nor merit any assistance. Thus they contiin-
ally call for a change to the Islamic system of government in all its aspects. But on the other hand, they do not take recourse to violence and do not shrink from co-operation; for they regard it as their duty to co-operate with a government in which they perceive a sincere readiness to support their program and strive for its realization.

In the year 1936, the movement perfected its elements and assumed its final shape. Al-Banna himself laid down the principles upon which it would be based. He said:

'It is a Salafite movement, an orthodox way, a Sufi reality, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company and a social idea.'

He added that the all-inclusive nature of Islam had given their idea comprehensiveness for all phases of reform.

From the year 1939 to 1945 - the years of the Second World War - the movement had entered a new phase - perhaps we could call it the beginning of the period of tribulation in so far as its relations with politics; and the beginning of success with respect to its vitality and the realization of its broad programs.

As for the second part - the program - nothing new was added. However, the activity of the Brethren doubled and university elements joined them (from the University of Fud the First in Cairo and al-Azhar University). Commercial activities were expanded; they took up physical training and athletics; and they organized their activities in branches which were spread about the country. In brief, they became a force to be reckoned with.

As for the first part - politics - the government's eyes became opened.
during the war to the import of various groups and societies. Friction of the governments with them began as a result of exceptional circumstances, martial law and various external motives and factors; especially after the war entered into its serious phase.

Then the government was successively taken over by 'Ali Mâhir, Hassan Šâbri, Susayn Sirri, al-Nabûs, Ahmad Mâhir, al-Muqrâshi, Imdî 'Ilî Şîqi, and then al-Muqrâshi again.

During the ministries of the first two, 'Ali Mâhir and Hassan Šâbri, they persisted in their preaching and counselling in their books and their private and public speeches just as had been the case with former governments. During the period of 'Ali Mâhir they announced their support of his decision to have Egypt avoid the woes of war without even meeting him or making any definite demand on him.

Their period of tribulation began at the hands of Sirri Pasha - through the pressure of the British Embassy and Headquarters. His government confiscated the two weekly magazines, al-Ta'âruf and al-Siyâsâ and the monthly magazine, al-Wakâr. It prohibited them from printing any pamphlets or to reprint them, and shut down their printing press. They forbade the newspapers to mention anything about them and they prohibited them from holding meetings. The government proceeded to scatter the heads of the group; they transferred al-Bannâ to Qamâ. The Secretary-General, [al-wâlî al-kâm], Ahmad al-Sukkari, was transported to Damiet (Demietta). Then they were brought back under pressure of parliamentary attack. However, the government became even more severe than it had been. It arrested the Secretary-General of the society and al-Bannâ himself. Then, it
released them as a precaution against retaliatory action by the Brethren. This oppression brought them to the attention of the people and gained them supporters and members. Then the ministry of al-Nabhān came into power. Al-Nabhān wanted to offer himself as representative to parliament from the district of Ismailia - cradle of the movement - so as to represent the Brethren and be their spokesman; but al-Nabhān requested that he withdraw from the nomination in view of the critical situation, which he did. Al-Nabhān began to conciliate them, permitting them to hold meetings and he returned their magazine and printing press ... a little while after he treated them severely ... he closed up all their branches except the ORI. He put restrictions on their meetings and publications as well as other aspects of their activities. They met the harshness of the government with suffering. The al-Nabhān government reduced its severity; the situation between them continued to oscillate. On one hand, the government would allow them freedom and they would be active and on the other hand, the government would burden them with restrictions and they would be patient. They kept up their habit of giving advice both orally and in writing until the al-Nabhān ministry was dismissed in 1944.

Then the Ministry of Aynam Nahir took over and they were again treated adversely. He obstructed those of them who had nominated themselves as representatives according to their decision adopted by the general conference in 1941. This resolution called for the nomination of those qualified on the basis of their service to the Islamic progress. It charged them to work for the organization of the Islamic government whenever opportunity presented itself. When Aynam Nahir declared war on Germany and Italy, they objected and wrote demanding that he withdraw the declaration.
Ahmed Hādir was assassinated and al-Hajrāshī took over the government. His tenure began by the arrest of al-Bāna'ī and other Brethren on the charge of their having had a part in the assassination. However the Attorney-General released them. Al-Bāna'ī hastened to al-Hajrāshī offering his condolences for Ahmed Hādir in the hope that he would give them freedom of action. However, al-Hajrāshī did not fulfill his hopes. He imposed on the Brethren the heaviest of restrictions in their activities and meetings and kept their houses under surveillance. He permitted them to hold general meetings or conferences under the pressure of the circumstances, but he quickly returned to a policy of stringency and oppression.

The war ended in 1945. The association entered its last phase in which its affairs became settled on one hand, while on the other it approached a period of severe tribulation.

It held a meeting in the form of a general assembly (8 September 1945 - 2 Shawāl 1364) and introduced an amendment to its basic by-laws so that all their aims and objectives would be embodied therein in a clear way. This amendment was consistent to a large measure with the program which al-Bāna'ī had explained in his speech of 1933 which he delivered at their fifth regular meeting on the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the society. In this speech he said:

In the time when you will have - Oh ye Moslem Brethren - three-hundred phalanxes, with each one of them equipped spiritually with faith and principle, mentally with science and culture, and physically with training and exercise; at that time ask me to plunge with you into the depths of the seas, to raid the skies with you, and to attack with you every stubborn tyrant; then God willing, I will do it. 58
He mentioned in another place that they would use practical force wherever nothing else would avail, and wherever they were confident that they were fully equipped in faith and unity. Whenever they used this force they would be honorable and forthright, they would warn first, and then wait a while, then they would come forth with dignity and severity and would bear the consequences of their stand in all confidence and satisfaction. They do not even consider the thought of revolution nor do they believe in its effectiveness even though they made it clear to every Egyptian government that if conditions remained as they were and they did not make an immediate reform, revolution would inevitably come. This would not be the work of the Brethren nor from their movement but would be the result of the pressure of circumstances.

These problems which become more complex with the passage of time and more grave with the passing of days are but warnings; let the deliverers make haste in their work.  

He also made it clear that they are directing all their steps, their hopes, and their activities towards the Islamic government at which time their principles shall be widespread and dominant; and they put the idea of the Caliphate and the endeavor to reconstitute it, at the head of their progress, provided that it be preceded by the necessary preliminary steps.

It appears that these aims which al-Bazhāl clearly defined in 1938 have not undergone change but were reiterated in the form of an article of the basic regulations in 1945.
The fourth article at the end of the second chapter in which the means and aims were clarified, stipulates as follows:

The Brethren will always prefer gradual advancement and development, productive work, and co-operation with lovers of good and truth. They do not wish harm to anyone no matter what his religion, race or country. 82

It is evident that these aims had reached the ears of the Egyptian authorities during this phase and even in the phase which preceded this one. They took note of them, thought about them and based their charges on them whenever they suspected that the Brethren might have had a hand in any act of violence. From here on the period of dispersion, arrest and confiscation was upon them - from the year 1940 to the assassination of the Director-General - Hasan al-Bannā - on 13 February 1949, and the complete confiscation in December 1948.

Before discussing the chain of events which led to this bitter end, it would be better to investigate their internal activities which brought about the entrenchment of their influence. They set up various economic companies in the country which yielded them profits and strengthened them among the working classes. They published a daily newspaper which brought out its first issue on 5 May 1945 - 3 Jamā'ī al-Shābiyyā 1365. It became their voice heard throughout Egypt and the Arab countries. They created phalanxes, [para-military outfits], and set up drill grounds for military exercises. They organised branches into tight-unit groups in Egypt and the Arab countries. They distributed duties among the members and bound them to the leader of the branch and the Director-General personally, by a covenant in the form used for swearing allegiance [to the Caliph]. They made the office of the Director-General one of complete
In summary, their internal activities were in accordance with their plans and continuous success was enjoyed until they reached the apex of power and influence, morally, materially and militarily. The number of members reached a total of between 300 and 600 thousand from the laboring class, not counting the students, according to the statement of The London Times. This newspaper stated that al-Manad had said the preceding year that he was speaking in the name of 500 thousand Muslim Brethren, who represent the principles and hopes of 70 million Arabs and 200 million Muslims. Their Secretary mentioned in a memorandum which he submitted to the state council in April 1923 that the number of active members in Egypt alone in 1922 had reached about half a million and the number of enrolled members and sympathizers increased manifold this number. The number of their branches in Egypt along was said to be 1700, others said 2000, but their Secretary mentioned in that memorandum that in the Sudan they had about 50 branches besides their branches in most of the Arab countries, and other of the Islamic countries plus friends in all of these countries and in Europe and America.

It is difficult to establish the accuracy of these figures, in view of the lack of concrete evidence. However, in this position of power and influence the association was able to face the extreme...
Opposition of the Egyptian governments which came to power after the end of the Second World War.

During the armistice, al-Nuqashi was prime minister. He had previously arrested al-Banna and oppressed the group as was mentioned before. Nevertheless al-Banna visited him again and urged him to speed up the achievement of national rights and the independence and unity of the Nile valley, otherwise he should call the nations to Jihad and take upon himself the leadership of it. Al-Nuqashi sent a memo to the British government and received the reply thereto. The Brethren were not satisfied with this. They organized a demonstration of students which ended in a battle with the police and the resignation of the ministry.

From the time of the declaration of the armistice, the Brethren devoted themselves to inciting the people and awakening their national consciousness by general conventions, trips to the villages and the countryside, pamphlets, speeches, and various publications. It was as if they had taken over the reins of political leadership, or more properly, the reins of the opposition calling for Jihad. They concentrated their efforts on gaining the country's complete independence.

The government of Isma'il Siddi came into power and the demonstrations became more intense. Al-Banna called upon all factions to form a national committee to unify their strength and organize ranks but found no support from the parties. Then he decided to advise al-Nuqashi to cut off negotiations and take recourse to Jihad openly. Their political activities continued in this manner. They undertook to call the government...
to task; accused it of playing favorites to the detriment of the country; of showing leniency with foreign companies wearing false Egyptian trappings; of incompetence in the problem of unemployment; and of vacillation in cutting of negotiations and declaring Jihad. They took advantage of the wearring of negotiations between the Sidi cabinet and the British government and submitted a petition to the king denouncing the cabinet as failing to achieve the national aspirations. After a short while the general headquarters circulated a statement to the branches declaring that there should be no co-operation with the English, economically, culturally, or socially until immediate and complete evacuation is achieved unconditionally. The newspaper campaign was stepped up in their own daily organ against the negotiations, the Sidi government, and especially the English.

During this difficult stage, (27 October 1946), al-Samā went on the Mecca pilgrimage with a delegation of the Brothers. He left the field to his deputies and the members of the Office of General Guidance.

Then Sidi Pasha launched his attack; he arrested some of them, confiscated their newspaper, and finally arrested the secretary-general. The Brothers countered with their own campaign. They were accused of being responsible for explosions which happened in Cairo and Alexandria. Their houses were surrounded and searched. Sidi Pasha set in motion a wide spread campaign of deportation, dispersal, and confiscation which also hurt the faithful officials in the offices of the departments and ministries. He threatened them with even more severe and harassing measures than these.
Then Eidâi Pasha resigned, and the ministry of al-Nuqrâshî Pasha was formed on 10 December 1946. On the day that it was formed al-Bannâ published an article calling upon the new government to take quick measures, to respect the will of the nation, to end the negotiations, and to take up Jihad. He continued publishing his articles in the newspapers, criticizing the program of the government, and pointing out that it had forgot the Brethren, closed their schools, imprisoned their innocent men, and pursued a policy of persecution and oppression against them. This was the beginning of the "civil war" between al-Nuqrâshî and the Brethren. Its severity was intensified by the Palestinian question in which the Brethren took an active part. It was the proving ground of their strength and influence on one hand and a source of pride for them in Egypt and the Arab world on the other. Al-Bannâ on 12 December 1947, headed a glorious demonstration which debouched from al-Ashar, led by him through a loud-speaker from an automobile. On 6 May 1948 - 27 Jumâdâ al-Khârîrah 1367 - the founding committee of the Brethren held a meeting under the leadership of al-Bannâ and adopted important decisions, among which was the demand on the government - and the rest of the Arab governments - to declare Jihad against the Jews and to adopt all measures which would guarantee the deliverance of Palestine. Concerning the Egyptian problem, [they demanded] the cessation of discussions and negotiations and the declaration of a "newspaper war" until the country's status is made clear in as much as the constitution makes Islam the official religion ... and until it becomes apparent to all the people that there is no cure for the widespread disease of poverty, ignorance, sickness, and moral and national corruption except a return to the laws of Islam. On the 10th day of May, the battle of the Arab armies for the liberation of Palestine began. The Brethren participated under
the might of the Arab League. As a result they were able to arm themselves and gain valuable combat training. They learned for themselves the extent of their military preparations and influence. The al-Naqšibandi government feared their influence and took incidents of violence within the country as a pretext for accusing them of these acts and of plotting a new event. They issued a military order dated 8 December 1948, (no. 63) "Prohibiting the Muslim Brethren and their branches wherever they may be; the lock-up of the places of their activities; and the seizure of their papers, documents, magazines, publications, money and properties, and all other assets of the association."

This order was followed by other military orders liquidating their companies "designed to draw out their funds and apply them to the general welfare in accordance with the decision of the Minister of Social Affairs." The government also arrested a great number of them. Al-Banna attributes these harsh measures, first to the interference of the British who considered them a fanatic nationalististic power and blamed them for delaying the agreement between them and Egypt; second, the preparations for the elections in which the Sadiq - al-Naqšibandi's party - wanted to win by splitting the power of the people; third, the desire of the Arab governments to settle the Palestine question; and fourth, foreign international pressures.

Al-Banna tried to bring about an understanding and settle the affair but he was subjected by the assassination of al-Naqšibandi on 28 December 1948. The Brethren were accused of the shooting and their position grew worse.
Turāːn 'Abdi al-Ḥādi Pasha, the friend of al-Maqrūzī and his successor as chief of the party, then took over the government and violently attacked the association, dispersing its members, incarcerating a great number of them in concentration camps, and wreaked vengeance on their persons, properties and families. He was encouraged in this action by rumors of bad relations between the association and the thieves and that the Brethren had revolutionary intentions.

These violent measures deeply disturbed al-Ṯanāː who saw the structure which he had spent twenty years in building collapse overnight. Perhaps he regretted the association’s entry into politics. After the association had decided that those qualified should nominate themselves as representatives preliminary to participation in the politics of the state and after the political aims of the society had been clearly and precisely explained, al-Ṯanā reversed himself after the assassination of al-Maqrūzī, and abrogated these two proposals — if what was quoted of him is true — when he said:

The thought which I have conceived is that our organization should take upon itself the raising of the standards of the country, religiously, socially and economically — neglecting the political aspects — and to permit the outstanding members of the association to present themselves for the elections under the auspices of whatever parties they see fit to join; provided that they do not join any one party and provided that they undertake the spreading of the mission of the association within these parties ... I believe the time is not far distant when these parties will have faith in what we advocate.

However, this reversal was of no avail. On the evening of 12 February 1949, al-Ṯanā was assassinated while sitting in a car in front of the T. M. N. A. which he was wont to frequent after the dissolution of his
association. By his assassination, which was attributed to the Saidist party, the owner of the house fell after the house had fallen, from the official point of view.

The government prosecuted the Brethren and lengthy trials ensued; they became "outlaws." However, their branches which had been set up in other Arab countries continued their activities, especially in Syria where the branch took up the movement under the leadership of Sayyida Shâlî.

The ministry of 'Abd al-Hâdî continued in power for about seven months during which time the tribulations of the Brethren reached their zenith. Some observers were of the opinion that they would never be able to rise again. Actually, this period of tribulation was the fire which purified and refined. Numbers were lost while those remaining were fortified firmly and staunchly. It was said that the Brethren secretly elected a new Director-General and that their movement went underground.

On 23 July 1949 the ministry of 'Abd al-Hâdî resigned and there came, first, the coalition government of Husayn Sirri and then his neutral ministry took over in order to supervise the elections. The Wad party aided in part by the Brethren won by an overwhelming majority. Al-Nâbahî took over on 12 January 1950. Gradually, the horrors of the nightmare were lifted from them. Their pens started to stir and their newspapers began to reappear. They announced the election of Hasan Ismâ'îl al-Dôjaybî Sayyid - who had been a former judge - as Director-General. On 15 December 1950, the government released some of their properties among which was the general headquarters building, the news-
paper building, the press building, and some of their branch buildings.

This phase may be called the gathering of the remnants, regrouping of ranks and the filling of vacant posts in preparation for a new leap.

Three things should be noted. First, they regained their former position and made their presence felt on the stage of events by a considerable and enviable force. In October of 1961 when the crisis between Egypt and Britain became strained their phalanxes took an outstanding part in the liberation movement. It was mentioned that they had a military training school in al-Qibli. The Minister of the Interior announced the government would not prevent them from indulging in politics, and that it would not obstruct them as long as they did not violate the law. Second, they took a cautious stand in regard to internal politics and they announced that, during the ministry of Ahmad Hajib al-Milali Pasha which followed the brief ministry of Ali Khair Pasha, they would not enter the elections. It is worth noting that Ali Khair and al-Milali started something new. The former began the habit of consulting the Director-General and of meeting with him and the leaders of the parties. This was an acknowledgement of their power in the political field. The latter continued this procedure. Could it be understood from this cautious approach to internal politics that al-Miladi wished to take up where his predecessor, al-Jammá, had left off? Could it be understood from this that their quick rush into the field of politics—which had brought so many tribulations was being reassessed? Third, their movement is now directed towards the simplification of the mission,
the broadening of its base and the strengthening of its foundations.

Al-Banna had called for a return to the Koran and the Hadith. Some saw
ambiguity in this generalization. Their ulama now began to explain
in detail in large volumes and lengthy articles the suitability of
Islamic principles to life in its various aspects; as for example,
Islam and political conditions, Islam and legal matters, Islam and
financial matters, Islam and economic politics, Islam and socialist
programmes and Islam and political democracy. These indicate that they
have entered a new phase. This phase is supported by the magazine,
al-Muqattam, which is edited by one of their outstanding propagandists.
Some of their greatest thinkers contribute to it. Appeal to the masses
dominated the movement in its previous stages; this new approach therefore
will be very effective especially among the educated classes.

It is clear from the history of this movement that it is indebted
to the personality of Al-Banna more than to any other person. Al-Banna
nursed it for twenty years and directed it down the road which it took.
He gave generously to it from his spirit and personality until it has
become the greatest religious movement in the history of Islam. This
fact leads us to devote the third chapter to his personality in all its
aspects.

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CHAPTER THREE

THE PERSONALITY OF
HABAN AL-JANNA

Those who have written of al-Janna or spoken of him either in praise or censure all agree that he was possessed of a strong personality. Furthermore, the history and evolution of the movement support this. His personality was fused with the personality of the society in its various conditions and states. If the movement was distinguished from all preceding movements in the history of Islam it was because al-Janna himself was absolutely distinguished from all the preceding leaders of these movements. Al-Janna was preceded in the modern era by such religious leaders as Jamál al-Din al-Aschâbî and Muḥammad 'Abdu who sounded a note still reverberating today. But al-Janna was of a different type than these and differed from them in many ways. Perhaps the outstanding difference is that they passed away without leaving behind them any clearly recognizable movement - there was no tangible, manifest program which sincere followers could embrace. Perhaps it would be more candid to describe him as he really was, "a propagandist"; whereas the others were religious men, pious religious purists, having opinions and books only.

Another prominent feature of al-Janna was that he never worked at religious studies in the manner of al-Ishâr with its doctrinal interpretations and explanations. He was never, in the real sense, a man of religion.

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His education did not prepare him for that. In his writings, books and articles he intended to avoid the religious disputes in which religious men usually become involved. His first concern was the gathering together of the Islamic sects, the bringing of harmony to their hearts, and the directing of them to the regulations upon which Islam is based, i.e., the Koran and the true Hadith. In his writings there was no attack on any of the sects with the exception of the Baha which he considered heretical. He called upon the government to take action against them. However, he had a particular understanding of Islam. He understood that:

The teachings and injunctions of Islam are comprehensive, governing the affairs of men in this world and in the next, and that those who think that these teachings deal only with the spiritual and ritualistic aspects are mistaken in this assumption; for Islam is doctrine, worship, homeland, nationality, religion, state, spirituality, the Koran and the sword.

He based his understanding of Islam on the Koran, the Hadith and history.

Just as he brought about something new in this understanding, so he innovated in the composition of his society, in the establishing of its basis, its organization, and its aims, so that it becomes a society with a distinct mark which has no like among the preceding Islamic movements. Al-Banna, therefore, had a clear and obvious influence on this movement from its conception until its final stages. An understanding of the personality of al-Banna is necessary to the understanding of the nature of the movement.

Al-Banna was born in the year 1906 and grew up in a pure Islamic atmosphere. He was educated and nurtured in the environment of Islam.
so that it can be truly said: "Isma‘ is my Father and I have no other." His Father, Shibli Ahmad 'Abd al-Salam al-Banack, known as al-Shibli [the watchmaker], was famous for his affluence and dignity. He was from an environment of learning with strict adherence to religion and the Koran. He was born in the district of Shamak in the center of west Fih. He studied religious jurisprudence, theology, syntax, and the memorization and citation of the Koran. He worked at watch-repairing and this work had a great influence on him and his sons after him, since it demanded precision, skill, and exactitude. The father used to teach during the day and work nights. He was familiar with a great number of the 'ilmiyya'. Then the people of his village built a mosque, he was charged with delivering the first Friday sermon. He gave the sermon and received the plaudits and admiration of the populace. He had a library of various religious arts and sciences and worked as an Imam and preacher for the village mosque. He devoted his leisure time to reading so that he had read al-Muhad al-Gittah [the six books], the 'Arraj of Malik, the 'Arraj of Shafi'i and others. Among the books which he authored was Madi'a al-'Umad fi Jan’ wa Tariq ‘Usn al-Shafi‘i wa al-Salman with annotations. He edited a part of the Rambaz of the Four Imams and the 'Umad of Ayaz ibn Rantal which he called al-Muhad al-Mubaddali fi Tariq ‘Usn al-I‘Umar Ahmad al-Shaybani and wrote a guide to it in a book he named Madi'a al-Imam min Asrar al-Muhad al-Mubaddali.

His father therefore was a learned man whose specialty was the study and classification of Hadith and also a skilled worker in the repair of watches.

From his youth al-Banack was guided to religion by his father, Isma‘
to religion and he himself taught him to memorize the Koran. He enrolled him in a preparatory school which had been set up by the government on the model of the elementary schools except that foreign languages were not included in the program. The father continued to take care of his religious education. He turned over a library to him which contained books on religion, religious jurisprudence, Hadith, and syntax and he let him have whatever he wanted from his books. He was fond from his youth of reading folk tales. He was impressed by them and used to act out the battle scenes. He was also fond of forming societies while he was still a student. From his youth, his life has had a religious bent; for while he lived a life of ascetism which called for austerity and asceticism. He attended Dzikr circles and made many trips, walking long distances to visit mosques. When he was fourteen, in 1930, he enrolled in the Junior Teacher's School in Duranbãr. His religiosity did not leave him at that stage. He used to fast through the months of Rajab and Shawwãl. After he passed the "Certificated" stage, he was appointed as teacher but he preferred to complete his studies. He entered the Dãr al-'Uleã from which he graduated in 1937. At that time Dãr al-'Uleã could be compared to a miniature al-Azhar. It concerned itself with religious and linguistic sciences like al-Azhar but in the modern manner. In this period he was constantly reading the Koran in class, in school, at home, and in the street.

Al-Sannã therefore was prepared to become a teacher and in this preparation he spent a period of seven years of his life. Teaching is a mission and a continuous process of guidance and the propagandist is really a teacher. Added to that al-Sannã by environment, education and
temperament had an aptitude for a religious reform vocation. However this did not express all his thinking. If he were a pure AškāRITE like Muhammad 'Abdū for example, it might have happened like that. His study of the modern sciences of education, philosophy, psychology and logic widened his horizon and placed within the scope of his thinking matters other than religion; he saw politics, social affairs, and athletics as they rarely enter into the scope of contemplation of the pure men of religion. His interest in industry and commercial companies may be attributed, perhaps, mainly to the watch repairing trade which his father had learned to perfection and had instilled in the boy. He had noted from the beginning of the movement, the foreigners' monopoly of the economy of the country, in commerce and in industry - he realized the affinity between politics and economics and saw the necessity of including them in his program.

However, another aspect of the personality of al-Jaṣāṣī, prominent in all phases of his life, was a spiritual-mystic inclination which was saturated with profound emotion. There remains no doubt that two factors were suspicious for al-Jaṣāṣī in this: an innate tendency to the mystic and propitious circumstances for the stimulation of this predilection. When he was twelve years old he witnessed a Dhikr ceremony performed by the brothers of the Sufi order of the Ḥaḍīthīyyah after the late evening prayers. The Dhikr circle with its harmonious voices, beautiful chanting, and engenious spirituality strongly attracted him; the liberality of the virtuous elders, the piety and humility of the young men with the small boys who flocked to their meeting to join them in the Dhikr made a deep impression upon him. He attended these meetings regularly so that his relations with these youth of the order became quite constant.

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From that time the name of the Ḥajjājīyah Šalīh began to
reverberate constantly in his ear making a beautiful impression in
the depths of his heart; the longing and yearning to see and sit
by the šalīh and to learn from him was renewed time after time. 80

During this time he read the book, al-Manhal al-Sāfī fi Manāhī Hikayat
al-Ḥajjāji, a story of the first šalīh of the order and was considerably
impressed by it. He was particularly taken with the šalīh’s insistence
on the expiation of good and the prohibition of evil and his lack of fear
of admonishment for his beliefs. The miracles of this šalīh did not impress
him as much as this practical liberal trend. At this early age he was overcome
by deep spiritual feelings which penetrated his subconscious, forming visions
in his mind. These indicate his attachment for the šalīh of the order.

In al-Ḥajjājīyah, he met a godly man, a merchant, who used to gather
boys about him and take them to the cemetery where he would relate stories
of pious men and their affairs. These would soften their hearts and cause
tears to flow. Then he would show them the open graves and would remind them
of their destinies. He would order some of them to descend into the open
graves, to lie therein, and contemplate their fate in the gloom and dreariness
of the grave. He would weep and the boys would cry with him. Then they
would renew their repentance in solemnity and with deep feeling.

When he enrolled in the Junior Teachers’ School in Ṣamanbūr - he was
14 years old at the time - he used to visit the grave of the šalīh of the
Ḥajjājīyah almost every day; every night he would go to al-Šawābah mosque with
the brothers of the order. He wanted to take the vows of the order so that
he could advance from the rank of “mahdī” to the rank of “ṣāḥib al-ṣubḥān!”
He took the vows from the šalīh himself in the month of Ramadān, 1341 A.H.
- 1922 A.D. and was admitted to its ceremonies and functions.

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Just as the first sheik of the order was distinguished by a prac-
tical tendency, so too was his successor. He never allowed his educated
followers to arm a great deal about the consistencies or inconsist-
ences of things or to repeat the arguments of the apostates and the
free-thinkers or the -teachers, for example, before the people. He
would say to them:

So these things in your private meeting places
and discuss them among yourselves. As for the common
people, in front of them use practical and effective
words which will direct them to the obedience of God.

Al-Shatibi was deeply affected by this trend. He considered it one of
the best and wisest means of spiritual education and he incorporated
it in his movement. Perhaps it can be truly said that he adopted some
aspects of Sufism relating to education and ethics and even went further
than the Sufis of his time. Thus he became a special Sufi sect. On the
basis of this practical aspect of education, he founded the al-MaQsid
which was originally a Sufi sect. On the basis of this practical aspect of education, he founded the al-MaQsid
al-Majlis al-Madiyyah, which aimed at the dissemination of good
morals, the opposition to abominations and sin on the one hand, and
the opposition to Christian missionary activities on the other hand.
Also on the basis of this practical aspect, he disagreed with the
sheikh of the order in matters concerning the, brotherhood. He
wrote a chapter in his memoirs on Sufism opposing extremism and the
undermining of religion with things outside its realm. These lead to
the widening of loopholes through which freethinkers, apostates, and
advocates of foul ideas and doctrines could enter in the name of
Sufism, apostasy, and austerity. Some of the Brethren were of
the opinion that the movement was very far removed from Sufi and dervish features which were an evil to Moslems and that the chief feature of the Brethren movement was that it was a movement of 96 "Effendis. This greatly exaggerates the facts. Al-Janābī himself remained a Sufi and leaned upon Sufism a great deal nor did he wish to unroll with it. Nevertheless the point of difference was that he considered it a means and not an end, education not end, and he wished that it were free of intruders, superstitions and devia-
96 tions from Islamic law.

Al-Janābī continued to be deeply absorbed in Sufism and worship throughout his stay in Rummānīr at the teachers' school. He adopted a special dress almost like theirs, (a turban with a tassel, slippers similar to those worn in the pilgrimage rites and a white sheet over the undergarments.) During the period of his studies at Bār al-Ulīm - his age at that time was sixteen years and some months - he regularly went to the house of the Ḥasanī speech after the Friday prayers each week and many other nights of the week he went to the house of the first deity of the orders. His practical existence did not turn him away from spiritual exercises. At the start of his movement in Ismā'īlia he continued to associate with the members of the various orders and to consider himself as one of them. He continued to be trained with them in the way of the order and to talk to them in 98 its language.

However this practical inclination which we had seen in him before was deeply rooted. His personal experiences with the Sufis increased his attachment to them. He was not anxious to spread his
movement on the basis of its being a special order - a special Sufi order - because he did not want to quarrel with the members of other orders, and there were many; he did not want to limit his movement to one group of Na`mans nor to but one aspect of reform but rather wanted it "to be a general movement based on knowledge, education and Jihad."

Thus it is apparent that al-Banna was a Sufi and remained a Sufi. But this was a particular kind of Sufism which aimed at reform through religion; or rather just one of the aspects of Sufism to which he clung while abandoning all others.

Among other factors affecting the formation of his personality were the cultural influences which he received during various phases of his life. What was the nature of these cultural influences? Were they in tune with his temperament and his education and to what extent did they contribute to the nature of his movement?

To a great measure al-Banna was fond of reading outside the dictates of the school curriculum. He had a powerful memory which was capable of absorbing a very great amount of written material, both prose and poetry. It was mentioned that he went into the examinations at Dār al-Ulūm with a collection of memorizations amounting to more than 18,000 verses of poetry and a like amount of prose; this, in addition to texts taken from grammar, syntax, science of Hadith, theology of Inheritance, logic, and Jurisprudence of the Hanafite, Shafi`ite, and Malikite schools. He was following the advice of his father's proverb, "Who masters the texts, masters the disciplines." This led him also to memorize "al-Shajabiysh"
...as a verification of a well known book on the seven readings of the Koran.

He read incessantly of his father's library and of the library of his first teacher, Shaih Muhammed Zahrân. He immersed himself in three principal subjects: first, the Koran, the Hadith, and religious science in toto; second, Sufism and the biography of the Prophet; third, belles-lettres and folk tales. During his studies at Dâr al-'Umm he had received a monthly stipend of one pound which he would lay aside for the purchase of books other than school books.

Of these, books on Sufism made the deepest impression on his soul. He read them over until they evoked strong visions, sensitized his feelings, and aroused spiritual emotion; in a like manner the special readings and various lectures which he was wont to repeat continually for extended periods of time had effect on him. Next in order of the books which influenced him were the heroic stories about courage, defense of the fatherland, religious zeal, holy war in the cause of God, and the struggle for glory and grandeur. The biographies, such as Al-Amr al-Muhayyib by al-Wahbî, Muhammad al-Mubâhd al-Ladâ'irah by al-Qastalî, and Dar al-Yamî al-Sharîf Sayyid al-Nawârîn by al-Kâdirî, which are actually closer to being stories of heroism and bravery than they are objective history, also profoundly impressed him.

Besides these principal subjects of Sufism, and religious, nationalist, and heroic stories, he was amused by the writings of Sayyid Rasûl Yâdî, Yârîd Wajîd, Mu'âdh al-Dîn al-Maʿsîb, and others like them from the Sufisites, those of the gifted pens.

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There struggled in the breast of al-Banna in his youth a restive yearning for reading and knowledge which was counteracted by his Sufi teachings which would confine knowledge to what was needed to fulfill one's divine duties and earn a living. As a result of this struggle, he burned his earlier poetry and neglected his compositions in jurisprudence and literature; so that he even almost gave up going to Dar al-Ulum. This struggle remained in the depths of al-Banna for a long time so that it can be said truly that he had two inseparable conflicting personalities. He wanted to conciliate them by his saying about himself that he was a devotee, free in his thinking and sincerely loyal in the appreciation of the value of the acts of worship, remembrance of God, and the propriety of behaviour at the same time.

Thus al-Banna received a pure Arab-Islamic education and he chose for his reading what agreed with his temperament and satisfied his yearnings.

It is apparent that he read - especially during the period of the Second World War - many and various subjects on politics, literature, and history. However, during this period, al-Banna had already formed his special temperament and had defined the direction of effort which he wanted to follow. Concerning this one of his followers says:

People are arguing back and forth, theologians theorizing, would-be philosophers philosophizing, and cultured people are delving in all fields but Hasan al-Banna does not believe any of it, no matter how the dilemas and the specialists plunge themselves into it. He cites for you a verse from the Koran and the matter is settled and decided .... the people wear themselves out, searching hither and yon while al-Banna with his Koran had no need for these. He
reads a book containing the most modern of theories whether
law or education or ethics or economics or politics or legis-
islation or sociology or any of the arts, and when he finishes
it, he surprises you with a Kornic verse or verses containing
all that you admired or were taken with of the theories pre-
sented in that book. His source never dried up and his know-
ledge never ceased to supply what he wanted on any aspect in
this way .... the reformers wander aimlessly about, spouting
on this or that culture and rushing greedily upon whatever
the Westerners have laid down concerning a great number of
matters essential and necessary to life as regards the affairs
of the people and society and it does not occur to them that
Islam has dealt with these aspects and has expounded them
better than what has been arrived at by the modern mind except
if they listen to Hasan al-Jamâ and if they see him reading
one of these books, then commencing on it so as to make the
efforts expended on this book seem foolish by quoting one
verse from the Koran which would abundantly explain it, an-
notate it and reveal its aims .... there may be present some
of those who memorise the Koran and they would act as if
they had never heard these verses before, 106

Thus the education of al-Jamâ, especially his study of the
Koran, the Hadith and biography, made its impression on the move-
ment, causing it to be directed along purely Islamic lines, im-
buing it with zeal for the dogma which he embraced, strengthening
it with the spirit of heroism and patience in the face of calam-
ities, and encouraging the use of every means for the realization
of its objectives.

Another outstanding aspect of al-Jamâ's personality was his
intelligence which first became apparent at school, where he stood
out over the heads of all his classmates. It showed in the power
of his memory, in the skill with which he solved problems and accomo-
dated himself to circumstances, and in his complete mastery over his
followers with their severely strong differences of background, cul-

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ture and social level. His academic talent is apparent from his success in school where he came off with flying colors, from the elementary school to the Junior Teacher's College which climax his academic life. He entered the Junior Teacher's College when he was half a year under the legal age. In the examination for qualification as a teacher he stood first in his school and fifth in the entire country of Egypt. In the final examination at Mr al-Shâb, he was first in his class.

The power of his memory is apparent from the extent of the things he memorized. One of his friends mentioned that he was endowed with a marvelous memory which could never forget a name or a face or a place even though years had passed and that he knew a great number of people and had a complete knowledge of all that concerned them. He knew the country both town and village and he knew everyone of them, its position, the systems of its people, their tradition, their customs, their religious sects, and everything concerning their religious, social, and intellectual make-up.

His skill in handling problems appeared in a great number of situations. As an example, an Arabite wanted to show him up in front of his listeners by instigating a futile argument about trivialities. This was during the start of his movement in Jenin. During the presentation of his lecture, this man questioned him about the name of Abraham. Al-Shaâb told him that Abraham's name was Yaâsh and that Ishaar was his uncle's name while the Koran says that his father was Ishaar, not preventing him from being;
his uncle since those terms in Arabic are used interchangeably. Some of the interpreters said that Ayyub was the name of his father and not the name of either his father or uncle. He pronounced the word "Ayyub" with an "e" sound after the "t". The Asharite said that the word should be pronounced with an "a" sound after the "t" just like, to cause some embarrassment to al-Sannā. whereas the Asharite wanted to follow this course every lesson, al-Sannā used an abusive method; he invited him to his house, honored him, and gave him two books on jurisprudence and书法 as a present, ensuring that he was ready to present him with whatever he liked from his books. The Asharite was pleased and attended lessons regularly and ceased from his handicapping. Perhaps the severest test of his intelligence came when Ibrahim Abd al-Salām confiscated the property of the society, persecuted them and accused them of planning a coup d'état as well as disloyalty to the throne. al-Sannā could not declare that the Brethren would undertake to raise the standards of the country through religious, social, and economic means and would neglect the political aspect in which they had been so deeply involved in order to save the society in the face of this severe treatment. This situation diabolically hurt his a great deal as much as he had hoped to make of the Brethren "an army of deliverance and philantropies of the Holy War," 111 and after he had repeatedly declared politics an integral part of their program. A story was told by one who knew the movement in Cairo that al-Sannā used to be insinuated with everybody and all political doctirines so as to convince them that his movement included all movements one in order to strengthen the society. He had intelligence and common enough to conciliate the differ-
ence of temperament of his visitors.

His mastery over his followers was a complete, total mastery almost approaching wizardry. For each person he had a special story, a special way, and a special logic. Later events revealed that his followers and supporters were not just from the laboring class, although these made up the bulk. Some of them were university students, religious men, men of law and government employees equally. The mastery of al-Banna over these different groups, the way he attracted supporters every day in Egypt and outside Egypt, and the rapid growth of his movement in steadfastness and stability are manifestations of his intelligence and resourcefulness.

Perhaps the most difficult work undertaken by al-Banna requiring the concentration of his talents— which consequently revealed his intelligence— is his attempt in all his speeches and articles to prove that Islam concerns itself with all the teachings with which the modern political movements such as Nationalism and Communism are concerned but always giving something in addition, such as hope, strength, patriotism, power, and upright character. Such also was his attempt to prove that Islamic civilization includes in itself what is good in all civilizations and even surpasses them; and is free of what is bad in them. This work is one of the outstanding characteristics of the movement. It is the work of the movement and its leader and is, without a doubt, one of the achievements of the intelligence and ability of al-Banna.

Moreover, al-Banna was gifted with surpassing power of eloquence as a conversationalist, writer, and lecturer. Hidden gifts and talents in men will remain buried in their souls, unless they can be expressed with eloquence. Those who wrote biographies of al-Banna or wrote about his point out this gift of eloquence. Ahmad Ammar al-Funduq said in his
He is one of the ablest of writers, the most capable of revealing what is in his soul, and one of the most eloquent of expression, making the deepest impressions upon man's soul with noble words and clear, concise meaning. When he speaks, the old and the young, the highly cultured, the illiterate, and the ignorant understand him.... in his voice there is a deep resonance and from his tongue comes magic. When he speaks, he plays upon hearts. Arabic literature with its rich sources provided him with a terrific abundance of Koranic verses, traditions, and sages of the Islamic Sufi, which he would quote at the most appropriate time and place and which would have a projectile-like effect on his opponents.

The author was able to estimate the number of speeches which he had delivered over a seventeen-year period as not less than thirty thousand; while the number of meetings which he held were of a similar nature.

Abza Hasan al-Hajiri says in his book, 'Abd al-Majid:

He is an illustrious writer, faultless and irreplaceable. Through the eloquence of his words, the ordered continuity of his thought, and the beauty and ease of his style, he has attained the rank of the great outstanding writers and eminent men of letters.... in writing memoirs, articles, pamphlets, and letters, he has never lacked the means of dealing with any subject. He treated social, cultural, juridical, legal, and legislative questions just as he would treat religious questions in their purely juridical aspects. In speaking he would treat whatever the subject on any aspect thereof without limiting himself to but one aspect. His genius prepared him for all cultures. History has recognized him as a skilled and competent orator, as well as an outstanding, talented writer. In his eloquence, the clarity of his argument, the impressiveness of his speech, and the appropriateness of his words he is an excellent orator without peer. His voice could approach his heights and none of his contemporaries could challenge him in his field. He gripped the minds of his listeners and shook their emotions. He has a special air about him, self-assurance, inventive methods, and individual lines of effort. He did not imitate nor follow the lead of anyone, he was his predecessor or a follower.... in this, [his eloquence as a speaker], he was aided by his abundant knowledge and his ability to tie up the loose
ends of any subject no matter how revelled they were. He would gather it up and carry it to the mind of his listener without abridgment, without confusion, with breadth and profusion. He is an encyclopedia, extensive and complete, talking on any subject extemporaneously, whatever the type may be. He chooses an easy style in his lectures and would use expressions appropriate to his listeners.

The compiler of his memoirs mentioned that he found that these memoirs were in the newspapers of the Moslem Brethren in about 300 numbers from No. 376 issued 23/7/47 until the newspaper was closed down, besides his articles and bound speeches.

Even taking into consideration the exaggeration which would be expected naturally of his followers and disciples, there is no doubt that he was the possessor of a great amount of rhetorical ability which was one of the factors of his success. This ability is attributable to three causes: first, that he was a teacher who was accustomed every day to fixing subjects in the minds of young students during the course of his teaching career which began at an early age and continued until after the rise of his movement; secondly, his extensive knowledge of language and literature, his mastery of them, and his capacity for narrative style which came from his incessant reading in his youth, as was stated in a previous chapter; thirdly, the great scope of his memorizations, both prose and poetry, and the repetition of them on diverse occasions; added to that was his long practice in mosques, assemblages, clubs, and conventions of the Brethren which sharpened and strengthened his natural ability. In his youth he used to attend regularly Sufi
circles and repeat their collects hour after hour so that his
tongue became glib, his pronunciation was improved, and he be-
came a master of eloquence. One is obliged to point out that
the chief duty of al-Bana` was an oratorical one which was to
invoke the welling forth of sympathy and win over men's hearts.
Most of his followers and listeners in the early stage were of
the laboring classes who would be satisfied with little logic
and would be aroused by much eloquence. His great facility with
quotations from the Koran, the Hadith, and poetry would serve as
a prop where he could halt for brief pauses while enriching his
expression.

This is an extract from one of his articles, entitled "Fariqān",
[two paths], which, although it does not illustrate the resonant
rhyme and symmetric syllabication, does show his skill in arousing
feeling:

A shady, level way, radiant and pretty, bordered
by redolence and fragrance, and surrounded by beauty
on all sides. Its beginning is conviction and faith
and its stages are righteousness and obedience to God.
Its end is paradise and contentment, and the seat of
truth, in the presence of the omnipotent King.

A desolate road, its beginning is disbelief and
denial. Its stages are sin and disobedience. Its end
is fire and hell.116

This rhetorical style is characteristic of the manner of al-
Bana`. He used this style intentionally, but with such linguistic
ability as to far remove it from affectation. It is more effective
with crowds than a strong appeal to the intellect alone. However,
al-Jamā did not adhere to this style in all situations - he would fashion his style to fit the situation - his primary purpose was to make an impression on his listeners and to arouse their emotions. He would treat his subject variously in accord with the state of his listeners. With the men of law he was not the same as with the Sufis or the economists or the plain workers; for each group there was a type of elegance and a method of persuasion. With the common people he was different than he was with the elite; for with the former he simplified his language and spoke in the vernacular although at times he would mix the classical and the colloquial.

Al-Jamā was endowed with a strong physique which supported him in his activities and even perhaps was his chief support, since if it were not for this physique he would not have been able to bear the hardships of travel, the strain of continuous labor all day and most of the night and the effort of making speeches, writing, convening continual meetings, and overseeing all activities of the headquarters and the branches; in addition to the successive shocks which racked and exhausted the body.

He took up the task of the movement in the twenty-first year of his life, while he was teaching at the elementary school during the day, preaching and lecturing in the early evening, and holding meetings with his followers in the late evening.
In the book, al-Dir'ah of Hasan al-Ba'midārī-Hamzah, there is an itinerary of his travels taken from the year 1959, which shows the towns he used to visit at weekends. He would travel from Cairo to al-Minya on Thursday afternoon arriving at eight o'clock in the evening. Then he would leave al-Minya about midnight for Asīfī, reaching there the next morning. At noon he would leave Assīfī for Qasmī, getting there about sunset. At about half past six he would leave Qasmī for Naṣrī Qamādī, arriving there in the morning. In the afternoon he would leave for Darbī, reaching there in an hour. Then he would depart about eleven in the evening for Cairo where he would arrive on Sunday morning. 117

When the branches of the Brethren had reached from Alexandria to Assam, he took over the unified control of these forces so that no one force would act at odds with the other, thus ensuring a co-operative effort. His task was the supervision of the great and the small of affairs with thoroughness and precision. In the Brethren building he was busy from the moment he entered to the time he left.

His comrades tell this about him when traveling:

We ride in the car between Mecca and Medina and are carsick while he is not; we eat some foodstuffs and have stomach-ache but not he; we come into the hot air of Mecca after our damp air and into the damp air of Medina after the hot air of Mecca and we all catch colds and start coughing, but not he; walking up to and climbing the Ghur Fīlī tires us out, but he does not tire. 118
He had a strong stomach capable of digesting all kinds of food in many different countries and climates, and a strong nervous system which was not affected by either change of climate or the motion of cars or boats. In addition he was a master at shooting and swimming and could hike long distances. He would ride the train third class on wooden seats and would never become tired nor bored. This physical strength was what completed the personality of al-Banna because it was what enabled him to carry on the movement and its struggles through thick and thin.

It seems that the saying of one of his followers that "the secret of success lies in the personality of the propagandist" is true to a great degree. All who have written about him, closely identify him with the movement. The movement of the Muslim Brotherhood is the movement of "Hasan al-Banna" or rather the characteristics and idiosyncrasies of Hasan al-Banna, himself, which have been noted. Ahmad Hasan al-Hajjaji, one of those who knew him best and wrote much about him, says:

There was one man in the twentieth century, (Hasan al-Banna), who called for the Islamic mission, bore its burdens, and was not preceded by anyone else. This is what we want to show here .... a clear Islamic movement as an independent, constitutional reality upon which is based a universal distinctive system, then the organization of a movement to lead a generation in the endeavor to apply the principles of Islamic rule to government, politics, and society; their practical establishment as an effective constitution while defending them as true doctrine .... an Islamic movement in this broad, comprehensive, practical sense, bringing along with it its accompanying universal revolution in

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thought and historical events which will have their effect and importance in the future of humanity... we say that an Islamic movement in this sense has not been known in history for very long periods except when Hasan al-Banna raised its banner in the 20th century in the name of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. 120

The evidence in statements such as these which make apparent the niqlah of unrestrained bias of admiration for the head and leader of the movement, is that his followers identify as one the movement and his personality and they attribute to him its strength, its success, its elucidation, its philosophy, and all its internal and external phenomena. It is evident that all the aspects of power and weakness in it and all elucidation, interpretations, and principles upon which it was based should also be attributed to him. In fact, the law of the movement places more authority in the hand of the Directorate than is held by an absolute monarchy, as will be brought out later. All of his followers owe him an unabashed, unshrinking and unquestioning loyalty and obedience and they deny to themselves the right of objection to what he adopts as a final ruling. They go as far as to consider him the man of the hour, the man of modern Egypt, and the man of the Islamic mission in the modern era.

This then is the personality of "Hasan al-Banna", founder of the movement, its Director and its leader as it is revealed in Brethren sources which dealt at length about his life. On the other hand, the correspondent of the Weekly Times mentioned that al-Banna was an eloquent speaker and a skilled politician. Mohammed Yassin Ajmani,
the author of the book, Al-Ikhwan al-Musulmin fi al-Fikr, deduced from the articles in the regulations which broaden the authority of the Director-General to the utmost limit, that the movement is Fascist. Actually it is not. However, the authority of the Director-General attained such proportions as to be unrivaled by any modern ruler. This is an indication of the prominence of the personality of al-Ikhwan in the society, an eminence not reached by any of his men. On this point both his supporters and opponents agree. The movement of the Brethren is a unique one in a measure that the personality of al-Ikhwan was unique.

It is a one man movement which stretched out and expanded through many supporters and disciples. One of them said:

But the Brethren deal with one another according to a law emanating from the spirit of their leader and director. The prevailing, ruling, organizational law of the Brethren is the law of fraternity. The spirit of this law is the Director-General's source of power and the inspiration of our leader. Leading people is made easy for him and he is confirmed in their hearts. They proclaim his director and leader and depend upon him whenever distress occurs. Because of this the congregations of the Brethren have known neither the dry provisions of law, nor the haughtiness of its stipulations, nor the sternness and severity of its tasks. Accordingly, this identifies itself with the director and the leader of the Brethren -as being he to whom millions owe obedience and loyalty and from whose lips a single word is grasped by thousands with warm and true response.

What are the principles of the movement and upon what basis is it founded? These shall be discussed in the next chapter.
CHAPTER FOUR
THEIR PRINCIPLES

The first thing to be observed about the principles of the Brethren is that they are growing and developing; they began from a religious point and then shot out to such wide horizons as could not be embraced by law. In fact, the principal law which contains all the principles and explains all the stipulations is "al-Sumrāl" himself. There is nothing more indicative of this than a saying attributed to one of the Brethren:

The congregations of the Brethren have known neither the dry provisions of the law, nor the harshness of its stipulations, nor the sternness and severity of its texts.

Then he says:

The Director of the Brethren administers these congregations with efficient counsel, art and appropriate direction and by putting everything in its proper place.

Al-Sumrāl himself mentioned on many occasions that his movement was a growing one. He stipulated in the basic organizational regulations of the committee which were ratified by the general assembly of the Brethren in 1945 that: "the Brethren will always prefer gradual progress and development."

He explained that this gradual development must pass through three stages: a stage of propaganda, with the incalculable and pro-ulation of the idea and its transmission to the masses of the people; a stage of attracting and selecting supporters with the drilling of recits and the mobilization of the ranks of those who answer the call; and a stage of
execution, action, and productivity. But he also said:

But there is no doubt that this last objective, this final accomplishment will not come about until after the propaganda has become widespread, the supporters are numerous, and the movement is solidly established. 128

This is a clear indication that the objective is in pawn to the circumstances. Al-Banna had limited this objective and referred to it from time to time as suited the development and disposition of the society. He held out hope to the enthusiastic youth and hinted that when they reach the stage of preparedness, he would not lag behind but would "plunge with them into the depths of the sea, rend the skies, and attack all the stubborn tyrants." It is not improbable that al-Banna, in his last days, during the spread of the movement and under the pressure of the headstrong and impatient young people, actually wanted to attain this final goal. He declared in a speech at the congress called for the discussion of national demands in 1945:

All that, my brother, has aroused much strong feeling in me that the conviction has grown that we have been left no choice, that it is our duty to lead these perplexed souls and give guidance to these tumultuous passions. This was his answer to the enthusiasm of the youthful members who believed that they had already completed the phase of preparation and had reached the final stage, the one he had demanded of them formerly. He bestowed on them the title, "Army of deliverance and phalanxes of jihad."

In any case, all of what has emanated from the Brethren and their leader indicates that they were like a man trained in diving who mounts the diving board whenever he perceives in himself the ability to do so. Thus their aims continued to grow and develop.

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Also of note in their principles is the comprehensiveness of every principle and doctrine whether found actually in religion or coming from outside. They took care to have the people understand that the best of the principles of the East and the West are to be found in their principles. One of the active members of the University Young Men related how al-Manṣūr had once assembled them and said to them:

If the Communists agree with you and say that our (the Communists') principles are humanitarian and liberal; help the weak and poor and level class differences; that they will bring about social, economic, and political justice - then say to them; So that as it may, but our principles embody your principles and more. You can not tear off a single principle without our having one just like it and exceeding its scope.

This idea was so firmly fixed in the soul of al-Manṣūr and so often restated by him that it became a basic principle from which all others emanated. The first evidence of this is in a letter which he sent to King Farouk, al-Manṣūr, the heads of the ministries, and the Arab kings and princes under the title, Nahm al-War, in which he says:

In this world there is no system which supplies the unifying nation with the organization, foundation, feelings, and sympathies as does the system of Islam. He also states in this letter that the Koran gathers together all the sciences of the world in one verse. He urged them to follow the Koran. This was also the manner of Muhammad ʿAbdu. The letter reads that the rules of Islam as they pertain to the individual, the family, or the nation, its government, its people, or the bands tying nations together.
is at once comprehensive and precise and gives preference to the general welfare; and that they are the most complete and beneficial known to man of modern or ancient rules. He believes that Islam is an all-inclusive meaning, organizing all the affairs of life and interpreting all matters and that it lays down exact and precise rules for them. He realizes that the people of the Islamic East shall never find a decent life built upon noble ideals except in Islam because they are from the essence of this principle and in its rules they are completely guaranteed. He perceives that nationalism in Islam is more complete, purer, nobler, and higher than it is on the lips of the Europeans and in their writings. He perceives that Internationalism, nationalism, socialism, capitalism, Socialism, war, the distribution of wealth, relations between producer and consumer and all what is related, closely or distantly, with these discussions which are worrying the world's politicians and sociologists; in all of these Islam has immersed itself and laid down for the world the rules which will guarantee to them all the benefits contained in them. He believes that their movement is a universal and all-embracing one; it has not passed by a worthy part of any other movement without acquainting itself thoroughly with it and making note of it.

These topics are very numerous in the writings of al-Banna and all of the Brethren without exception. Naturally, this leads to the inevitable conclusion that the Brethren are imitators and not innovators; or that they add nothing new but revive something old and resurrect what was dead, since all of these teachings were taken originally from the essence of religion.
From this comprehensive and general principle they derived the remainder of their principles so that they embraced every religious, political, social, and economic aspect, as is apparent from their basic regulations. Al-Sunna said in one of his speeches:

You are able to say, and no one will censure you, that the Muslim Brethren is a Salafite movement, a Sunni way, a Sufi truth, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company, and a social ideal. What are these principles?

They make them out to be six.

The first is scientific: the precise explanation of the Holy Koran, by interpreting it and referring back to its origins and universal elements; completely revealing it in the spirit of the age and defending it from falsehoods and suspicions. Actually they trod the same path as Muhammed 'Abdu, a half century before them when he wanted to answer the charges directed against religion. He took it upon his shoulders to prove that religion is compatible with the spirit of the age and in harmony with all science and knowledge rather than tearing these charges out by their roots and admitting that religion has a trend which differs completely from the trend of science. Consequently, he committed himself and religion to affairs which do not concern religion.

The second is practical: to unify the Egyptian nation and the Islamic nations about these Koranic principles and to renew its noble and profound influence in the souls of its sons so that there would be a true Koranic nation; to bring together the points of view of various Islamic sects. This aimed at building the entire Islamic society on
one religious basis and settling the disputes which appeared on various occasions among the Islamic factions and groups. Concerning this one of their writers said:

We shall never remain quiescent, nor silent, nor shall we rest until we see the Koran an effective constitution. We shall live for this aim or we shall die in the attempt.

The third is economic: the growth of national wealth, its protection, and its liberation; the job of raising the standard of living, the realization of social justice between individuals and classes, social security for all citizens, and the guarantee of equal opportunity for all. This object is to serve the workers who had been the foundations of the movement in its initial stages; to put a limit to foreign influence in the Egyptian economy; to animate local industries; and to set up labor unions working for the raising of the financial and social standards of the workers. It is evident that Western governments, Fascist, Socialistic and Democratic have adopted this principle. This is a modern trend in systems of government.

The fourth is sociophilethropic; social service, the struggle against ignorance, disease, poverty and vice, and the encouragement of useful, benevolent, and charitable works.

The fifth is patriotic and nationalistic: liberation of the Nile valley and all of the Arab countries and all parts of the Islamic fatherland from all foreigners; to assist Islamic minorities everywhere to secure their rights; the complete support of Arab unity; the
urged press certain reforms in social control to promote furtherance of world cooperation based on a real worthy ideal, which would safeguard freedom and human rights, whereby the strong would lend a helping hand to the weak in order to lift them up; and the institution of universal state which would put the rules and injunctions of Islam into practice, preserving them at home and transmitting them abroad.

The sixth is humanitarian and universal, the promotion of universal peace and a humanitarian civilization on a new basis, both materially and spiritually, through the medium of the universal principles of Islam which promote brotherhood, and provide the practical means to its attainment in a world which is yearning for a virtuous and spiritual life.

The following are some of their principles explained in detail, as brought out in their writings:

1. Avoidance of the battles, rounds of theological discussion.

It is meant by this that they belong to no one special sect but are devoted to the bare essence of religion; they went the unification of viewpoints because the direct conflict and division to the sects has been far conflict and division, while the basis of their victory are love, unity, and charity. Differences among sects in religion are inevitable; for there to be stability in all nations is an impossible demand and inconsistent with the nature of religion. It is God's wish that this religion endure eternally, keep pace with the times, and adapt itself to the age, for it is an easy, pliant, and treatable; not capable of stagnation or rigidity. It is left for the people to build upon these foundations.

2. Avoidance of the domination of notables and important men; since
rising movements attract them and means riches and benefits for them.

3 = Avoidance of political bodies and parties because there is contention and discord among them in non-conformity with the brotherhood of Islam. The mission of Islam is generic, gathering together, not rodding anumber, and no one would further the mission nor work for it unless he were devoid of all partiality and has become purely devoted to God.

4 = Gradual process: because every movement must inevitably pass through stages before arriving at its goal; they are the stages of propaganda, incitement of the idea and the stages of application, action and production.

5 = Seeking the help of power for the realization of their aims, ranging from the power of the doctrine and faith to the power of unity and solidarity and then to the power of the arm and weapon. But they will only use force when nothing else avail, when they are confident that they have completed the preparation of faith and unity; but they do not contemplate revolution nor do they believe in its efficacy or what can be achieved thereby. However, should it occur it would be from the pressure of circumstances and the failure of reforms being carried out.

6 = Setting up of the religious government: because Islam makes government one of its cornerstones, and in itself rule and execution, legislation and education, law and judiciary and each is inseparable from the other; but they do not seek for this government for themselves and if they find in the nation anyone who is prepared to carry this burden and to rule by the Koranic-Islamic program, then they will be his.
soldiers, supporters, and helpers. If they find no one, then taking over the government is part of their program and they will work towards taking it from the hands of any government which does not apply the rules of God. But they will never come forward to take over the duty of rule until their principles have been accepted and are prevalent. They had seen that the governments contemporary with them had never taken up this burden and were never really prepared to implement the Islamic idea. They have never been an instrument in the hands of any of these governments.

7 - They believe in Arab unity and Islamic unity; they consider the first as "Arabian speaking." As for the second, they believe in it and work for the unity of all Muslims and the strengthening of the brotherhood of Islam. They say that their fatherland is every span of land where there are Muslims. They are of the opinion that each person shall work for his fatherland and place it above all others. After that he should support Arab unity as being the second link, then Pan-Islam as being the perfect boundary-wall about the universal Islamic fatherland. There is no conflict between those conceptions of unity. Each of them strengthens the other and realizes its purpose. If people start proclaiming special nationalities as a weapon to dampen the feelings for all others, then they are not with them.

8 - The idea of the Caliphate and the work of reviving it is at the head of their program because they consider it the symbol of Islamic unity and the outward sign of the bonds among the nations of Islam. But they believe that the final, direct step of returning the Caliphate will necessarily be preceded by others. There must be complete cultural, economic, and social co-operation among all the Islamic nations, followed by alliances and treaties,
and the convening of assemblies and conferences among these countries; following which, the formation of a league of the Islamic nations so that being so constituted for all Muslims, they would rally about the 'Imam' who would be the focal point of the union.

9 — Their position vis-à-vis the European countries: they consider each country which has aggressed or is aggressing the Islamic homeland to be a tyrannical state, which must be stopped from its aggression; Muslims must prepare themselves and work in mutual support, united in throwing off their yokes; Islam will not be content with less than freedom and independence with national sovereignty and the declaration of Jihad, even though it cost blood, for death is better than a life of slavery and humiliation.

These then are the general and particular principles of the Brethren as set forth in the basic regulations and the speeches and writings of al-Haqqah.

There remains for us to see to what extent their aims were realised and to examine how they achieved these aims.
CHAPTER FIVE
THEIR ACHIEVEMENTS

It is apparent from the foregoing chapter that among the most outstanding characteristics of the movement is the inclusion of every principle inherent in religion or evolving later. So it was also with their activities which embraced all aspects of life: the social, economic, scientific, political, and the military, whether innate or acquired. But they colored these activities with a special religious tinge so that they were in harmony with the movement.

Since, at its inception, the society was a religious one, they confined their activities to:

- the realization of goals and objectives enjoined by Islam, the elucidation of the mission of the Holy Koran, and the true comprehension of Islam, so that if the people keep these in mind and are assured of their benefits, they will act in accord with them and will comply with their injunctions.¹⁴⁶

They were induced to adopt this scheme of endeavor by their vision of all of Egypt and even of the whole Arab East marching over a precipice into an abyss of religious doubt, licentiousness, poverty, wantoness, and humiliation. From a letter addressed by al-Hannā to Muhammad Mahfūd Pasha in the first days of the movement, we find:

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In our Egyptian society, the norms of morality have been smashed and the standards of virtue have crumbled away which invokes deep regret. The engines of destruction are making their appearance on all sides. Young men and women, families and individuals, bodies and souls, are all shattered, calling for the utmost speed of reform and restoration, which shall not come about except by the employment of all means, the chief amongst which is the reform of the sources of culture and law, the exploitation of leisure time, and the combatting of abominations.148

Therefore, there must of necessity, be preaching, indoctrination, and the expurgation of souls by the promotion of religious education so that the Moslems will be transmuted from Moslems in a purely geographical sense to Moslems as believers, in reality and truth, practically and knowingly.

In fact, this was the principal feature of their activities as far as importance and groundwork are concerned, or more, it was the field of their main effort for a long period of time. It is evident that the field was fertile for this spiritual "evangelism" in Egypt, especially among the laborers and the poor in Tamailla and the Egyptian countryside in general. These classes responded enthusiastically and found contentment and peace of mind in it.149

This preaching rested upon certain foundations: instruction of the illiterate in the rituals of prayer and some Surahs of the Koran for the performance of religious duties; the explanation of the truth of the Islamic mission; that it calls for belief in the prophethood of all prophets who preceded Muhammad and a return to the spiritual concepts which were received through Muhammad, Jesus, Moses, Abraham, Noah, 150 and other prophets who came before, that Islam is religion, state, doc-
trine, a Koran and a sword, and that it does not consist of rituals and feast days only; the indoctrination of the people with respect for public ethics as laid down in the divine book and the sanctions and prohibitions such as the injunctions against prostitution, gambling, and drinking; the disparagement of material excesses which turn the Islamic people away from the leadership of the prophet and the guidance of the Koran; the endeavor to make Islamic principles the rules upon which the renaissance of the modern East will be built in all aspects of life; and the advocacy of the ideal, virtuous life, yet practical in such things as material co-operation in all its phases.

How did they perform this mission? At first they would preach in the mosque after the Friday prayer or they would give public instruction after prayer. After they had opened branches, the leader of the movement used them as "universities in which to educate the people in accord with the Islamic educational program." These lessons were regularly scheduled every week without interruption. A number of the Brethren would help in giving the lessons under the guidance of the Director-General.

Some of their writers were of the opinion that al-Jazairi drew a precise line from the beginning following the example of the prophet whose first step was "to form the community of believers and then to apply the rule," for he realized that the revolution would not come about spontaneously and that nations do not develop from one stage to another except by organized methods and practical programs. For this reason he strove to educate the people in the virtues of the [Islamic] principles and [urged them] to put them into practice. They say that previous reform movements
were deficient in that they did not concern themselves with the elemental
of the Islamic program and the necessity of awakening the nation to these
elementals in the realization that they are the only remedy. They did not
take care to educate the people on the basis of this program so that they
might hope for success as a reform movement in a demilitarized, enslaved na-
tion. These are the reasons for the failure of the previous reform move-
ments which have appeared in Egypt and the East in the modern era; so the
matter remained until the leadership of the Brethren brought about a new
mentality and gave new meaning to the revival of nations and peoples. They
say that the movement calls for a broad program, an absolute Islam, a pure
Islamic system, the Koran as a constitution and the establishment of social
life on a sound basis, guaranteeing the virtuous education of the individual
and the development of family life under noble supervision and based on
high ideals, thus bringing into being a social nation.

In brief, this educational program took up the energies of the
society for many years and was the beginning of the whole movement. Most
likely al-Manâ did want to center all his efforts on this program without
becoming involved in anything else. It was his success which opened wide
horizons for him, and he entered them. Thus activities began to pile up
until the period of tribulation had developed in all its severity.

Among their outstanding activities was the sending of special letters
to the Egyptian Prime Ministers, then to the King, then to the other Arab
kings, and their rulers and princes. In these they expounded their
mission with complete frankness. Sometimes they addressed their letters
to certain ministers in the state and to foreign prime-ministers concerning topics connected with their movement.

They began these letters in the time of Muhammad Mahmud Pasha the first head of state during their time, and continued during the rest of the Egyptian ministries up until the period of tribulation 1381 and after. At no time did they stop writing, preaching, and counseling. Sometimes they would follow up their letters with a personal interview with the head of the state or the minister, calling his attention to the advice contained in the letters. The theme was almost without variation except during periods of political disturbance when they confined their writings to political subjects.

Among the first of their letters was the one to Muhammad Mahmud Pasha in which they described the condition of the Egyptian state and how it was suffering from ignorance, vice, poverty, and moral, cultural, and physical weakness everywhere, at a time when [other] nations were awakening and progressing and the rest of the world was striving and doing. "The remedy is the teachings of Islam and the book of God. Falsehood from whatever side it cometh, shall not come nigh it."

The letter goes on to say:

If the objection [to the Islamic program] is the presence of the British, our internal organization is no concern of theirs; but if they insist upon standing in our way, then the declaration of Jihad is obliged upon us. If the argument is the anxiety of the foreign millionaires, let us come to a basis of understanding with them and they will discover in Islam, its rules, and its teachings, a guarantee of their rights and the preservation of their souls. If the argument is the non-Muslim elements, they have seen our complete justice in history.
However, the real obstacle was that the leaders of Egypt were not deeply concerned with Islam nor well acquainted with its teachings. They should return to doctrine and religion. Then it mentioned that the success of Turkey's abandonment of religion had infected Egypt with catastrophic effect. For this reason it called upon Muhammad Mejmed Pasha to distinguish himself by raising the word of Islam and adopting it as a slogan.

Then it urged him to set a good example by the execution of the following things: first, prohibit the mixing of men and women at libertine parties where drinking occurs, i.e., at official or semi-official parties; second, have the ministers refrain from frequenting gambling houses, race-tracks, and places of entertainment; third, have them stop publishing the pictures of their wives and daughters in the newspapers; fourth, observe the performance of prayers, stopping work at prayer times; fifth, have them make the predominant atmosphere in their homes Egyptian and Islamic where Arabic is spoken, the children have Egyptian governesses, and go to government Islamic schools; sixth, punishment of the disolute official.

It also called upon him to reform the law by giving it an Islamic tone and to form committees to study the reconciliation of the existing laws with the Shar'iah so that men would come to feel that he is being governed by the law of God rather than by man-made law.

Their letters continued in this wise. In 1935 they submitted a lengthy letter to the King, al-Wahhāb, the Arab monarchs and rulers, entitled Nave al-Mār [Toward the Light], in which they expounded their program in detail and concluded by saying:

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We place ourselves, our talents, and all we possess at the disposal of any organization or government which will step forward with the Islamic nation to advancement and progress. We shall answer the call and we shall be the redemption.

In 1936 they sent a letter to the king asking for the dissolution of political parties in Egypt. They addressed another letter of the same type to the princes, 'Umar Thun and Muhammad 'Ali Thun. Their opinion on the matter was that the present Egyptian parties were more artificial than real. The motive for their existence was personal not national. The events which created the parties had disappeared and new circumstances had come about calling for [new] programs and actions. It was high time that talk should be centered on a national Islamic program promulgated and enforced with great energy and effort.

In 1936 they sent to Ahmad Eshaabah Pasha, Minister of Justice, a letter in which they demanded that the Islamic state be given a trial since civil law had been tried for fifty years without success. They cited the evidence of Europeans concerning Islamic legislation.

In another letter sent to al-Hamsh in 1938 they demanded that he be wary of foreign policy which would bind Egypt to non-Islamic and non-Arabic countries in anticipation of the return of the Caliphate and the confirmation of the unity which Islam imposes as a duty.

In 1939 they sent a letter to al-Hamsh demanding that the members of the Wafd be models of virtue in their adherence to religion and that the Wafd announce that its reform program is derived from Islamic principles and includes the reform of legislation, the consolidation of
the courts under the sharī'ah, the reform of education, the drafting of able-bodied men for military service, the unmasking of immoralities, the reform of economic conditions, the discouragement of imitative European practices, the reform of administration, and the reform of foreign policy. They concluded by calling upon the opponents of the Wa'fi as well to pursue this course.

They continued their letters in this fashion and all of them were concerned with the setting up of the religious government and the complete reform of society on a religious basis.

To implement this type of activity they formed a special committee to publish these letters in pamphlet form at the general headquarters. They published a number of them, among which was the pamphlet entitled, al-Mīthāl, [the model], and others entitled as follows: Kun Amīn, [who are you]; Tāsawwurāt al-Fitrat al-Imāmīyyah wa Ahkāmuhā, [development and basis of Islamic ideas]; al-Qur'a'on wa al-Mu'arrab, [the Koran and the same]; al-Sa'idi, [instructions]; Kifah Mādī al-'Amīn, [how we appeal to the people]; Hāl al-Ḥifth ʿAllāh al-'Amīrīn, [are we a practical people]; Ṣuḥrah al-Firās, [towards the light]; Aḥārūn wa Kābirīn, [our aims and principles]; Iṣlah al-'Ibrāhīm al-Wās, [are what we are calling the people]; Da'wat al-Mudār, [our movement]; Ram al-Awz wa al-Yawm, [between yesterday and today]; Mālik at-Tāh, [mission of Jihad]; Miṣlīn al-Waḥdat al-'Ammīn, [mission of the fifth congress]; Ila al-Shabbb, [to the youth]; al-Tawāhib al-Misbīḥat al-Surūṭ, [the Moslem Brethren under the banner of the Koran]; al-Mawthūḥah, [apologies], and a pamphlet dealing with the duties of the Moslem Sister, "program of spiritual education", and "general regulations."

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Most of these were written by al-Banna himself.

A number of books about al-Banna and the problems of the Islamic countries have been written. Among them are Kal'atbat al-Jalli, [with the pilgrimage mission], al-Saqi'at al-Muslimin fi Khitan al-Hasan, [the Moslem Brethren in the scale of truth], Qa'id al-Da'wah wa Hasan al-Banna
Hawk al-Jalbi wa Turkish Madrasah, [the leader of the movement of Hasan al-Banna, the life of a man and the history of a school], Gazvat al-Najjar al-Islamiyyah, [problems of the Islamic countries], Falastin wa al-Madriigh, [Palestine and North Africa], Anbar al-Nadharat al-Saritaynah, [the fall of western civilization], al-Islim Yathar, [Islam marches on], Fuh wa Fath, [repulse and pleasure], Thahurat al-Dam, [revolution of blood], and Fatul al-Salih, [man of the hour]. One of their writers, Anwar al-Jundi, announced his intention to issue a book the first of each month, and the following were accordingly published: Min Khutbat Hasan al-Banna, [from the speeches of Hasan al-Banna], Rab'at al-Fasaq al-Banna, [the letters of Hasan al-Banna], Nadirat Nadirat Hasan al-Banna, [collection of the articles of Hasan al-Banna], and Nusahat al-Farq Hasan al-Banna, [memories of Hasan al-Banna].

It must be noted that these pamphlets met with great popularity in Egypt and the Arab and Islamic countries and had a far-flung response in North Africa, the Sudan, Syria, Palestine and Jordan. They stirred up Islamic fervor and produced great repercussions. An Islamic movement in the modern era had been characterised by such prodigious literary output nor had known writers of the caliber of these inclined and animating writers. It is no wonder that this plan of action gained for them some of their objectives and won them supporters from all classes.

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The truth of the matter is that they pronounced their movement outspokenly and clearly and made it manifestly understandable to the Moslems.

They also made use of magazines and newspapers which were either supporting them or were owned by them. At first they published their articles in magazines which dealt with religious questions. Then they inaugurated a special magazine of their own and published a daily newspaper on 5 March 1946, 3 Jumada al-Thaniyah 1365, under the title, al-Idhān al-Muslimin, [the Moslem brethren], which was the pinnacle of their activities, their spokesman and translator, in good times and bad.

Among their magazines are the following: al-Hasār, [the lighthouse], a monthly, and the weeklies, al-Ta'āruz, [the acquaintance], al-Shu'ā'i, [the radiation], al-Hadhīr, [the warner], and al-Subhāh, [the meteor]. After the period of tribulation they published al-Mabāthīr, [the discourses], al-Da'wah, [the mission], and al-Musāfīrīn, [the Moslems].

Their daily newspaper enjoyed the widest circulation of their publications. In it they explained their objectives as follows: first, elucidation of the teachings of Islam and their presentation in a manner suitable to the modern era and in confirmation of the premise that they are the system most to be preferred for human society; second, refutation of the false accusations directed against them; third, reconciliation of the points of view of all the Moslems without becoming involved in useless doctrinal arguments ... and the attempt to unify [Moslems] around the common truths, through the noblest and most incorruptible of writers, who are guided by the golden rule, "we help each other in those things upon which we agree and in those things where we disagree, we forgive each other"; fourth, demonstration that Islam has no quarrel with any religion, that it denies no dogma its due, that it does not oppress non-believers in the least and that its teachings when they prevail among the sons of one fatherland pr-
Thus only love, harmony, co-operation, and peace no matter how their creeds nor beliefs differ: fifth, pointing out of the path leading to a return to the system of Islam and the application of its rules in the life of the individual, in the home, in the state, and in all affairs of society as well as warning against departure from these teachings.

They wanted their newspaper to be the common pulpit for all Islamic bodies and reform groups.

This newspaper gave them the opportunity to express their ideas and to comment on the modern Islamic world. A great number of members of the Brethren, as well as non-members, were contributors. The writings of al-Banna appeared to good advantage in a conspicuous part of the newspaper. They were articles of harmonious expression and powerful eloquence, replete with quotations from the Koran, the Hadith and poetry.

One of the most outstanding aspects of their activity was their interest in education and the opening of various schools. They called upon the Egyptian government on many occasions to concern itself with religious instruction in the public schools and the formation of national morals. It presented the people with a clear program designed for four objectives: a virtuous doctrine, the spread of good morals, propagation of the spirit of pride in the legacy and glories of the nation, and the preparation of specialists in all fields of scientific specialization to build up the renaissance on a scientific basis in all its aspects. First they called for: the implementation of a firm policy of education which would raise its standards, coordinate its various types which have common objectives and goals, to bring closer together the various cultures of the nation, and to make the first stage of education concerned especially with the education of a virtuous, national spirit and upright morals; second, concern for Islamic history,
national history, civics, and Islamic civilization; third, the estab-
lishment of religious instruction as a basic subject in all the various

types of schools and in the university; fourth, reconsideration of the
educational programs for girls and the need for making distinction be-
tween their program and the program for boys at many levels of education;
fifth, removal from the teaching profession all those who are known to be
corrupt in their faith, lax in morals, and insincere in their patriotism;
sixth, encouragement of the practical sciences which will supply the nation
with its needs as to inventions, discoveries, and physical science.

They reiterated these principles in their books and brought them to
the attention of the successive governments and the ministers of education.

Later they decided to take active part in the spread of education.
They set up a sub-committee as part of the education committee of the
general headquarters. They formed a committee to establish primary,
secondary, and technical schools. They emphasized schools for boys and
girls which would have a special stamp distinguishing them from all other
private schools. These would be strongly Islamic and would guide their
students to an understanding of the glory of their forefathers and the
need for a restoration of glory.

Consequently they succeeded in, first, the opening of a number of
free schools for the elimination of illiteracy and the fostering of
religious culture; second, day schools for the memorization of the Koran;
third, night schools for teaching the workers and peasants; fourth,
special courses conducted by specialized teachers from the university
graduates for those failing the general examinations; fifth, branches
for educating young men who had been deprived of education because of their employment in industry; sixth, free, that is private, institutions for instructing boys; seventh, schools of "Mothers of the "Illiterates" for the teaching of girls; eighth, houses of industry attached to the institutions where those not able to complete their studies are taught.

There are no statistics on the number of the various schools nor on the number of pupils or teachers, but these schools had been set up beside the branches so that no branch was without its scientific establishment. It is mentioned that the number of students in one of the schools for the illiterates approximated 100 workers. The chances are that the attendance at these schools was large, especially those located in worker and peasant districts. When the government brought its program for combating illiteracy during the tenure of al-Jahlawi Pasha in the Ministry of Education in 1946, the Brethren were asked to help the Ministry put its plan into effect in recognition of their influence.

They were active in numerous social undertakings. In keeping with this they formed Sīn al-Bīta wa al-Madīnat al-Fītānīyyah, (the branch for charity and social welfare), which was registered with the Ministry of Social Affairs.

In carrying out their services, they followed various paths, some of them ordinary and others uncommon. They organized the presentation of lectures; most of which dealt with religious culture, such as Al-Dīn wa al-Dunya, [religion and the world], and Iḥāṣā'ī Qawm al-Maqābāt bi Fal'at al-Ma'dūna al-Mussilma, [Why youth accept the mission of the Muslim Brethren]. They founded a society for raising the standard of living of Egyptian villages and the reform of the countryside. One of the Brethren
set up a model modern farm on his land. In one of the villages, four
cemeteries for burying the poor and the impoverished were constructed.
They decided to feed 200 poor weekly for the three holy months in one
of the villages. The branches competed in feeding the poor, the
lighting of the villages and the collection of alms during the month of
Ramāūn. Those fed by the branches amounted to 600 during one month.
They acted as arbitrators in settling disputes in the villages and one of
the committees undertook to take statistics of the homeless children and
poor families, in order to give employment to the children in industry
suitable to their ages and to aid the disabled who had no means of sup-
port. They saw an abomination being committed at one of the celebrations
of the birth of the Prophet and they complained to the government.
On the other hand they undertook the construction of mosques in
various parts of the country; some of the members used to contribute the
land upon which the mosques would be built, and some of them would share
the expenses of building them. Most of the branches had their own mosques.

They took part in many celebrations either to promote their principles
or to make their presence felt. In this respect a committee of teachers
met in Tanta to correct examination papers and they were invited by the
branch to a party in their honor; also invited were those concerned with
educational affairs such as supervisors, inspectors, prefects and teachers.
The Brethren feted them, talked in detail with them about their movement,
and discussed the problems of teachers. Once the king left Cairo for
Alexandria and the Brethren went out to greet him at each

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station where the train stopped. When the Parliamentary Congress was held in Egypt in 1938, the Brethren threw a big party in honor of the Arab delegation at which al-Banna spoke. Another time they held a big party at their meeting-house for the workers of the Nubayrah Company and the electric transmission station; they took this opportunity to explain the aims of the movement. They set up a committee to be responsible for labor affairs and the introduction of the principles of the Brethren. They continued in this manner with their honorary parties on various occasions and thereby gained supporters. Perhaps one of the most interesting of these occasions was on the election of the Coptic Patriarch for the See of St. Mark's when al-Banna congratulated the patriarch.

They took part in theatrical performances and, at the general headquarters, there was a special dramatic group for the presentation of plays appropriate to the spirit of the society, such as "Ellah", [the messiah of Muhammad], "al-Kifah", [the struggle], "Umur ibn 'Abd al-Aziz, [eighth Umayyad Caliph], and "al-Ma'arif li Din Allâh al-Fâtimî" [fourth Fatimid Caliph], and "al-Istifah", [the orphan].

They showed noteworthy activity in scout movements which will be treated when we talk of their military activities.

They held many regular and special conventions for the presentation of progress made, reconsideration of their programs, review of the general situation, and to announce their decisions or a summary of them to the people. Article fifty-six of the basic regulations stipulates that, upon the call of the Director-General, a congress or general convention of the branch leaders of the Brethren, and all other members wishing to attend, shall be convened in Cairo or such other place at least every two years;
it is designed to give the members the opportunity of meeting each other, to explain the various matters accomplished by the movement, and to review the steps taken during this period. These congresses were held continually from the founding of the society until the period of tribulation. However, the decisions adopted by these first four congresses were not divulged.

In order to understand the nature of these congresses it is worth noting that at the fifth congress held in 1926 on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Brethren, al-Shanāṭi reviewed the origin of the society, expounded the characteristics of the movement in detail, and gave a concise explanation of their program.

At the sixth congress held in 1941, they decided, first, that King Faruk invite the kings and leaders of the Neighbors to the congress; second, that the British government consider the presence of its armies in Egypt dependent only upon the necessities of war and third, that the Egyptian government be urged to speed up its military preparedness.

In 1945, right after the conclusion of the Second World War, they held a convention calling for national rights wherein they defined the objectives and the means. Then they held seven popular conventions in Cairo and in the capitals of the districts. Delegations of students spread about the countryside and villages to instruct the people in their rights and duties.

In 1946 they held a general meeting in which they adopted the following resolutions: first, allegiance to the King; second, cessation of negotiations with Britain; third, abolition of the treaty of 1936;
forth, Great Britain's complete evacuation of Egypt, the presentation of the Egyptian case before the Security Council and the organization of the means for Jihad; fifth, the drawing up of a treaty after the evacuation; sixth, preparation for Jihad; seventh, all Egyptian governments not co-operating with the nation in the attainment of the objectives of the country to be treated as instruments in the hands of the imperialists; eighth, the formation of a committee from the Brethren to carry these decisions to the king, the Arab League, and the embassies and to strive for their implementation. They also continued holding conventions of students of the Brethren in some of which al-Resālā gave talks.

It is apparent from this, that the regular and special conventions were a means of strengthening the movement, renewing its power, expounding its principles, and reviewing its progress; that they were among the most effective means of spreading the movement and gaining adherents, especially when one considers that their decisions and speeches were often published in pamphlets or newspapers so that they affected public opinion.

They included the Moslem women in their activities from the very beginning of the movement in Ismailia where they established "Ma'had Uhmadīt al-Mal'ma'mā" [Institute of masters of the faithful], for the education of girls and to prepare them to become "Moslem Sisters." Later they created groups of "al-Akhmāṣ al-Musālimāt," [Moslem Sisters], for similar aims as the Moslem Brethren but in the feminine field in a way suitable to its nature. It is not known with certainty what direction of effort the woman was committed to in this, but it is apparent that they
wished to educate her to be the mistress of the house and to know her rights and duties in society, reminding her that the Sharī'ah honors her, raises her status and establishes her rights exactly the same as those established for men. There is no difference between men and women in Islam in their general rights and duties. They realized that the leadership of the Brethren must guide the woman to these understandings which have been established by Islam since Western infatuations have gained mastery over her, wounding civilized impulses influence her and depict Islam as retrogressive and behind the times, that its ways and traditions are stagnant, that it is incompatible with the realities of life and denies all humanitarian rights, and that it robs her of all that makes her a living human enjoying the rights of the living.

They decided that this, their movement, should be the first feminist movement established in Egypt on solid foundations and aiming at the real emancipation of women, giving her all her rights, promoting her talents, refining all her traits, and bringing her up to the highest level known in humanity in accord with the principles of honor, virtue, and chastity.

It seems that they established a number of branches of the Moslem Sisters and that the activities of the Sisters remained confined to the field of education, labor, and social affairs. For instance, on 26 June 1945, on the occasion of "Laylat al-Iṣrā' wa al-Mi'raj", [the night of the nocturnal journey and ascent], the Sisters held a party in Cairo for ladies. They used to attend weekly classes in Cairo at the house of the Brethren at the Sayyidah Zahrah Quarter.

In any case what attracts attention here is that the Brethren’s activities reached this extent, that an important place for women was
recognized in society, and a hand was extended to extricate her from her burdensome life.

They also devoted their attention to public health and established hospitals and dispensaries in various towns for the treatment of the sick of different religions. There are no statistics on the number of these except that they say that they had more than twenty dispensaries and hospitals. Because of the great need in peasant-worker areas they tried to expand this activity. It was mentioned that the dispensary of Tanta during one year treated 2774 patients of various religions.

They directed their efforts to commercial companies and founded "Sharikat al-Ra‘al al-Islamiyyah", [the company for Islamic dealings]. They registered it in the court concerned and invested a capital of 30 thousand pounds. They set up "The Brethren Spinning and Weaving Company" meaning thereby to revive Islamic socialism, liberate the national economy, raise the standard of the Muslim worker, and provide for practice in precision and technique. They urged the workers to buy shares in it. Others were "The Commercial and Engineering Works Company" in Alexandria with 2600 shares and a capital of 14,000 pounds; "The Islamic Press and Daily Newspaper Company" with an initial capital of 70,000 pounds devoted to the press and 20,000 pounds allocated to the newspapers. This company was established in 1946 in order to join in the war of principles and words which began right after the Second World War with successive waves of printed matter on various subjects and programs. The Brethren mention
in the forward to the declaration which they published about this company that there is no need for a detailed account of benefits which accrue to the Islamic idea from the setting up of this establishment for journalism is the fourth power in the modern era, which controls the policies of the state and the formulation of public opinion. They permitted other men of the Islamic renaissance besides themselves to buy shares in the project, pointing out that besides being of momentous service to the Islamic cause it was a successful means of investing money and promoting profitable trade. They considered it the second of the great projects which revealed their power and showed the measure of their zeal for their mission.

The daily newspaper was published — as was mentioned in a preceding chapter — and enjoyed a good circulation in Egypt and the rest of the Arab countries. It continued to be published up to the time of tribulation, but at times was subjected to confiscation by the government and strong censorship. This was especially so during the Anglo-Egyptian negotiations and the Palestine problem when the Brethren stood in the vanguard of those calling for the breaking off of negotiations, cancellation of the treaty, and a fight to the finish in Palestine.

All of their companies, numbering seven, were eminently successful since the workers shared in the capital. This, in all likelihood, is the first occurrence of such in the history of companies in Egypt; they set up mosques, clubs and schools for them. They went to lengths to establish a special department for the workers in the general headquarters.
This looked after their interests, encouraged them to participate in owning shares in the companies where they worked, and urged them to become familiar with the industry which the country needed and would benefit by so that the wealthy would be induced to set up factories for it.

This economic activity attracted attention. Some of the people wondered, asking: what has this society to do with these companies and so continued to speculate. The Brethren gave the answer to these [by saying] that their association which had undertaken these great works had never received any government aid at any time and had never sought financial aid from any group although five-hundred pounds had been donated to the association by the Suez Canal Company on the occasion of the building of the Isma'ilin mosque and school. They mentioned that their own money was spent in sincerity, bore fruit, was blessed and brought forth harvest.

The Brethren vindicated their participation in these economic pursuits by [saying] that Islam sanctions the preservation and gain of money in this way since the Prophet has said, “How excellent is right-fully gained money to the righteous man.” Actually, they profitted from their knowledge of Western socialism upon which they built their program with the support of the worker and the farmer; they acquired a great deal from these principles, since they strengthened their influence among the workers and peasants and secured themselves against collapse which is so often the result of bankruptcy. In another way they opened the way for the appearance of national capital in the field of economics in the realization of their political and liberal principles.
There is no doubt that they benefited a great deal both economically and politically.

As an example of their trend towards national socialism it is worth mentioning that they, first, considered that public wealth, such as minerals, should be subject to legislation to safeguard the national interest; that the State has no right to award concessions to any foreign company which seeks to exploit the national wealth; this, the state should do itself, or, being unable to do so, it should entrust it to companies created by local money; second, the state should prohibit foreigners from acquiring real property; third, prohibit all that would lead to monopoly and the assaissment of great wealth by other than personal effort and legal beneficent work; fourth, collect the poor tax, [rakhib], and organise it to solve the problems of poverty and social diseases; fifth, the state, when in urgent need, should interfere with private wealth and the big utilities to an extent required by the highest needs of the nation, provided it does not kill [the principle of] private property and economic competition.

They decided on somewhat similar demands in relation to the workers, such as guarantee of livelihood, providing of work for each person, a guarantee of a satisfactory and suitable wage with the security of minimum wages, limitation of labor hours, and the upkeep of faith and morals, guarantee of the future against sickness and incapacity, the prohibition of the employment of children and the limiting of the work of women to what is suitable to their nature and social status. They decided that each peasant should have a minimum amount of property and the right to healthy living conditions, security of health, sufficient food, beneficial education, and a
spiritual atmosphere.

Among the most outstanding aspects of their activities was their urging the members to "fight" in its common Islamic meaning. They broke it down into categories: a strange, vital sympathy overflowing with longing for the glory and honor of Islam which yearned anxiously for its power and strength, and yet sorrowfully for what had befallen the Muslims through weakness (a conviction) that continuous grief and anguish prevented Israel in previous consideration of the road to deliverance; the sacrifice of some money and personal belongings for the betterment of Islam and the Muslims; enjoyment of the good and prohibition of things forbidden; that each man is a soldier of God sacrificing himself and his property and expecting nothing in return, so that, if the glory of Islam were threatened, its honor trampled upon, and the impulse of the awakening for restoration of the glory of Islam sounded, he would be the first to answer the call and come forward to the front on the road of justice, the improvement of the affairs of creation, the just treatment of the oppressed, striking the hand of the oppressor whatever his station or power; and heartfelt love for the warriors in God's service counseled with purity of will.

They followed three paths in the realization of this aim; first, the encouragement of all kinds of athletic games; football, basketball, wrestling, and boxing in which both the workers and the students would take part; second, they created groups of Rover-Scouts in various centers. These Rovers would hold reviews in quarters and at receptions and pageants; it is not definitely known how many members these groups had nor even the number of groups but Brethren sources mention that the number of Rovers
was nearly forty thousand. However, it was once mentioned that a
thousand Bowers from three cantons only held a review in the quarters
of Cairo. If this figure is taken as a measure then there is no doubt
that the number of Bowers must be very great. Some of those who wit-
essed some of the reviews on general occasions mention that the number
of participants was very great and that they were well organized. An
inspector and a high secretary were appointed to supervise and organize
the Bowers; third, they created phalanxes similar to the Putishe or
the home guard from the young non capable of fighting. The motto of
these phalanxes was "absolute obedience without question, without hesi-
tation, without doubting, and without shifting blame." The participants
had to swear allegiance to their leaders to defend religion. There
was a phalanx for each canton and for each district there were groups
[organised into] battalions. They had set up general camps where students
of the Brethren were trained for fixed periods.

They were asked to what degree that had taken their organization
from the West and they answered that the basis of Mussolini's Fascism,
Hitler's Nazism, and Stalin's Communism is a purely military basis
and that the difference between them and the militarism of Islam is a
vast difference; since Islam which allows force is the same Islam which
prefers peace; for God has said in one of the verses of the Koran, "But
if they incline to peace, incline them to it too, and rely upon God."
It is the Islam which limits the price of victory and it is the Islam
whose martial law denounces treachery, shows no perfidy nor renown,
for this unhappy, primitive for the spring of women, children, and the
predicament of infant was the task of nurturing trees and the slaughtering of animals
meat for food. The pursuit of those fleeing the field, the murdering
of the wounded ... for the militarism of Islam is the police of justice,
the panacea of law and order.

They justify the formation of these phalanxes by the failure of
politics. This failure turned the nation to the phalanxes of the Brethren
and their leadership and thus the principles of the Brethren and the leader-
ship of the Brethren was self-imposed since it was the natural development
of the ideas of the nation and the requisite remedy offered by the circ-
stances.

There is no doubt that they believed in the principle of force
(or al-Jihad) from the beginning in order to realize a goal which
they stipulated in their basic regulations; that is the work of free-
ing the Nile Valley, all the Arab countries and the Islamic peninsula
in all its parts from foreign control, the support of Islamic minori-
ties everywhere to attain their rights, the championing of Arab unity,
progress towards Pan-Islam and the sincere furtherance of world co-
operation under high and virtuous ideals. It doesn't make sense that
they could place this aim in such an obvious and prominent position
without aiming to attain it; but they bide their time for
a long while and spent a period teaching the people the lessons of
sacrifice, patience, the instruments of Jihad, i.e., self-abnegation.
They frankly announced that they will employ practical force whenever
other means fail and whenever they are confident that they have become
fully equipped in faith and unity. It is not known with certainty whether
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they reached this stage in 1948 when al-Naqash was assassinated and they were accused of arranging intrigue for the overthrow of organised government, but most likely they did arrive at the open use of their power in that year. Then their patience wore thin and a group of them - the extremists - wanted to overthrow the existing system and take over the state.

Whatever may have been the case, their phalanxes resumed their activities in the year 1951 following the abrogation of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. Their men set up roadblocks for the inspection of passenger cars on the road to the Canal Zone and confiscated a number of pass cards which entitled the bearers to enter the British military camps so as to prevent them from co-operating with the English. It was mentioned that the British forces intensified their operations for maintaining security as a result of information which they received that a group of the Brethren had resolved upon waging guerrilla war against them. It was also mentioned that they had a school for battle training at al-Naqash. This indicates that the organisation of the phalanxes remained effective even after the period of tribulation. A dispute arose about the Wafda government gaining control over all para-military groups whether from the Brethren or not.

A committee, composed of experts from four sections of the country under the chairmanship of one of the ministers of the state, was set up to supervise their training.

Perhaps it would be right to add a fourth means of realizing their aims. They called for the strengthening of the Egyptian Army through continual articles in their newspapers so that this
eraz would be able to insure the independence of the country and its neutrality. They went farther than that and demanded that the Arab League set about unifying the tables of organization and training methods of the Arab armies if actual unification under present circumstances were not feasible.
CHAPTER SIX

THE BROTHERHOOD AND POLITICS

1. The Brethren were not unique in their conception of Islam as religion and state. In the modern era they had been preceded by the Wahhābis — the followers of Muhammad ʿAbd al-Wahhāb — by almost a century and a half.

More than likely, the Turks during the period of the Ottoman Caliphate, had been of the same school of thought. They had opposed the Wahhābi movement, not because they disagreed with it in this conception, but because they considered it an insurgentist and rebellious movement against the Caliphate state.

Perhaps all the ancient Islamic states were of this school of thought; however, with one principal difference, i.e., these states had already advanced a great deal in legislation by seeking the help of jurists in the contrivance of laws; these were the jurists whose casuistry never failed them when it came to reconciling religion with the world; sometimes they went to the texts, at other times they had recourse to Qiyās, [analogy], or Ijtihād, [interpretation], or relied on plain common intelligence which always seemed to find a way out of difficulties when necessary. Like the Salafites and the Wahhābis, the Brethren wanted to return to two and only two well-defined sources, the Koran
and the Hadith, Al-Banna has said:

The Brethren believe that the fountainhead of the teachings of Islam is the Book of God and the way of His Prophet; if the nation but adheres to these it would never go astray. A great many of the ideas and conceptions which have entered Islam and have come to bear its impress also bear the impress of the ages which created them and of the peoples who were contemporary with them. Thus we should look back to these two pure sources to draw upon them for the Islamic system upon which the nation shall be based. We must think of Islam as did the companions of the Prophet and our righteous forefathers who came after them. We must stop at these limits set by God and the Prophet, thereby finding ourselves no one but God. We must not give our age a tone of an era out of tune with it. Islam is the religion of all humanity.

So it is clear that they wanted to go back to the original sources alone, spanning the time by long centuries, amounting to almost fourteen.

The Brethren were sincere about this; so much so that Al-Banna called their Islam, "Islam of the Real Islam Brethren", in order to make clear their disassociation from the descriptions, limitations, and designs to which others, in many ages, had bound themselves.

2. Since Islam embraces all the affairs of men in this life and in the next, it is therefore "doctrine, worship, fatherland, citizenship, religion, state, spirituality, action, a Koran, and a sword" in the words of Al-Banna himself. Accordingly, politics is an integral part of Islam and the progress of the Brethren.

The Brethren's involvement in politics caused some people to ask: What have they to do with politics? Are they men of religion or politics? These questions are still being asked. The Brethren answered by saying
that if Islam is anything other than a political, social, affairs, economics, law, and culture, then what is it? Is it merely manifestations and i

ational? They say:

Is it not surprising that Communism has a state which sponsors it and pushes its appeal, and that other systems also have their modes with content for them, while there is no Islamic government taking up the duty of calling for Islam; Islam which contains all the advantages of these other systems and has discarded all their disadvantages, which offers to other peoples an international system, with all the real solutions to the problems of humanity and even though Islam has imposed this call as a duty upon all Muslims, as a people and as societies, before these systems were ever created. And that there may be among you a people who invite to the Good, and enjoin the Just, and forbid the Wrong. These are they with whom it shall be well.  "

They said:

We conceive of Islam as a creed and we are strengthened by its creed, as a system of jurisprudence and we demand the implementation of its system of jurisprudence, as a constitution and we believe in the justice of no other, as a bond which holds us together, as principles which we overt for each, and as an objective which is our only objective. 200

They said:

We call you to Islam, the teachings of Islam, the rules of Islam, and the guidance of Islam. If this means politics to you, then this is our politics. 200

3. What is their political program? How do they seek to realize it?

A. There is no doubt that the "religious governments" is at the head of their program. They have spoken out clearly on this in all their books and publications in a manner which leaves no room for conjecture.

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In one of his speeches in which he explained the movement, al-Sa'āda said:

The Brethren went to the book of God and sought inspiration and guidance therefrom so that they knew for certain that Islām is this full, comprehensive religion and that it must have supervision over all matters of life, that it gives its tone to all things, that all things must come under its rule, and conform with its rules and teachings, draw upon it, as long as the nation wants to be truly Muslims. However, if it is Muslims in its worship and imitates the non-Muslims in all other things, then it is a nation lacking in its Islām.223

He said on another occasion:

The Islam in which the Muslims believe makes government one of its pillars, and relies upon execution as it relies upon guidance ... The prophet made government one of the bonds of Islam ... In our books of jurisprudence, administration is considered as one of the doctrines and tenets and not as chemistry and a consequence of tenets; for Islam is a system of laws and execution, as it is legislation and teaching, law and jurisprudence, one inseparable from the other. If the Islamic reformer satisfies himself with being a jurist-guide, taking decisions, chanting instructions, and quoting the principles and consequences of actions, and leaves to the executive the making of national laws, which are not permitted by God, and is carried to the breadth of his commandments by the force of the imposition of those laws, then the natural consequence will be that the voice of the reformer will be a cry in the wilderness.223

It is clear from this that they are not content that it should be stipulated in the constitution — as is the case in the Egyptian constitution — that the religion of the government is Islām but that legislation in its entirety should be first of all Islāmic, and further that the practical and applied legislation should be Islāmic. They therefore demanded that the entire ruling institution be marked by an Islāmic tone.

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It is known that the Egyptian constitution is a civil one
whose bases were derived from Western constitutions. However the
law which governs the personal status of the Moslems alone—since
the other sects have their special laws for personal status as well—are taken from the Islamic cannon law. Therefore there lies before
the Brethren, three different matters: first, the prevailing con-
stitutional rule in Egypt; second, the Egyptian civil code; and
third, the laws laid down by the state to regulate the relations
of individuals, one with the other, to protect their moral and ma-
terial rights, and to call them to account for their actions without
regard to sect, that is, the civil law.

As for the first matter they agree that it is conformity with
the teachings of Islam; that it is nearest to Islam of the existing
systems of government in the whole world, and so they do not oppose
it.

As for the second matter, they realize firstly, that among the
provisions of the constitution which are ambiguous and vague, there
is wide scope for interpretation and explanation so that they demand
their re-formulation and clarification; secondly, they are of the
opinion: that the method of application by which the provisions of
the law are interpreted has failed and is in strong need of inter-
pretation and modification to gain the intended meaning. But they
stop at this generalization and do not cite examples of the ambiguity
so that it could be known with certainty where this ambiguity lies.

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As for the third matter - the civil law - they stand in opposition to it and demand that it be replaced by the Islamic custom law whether in civil, criminal, commercial or international questions. They cite the examples of adultery, usury, drinking, and gambling. They see that the law protects them and religion prohibits them. Here also they do not give various examples of the civil questions which were mentioned; although they admitted that religion does not object to particulars especially in strictly worldly matters, and does not prohibit benefiting from every sound system which does not contradict the rules and general foundations of religion. After the period of tribulation they wrote various books proving the soundness of the Islamic law for modern life in all its aspects as was brought out in the second chapter.

3 - Next in importance is the liberation of the entire Jilo Valley from foreign influence. This principle has compelled them to take, towards the British, a severely inimical stand in which they give no quarter. In this they resemble the Majar party, famous for the expression, "No negotiation before evacuation." It is also their expression which they have repeated on various occasions. The Brethren explain their point of view on this matter by saying that imperialism reached its peak at the end of the First World War when it encroached the Arab countries, enslaved their governments, and stood between them and progress; Egypt under a British protectorate; Palestine and Iraq in the grasp of the English; Syria, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Algeria, in the hands of France; and Tripolitania and Barca under the Italians. Even Turkey, European and Asiatic, the seat of the Caliph-
ate, fell under the yoke of the Allies... In the Second World War these states joined the democracies and it was natural that when the war was over that the oppressed claim their rights and strive for the liberation of their homelands.

The Brethren were firmly attached to this principle. They continued to demand the liberation of the Nile Valley, sometimes quietly and at other times with violence. At the beginning of the Second World War they supported 'Ali Māhir Pasha on his decision to have Egypt avoid the war of war. During the war, 'Abd al-Māhir Pasha declared war on Germany and Italy but they did not concur. They wrote him and advised him to retract it. Their campaign against the English did not stop despite the position of co-operation taken by the government. This led to their being oppressed and a great number of them were arrested since their policy differed from the policy of the Egyptian government itself. Their difference with the government reached the point where they were accused of having had a hand in the assassination of 'Abd al-Māhir Pasha. After the declaration of the armistice they began to demand the complete satisfaction of the national aspirations and the evacuation of the Nile Valley. They led a great number of violent movements. They rejected the principle of negotiation. They took part in bloody demonstrations up until the assassination of al-Maqṣūshī Pasha and afterwards al-Bannā. Their position remained thus after the period of tribulation so that they were among the first to join the fight against the English in the Canal Zone.

As an indication of their vigor in opposition to the English, al-Bannā proscribed, in the form of an invitation to be recited after
the prayers, the following:

O God, Master of the worlds, Security of the fearful, Ruler of the proud, Subduer of the tyrants, accept our prayer, answer our plea, grant us our rights, and restore to us our freedom and independence. O God these British usurpers have occupied our lands, denied us our rights, tyrannized our country, and increased the corruption there-in. Therefore, O God, drive from us their tyranny, confound them, disperse and punish them along with those who aid them, help them, and temporize with them; punish and afflict them by Your might and power. O God, turn against them, visit them injury, humiliate their state, and drive their authority from Your land; let them have no means against any of the believers.

Some of the English newspapers admitted that the activity of the Brethren and the Wafdiste - at this stage - had swung the current of public opinion to an extreme nationalism; it also conceded that the basic groups dominating the strong student movements were the Egyptian Wafdiste and the Moslem Brethren.

It is natural that the Brethren have colored this nationalism with a religious tinge and considered the liberation of the fatherland from the English a religious duty.

However, they did not consider this liberation the final step. In their view it is only the first step. The second step is the liberation of all the Arab countries and the securing of their unity.

The third step is the work of striving for Pan-Islam, which defines the complete and natural boundaries of the general Islamic homeland.

The fourth step is world unity for this is the aim and goal of Islam.

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and the intent of saying of God: "We have not sent thee otherwise than as mercy unto all creatures." They mentioned in another place that they placed the idea of the Caliphs and its reconstitution at the head of their program with the proviso that it be brought about gradually.

This religious nationalism was a double-edged weapon; on one hand there was their awkward position with the Egyptian government itself which forced them to be continually in a position of uncompromising opposition. This necessarily led them to an internal and external fight at one and the same time and passage through many kinds of tribulation - in the lightest form, governmental disregard, and in the severest, prison and arrest. On the other hand, however, they gained the popular support which they never would have won if they had confined themselves to the religious movement, or if they had supported the successive governments. There is no doubt that they came out on top in many situations and triumphed over their rivals - especially the Wafdists - by virtue of this extremist policy. The Egyptian newspapers mentioned in December 1951 - that is, after the period of tribulation - that they swept the other parties before them in the colleges of Fustat the First University when they announced the failure of peaceful methods and called for the opening of camps for military training. When the elections for the Student's Union was held in the various colleges of the University, they won the following seats:

11/11 in the Student’s Union of the College of Agriculture
11/11 Science
7/10 Engineering

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LIFE IN THE STUDENT'S UNION OF THE COLLEGE OF ARTS

9/10

Their presence in the College of Arts, especially, attracted notice

since this college was known to be the stronghold of the Vandal students.

6. Among their political principles was the abolition of all Egyptian

political parties. They held that these parties were brought into existence

by particular circumstances and motives which were, for the most part,

personal, and not for the general good. They believe that the parties

up to the present have not definitely made their programs clear. Each one

of them claims that it will work for the good of the nation in all aspects

of reform. But what are the results of these activities, what are the names

of their realization, what has been done to prepare these works, and what

are the obstacles which can be expected to stand in the way of their

application? The leaders and administrative officials of the parties do not

provide the answer. They all are alike in this deficiency, as they were

all alike in another matter, that is, their readiness to overthrow the

government, and the employment of all kinds of party propaganda whether

honorable or not in order to achieve it, and the vilification of those

of other parties who stand in their way.

They believe also that party politics spoil all the aspects of the

life of the people, hinder their interests, corrupt their morals, destroy

their allegiance, and have the worst affects on their private and public

life.

They believe that a representative system, even the parliamentary

system, has no need of a party system like the present one in Egypt.

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otherwise coalition governments would not have been set up in democratic countries. The argument stating that the parliamentary system cannot be imagined without the existence of parties is a trivial one. Many constitutional-parliamentary countries are run on the one-party system; so it is possible. So, also, they believe that there is a difference between freedom of opinion in thought, plain speaking, and giving advice, all of which are enjoined by Islam, and between factionalism in opinion, succession from society, and persistent effort to widen the rift splitting the nation and to weaken the authority of governments. The latter is a necessary adjunct of party politics while Islam rejects and strongly prohibits it. Islam in all its legislation calls for unity and co-operation.

They go further and maintain that the idea of the coalition of parties is a futile idea, a negative and not a cure, since, before long, the coalitionists deal against one another. The effective cure — in their opinion — is the abolition of all parties since they have outlived their function and the circumstances which brought them about have ceased to exist.

Perhaps behind this attitude towards the Egyptian parties lies a hidden factor; they felt that all the parties had failed in the application of the rules of Islam and the rules of the constitution. It was their idea to build, upon the charter of the party, a new system, wherein the efforts of the nation would be concentrated through a strong and sound Islamic program; or in other words that the Islamic government should be the policy of Egypt, allowing no place for political partisanship.

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As application of this principle, they required that anyone wishing to join them must be free from all party affiliation and that he should be characterized by those concepts which have their basis in the policies and teachings found in the Koran. They formed a political committee attached to the general headquarters, which took charge of political affairs.

Naturally, this drastic position vis-à-vis the parties did not come about all at once. At first they were neutral and only gradually did they reveal their opposition, until after the Second World War, they came to this outspoken attitude. They realized that they were no longer a "movement" but had come to represent the great majority of the inhabitants of the Egyptian Kingdom,

they, the faithful heart, the enlightened mind, eager and daring youth, their houses filling the valley, their banners waving on the horizons, their phalanxes crowding the clubs, and overflowing the plains.235

They declared that there is in the country, a new movement which has transformed the nation by degrees; that this movement has greatly developed its mission and that this mission is going to occupy its proper place now that it has become a reality and has attained this pre-eminence; since this mission and no other is the reform mission of the nation.

Here is where they distinguished their "movement" from the reform movements of Jami al-Din al-Afghani, Muhammad 'Abdu and others. The preaching of the Islamic ideal and the revelation of its attractive features by all known historical means cannot be ignored. But that is not the Islamic mission in the sense of its being an independent constitutional reality based upon a general system with its own characteristics.
rather it is the organization of a movement, the leading of a generation, the application of the principles of the Islamic system to government, politics, and social matters, putting them into operation as an binding constitution, besides defending them as true doctrine ... an Islamic movement in such a wide comprehensive sense with its concomitant universal revolution of thought and accompanying historical repercussions, having grave and serious effect on the future of humanity; an Islamic movement in this sense has not been known in history for a very long time; that is, until Hassam al-Jamás raised its banner in the twentieth century under the name of the Moslem Brethren movement.

D — They outlined for themselves a definite policy toward the European countries which rule any of the Islamic lands, such as England, France, and Italy.

This policy was based on two things: first, that the Islamic fatherland is one and inseparable and that aggression on any one part of it is aggression on the whole; second, that Islam imposes on Muslims that they be leaders in their own countries and masters in their homelands; not only that, but they also must call others to join their mission and take Islam as a guide as they were guided before by it.

In accordance with this, every state which has aggressed or might aggress the homelands of Islam must be considered a tyrannical state and must be prevented from aggression. It is the duty of the Muslims to act in mutual support and unity to free themselves of this yoke. They cite the following example in the form of a case similar to a religious fatwa or jurisprudential ruling which appeared in one of their books:

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A captive Moslem woman taken prisoner in the East must be ransomed by the people of the East even though the cost thereof be all the property of the Moslems.

It is self-evident here, that the woman is the symbol of the Islamic world fatherland.

Whereas England is an aggressor in Egypt and Palestine, France is an aggressor in Syria and North Africa, and Italy is an aggressor in Tripolitania, (and these have their like in other parts of the Islamic world), Jihad must be declared, freedom and independence must be seized from them by force even though it cost blood, for death is better than a life of slavery, bondage, and humiliation.

By way of putting this into practice, they took an active part in the fight against the Jews in Palestine in 1948 where their troops were the strongest and the bravest. They collected contributions within the country to aid the fighters and took part in the struggle against the English in the Canal Zone after the period of tribulation.

However, they give priority to the service of one's particular state rather than the overall fatherland; service of man is to his own fatherland first and then to the fatherland of all the Moslems on the basis that the kinman is more to be favored. This in regard to practice. As for principle, Islam does not recognize geographical limits, nor differences of race or blood. Islam considers the Moslems to be one nation; the Islamic fatherland to be one fatherland, however far apart its countries. Thus they proclaim that the Islamic fatherland is any span of land where there is a Moslem and that their duty, after the liberation of their own country, is the liberation of the other Islamic countries; they proclaim that the fatherland of the Moslems has risen above the limitations.
of geographical and blood nationalisms to a nationalism of high principles, true doctrine, and the truths which God has created for the guidance and light of the world. They are like the “Gnosis” of some Sufi orders in Africa who consider theора-рехрs of religion a duty. Perhaps this practical trend, in Africa, especially, of extending the movement was in reaction to Christian missionary activity in that continent. As for Communism, they attack it and subliterate its ideas.

2. They base their policy towards the minorities who share the Catholicism with them in the Koranic text:

    God doth not forbid you to deal with kindness and fairness toward those who have not made war on you or account of your religion, or driven you forth from your homes; for God loveth those who act with fairness.

This they interpret as calling upon them to protect their non-Muslim co-citizens, as a duty, with fair treatment and equanimity.

As for the adherents of the revealed religions, the Koran says:

Say ye: “We believe in God, and that which hath been sent down to us, and that which hath been sent down to Abraham and Ismael and Isaac and Jacob and the tribes; and that which hath been given to Moses and to Jesus, and that which hath been given to the prophets from their Lord. No difference do we make between any of them; and to God are we resigned (Muslims).”

If therefore they believe even as ye believe, then have they true guidance; but if they turn back, then do they cut themselves off from you, and God will suffice to protect thee against them. For he is theearer, the Knower.

As for those whom it is necessary to oppose and to boycott, and with whom to have no dealings, they are defined by the verse:

Only what God forbid you to make friends of those who, on account of your religion, have warred against you, and have driven you forth from your homes, and have aided those who drove you forth; and whoever makes friends of them are wrong-doers.

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As for promises made, they must be honored in accordance with the
text of the Koran:

And perform your covenant; verily the covenant
shall be enquired of:

and:

But this concerneth not those Polytheists with whom
ye are in League, and who shall have afterwards in no way
failed you nor aided anyone against you. Observe, therefore,
engagement with them through the whole time of their treaty:
for God loveth those who fear Him.

and:

So long as they are true to you, be ye true to them.

They said:

Islam lays down these rules and acts in accordance
with these methods, and should be considered by the West-
senators as an additional guarantee, securing them the fulfillment
of their treaties, and the discharge of the commitments of the
Islamic states toward them. We even would say that it is for
the good of Europe itself to be motivated by these pertinent
treaties in its dealings among its countries, one with the other,
for this is better for them and more enduring. 243

Upon occasion, al-Banna wanted to confirm this policy. He sent
a letter to 'Amrīq Dawf Fashá - a Copt - congratulating him upon his
being elected a member of the upper chamber of Parliament. Dawf Fashá
answered his letter by saying that he was pleased with the publication
of the Brethren's newspaper, and their feelings of nationalism which does
not recognize pan-Islam, denominationalism, nor racialism.

He emphasized once, in one of his articles, that their movement is
not fanatic, nor anti-progressive, nor partisan, in order to assure the
minorities- especially the Copts - of their good intentions. They have
adhered to this policy toward their Copt fellow-citizens up until the
present. When the Coptic church in Suez was attacked the Brethren were
cleared of any involvement in this assault. They condemned the per-
petrators and the Copts bore witness to the innocence of the Brethren.
The new Director-General has continued this policy; he used to tour
about the Egyptian country, visiting the Copt and Christian establish-
ments and strengthening the ties of love among all citizens.

F - These, thus, are the broad outlines of their political prin-
ciples which have manifested themselves and became crystallised by time.
If what has been mentioned previously is true, that they had begun as re-
ligious men, then after their attainment of success and popularity they
enlarged their program, especially after they were faced with problems
and questions. They were compelled to clarify and explain in detail.
If that is true, their political principles must have come later than the
religious principles in period of time at least. However, it is evident
that in the formation of these principles they restricted themselves to
Koranic texts and ideas taken from the history of Islam. It is apparent
that they firmly based their understanding on the texts; in this they
disagreed with the ideas of a group of Muslims. They particularly dis-
agreed with a former judge, Sheikh 'Ali 'Abd al-Hadiq, in the first
principle previously presented, the legality of religious government.
The conclusion of his opinion was that the necessity of the Caliphate
was not mentioned in the Koran nor was it indicated in the Sunna; that
the functions of governing have their reference in the discretion of
reason, the experience of nations, and the rules of politics, just as
the building of cities and administrative centers have their references
in engineering; that the mission of Islam is other than the Islamic
state; and that it is apparent that the policy of the state is but the
means for the confirmation of religion and that Islam is a religious
unit for all people. Sheikh Shalit Muhammed Shalid in his book,
"Ata Baha Hindi", [from here we begin], concurred with 'Ali 'Abd al-Raziq.

Whatever may have been the case, whether their political ideas were later than their religious ideas, preceded them, or came about simultaneously, there is no doubt that they considered the factors of time and environment in selecting the means which they must employ for the realization of their principles.

They began the propagation of the movement by preparing a new generation to be conscious of the principles and to be brought up on them so that this generation would provide the soldiers to defend the principles.

Then they seconded this by sending letters to the kings and rulers on various occasions, calling upon them to adhere to religion and to draw upon the injunctions of Islam for reform. When they issued their newspaper, they republished some of these letters and added new ones. They began to follow up political events and set down their opinions with clarity and courage. Then they became interested in regular conferences (once every two years) and extra-ordinary conferences in order to face new events. They began lecturing in the towns and the country side and on the radio. Then they made use of demonstrations sometimes merely participating in them and at other times leading and supervising them. Then they trained their phalanges to undertake military or para-military action in order that they be prepared to fight in time of emergency as happened in the battle of Palestine. They then published books explaining completely the movements in all aspects, including the political. In general, they did not overlook any means of revealing

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their principles, spreading them and defending them. Politics in all these publications and literature held a prominent place. In fact the "propaganda" aspect was strongly concentrated. Propaganda in the modern era is an effective weapon and was one of the outstanding characteristics of the movement.

Perhaps it would be fitting to end this chapter with a saying of al-Banna's which summarizes all of their policy. He likened the Islamic state to a three-legged table which falls if any one leg is broken. The first leg is the Islamic principles, the second is the unified nation, and the third is the Islamic government which operates upon the unity of the nation and the unity of the principles. In this saying of al-Banna's there is a picture of their policy which needs no extenuation.

What was their situation outside of Egypt and how did they come gradually to open branches in the Arab countries?
CHAPTER SEVEN
THE BRETHREN MOVEMENT
OUTSIDE EGYPT

The second article of the "Basic Regulations" of the Moslem Brethren stipulates that: "The Moslem Brethren is a universal Islamic body which strives to attain the objectives for which Islam cares."

The intent of this article is that the Moslem Brethren movement is not merely Egyptian nor merely Arab but that it is universally Islamic. This concerns principle. In action they want a gradual progression from national unity to Arab unity to Islamic unity. In their opinion, loyalty to these "three" ideas of unity are not at odds with one another nor contradictory; for Islam obliges all men to work for the good of their country and to serve their nation as best they can. Islam began as Arab, was conveyed to the nations by the Arabs, and the Koran was sent down in the Arabic language; hence the unity of the Arabs is essential to the restoration of the glory of Islam and the setting up of its state. (By Arab they mean those who speak Arabic.) Moreover, Islam is a fatherland and a nationality just as it is doctrine and worship. All Moslems are equal and the Islamic fatherland is one fatherland no matter how far apart its countries. It is an indivisible unit.

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Acting within this definition, the Brethren try to unify the beliefs of the Moslem and strengthen the fraternity of Islam. They assert that their fatherland is any span of earth where a Moslem is located. They are of the opinion that these ideas of unity do not contradict one another, but that each lends strength to the other and realizes its aim. If peoples wish to take up the call for a particular nationality and use it as a weapon to deaden feeling for all others, then they are not with them.

They realize that Egypt has come to a position of leadership among the Islamic nations through many circumstances and they are of the opinion that the Moslem Brethren in Egypt are the believing heart, the enlightened reason, and the courageous, eager youth; that from Egypt the good news of freedom will first be announced to all the Islamic East, a message of unity for the East, and a warning of woe and defeat for the enemy.

Thus they realize that Islam has awakened from its sleep and has begun to march. It first awakened in the name of individual state nationalism, then in the name of Pan-Arabism which struggled with Pan-Turkism and then the idea passed on to its aim [of universal Islam] with pure Islamic power and strength.

In so far as many movements appeared after the First World War, such as nationalism, socialism, capitalism, bolshevism, and internationalism and it was inevitable that the Islamic nations choose one of these schools, the Brethren were of the opinion that Islam contains the essence of these movements and has prescribed for the world the systems which would guarantee to it the benefits of all what is good in it and would cause it to avoid all what is dangerous and calamitous. They therefore decided that
the laws of Islam be the basis upon which the renaissance of the modern East in all aspects of life be built. They believe that every phase of the modern renaissance which is inconsistent with the laws of Islam and clashes with the rulings of the Koran would be an unsuccessful experiment from which the nation would emerge with great sacrifice and without benefit. It is better for the nation which wishes to rise to take the shortest path by following the rules of Islam.

The Brethren have built up this movement without singling out any one Islamic country above the other, but send out the call hoping that it will reach the ears of the leaders of every country whose sons follow the religion of Islam. They warn the Moslems of the East against rash imitation of systems which have cracked of their own weight and have been proved by experience to be corrupt and unfit, lest they sow the seeds of decay in their own renaissance.

Therefore as the backbone of the movement there was this project of spreading it throughout the whole Islamic world or rather into every spot inhabited by Moslems. But when did that begin?

There are no confirmed dates showing when branches outside Egypt were opened, but it clearly appears that the action outside passed through two stages. The first stage was a growth of interest in the affairs of the Islamic world, particularly its political problems. This stage began prior to 1927. Al-Suwall would discuss the Islamic world in his speeches, calling for its freedom and independence. He considered the
Brethren defenders of Islamic causes in general and political causes in particular. Most probably it was the events of 1926 in Palestine which opened their eyes to the injustice being done the Arabs on that spot of land. From that date on they followed this problem with deep concern, perhaps it could be said that the Palestine case spurred them on to greater interest in the problems of the Arab countries. Once al-Sanāʿī sent a letter, in the name of the Brethren, to the Sultan of Morocco and another to the French Prime Minister demanding the release of the Amir 'Abd al-Karim.

The second stage was the founding of branches outside of Egypt. This began in 1937 with the opening of a branch in Damascus, which was to be headquarters for the central committee responsible for the setting up centers in the various districts of Syria and Lebanon. However, each center could inaugurate attached branches with the consent of the central committee. It could also set up branches in the quarters of the city.

It would, perhaps, be asked why it was started in Damascus. Most likely the movement there got its boost from the Syrian students who used to study in Egypt and were members of the Brethren during the period of their studies. The Brethren took special care with the Arab students who were studying in Egypt; they treated them with honor and civility and gave them equal status with the Egyptian members. Here the contact between the movement in Egypt and the Arab students was made. These students were enthusiastic propagandists for the Brethren in
their own countries. When circumstances were favorable these students
organized branches in their countries with the co-operation of others
who were sympathetic to the cause.

Since the Damascus branch was the most important branch outside
Egypt, it was once mentioned that it was probable that the leadership
would be transferred there from Egypt after the assassination of al-Hamid,
the closure of all the branches, and the confiscation of their assets.
Some of its members occupied high positions in the Syrian government and
were in the Chamber of Deputies. A brief historical sketch is called for.

In 1937 a small group of young men from the Syrian University and
students of Shari'ah studies took up the work of the movement. They wanted
to be called by one name and to have their organizations associated official-
ly one with the other but they feared the violence of the mandatory government
so they took refuge in circumvention in order to gain their objectives. Lic-
censed societies with various names were established. First, "Dir al-Arqān",
House of Arqān], was established in Aleppo; then the Young Men's Moslem
Association in Damascus, the al-Habibah Society in Hama, the Makārin
Society in Jerusalem, the Association of Moslem Brethren in Hama, and
other societies in Beirut, Tripoli, Deir ez-Zur, and Latakia. Centers
were established in some of the Western countries for students studying
overseas.

These variously named societies were firmly linked with all the
nationalist, Arab, and Islamic reform movements. As a whole they con-
stituted one group with numerous names. They were known to one another
by the name "Shabāb Muṣammār", [young men of Muṣammār].

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The societies began holding conventions. The first and second was held in Rome in the year 1937. By the time of the third conference, held in Damascus in 1938, the group had covered a great distance in organization. It was decided in this conference to adopt Dar al-Arqam in Aleppo as the main headquarters for all the societies.

After that a number of years elapsed - those were the critical years of the Second World War - and it was not possible to convene congresses. They had to content themselves with having the main headquarters carry on its duties and the secretaries of the various societies keeping in contact with one another. At the fourth conference, held in Rome in 1943, representatives from Lebanon and Syria took part and decided that Dar al-Arqam in Aleppo should remain the main headquarters. Decisions of novel trend were adopted; such as the forming of para-military organizations known as Saraya and Futawa in each center, and deepening of interest in athletics and economics besides the cultural, social, and moral aspects of the general Arab and Islamic problems.

In 1944 the fifth conference was held in Aleppo. It was decided that the main headquarters in Aleppo be abolished and that a "High Central Committee" be formed in Damascus to be composed of representatives from each center. It was to have a permanent office under a Controller-General - Sheikh Mustafa al-Debabi - and was to hold regular meetings. A representative from the Moslem Brethren in Egypt attended this conference. It was agreed - after contacting the Brethren congress in Egypt and Palestine - to consolidate the names of the societies under the name, "The Moslem Brethren" and to unify the regulations. Thus they entered a
new stage effectively strengthened by unification of name and objectives. Al-Māhād al-'Arabī al-Thānī [the Arab secondary institute], was established; they also set up in Aleppo, Dar al-Tibā'ah wa al-Nashr al-'Arabīyeh [the Arab printing and publishing house], which issued the newspaper al-Nawār [the lighthouse], the spokesperson for the association in Syria, which is still in publication today, although no longer speaking officially for the group. A textile company was also founded in Aleppo.

The sixth conference was held in Yabrud in 1946 for the Brethren centers in Syria and Lebanon after the group had achieved unity of name and objectives with the Brethren in Egypt. The conference was preceded by the setting up of a military camp for the training of the Futuwwah in Yabrud itself. Upon conclusion of the conference the central committee invited a group of Damascene men to its club and read them the resolutions which had been adopted.

Among the most important of these resolutions:

A. Sending of educational missions of students of the group to Egypt and Europe in order to study.

B. Broadening of the scope of the athletic and Futuwwah movement.

C. Formation of committees to deal with the affairs of the Arab and Islamic worlds, to be charged with following up the nationalistic movements in Alexandria, Egypt, North Africa, Tripolitania, India, and Indonesia and a special committee for the Palestine problem.

D. Formation of a committee to select practical methods for
They defined the objectives of the group as follows:

A. Liberation and unification of the nation, the safeguarding of its doctrine, and the setting up of its social, economic, and cultural regulations on the basis of Islam.

B. They are not a party like other parties. Their objective is the reform of society and not merely its preaching; a reform emanating from the personality of the nation and its sacred doctrine. To achieve [reform] they fight imperialism in all forms whatever and co-operate with whatever nationalistic bodies are working for the betterment of the fatherland. Their movement is a comprehensive one; it embraces economic, moral, national-political, cultural, athletic, and other various aspects of reform since these are all in the comprehension of Islam in its universal and true sense (compare that with the ideas of the Brethren in Egypt).

C. They call for co-operation within the nation, in its totality, without distinction between sects; they view with malice any attempt to split the ranks of the nation in the name of religions or sects; such action they consider destructive, serving the ends of the imperialists.

D. With regard to internal national problems, they call for the reform of the state structure by impartial application of the law - they do not call for its reform on the religious basis as do the Brethren in Egypt - but they do demand that attention be given to education, ethics, economics, agriculture, and industry.

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As regards religion, they are cautious about inciting sectarian chauvinism. They stated that their movement is a return to the teachings of true religions. This all religions disdain and urge. Those who think that their movement gives nourishment to sectarian feelings are ignorant of the aims and nature of religions. Through their mission a true understanding was affected among the souls of the same fatherland. Their pulpits were wide enough to take Christian speakers and the pulpits of the Christians, the Brethren.

The association continued to grow. During the Palestine war, a fighting phalanx was formed under the command of Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Ṣabāḥ. Controller-General of the Brethren in Syria. al-Bannā came from Cairo to Beirut and then to Damascus to inspect the Brethren phalanxes in Qatana.

When the Brethren associations in Egypt were confiscated and al-Bannā was assassinated, attention was directed to the Brethren associations in Syria and especially to Shaikh Muṣṭafā al-Ṣabāḥ himself who was considered to be among the strongest of candidates for the leadership. The Brethren’s newspaper in Damascus continued to be published as usual and issued a number of books by and about al-Bannā while the branches in Lebanon broke up or disappeared. Some of the members took over high positions in the ministry and others entered the Chamber of Deputies. Some of them made declarations which strongly smelt of leftist leanings. However al-Ṣabāḥ reiterated the attack against the Communists and the Western democracies calling for a position of neutrality in any new world struggle. He wanted the East to draw upon Islam for its
social, economic, and political systems, which agree with the principles
followed by the Brethren in Egypt. However this does not contradict their
trend towards socialism, or more correctly towards "Islamic Socialism"
or the inclination of some of them to go even further; but, however far,
it can not [be said] to approach communism.

The Brethren continued - during the setting up of the interim mil-
tary government in Syria in 1951 - to function with comparative freedom,
until a decree was issued dissolving them on 17 January 1952 on the charge
of having political aspirations while originally they were a purely re-
ligious body. It was mentioned in some sources that they were seeking the
"religious government"; but is that true? That the Brethren in Egypt are
actively working for this government is a matter above suspicion and too
evident to be argued about, but the Brethren in Damascus - and naturally
in the rest of Syria - do not seek after this government openly and en-
thusiastically as is the case in Egypt. Actually their attitude passed
through three phases. During the time of their inception, 1937, they
made no reference to the religious government at all. Their demand, from
the political aspect, was concentrated on the liberation of the Arab and
Islamic countries from imperialism and foreign influence. From the local
national aspect they demanded:

Correction of the defects of the political system so that
the people would be able to select their representatives
in an honorable way without being influenced nor misled;
so that the representatives of the nation would be able
to supervise the affairs of the state without partiality.

Even as they demanded:

the reform of the regulations, laws, and courts so that
justice would be achieved among the people and rights
would be gained by those deserving them while tyranny,
aggression, and corruption would be prevented.

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Their first aim they defined as:

The explanation of the mission of the Koran – the constitution of the Araba and the Moslems – its presentation in a manner suitable to the tenor of the time and its manifestation to the people as the strongest and most thorough of missions. 298

In the second phase, 1946 – after the Tabriq conference and at the time of the flourishing of the movement in Egypt where it reached the peak of its power – they decided that the strength and flexibility of the foundations of Islam – the Koran, the Sunna, Ijtihad and Qiyas – would make it keep pace with time, guaranteeing the happiness of humanity in various countries both materially and spiritually. They also decided that Islam is doctrine, worship, ethics, legislation, religion, and state (compare with the sayings of the Brethren in Egypt.) They demanded reconsideration of the criminal, civil, economic, moral, and educational laws and their re-formulation so as to agree with the legislation and spirit of Islam, to attain the welfare of the nation, its security and prosperity. At the same time they decided:

that in Western civilization there is much good and much evil and to adopt what is beneficial from its industry and science is indispensable to our renaissance. Every innovation of benefit which does not destroy the personality of the nation and does not contradict its fundamental virtues is a fresh force which strengthens its being and assures its future.

It is patent that they did not concern themselves with the constitution or the existent system of government at that time – the republic nor politics in an open way. Did they conceal the idea of the "religious government" in their souls, never speaking out? Why is it that they never demanded a reconsideration of the constitution with a view to having it agree with the laws and spirit of Islam? 329
In the third phase, 1951, when a new constitution was promulgated for the Syrian state, the Brethren advocated that there be included a stipulation that the religion of the state is Islam – as is the case today in Egypt, Jordan, Iraq, Iran, Afghanistan, Saudi Arabia, and Yemen. However the parliament modified this demand by stipulating that Islam is the official religion of the president of the republic only. Apparently the Brethren accepted that or at least they bowed to the decision of the majority. However this stipulation which they had demanded was not to the intent that the state was to be a religious one. The previously enumerated states are not all of them completely religious. All of them proclaim freedom of conscience and worship for all their citizens. Some of them have greatly modernised their structure along Western European lines. The trend towards this new structure is gaining with time.

This actual situation differs from the demand of the Brethren in Egypt as appeared formerly. At any rate what can be deduced from circumstantial evidence indicates that the striving towards religious government in Syria generally and in Brethren circles particularly, is much more feeble than it is in Egypt. The Brethren movement in Syria is less active and less widespread than it is in Egypt.

In Palestine, branches were established in 1945 – that is, after the Syrian branches by about ten years – and during the flourishing of the movement in Egypt. The motives were external. Palestine was suffering from violent political disturbances which distracted thinking from religious matters. However the Brethren's newspaper used to arrive in Palestine every morning regularly, and would contain articles vigorously
defending the political rights of the Arabs. The Brethren had previously taken part in the struggle of the Palestinians during the disturbances of 1936-1939, a slight part in comparison to their participation in the fighting of 1948. Nevertheless, a great number of religious men - especially in Haifa - had already established associations having a religious tinge, although they had no comprehensive programs like those of the Brethren in Egypt.

Besides this favorable atmosphere, the Brethren in Egypt had begun sending envoys to Palestine to preach the movement vividly and thoroughly in the mosques, and to deal with the political aspect in a manner agreeable to the national aspirations.

As a result the movement first spread by word of mouth and then gained supporters. Then a representative arrived from the Brethren (ʿAbd al-ʿAušār al-Salettī) and celebrated the inauguration of a branch in Jerusalem on 5 May 1946. It was attended by more than two thousand persons. Among other things the representative mentioned that the movement makes no discrimination of race or sect. Jamāl al-ʿUṣayrī, Vice-President of the Arab Higher Committee, spoke at this gathering and said that he wished that the Brethren movement had become widespread in Palestine nine years ago and that now his wish had been realized. He announced his membership in the Brethren and decorated his breast with their emblem.

When the celebration was over, a sum of 1,471 Palestine pounds was collected for the building of the Association's house. The Jerusalem branch began afterwards organizing lectures which were delivered by Palestinians or sometimes by visitors from the Egyptian Brethren. A special club with a library was opened. Then the amount collected was raised to
3000 Palestinian pounds. The Jerusalem branch was able to acquire a piece of land from the Islamic Waqf upon which to set up a meeting house. It found great encouragement from all classes of people. However, it was not independent nor even quasi-independent as, for instance, was the Damascus branch, but was one of the branches of the Egyptian Brethren, following their program and doctrines.

When the fighting started in 1948 some of the Palestinian Brethren took part in it and made their meeting house the headquarters for the Jihad; however with the occupation of the New City in Jerusalem, it was closed down. When things became comparatively quiet in Jerusalem, the branch resumed its activities, although in a very restricted way. All during the month of Ramadan in the year 1949, it published articles in one of the Jerusalem daily newspapers al-Dustār [the defense], treating of religion and politics after the fashion of the Brethren in Egypt.

Then (1946), branches were created in the rest of the towns of Palestine: one in Jaffa, one in Lydda, and a branch in Haifa which was joined by the two groups Anṣār al-Naṣrīyah and al-Fīqīyah which were Islamic societies. This took place in the presence of the delegate of the General Headquarters in Cairo ('Abd al-Nū'īs 'Abd al-Sattār).

A branch was established in Til-Karm in the presence of this delegate also. Soon after that - 10 October 1946 - a general congress attended by representatives of Lebanon, Jordan, and Palestine was held in Haifa. The political situation in Palestine was reviewed and some of the resolutions adopted were: to hold the government of Palestine responsible for the disturbed political situation; to support the Arab League and the demands of Egypt concerning the evacuation and unity of the Nile Valley; to bring the Palestine case before the Security Council; to support the
projects which would prevent the purchase of land by Zionists; non-recog-
nition of the non-indigenous Jew; propagation of the branches of the
Brethren; greetings to the Director-General in Egypt; and thanks to the
Brethren in the Arab countries.

This clear-cut political trend agrees with the trend of the Brethren
in Egypt. As the Brethren directed themselves totally towards politics
in this phase, the religious aim became secondary.

At the same time [1945], branches were established in Jordan. Ap-
parently King 'Abdullah blessed the movement and supported it. He asked
the delegate of the Brethren to convey his greetings to the Muslim Brethren
in the hope that their movement would have no aim but utter devotion to
God, in His work, for His sake, and for the benefit of the Muslim Brethren.
He charged him with inviting the Director-General on his behalf to visit
Jordan.

The branch in Amman remained active both during the fighting in Pal-
esteine and after, up until the present. However, its activities were
limited by prevalent conditions; nevertheless, its existence is an in-
dication. The movement stretched out until it reached Syria, Palestine
and Jordan and contact was established with Egypt and these countries.

It appears that the Brethren renewed their activities in Lebanon
in 1949. However they took on a special coloring appropriate to the
country of 'sects and sectarianism.' Thus they declared:

We are not the only ones living in this fatherland; for there are other
sects-with whom we must co-
operate in the reform and the protection of the father-
land ... we know that religion belongs to God but that
the fatherland belongs to all and each group must be
satisfied.

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They justified their existence by the plenitude of parties. They concentrated their aim on two things: first, reform at home and second, cooperation with neighbors. They cited under the first, eighteen articles dealing with the improvement of the internal conditions of Moslems; under the second, the safeguarding of the rights of other sects, cooperation with them in the preservation of the fatherland, the establishment of peace and love, and the struggle against blind sectarianism and the exploitation of religion.

As for politics they specified "non-intervention in political affairs which do not touch our existence and are not against the welfare of the nation and the fatherland." However at the same time they mentioned that they would have official para-military groups called "Payâlis" under a supreme commander who would be from among the members of "The High Committee of the Association." They made it a condition upon those joining them that they could not belong to any other group or organization. They paralleled the position of the "Director-General" in Cairo by granting to the "Preacher-General" great concessions in appointments and supervision.

They reached the limit when they announced that they would grant medals of fifteen categories beginning with the medal of al-Ka'bah and ending with the medal of al-Anṣâr.

They make no reference to any connection with the Brethren in Egypt or what is less with the Brethren in Syria. Apparently they were content with the adoption of the [Brethren] emblem - a Koran between two swords - as a symbol of unity.

It appears that their activity remained extremely limited or extremely well-hidden whereas the group, "Ibâd al-Kâfûn" displayed notable activity.

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They issued a series of small publications containing religious and social precepts, and gave religious lectures in the mosques. They founded a club and a printing press. It appears from their publications that they, in a modest way, are trying to follow the style of the Moslem Brethren in Cairo.

Perhaps it seems strange that the Sudan's turn should come later than those of Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine. The first attempt at establishing a branch of the Moslem Brethren was in June of 1946 in 'Umm Durman right after a Moslem girl was baptized in that town by a Protestant mission. However this branch was created with the objective of promoting the spread of the Islamic religion and as a countermeasure to [Christian] missionary activity. This branch was, in a very loose way, a branch of the Brethren.

In October 1946 the general headquarters sent two of its outstanding members to the Sudan to pay a visit to the Brethren branches there or actually to promote the movement and create branches. They went to 'Umm Durman which and indicated a desire to join up its Islamic society with the Brethren in Egypt. Then they went to Khartoum and visited committees, parties, and outstanding men of the Sudan. They began explaining to them the truth about the movement and the [fact] that the Brethren in Egypt are the strongest proponents of the unity of the Nile Valley. Apparently the Sudanese had some doubts about the Brethren movement, but the visitors dispelled these doubts as having been the work of the English.

The two visitors agreed with the members of the chief branch in 'Umm Durman on the propagation of the movement in the Sudan and they
proceeded to draw up plans. In a few days they were able to open a number of branches in the al-Janirah country. Then they headed for the western part of the Sudan — where news of the Brethren had proceeded them as a result of a visit undertaken by some of the Brethren the previous year — they visited the meeting houses of the Brethren and the houses of the notables. They discussed the movement and its work of restoring the glory of Islam. They were able to open 35 branches in places about Port Sudan, 'Athbarah, al-Dinah, and Shendi.

By this visit the conquest of the Sudan was completed; twenty years since the birth of the movement in Cairo had passed. Thus they considered it the last fertile ground for the movement. The delegation made speeches in the market places and the mosques and received pledges of allegiance after the truth of the movement and its aims had been made clear to the Sudaneses.

The movement reached some towns of North and East Africa. The Islamic societies in Asmara (in Eritrea) communicated with the GHR in Cairo, informing it that they were resolved to take for themselves the name “The Muslim Brethren” and requested authority to register the Brethren in Asmara and the country of Eritrea. They took upon themselves the spreading of the movement into the countries of East Africa.

A general headquarters was established in Fez (in Morocco) from which branches spread out to the rest of Morocco. A branch was established in the town of al-Qasr al-Mahri. The headquarters in Fez followed the orders of the GHR in Cairo and undertook the execution
and application [of them] with the branches in Morocco.

The movement reached Tunis. Its prime minister during his passage through Cairo declared:

The name of the Moslem Brethren is filling the world with light and guidance. The name of al-Banna is being continually repeated on all tongues as a religious and social reformer with the hope that from his hands will come great good. 285

However, whether a branch exists there or in Algeria or in Libya is not known.

A delegation, headed by al-Banna himself, went to Mecca to perform the pilgrimage and to spread the movement in October 1946. It took up a headquarters in Mecca to which the Brethren flocked from branches in Palestine, Syria, Morocco, and the Sudan. There speeches were made on the future of Islam and the Moslem nations in both the Arabic and English languages.

More than likely they did not open a branch in Saudi Arabia despite the close relation between their movement and the Nahhâbî movement in many respects. That, perhaps goes back to the policy followed by this kingdom of not permitting the establishment of societies.

During the period of flourishing, also — perhaps in 1947 — a lawyer in Baghdad submitted a request to the government to establish a branch of the Moslem Brethren but the request was denied. However, some individuals from among the people, the lawyers, the university students, and especially from the Mosul district were adherents of the movement. It was noticed during the "Wathbah" — or the revolt against the Treaty of Portsmouth in 1947 — that among the slogans shouted by the demonstrators, was the

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rallying-call of the Moslem Brethren: "God is great and glory to God" which is an indication that some of them belonged to the movement. Some individuals with known Brethren sympathies were imprisoned as a result of the "Walibah." Moreover, there was a bookshop in Baghdad known as "The Moslem Brethren Bookshop" which sold Brethren publications. The owner of this bookshop afterwards published a newspaper under the name, al-Shiti [the register], but it was not a spokes-
man for the Brethren. A Brethren propagandist passed through Iraq for the purpose of promoting the movement but an official branch was never opened.

Circumstances in Iraq, generally, did not lend themselves to the spread of the movement there. On the one hand the Shiites did not approve of this movement. One of the Shiite students who joined the movement in Cairo mentioned that some of the Shiites reproached him for becoming a member. On the other hand the government would not allow the creation of any party or body unless a license was procured. In general, it appears that the government gave no encouragement to the movement. Perhaps the extremist attitude of the Brethren towards the English had some connection with that. Furthermore, there was in Iraq the Young Men's Moslem Association which filled the need somewhat. This association still operates in Iraq although most of its members are Sunnis.

Because of these circumstances their activities remained concealed. It was said that the society, Al-Ukhûnah al-Islâmiyyah, [the Islamic brotherhood], in Baghdad which is headed by Shaikh Anjâd al-Shabîhî, and...
whose activities are directed by Shaikh Muḥammad Najmūl-Dīn al-Ǧawāfī is a Brethren association. A number of Brethren books were reprinted in Baghdad and a printing press was established to publish Brethren circulars.

Two matters are worthy of notice in Iraq. First, the nationalism movement is strong; second, Islamic opinion is apportioned between two almost equally big factions. The leaders of these two factions are very strict in matters of religion. Because of these two things, the field of action left open to the Brethren is very restricted although it is broader in the North than in the South.

The Brethren newspaper mentioned that Muslims individuals and Islamic groups in America had written to the GEC asking for the program and policies of the Brethren and expressed their desire to register their names with the Brethren. They showed their readiness to form a Brethren front in America which would work to free minds of the misconceptions planted there by the evil propaganda spread by the enemies of Islam and by the Zionists. It further mentioned that GEC will send them a comprehensive pamphlet on the movement and Islam.

On occasion, the Brethren appointed students as delegates to conventions in England and France to study the state of the Arab countries and Islamic affairs. They showed particular interest in these conventions as a means of conveying the movement to Europe through the educated young men whose concern is the political problems of their countries before anything else. The strong inclination of the
movement towards politics and the treatment of the problems of all
the Arab and Islamic countries as the problem of Egypt was being
treated, was very effective in attracting young men to the Brethren
movement whether in their own countries or in Europe or America.

As for branches in the non-Arab Islamic world we know nothing
of them. Their own sources mention that they have branches in Indo-
nesia, Ceylon, Pakistan, Iran and other countries. Probably, some
of the Islamic societies in those countries fraternize with them or
stand by their movement.

The interest of the OEU reached such proportions as to create
"a special department for contacts in the Islamic world and Arab
countries." Letters from the Arab Muslim countries were referred to
this department which took charge of answering them and gave directions
to individuals and bodies outside of Egypt. This branch gathered in-
formation about the Islamic world in such magnitude as not to be
found in any other society.

As a matter of fact, the Brethren used every means possible to
propagate their movement abroad; first to gain sympathy and friends
and secondly to establish branches. During the period of flourishing,
in 1946, they widened their activities in this field. A great help
along this line was their daily newspaper (first published 8 May 1946)
which devoted itself to the treatment of the problems of the Arab coun-
tries. Whoever checks this newspaper will find that a great deal of
space is devoted to the Arab countries. Its editors would contact

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outstanding Arab and Moslem personalities who were visiting Cairo or stopping off on route so that they could discuss the affairs of their countries with them. The publication of these discussions aroused the interest of their readers in the Arab countries. Moreover many of the important personages would visit the GHQ and discuss the affairs of their countries. Thus liaison between Egypt and the outside was achieved. If it be but remarked that the Moslem Brethren was the only Egyptian body which took a serious interest in the affairs of Arabs and Moslems outside of Egypt, which made a study of their problems, and which supported them against their political opponents (who were generally the same in and outside of Egypt), one would see how it was that they gained their sympathy and support and how the ground was so well prepared for the setting up of branches outside of Egypt. This is one of the peculiarities of this new movement in Islam. Islamic history has not known for a long period a religious-political movement which penetrated into a great many of the Arab and Islamic countries, and drew to itself supporters and adherents as this movement has done. The thing which helped it achieve success abroad was the overshadowing of the religious factor by the political. If it were a pure religious movement its supporters would be from a certain class. However its orientation towards "liberation-politics" and their siding with the nationalists in their struggle against foreigners, without arousing religious or sectarian chauvinism, attracted supporters from all classes, including the intellectuals and the politicians. Outside of Egypt it is more a political party than a religious body.
Moreover, they were aware, ahead of time, of the existence of religious denominational differences in the Arab and Islamic countries—such as the Sunnites and the Shiites—and determined, from the beginning, to completely disregard them by considering all Muslims as one block gathered under the Koran. They often referred to this meaning in their speeches and their writings, thereby winning the sympathy of all. In some of the countries they wanted to attract members from those Islamic non-Sunni sects. In fact, members of these sects did take part in the movement, both in Egypt and abroad.

Now, it would be a good idea to express our opinion of this movement, frankly, clearly, and sincerely, mentioning its pros and cons.
CHAPTER EIGHT
ANALYSIS

The preceding chapters attempt to give, in as far as possible, an over-all view of the Moslem Brethren movement, using as sources and references, texts taken from their books and publications. Up until this point, the task can be compared to the gathering together of the various parts of a jigsaw puzzle, like those with which children are wont to play, in order to create a picture conforming with the original. This task is not too difficult since it but demands a study of the publications of the Brethren, the extraction of the facts there from which illustrate their activity, and an accurate presentation, clearly and without bias.

However, this movement is deserving of deep study, perspective representation, and scientific criticism in order to present its characteristics. Sometimes it is not enough to display just the picture itself before the observers. There must also be the written word under the picture to aid the observers in comprehending and appreciating it, and since this explanation is the representation of the opinion of a single individual; that is, the composer of the explanation, the opinion of the observers may or may not agree with it.

There has been more literature concerning this movement than has ever been written on similar movements in the Islamic world. However the greatest number were designed to spread the movement, further its cause, and
show only its good aspects. It is natural that being from the Brethren themselves they should be thus. A few books, also, were written in criticism of the movement. The defect in such compositions is that they aim at the vilification and multiplication of the movement and the playing up of its weak points. For such reasons they are not to be relied upon. Indeed, we do not know of any book which gives a scientific treat- ment of the movement, in a neutral, whether pro or con, which judges it in the light of past Islamic movements, considers its intrinsic values, and takes stock of its influence positively or negatively on life in Egypt and the other countries where it appeared. This work would involve a great deal of labor and meticulousness and would require such a degree of abstraction, tolerance, penetration, wide knowledge, and access to an abundance of Brethren literature including pamphlets, books, magazines and newspapers as to be almost impossible for one man. Even so, the analysis would still be imbued to a certain degree with the personal- ity (of the writer) and would still be far from perfect until such time as historical facts connected with the movement have become more clear and freed from the fog of current events. In any case, this analysis would presumably be closer to the truth than the compilations of either sup- porters or opponents.

This movement is distinguished from preceding Islamic movements on four points: first, all-inclusiveness, second, a tightly knit organization, the third, popular orientation and appeal, and fourth, interaction with local events in Egypt.

As for the first — all-inclusiveness — they adopted this from re-
ligion for they understand the teachings of Islam to embrace all the affairs of men both in this world and the next and not merely the spiritual or ritualistic. For this they have the famous expression, "Islam is doctrine, worship, fatherland, citizenship, religion, state, spirituality, action, a Koran and a sword." They set up their programs according to this conception to include all aspects of life: the spiritual, scientific, social, economic, industrial, agricultural, political, military, and all other aspects related to religion or state in any way whatsoever. The history of Islam had not known "a movement" of such a wide, comprehensive concept. There had been [in the past] political movements, spiritual movements, reform movements and all kinds of movements. But an all-inclusive movement which embraces all of the movements without restriction is this movement, the Muslim Brotherhood. The inevitable result of this comprehensiveness was that religion was swamped with numerous non-spiritual manifestations. Perhaps it is with justice that the question was asked: "What relation is there between religion and commercial companies or co-operative farms or scout troops?" They were able to see the apparent inconsistency in their actions. They gave answer thus:

In the people these aspects appear contradictory and apparently do not go together one with the other. However, if they knew that Islam gathers in itself all these things, and that Islam enjoins them and favors them, then they would realize that these are consistent and harmonious aspects.

This, their answer, explains their special concept of Islam and religion in toto.

Because they intended that religion should be set up as a living conscience in the heart of the believer, which would be inseparable...
from him, whether at rest or in movement, in work or at leisure, their
meaning is justifiable. A great number of thinkers agree on this. But
if they meant that religion should make laws for those worldly aspects,
impose its authority over them, and lay down the lines of behaviour for
the individual, then they have gone too far in defining this concept of
religion. They have placed slippery hazards in the path of the traveler
through life and given him no assurance against stumbling. Further, this
is an improbable conception since it is inconsistent with what al-Bannā
and stated when he said that since the Western people have reached
to such a high and elevated stage through science, knowledge,
the use of natural powers and the raising of the human men-
tality, that these must be adopted from them; just as it is
necessary to adopt their organization, their orderliness,
and their admirable arrangement of the matters of every-day
life.

Again he said:

Western civilizations and the Western way of life is
based upon science and organization; the factory and the
machine enables them to collect wealth and materials and
to dominate the still dormant nations.270

These sayings of al-Bannā reveal his fair-mindedness and far-sightedness.
At the same time he stated that religious fanaticism should be expelled
from science, knowledge and organization which themselves were legacies
of successive civilizations. The intrusion of religion into these, besides
being far from reality would color them with a special tinge and would
alienate the people from them leading to a scientific and intellectual
isolation and a complete paralysis of some human societies.

It is for us to ask: what led the Brethren to elasticize religion
as they did?

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As a matter of fact it was internal, political, and economic factors which led them to this. They saw that most of the companies were foreign. They saw politics protecting and fostering these companies. They saw religion, an active factor in alienating the people from Western influence and at the same time winning their support of Islamic institutions, so they adopted it as a means and interjected it into this field. Because of the ascendancy of religious fanaticism, the Egyptians flocked to the support of the Brethren commercial enterprises. The end always justifies the means.

However it may be that their industrial, commercial and agricultural companies were Islamic in name, in practice they were purely technical. Their industrial, agricultural and commercial machines were of Western manufacture. It was noted that there was seen on their farms modern machinery such as had been seen only in the movies. This is an example of the religious appeal combined with the Western technical factor without which they could not have succeeded nor continued in existence.

The second characteristic is a tight-knit organization, the like of which is not known even in the secret Islamic movements such as al-Ǧīlānīyah. The reason is a simple one. The [Muslim Brethren] movement followed this by about a thousand years and thus benefitted from them just as it benefitted from movements innovated in the West. Apparently the founding members took into consideration every movement they possibly could, whether Islamic or Western. They studied them thoroughly and adopted from them what would suit their needs. As for the allegation that they adopted a specific organization by imitation — as their opponents claimed — is without foundation.
Their society has been compared to the workings of a fine watch - each part working synchronously with the other parts. Like a watch also, it is possible to see some of its parts while other parts remain hidden since they are so placed as to be not visible. Nevertheless, between what is visible and what is not, there is a definite connection.

This is no mere rhetorical comparison but is meant to show the talents of al-Bannā, Director-General and founder, who, without doubt, had a great deal of organizing ability; also to tie up this ability with the watch-making hands which was the passion of his father and to which he devoted himself for short periods through natural inclination. Al-Bannā was an extraordinarily skillful watchmaker, both actually and metaphorically. He skillfully constructed a watch from human material and arranged its parts into a precise pattern so that its hands functioned with extreme exactitude. Those who had watched the development of the movement from near and had close personal contact with him said that he used to supervise every matter, great or small, whether concealed or revealed. In order to consolidate this supervision and give it a legalistic coloring, article 13 of the organization's basic regulations stipulates that the founding committee and the Brethren in the various branches, through their leaders, will swear allegiance to him and will renew their allegiance (in the manner of "I hear and I obey") at their first opportunity of meeting with him. Article 21 stipulates that the members of the office are to swear to God to be loyal guardians of the principles of the Brethren and their basic organization; to have confidence in their leaders; and to carry out the lawful decisions of the general office even though they might differ in opinion with them.
The members were divided into grades; first class and second class and supporting and active members. They could not reach these grades until they had passed certain examinations. When the members had reached the grade of "active member" they could attend special meetings held by al-Sammā himself.

In order to facilitate the supervision of the active members they were divided into spiritual units: nuclei, [naṣīḥ], cells, [ṣalṭiyah], families, [mursī], and phalanxes, [kātibā]. Each phalanx is headed by a leader, [naṣīḥ], who is responsible for its direction. If there should be two or more phalanxes in one branch they would constitute a "collection", [naṣīḥā], whose leaders would be responsible to the head, [raʾīs], of the branch who, in the spiritual sense, is considered as general leader, [naṣīḥ] - ʾāmm], for all the active members.

When the branches became numerous, each branch was considered as one administrative unit with an administrative council whose members were selected by the general assembly. These branches were firmly tied to the general headquarters in two ways: first, the general headquarters would be furnished a schedule of the activities of this branch at least ten days prior to the meeting of the general assembly so that the general headquarters would be able to send someone to represent it at the meeting. Secondly, it was stipulated that the approval of the central office was required to validate the decisions adopted by the general assembly of any of the branches. The general headquarters also has the right to approve or to disapprove the formation of new branches and administrative bodies, and the power of dissolving them.

In order to distribute their activities and to insure their smooth
operation, the central office created numerous committees. Each committee specializes in a certain aspect of the general activity or in the activities of one of the parts. Departments were created to supervise the principle activities such as the Department of Social Service, the Department of Athletics, and the Department of Liaison with the Islamic World.

They made the general headquarters the center for leadership. This was composed of the founding committee (about one-hundred members) and the office of general direction (twelve members, nominated from the founding committee by the director himself.) The office of general direction was headed by al-Banna. Its members give oath that they will protect the principles of the Brethren and their fundamental organization, will have confidence in their leadership and will enforce their decisions.

At the call of the director-general, a congress of leaders of the branches of the Brethren is held every two years.

Lectures were regularly given on certain days of the week at the general headquarters. The lecture on Wednesday would be a general one while the Thursday lecture was specially for students.

They had military groups called “rovers”, [jaseelah], who studied military organisation. They belonged to the branches and usually every branch had its rovers.

In brief these are the visible parts of the watch. There is no doubt that they were adopted from a number of sources, both Eastern and Western.

As for the hidden parts of the machine, they were designated “the special organization”, - a secret organization - composed of loyal active members. Its opposite number which took care of the visible activities
was "the general circle", [al-Muḥāfaẓ al-`Amm].

According to the description of the attorney general's office this concealed part was composed of "collections", [majmūʿāt]. Only those whose life histories were known in detail could qualify as members. Each one of them was required to keep a daily record of his activities with regard to the recitation and the memorization of the Koran, the recitation of "al-maʿāthirāt", [the aphorisms], the recitation of the "wird al-rabīṭah", [a collect of the group], participation in athletic exercises both morning and evening and attendance at prayer. They were required to submit monthly schedules of these activities. The members of this group were required to take lessons in designated studies arranged in four stages. The stages included literary, spiritual and religious studies, courses in the employment of weapons, law courses and instruction in first aid. They had to undergo medical examinations to test their eyesight, chest width and the condition of their nerves. At the termination of each stage they had to take a theoretical examination in the subjects which they had studied.

After they had completed these stages, they made their allegiance to the Director or to his representative. Each member makes his allegiance individually in a darkened room. In this room the members swear obedience - on the Koran and a pistol - and they are told by the recipient of their oath of the reason for the creation of this organization and about the Jihad for the sake of God which is considered the only means of rendering Islam triumphant. They are warned that to disclose any of the organization's secrets means death. Each member is assigned a special secret number. They are usually formed into small collections of five led by a chief. All of this has been taken from the attorney general's office.
and the transcript of its prosecution of the trial.

The duty of the special group was the execution of orders given to them. These usually were concerned with Jihad or fighting for some cause.

In so far as we were able to find out this is the working of the concealed part of the watch. It is difficult to establish the authenticity of all of it, but it is more likely than not that it is all true and that it is a part of the "movement."

Some of those who have learned about this special organization have tried to link it up with "Assassins" or "Bāṭinite" (al-Bāṭiniyyah) organizations which are Ismaili groups, evolved by Ḥasan al-Ṣabbāh; but it is difficult to be sure of this. However, there is one certain thing -- as has been mentioned before -- and that is that they had benefitted from all the organizations of which they had knowledge, Western and Eastern, Islamic and non-Islamic. Their organization in so far as the methods used are concerned, is a mixture of the Salafite, Sufi, Bāṭinite, Nasi and perhaps, the Communist systems.

After this brief presentation of their organization the investigator must acknowledge that, first of all, it is a precise and exact organization; secondly, that it is a mixture of various other organizations; thirdly, that this organization is the most outstanding of its characteristics, indicative of its strength and success; and fourth, that it bears a religious stamp which is the mark of the entire movement.

Its third distinguishing characteristic is its "popular orientation and appeal" or its concern with the masses in a way which is closer to Socialism than to any other school of thought. Because this line of em-
...awar fitted so well the life of the majority of the Egyptians, who were suffering under capitalism and a rigid social stratification - which causes a tremendous abyss between pasha and fellah - and the rest of the social bases and what they entail, the movement enjoyed a great success among this majority.

In truth, al-Banna was extremely skillful in compromising between the principles of that type of social reform to which the Western nations had arrived after long trial and study and the principles of religion; but, naturally, he colored the Western principles with a religious hue. He never found this hard to do. Islam had given him the general rules for abolishing racial differences and social stratification in society since Islam recognizes distinctions of degree only in 'piety' as is mentioned in the Hadith and the Koran:

Verily God has taken from you the chivalry of al-Jahiyah and the ancestral boasting of pride of family; man is from Adam and Adam was from clay; no Arab is better than a foreigner except in piety.

And hold ye fast by the cord (i.e., the Koran) of God, all of you, and break not loose from it; and remember God's goodness towards you, how that when ye were enemies, He united your hearts and by His favor ye became brethren.

Al-Banna has done well in explaining these rules.

Al-Banna was able, by his sagacity, to place his organization between the two systems of the Nazi-Fascists and the Communists. On one hand, he criticized them and waged a widespread campaign against them. He stultified the Nazi-Fascists because of their racial theory which could only lead to a conflict of the human races for the sake of an illusion. He attacked the Communists for their advocacy of communal ownership, the expropriation of individual property, and their destruction of religions. He saw Islam based on two firm foundations - the first, humanity,
[the word for which in Arabic is taken from "Adam"], pointing to the fact that all men are descended from one father and mother; the second is godliness which makes the most honored of men the most pious. Islam does not recognize racial differences and does not consider man a materialistic mass devoid of all religious feelings.

On the other hand, he [al-Banna] studied these two systems and benefited from them. From the first he took discipline and obedience or actually a sort of pseudo-dictatorship, which he applied to his own person. From the second he took co-operation between classes and the brotherhood of humanity throughout the world without differentiation among peoples. He considered the aspects which he had adopted to be merely apparent coincidence although actually they were originally from one of the Western schools. An example of this is: first, pyramidal taxes; second, inheritance tax on estates; third, the protection of small properties and the limiting of big estates; fourth, the distribution of the wealth of the state among the small farms; fifth, the exploitation of the sources of wealth. All of these al-Banna openly advocated during the course of his calling for the combating of Communism. From where did he come by these frankly socialistic ideas? These principles carry the answer within themselves. However it is not correct to understand that al-Banna was a socialist in the Western meaning of the word. He was a Moslem first and last. As a Moslem he found that these principles could enter into the general Islamic framework. In truth they could.

What was the result of this "concern for the common people" or "Islamic Socialism"? The poor classes of workers and farmers were attracted. Al-Banna once said:
Here are more deserving to be workers than the Brethren. All or most of them are from among the workers. From the midst of the workers their movement was created and among them their idea grew. The first believers, fighters, and founders were from the ranks of the workers. 

Afterwards the movement spread in Egypt with amazing rapidity the like of which no former Islamic movement had known. Is the reason for this to be found in religion itself or in socialism itself? It is difficult to give an answer but perhaps they both together were the reason. It is known that the poor classes have a strong religious tendency but poverty also is hideous and whoever challenges it to battle will draw to himself supporters. The Brethren have been accused of reaction. This is not quite correct or rather not quite accurate. Indeed they have been progressives to a great degree in their social activities both theoretically and practically. They have also been progressives in their agricultural and commercial activities. Of these matters there can be no doubt for if this were not so they would not have succeeded; unless it is true that socialism can be defined as reaction. The truth of the matter is that al-Sunnah knew how to make compromise between socialism and religion. He knew how to color socialism with a religious tinge - rather how to enfold socialism in a religious envelope. This is one of the outstanding characteristics of the movement, even one of the causes for its success. 

As for reaction, it exists only in the narrow religious perspective or more specifically in the question of religious government and not in religion itself. Religion itself strengthened their popularity and securely established them. For this reason whenever they had come near to the goal of religious government, observers expected a severe explosion leading to one of three results: either the collapse of the socialism...
which they had adopted, or the collapse of the religious government, or the collapse of the complete movement. When they had approached somewhat near the attainment of this goal signs of an impending explosion would appear but they never attained the goal. Their setbacks through the attacks of their opponents would cause them great relapses but each relapse would save them from a near explosion. Whoever assumes that these setbacks weakened them or was leading to annihilation is making an error. As long as a sick man is sick and a possible cure is being offered him of any kind whatsoever it is inevitable that the sick man will come forward for the treatment. The Brethren offered a treatment and it was a modern treatment. But whenever they drew near their goal this assumption becomes true and even if they had attained their goal it is impossible to determine the result. They may discover at the last stage, that there must be a compromise between socialism and religious government thus avoiding collapse.

We should mention that they were adopting a progressive popular program at the same time that the successive governments were operating on a partisan basis rather than on planned, clear programs. The programs which they adopted were more to be expected of government than of a body marked as being purely religious. They recognized this characteristic of the weakness of the governments and they began at every opportunity to attack party organization which had no clear program - they criticized all the parties alike, called for their dissolution, and the adoption of their own program in its entirety, instead of those of the parties. Their progressive programs were essentially good, or, at least, suitable to the conditions prevailing in Egypt. But their program which
they presented was not free of weaknesses and if they had been a purely political party in the real sense; in short, devoted to the political, social and economical aspects alone, they might have had a different fate.

The fourth characteristic is their inner action with the environment of successive current events and there is no better indication of their reaction to prevailing conditions than their success; and there is no stronger indication of their originality than that they were a reaction to those events. This is one of their outstanding characteristics. The explanation of their spreading out into a great number of countries outside of Egypt, is the similarity between most of the prevailing conditions in Egypt and in those countries.

Their political program with the cornerstone of liberation from foreign authority is in reality a reaction to imperialist rule. If there had been no such rule as this it would be safe to presume that the movement would be devoid of such a political tendency. They were in this respect another link in the chain of political movements in opposition to imperialism just as was the 'Arabi movement, the Wafd party, and the Wafás. The only differences between them and these preceding links were that they opposed imperialism on a religious basis and not only on a civil one. They hold that Islam cannot tolerate foreign rule or foreign domination and they saw all of the countries of Islam without exception under this rule. In this, their movement was universal not particular. Al-Rayānī mentions that he once read of a legal opinion, the text of which is:

A captive Muslim woman taken prisoner in the East must be remarried by the people of the West even though the cost thereof is all the property of the Moslem.

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He drew two things from this; first, that the Islamic nation is one and indivisible and that an attack on one part is an attack on the whole; second, that Islam imposes on Muslims that they be leaders in their own countries and masters in their homelands. Then he said:

Hence the Moslem Brethren believe that every state which has agressed or might agress the homelands of Islam is a tyrannical state and should be stopped from its aggression. It is the duty of the Moslems to prepare themselves to act in mutual support and in unison to free themselves of this yoke.578

He went on to say that Moslems are the most nationalistic of peoples because nationalism is imposed upon them by God.

For this reason the movement greatly concerned itself with Jihad just as it took great care of power, youth groups and military organization - the phalanxes - in order that power should support faith. Al-Banna explains the activity of the movement in this direction by saying:

It has come about by chance that our movement was erected during an era of intense and powerful struggle between the foreign aggressor and the fighter for nationalism. It is as a result of these circumstances that this movement was distinguished in its characteristics which differ a great deal from contemporary movements.579

The above is from the viewpoint of foreign politics -- from the viewpoint of internal-domestic politics, the movement was also a reaction to basic factors: first, on one hand, party disputes which were not in conformity with the brotherhood of Islam and, on the other hand, the continual tearing down and building up again which they entailed; second, the lack of party principles for reform programs which invited them to the denunciation of party politics and a call for the implementation of a comprehensive socialist program to deal with all affairs of the state.

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These then are the most important of the causes which cast the Brethren into politics in the way which we have described. If it were not for these causes they would most likely have been a purely religious body. The other part of their program concerned with industrial, commercial and agricultural companies was also a reaction to internal factors. They saw the foreign companies monopolizing the huge projects, while the Egyptians were being used as workers and servants, getting very scanty remuneration out of the profits. So they advanced boldly into this field with a nationalistic-religious fervor. After the Second World War, Egypt had benefited by experience in a great number of industries. Many Egyptian young men had graduated from commercial and industrial schools. These things helped to place the fervor on a scientific and technical basis and helped to make all their schemes eminently successful.

The Brethren and al-Banna himself were not able to deny the benefit of Western sciences and industries which were based upon mechanization, technology and experience — as was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter — because they saw then as the reason for their own success in their factories and companies. If they had ignored these things merely because they were Western they would have remained advocates of a movement making talk only and without practical result.

After that there but remains the purely religious aspect of their programs. It also is a reaction to a transitional, intellectual stage, the contact of East and West, and the social upheavals which followed the wars. These factors resulted in a spiritual crisis, a struggle be-
tween the old and the new, religion and science, liberalism and tradi-
tion.

Who appeared to offer a remedy for this crisis? All of those in
the field had not faced reality and had not offered a comprehensive
program. All of the official religious men were polemic theorists;
all the members of the Sufi orders were narrow minded spiritualists. The
Young Men's Moslem Association was a sort of social society. Each
factor was offering a partial remedy for the crisis. Thus there existed
a vacuum until the Brethren appeared and filled it on the following
principles: first, they tied up religion with the world. This was a
departure from Sufism which was concerned with religion alone accord-
ing to their conception, for they believed that the religious crisis
was a result of various materialistic antecedents.

Second: they laid down a comprehensive program for all these
antecedents - political, economic, educational and social.

Third: they realized that at the start they must create a new
people and breathe into them an inner strength which would reveal it-
self in a strong will power, staunch loyalty, sacrifice and awareness
of principles. To this end they devoted much concern by preaching, guid-
ance, and education, by lectures, broadcasts, and the writing of articles,
letters and books; all this to bring about a new people.

Fourth: they went into the streets, market places and coffee houses
in order to recruit disciples. Then they widened the circle of their
activities to include the middle and the high classes.

Fifth: they took a shortcut by a return to the Koran and Hadith in order
to gather all the Islamic sects under one flag and in order to avoid the quarrels over petty points where differences were inevitable. This is praiseworthy work. Religion had split up into sects a long time ago. They involved themselves in petty trivialities rather than fundamentals and in non-essentials to the exclusion of the essential. But they [the Brethren] held to the letter of the law in a great number of instances. This led them into some tight spots. The most dangerous and apparent was that they wanted to remain traditionalists. In reality they were not able to maintain their traditionalism in most cases. We have seen them in industry, in agriculture, in commerce, and in organization taking over the most modern of methods ... and we have seen them making wise choices of texts which call for power, Jihad, action, the adoption of good character and the bringing together of religion and the world. However they exhibited a strong rigidity in legislation and they adhered strictly to the texts. They were not satisfied with interpretation and explanation as some of the Islamic sects had done but they agreed with what Muḥammad 'Abdu had done a short while before them. Perhaps they acted in this manner because they saw that religion had been weakened in the hearts of some and was completely absent in the hearts of others. Their raw material was the ignorant masses especially. These circumstances would naturally call for exaggerated zeal. Religion, whatever, it is deeply rooted in the soul does not quail from free thinking, toleration and interpretation in order to go along with the growing civilization side by side. Added to that is the fact that during this age the world globe has contracted a great deal and it has become a necessity for the goodness of all humanity to narrow the splits of difference between religions and to bring about
mutual spiritual understandings. Rigidity in the literal interpretation (of religion) leads to isolation and isolation is contrary to the nature of civilized life. Furthermore, science has become widespread in Egypt and the rest of the Arab and Islamic countries. The educated man cannot be rescued from doubts and irreligiosity unless religion be flexible and adaptable to interpretation.

As a conclusion, the Brethren movement is a reaction to prevailing conditions in Egypt and is a product of its environment. It is therefore a movement bearing a special stamp which sets it off from preceding movements.

Ahmed Hassan al-Hajj wrote in the magazine, al-Harakah:

The Moslem Brethren alone represent the real faith of Islam and the true mentality of the Moslem in this mis-shapen society; they do not conceive of religion as being an isolated heritage and the world as a far away market place but they understand the Mosque and the market place to be one; the former is, as it were, the sinaret and the latter is the main structure... the Moslem Brethren have a tongue for guidance, a hand for economics, an arm for Holy War and an opinion for politics. They have followers in every one of the Arab countries. They have partisans in all the Islamic countries. The awakening of general consciousness in Egypt, the Sudan, Iraq, Syria, Yemen, Hijaz, Algeria, and Morocco was but the radiations of this spirit which shall in the future have a great role to play.

This quotation contains a great deal of truth even though it is not devoid of the rhetorical embellishments which are common among literary writers. Whoever thinks that the movement of the Moslem Brethren had come to an end with the murder of al-Banna or that the fate of the movement would be failure is making a mistake. It was proved lately that after the murder of al-Banna the movement went underground. Hardly had
the Egyptian government lifted the ban on them than they returned to their former activities and renewed their newspapers. The phalanxes returned and the lectures were resumed. They even came to dominate the Student’s League of Anad University in Cairo — as was mentioned formerly — all of these things indicate that they did not start out on a new movement but they had just taken up where they had left off.

There were no signs of defeat — as some people have imagined — let us mention the following interesting incident: a Lebanese journalist wrote in the newspaper *Saw Jawzm* at the end of January 1955 praising the action of the Syrian government in closing the doors of the Brothrem. He was opposed by his brother — who was also a writer and a graduate of the American University in Beirut — who answered him in another newspaper as follows:

However we may differ in opinion with them, we cannot deny their loyalty to the country and devotion to Jihad. Can anyone forget that the Muslem Brethren were more than any other party had saturated the soil of Palestine with sweat and blood? Can anyone forget that it is the Muslem Brethren who today are raising the flag of Jihad against the English in the Suez Canal Zone?

This shows that they have supporters who are sympathetic at least with a part of their program. Of this there is absolutely no doubt.

The truth about the Brethren is that as long as the conditions which brought about their existence remain they will continue to be active. It might even be correct to say that their supporters will increase in Egypt.
and the other Arab countries. However, if these conditions cease to
exist then any judgement about their future would have to be different.
Most likely in this event their activities would take one principle
course; that is, the course of religion which had been their starting
point.

Actually there are three things which will be the test of their
endurance and will be determining factors in deciding their fate:
the first, their idea about religious government; second, their at-
titude on Western civilization; and third, their stand in regard to
the use of violence as one of their means.

They firmly believe in religious government as well as the Cal-
liphate and Pan-Islam. Will they continue to believe in religious
government? Will their conception of religious government continue
to be in the literal application of the Islamic law? This will be
disclosed by the future, especially after they have gradually drawn
closer to their goals.

Perhaps they will realize that a growing and developing society
is in need of growing and developing legislation and a cessation of
the growth of legislation means a cessation of the growth of the soci-
ety, which is almost impossible. In addition, Islamic legislation
has grown and developed with Islamic societies. What was al-Qiyās,
[analog], al-Ijtihād, [interpretation], and al-Ijmāʿ, [consensus of
community opinion], except inevitable adjuncts of legislation. This
growth was not inconsistent with Islam and did not harm it in any way.
Moelama unanimously accepted this growth. The modern Egyptians have accepted the present legal system. This is a growing, developing system which used to have a different form that it now has. It continued to grow until it has reached its present form. Its principles are from the Islamic legal system and Western civil law at the same time. Most of the men who promulgated it and approved it were Moelama, and when they made it their law they did not forsake Islam. They laid it down, as Moelama, and were confident that its promulgation would not have Islamic society nor Islam, but would benefit both.

There is no doubt that the Brotherhood have not called for religious government in vain. They saw one of the laws of Egypt legalising what is prohibited by religion. They saw a law endorsing prostitution and another legalising alcoholic beverages, which are forbidden things in religion. They rose up and demanded the application of the Islamic law in all cases without exception, just as it had been at the beginning of Islam. This is the critical point in the subject. Do they judge all civil laws in the same light as these two laws? Is all civil legislation as good? If this were so then the legal system of the West, indeed of the whole world, except that part of the Islamic world which uses the religious law, would be no good which is absurd. Legislation is inspired by the general welfare in all nations without exception. The general welfare coincides with the highest aim of religion. Logically they may not differ.

The Brotherhood maintain that civil law is man-made, and man is subject —155—
to error while religious legislation is from God and God is necessarily infallible. Therefore religious legislation is better than civil legis-
lation. They repeated this argument many times in their publications.
This is irrefutable. But the first aim of religious law is the real-
ization of the general welfare or social happiness and the general welfare changes with the changing times and conditions. One of the stipulations
of the al-Majallah, [revised Ottoman code], was that judgments should change with the changing times. Therefore religious legislation laid
down general rules and left no man freedom of interpretation restricted
only by the general welfare. The early Caliphs made interpretations
and interpretation remained one of the doors of legislation until Islamic society became petrified and thus interpretation ossified with it. There
are still some Islamic sects who employ interpretation and preserve this
both divine and natural right. Yet no one denies that they are Moslems
in word and deed.

As for civil law which have apparent defects and which corrupt
society, there one may protest. The society must change then whenever
their defects become apparent. An example is the legislation of alcoholic
beverages in America. For a certain period the law permitted it. When
they saw that this law was threatening the welfare of society, they annulled
it by a law of prohibition. Then they saw that the disadvantages of the
ammunition outweighed its advantages they went back to the first legis-
lation. Thus the general welfare remained the concern of the first
legislation just as this welfare is the concern of the first religious
legislation. Here the two laws meet. In addition, laws are not the

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masters of the people but it is the people who are the masters of the
laws. If the Egyptians, for example, adhered strictly to the injunctions
of their religion, and if they comprehended the wisdom of their own law,
they would refrain from drinking alcoholic beverages and they would leave
to the members of other religions to behave as they wished; but if they
are ignorant of their own religion and do not adhere to it, there is no
benefit in prohibiting it by legal ruling. Take narcotics, for example -
it debilitates the people and the law very definitely forbids its use. This
legislation should have prevented its use; nevertheless it failed.

But if the law had been preceded by educational preparation which would
point the evils of narcotics and it had been preceded by a thorough psy-
chological remedy for the psychological conditions which encourage its
use, the law should have realized its objective; even the need for the
law would have been obviated. Laws, whether religious or civil, are
sometimes effective and at other times ineffective depending upon the
state of the nation. When a nation reaches a high degree of culture,
there is no need for a great many of the laws which had been promulgated
before it reached that stage.

After all of that, the question of religious legislation is a part
of the structure of the religious government which is demanded by the
Brethren. A great many Mescaleros differ with them on this point of the
religious government. If the Brethren fully consider this problem, they
will realize that the awakening spiritual consciousness and the manifesta-
tion of the religion in a correct way to the majority of the people
will make the demand for legislation secondary; since a good, pious and
uprighteous nation is not in need of legislation. The best of the be-
liever is he who is judge and law unto himself. As for the wicked, it

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is up to the government to treat them by uprooting the causes of
evil and not by legislation alone; since legislation, as long as
the disease continues, is to no avail. For this reason, the primary
mission of the Brethren is the revival of spiritual consciousness,
the correction of character, and the propagation of human values in
accord with the injunctions of Islam.

Moreover, we have before us today the emerging state of Pakistan
which is enjoying independence and was able to set up a religious
government without hindrance. No one doubts the Islam of the Pakista-
tans or their strong adherence to religion. Nevertheless they are
casting aside the idea of religious government. The late Mianqat
'Ali Khan, former prime minister of Pakistan, while addressing the
Constituent Assembly on 7 March 1949, said:

Sir: I have just said that the people are the
real recipients of power. This naturally eliminates
any danger of the establishment of a theocracy. It
is true that in its literal sense theocracy means the
government of God. In this sense, however, it is pos-
sible that the entire universe is a theocracy; for is
there any corner in the entire creation where His
authority does not exist? But in the technical sense,
theocracy has come to mean a government by ordained
priests, who wield authority as being specially ap-
pointed by those who claim to derive their rights
from their sacramental position. I cannot overem-
phasize the fact that such an idea is absolutely
foreign to Islam. Islam does not recognize either
priesthood or sacramental authority; and therefore
the question of a theocracy simply does not arise

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in Islam. If there are any who still use the word 
"theocracy" in the same breath as the polity of 
Pakistan, they are either laboring under a grave 
isapprehension or indulging in mischievous pro-
paganda. When we use the word "democracy" in the 
Islamic sense, it pervades all aspects of our life. 
It relates to our system of government and to our 
society with equal validity, because one of the 
greatest contributions of Islam has been the idea 
of equality of all men.:not:5

So much for the question of religious government; as for legis-
lation, the Pakistanis have shown a tendency to legislate in the spirit 
of Islam without adhering strictly to the letter of the law. They are 
also sifting through Islamic legal precedents with a view to selecting 
those suitable for the modern era. In an editorial, The Islamic Lit-
terature has written:

The current view of religion held by the Muslims 
is definitely a legacy of medieval monarchy and fund-
amentalism. As the modern world has outgrown both these 
institutions, our existing religious conception gives us no help to chart our course through the ocean of 
change. The task is, therefore, to sort out the 
universal elements in Islam from accidental and 
time-bound factors which must of necessity enter 
into any ideology that sets out to solve the 
social problems of its own day. A universal re-
ligion Islam was and will remain, but what is 
commonly [sic] overlooked is that even a univer-
sal religion is beset by limiting conditions 
which it cannot ignore, if it has to deal with 
the practical problems of the nation and the age  
in which it is born. These limiting conditions 
exclude certain specific characteristics on it  
and bring with it a set of particular solutions 
which are not integral to it and must be sep-
arated clearly from its universal and timeless message.

We should therefore, extract the universal Islam from the Qur'an and the Hadith, and leave out those elements which the limiting circumstances of Arabian society and the particular conditions of the seventh century A.D., had forced into it. 285

The second problem is the one of Western civilization which most of them view with hostility. This attitude bears with it two consequences; first, an aversion to civilization, a self-imposed isolationism, and a continuation of the state of insouciance which has brought the Islamic world to its present condition; second, their movement is labeled as retrograde, not only in the eyes of the Westerners, but also by enlightened Moslems.

There were many reasons why they were induced to this attitude:

First, they confuse civilization and imperialism - they use these words interchangeably most of the time - and that, obviously, is a mistake.

Second, they associate civilization with adultery, drinking, gambling, overindulgence, and other social evils. They attribute the existence of these evils in Islamic countries to the influence of Western civilization. That all of Western civilization has this ugly face is not true. That the West introduced these evils into the East in order to weaken it and exploit it is a matter which points...
to the weakness, submissiveness, lack of will, and complacency of the East. The East must banish these evils, not only because they are against its religion, but also because they are not a part of civilization.

Third, they believe that Western civilization is devoid of religion, which is pure fancy; for Westerners are, in general, religious people and religion in Western society is a living element. But it is a growing and developing religion which is going along with civilization in a manner more directed towards ethics than tradition or ritualism which is the reverse of what is happening in the East. Those who consider the West devoid of religion do not know the West; or they have a different concept of religion than the Westerners; or they judge the West by the conduct of a few soldiers and individuals who visit the East and these do not represent the West.

Sheikh 'Abd al-Majid Salim, the present Sheikh of al-Ashar University told the following about his professor al-Imam Mohammed: "Abda who said to him after his return from a trip to Europe: "I went there and found Moslems in deed but not in name and I returned and I found Moslems in name but not in deed."

Fourth, they consider Western civilization alien to the East, while in reality this is not so; for Western civilization is a common human legacy in which all kinds have taken part and the Moslems contributed greatly to it. It is a composite of the lag-

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cities of successive nations. It lived in the East for a long period and if it now returns to it, it will absorb what suits its present condition. If it were conscious and rational, it would absorb those good, sound elements suitable to its environment. While if it were ignorant and complacent it would absorb the corrupt elements, which are the barren harks and would pile evil upon evil. If it adopts the sound elements it will be taking the seeds for the sprouting of its own civilization.

Fifth, they think that Western civilization has become bankrupt in its politics, its society, its sciences, and its literature and that it is on the brink of disaster. This is a premature judgment. This civilization may, actually become bankrupt, but it is not deeply absorbed in the study of its conditions and diseases so as to avoid bankruptcy. Perhaps it is sounder to say that it is in a process of transition from the present civilization to a more complete and advanced one and its very being in this process indicates its vitality and a progression towards perfection and not bankruptcy; for actually the one who is bankrupt is he who is not able to make the necessities for his own house, nor merchandise for his shop nor the means for his transport, nor can he exploit the wealth of his own country nor administer it.

These are the reasons for the attack against the West and westernization. However, the Brethren, as is evident from their writings — have made distinction, first of all, between scientific and mechanical civilization including the system that goes with it. the traditions, customs, and religious point of view with its doubts and irreligiosity — in some of the Western countries — or more correctly among some groups —

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and imperialism and such. They call for the adoption of the first part. 269
This was the opinion of al-Juhānī himself. As for the second part, they
exaggerated it. There is some argument about the values of traditions
and customs and there is a difference between scientific investigation
and scientific doubt and irreligionism. There is a difference among
individua and groups in their conceptions of religion. As for imper-
ialism it is an indisputable evil but it was the weakness and isolation
of the East which invited its application by the Westerners and caused
them to go to extremes. There is nothing in imperialism which may be
called civilization.

Secondly, they have distinguished between civilization in its own
evironment and the civilization - or what is bad in civilization - which
the West has thrown at the East. This is an admission that civilization
in its own place differs from those barren husks which have appeared in
the East through imitation and weakness.

Let us hope that this act of differentiation is an indication of
a real conscious intuitiveness which will lead to a reconsideration of
Western civilization and an evaluation based upon reason and not sentiment.

The third problem is the use of violence in order to realize their
aims. This is one of the views which led the Brethren to consider the
Communists for violent methods as being a danger which urges revolution
as the only way to get what they want; whereas the Karen argue that the
mission be undertaken with benevolence. The Moslems and the Christians
have illustrated history with the idea of fraternity, a mission of equal-
ity and love. They have said: 1

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The Brethren have sought the road to happiness in pacific effort and with rationality while the Communists have sought this road with violence and revolution, destruction and flaming war. 290

Despite this al-Maani has said:

The Brethren will use practical force whenever there is no other way and whenever they are sure the implements of faith and unity are ready. Whenever they use this force they will be honorable and outspoken. They will warn first and wait a while, then they will advance in dignity and strength. They will bear all the consequences of their behavior in satisfaction and content. 294

He said:

In the time when you will have - O ye Moslem Brethren - three-hundred phalanxes, each one of them equipped spiritually with faith and principle, mentally with science and culture, and physically with training and conditioning - at that time ask me to plunge with you into the depths of the seas, to ride the skies with you, and to attack with you all the stubborn tyrants; then, God willing, I will do it. 295

Isn't there a contradiction in these two sayings?

The Brethren might say: We call for force in order to combat the force of the foreigners who have attacked us in our homes. We have tried the path of peace for tens of years without success. There is left no choice to us but to take this way. But their opponents accuse them of building up power in order to overthrow the system of government in Egypt and to attack their fellow-citizens who differ in opinion with them. They accuse them of having secret organisations whose methods can only end in violence. They accuse them of the assassination of one Egyptian prime minister, and of having secret
plans for taking over the country. These accusations— if true— would convict them of the very things for which they have condemned the Communists and would be a far cry from a benevolent movement. If the use of violence has justification when encountering the armed aggressive enemy, is it justifiable when encountering fellow citizens who differ with your opinion in matters of religion or local politics? They answer this by saying that they would never use violence except when forced to it by their opponents, and that their preparation was intended for foreign enemies. However, the speeches of al-Jazārī do not completely clarify this point, but perhaps they did not come around to this line of effort until after the period of tribulation as a reaction to what happened to al-Jazārī in the last days of his life. If this is so, it indicates adaptability and experience necessitated by circumstances.

These are the three principal problems which will be decisive for the future of the Brethren and which will ultimately dictate their fate to a great degree.

There remain two other problems facing the Brethren: first, the severe struggle going on between the two camps of East and West. Upon this struggle depends the fate of religion in the sense of its being a system recognized by the state. If the former is victorious the official position of religion in the whole world will become precarious and it will finally become a daily remembered thing of the past. If the latter camp is victorious, religion will remain an effective element in society. The future of religion, then, is entirely in the hands of Fate. People are talking now about its future as they are talking about any of
the system. The struggle going on today between the West and the countries opposing should not, therefore, conceal this significant truism.

Being a religious body, there is no doubt where their sympathies lie. They once mentioned that Spain is possibly the nearest of the Western countries to the Moslems because they are the strongest in Christian fervor. "This makes Spain the most logical [of Western countries] to seek closer relations with religious peoples in a world which stands on the brink of a volcano of religious heresy, vice, and irreligion."

This trend ties them up inevitably with one of the two camps; but it is not sufficient alone to settle all outstanding differences completely between them and the West and to bring about an alliance between them on firm foundations. In order to achieve this it is necessary for the West on its part to study the causes of the differences and work for their removal; at the head of these is the obsolete system of imperialism. On their part it is necessary for the Brethren to reconsider their position towards democracy in the actual Western concept and towards Western civilization in its own environment and to distinguish between imperialism and civilization and between libertinism, debauchery, and gambling and other evils and true civilization; not to surrender to the West and be its followers but to join the human civilized caravan seeking a sound honorable life and to follow the aphorism: 'Wisdom is what the believer seeks and he takes it where he finds it.'

The second problem is to study more thoroughly the existing Islamic sects including their doctrines, their attitude to Islam, the points of agreement and disagreement. The Brethren movement has completely neglected such a study. It faces existing conditions as they are without
any preparation, thinking that it will finally prevail over them naturally. This is an illusion. Although the Sunnis are the great majority among the Moslems, these sects have a clear influence on Islamic society and their remaining in this condition of disagreement and isolation will influence the history of the Moslems. The best method of reconciliation, after study and investigation, is an interpretation of religion on which all concepts could meet; a tolerant and broad explanation which would rise above frivolities, worldly vanities, and human whims; with tolerance, religion would become the instrument for creating a sensitive living conscience. By this means, the movement would achieve its aim and brother would meet brother on common ground.

Even from the pure Sunni point of view the movement did not precisely and thoroughly treat the spiritual crisis - did not try to enter the educated Sunni mind - and did not study the abstruse problems which are the cause of anxiety and religious misgivings. It was expected that this would be its principal mission since it was supposed to be a religious movement in name and in fact. But it did not concern itself with this mission. Why not? Was it because they avoided the task intentionally, considering philosophy not part of religion? Was it because it was a popular movement which grew up among the workers and spread among the low classes, who are not bothered by abstruse problems as are the educated Moslems?

Actually they stated in their books and speeches many times that their movement was conservative and traditional; not philosophical.
Accordingly they avoided involving themselves in these problems so deeply resolving in the minds of the educated. This created a barrier between them and the rest of the educated. It restricted their movement to the masses with appeal to the low and middle classes, almost never rising to the cultured. This is not contradicted by the participation of a number of the educated-students of the universities and men of religion and law - in their movement. This participation is attributable to concord of political doctrine and not to concord of religious thought. It was mentioned formerly how they won the elections in the [student's] Union of Fud the First University as a result of their announcement of military training. Political radicalism in the present circumstances attracts the hearts of educated young men more than religion. The deeds of heroism and sacrifice accomplished by the Brethren in Palestine and Egypt gained them an indubitably strong sympathy. Perhaps it is permissible to ask the question: Was the religious mission neglected because of the rapid development from religion to politics and economics; and being immersed in these fields, was the first mission neglected?

Whatever may have been the reason it appears that the Brethren did not propose any solution for the great number of abstract religious problems which were the deep concern of educated Muslims. The majority of their followers were from the uneducated or semi-educated class - even though this did not deprive them of the sympathy of the educated classes in so far as politics is concerned. It is useless in this case to ask [the Brethren] to make a study of the problems of the educated non-Sunni; and it is useless to ask...
the spiritual crisis which is ailing the entire Islamic world. This is a negative difference between them and previous religious movements from the time of Ibn Taimiya and his bold school to the movement of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Āfghānī and Muḥammad ʿĀbid. These movements faced the reality of Islamic thought, tried to penetrate the Muslim mind, and treat the abstract problems which had been created in it as a result of the evolution of time, modern sciences, and finally the Western religious viewpoint. The writings of Jamāl al-Dīn al-Āfghānī and Muḥammad ʿĀbid revolved about this axis and were considered a model of Islamic thought. It was expected that after the passage of nearly a half-century after Jamāl al-Dīn al-Āfghānī and the great evolution which had taken place in the world after the last two world wars that a new school would arise to complete what these two reformers had begun and would tackle the new problems in the Islamic mind. It was expected that the Muslim Brotherhood would be this school but they did not become so because political, economic, and social affairs overshadowed the religious, to say nothing of the comprehensive concept of Islam adopted by the Brotherhood, which served to emphasize this religious eclipse. Therefore their movement became political, economic, and social primarily and only secondarily, religious.

This was made clear by one of their writers who said:

The efforts of al-Āfghānī, Muḥammad ʿĀbid, and other Islamic heroes were not efforts for Islamism as a mission and a system. The preaching of the idea and the revelation of its beauty by all known historical means cannot be ignored. But that is not
the Islamic mission in the sense of being an independent constitutional reality based upon a general system with its own characteristics; rather it is the organization of a movement, the leading of a generation, the application of the principles of the Islamic system to government, politics, and social matters, putting them into operation as a binding constitution, besides defending them as true doctrine... an Islamic movement in such a wide comprehensive sense with its concomitant universal revolution in thought and accompanying historical repercussions, having grave and serious effect on the future of humanity; an Islamic movement in this sense has not been known in history for a very long time; that is, until Hasan al-Banna raised its banner in the twentieth century in the name of the Muslim Brethren运动. 286

This is a true description of the movement by one of its followers.

The investigator should knock at some other door than the door of the Brethren if he would inquire about religious interaction and the struggle taking place in the minds of the Muslims concerning religious questions. These may be summarized in three principal ways:

First: The attempt to reconcile science with religion by interpretation and explanation. This is true of the majority of educated Muslims today. Among them are Naguib Pasha - as his book, Montaz al-`Aqsa reveals - `Abdul `Abbas Majd `Abbád, Ahmad Amin, Farid Wadie and other Egyptian thinkers. This is also true of the majority of the educated outside of Egypt.

Second: An attempt to return to scholastic theology, [kalâm], and to manipulate the sciences of dialectical philosophy to prove the authenticity of religious doctrine as they are. This is true of the majority of the pure men of religion. The former Sháikh of Islam,
Third: The attempt to let science go along independently of religion and to confine themselves to pure scientific investigation. This is true of some of the modern educated, divided into two parties. One party believes that science will, in the end, inevitably lead to knowledge of God and that rational faith is possible. They support this by the opinions of Western scientists, philosophers, physicists, chemists, biologists, and others, who are deeply immersed in materialistic sciences and yet remain believers. The second party wishes to separate religion completely from science and to leave religion to the individual to conceive of as he wishes; for if he believes it is for his own sake and if he doubts and blasphemes it is against him. "And the heavy laden shall not be taken with another's load."

But these ways are confined to the individual. They have never been crystallized in the form of schools [of thought] with masters and disciples. There is no indication that they will become so now for three reasons: First, the paucity of educated people in the Islamic world which causes the general trend to go along other lines than those followed by these schools. Such a crystallization needs to be preceded by education which would bring to light the problems and create a demand for their solution. This is now far [in the future], although the steady increase in the proportion of educated peoples suggests that it will happen some day.

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Second, the prevalence of poverty and the struggle of the people to exist—a hungry stomach, first of all, demands bread. Third, political instability in the entire Islamic world. The struggle today is almost completely confined to the political field. The Moslems feel that they are undergoing a crisis involving their very existence; a free, honorable, existence in which sovereignty, freedom and justice prevail or a cringing, tyrannized, and oppressed existence in which it is impossible for the soul to feel secure.

When these causes have disappeared, when the Islamic world knows tranquility and security, when knowledge and plenitude are universal, it will take itself to spiritual questions; individuals will gather about numerous schools [of thought]; each school will have its master and its disciples. Perhaps this time will be an introduction— if things go along as have been—to that inevitable conclusion which may be far or near [in the future] because men cannot, after the attainment of material plenty, but bring out his conscious immaturity which will force him to ask: how? where to? and this is the concern of religion or metaphysics as it is called by philosophers.

In this case two matters will present themselves to the Moslems: first, the religious legacy based upon the Koran and the Hadith and that has been inherited from the Islamic thinkers, theologians, philosophers, and mystics; second, the present western intellectual inheritance. These two matters will undeniably interact and create certain consequences; it would be useless for us to try to predict what form they would take. However, it is certain that Islamic doctrine will emerge just as it did when the Islamic legacy interacted with the Greek, Hegae.
appearance of various religious schools of thought which seek sincere and true guidance; as occurred during the Abbasid period and in the Spanish Inquisition, and just as occurred in the West after the Renaissance. These are inevitable in the history of religions and in the history of humanity. History continually repeats two lessons age after age: first lesson: spiritual feelings are deeply rooted in the soul of man and will remain deeply rooted as long as man thinks and contemplates the wonders of creation; second lesson: religious concepts develop and grow and it is impossible for them to stagnate.

Development begins in the minds of individuals. Then these are gathered in a circle or a school led by a courageous and clear thinker. This school expounds relatively new principles but after a time these principles begin to stagnate and their influence fade as a result of new sciences and social, biological, societal, and intellectual growth. New ideas sprout in the minds of individuals and these crystallize in a school which takes the place of the preceding school. Thus developments proceed in successive circles ad infinitum.

As for the relation between development and revealed religion, development is located within a field whose great circumference is religion. It may hover about the rim of the circle or it may even leave it sometimes, but it inevitably returns. Still some few in-
individuals may stay outside of it. All of this is in accordance with various uncontrollable factors. "Thou truly canst not guide whom thou desir'st; but God guideth whom He will."
CHAPTER ONE

1. See preface of the book, Al-Da'wah, [the way], by Doctor Yahya al-Darif, General Supervisor for the Young Men's Moslem Association, Cairo, 1922. The preface is by Wajib al-Din al-Khatib, one of the founders of the Young Men's Moslem Association and former First General-Secretary. It explains the circumstances of the creation of the association, its objectives and lists the first members of its administrative council. It is, perhaps - in addition to the basic regulations - the best source for its history.

2. See the first annual report written by this association and printed in Cairo in 1924. This report mentions that the members formed the central branch in Cairo on 6 January 1923; however, the building was purchased in 1922.

3. See in Bethar al-Islam, edited by N. A. H. Gibb, London, 1932, the analysis by G. Kassman, p. 101 - 170, where he states that the second article stipulates non-interference in politics. See also the basic regulations, [al-Qanun al-Azani], 11th edition, 1367 A. H./ 1947 A. D. The prohibitive stipulation is in article four, as follows:

   The association shall strive to strengthen the bonds and ties of the Islamic peoples and defend their rights and interests whenever it is in its power to do so, but shall not, under any circumstances, interfere in political disputes.

4. See the book, al-Salikah wa al-Futuwa, [mendicancy and futuwa], by Dr. Ahmad Asim Say, I'la' Series, No. 111, April 1952, p. 98, wherein the author draws comparison between the Moslem Brethren Association and the Futuwa organization.

5. See the editorial in al-Risalah, [the epistle] magazine, Cairo, 31 Mar 1952, No. 978.
6. The newspaper, al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen, [the Moslem brethren], No. 24, 31 May 1946.
7. See Min Manahet Hasan al-Banna, [from the speeches of Hasan al-Banna], 1st series, Damascus, 1938, p. 68.
10. Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen, No. 70, 24 Jul 1946.
11. ibid., No. 59, 11 Jul 1946.
13. ibid., No. 70, 24 Jul 1946.
15. ibid., p. 20.
16. ibid., p. 20; and Murakkabat Hasan al-Banna, op. cit., p. 6.
17. Al-Banna's memoirs, p. 16.
18. ibid., p. 17.
19. ibid., pp. 6, 8, 17.
20. ibid., p. 20.
21. ibid., p. 20.
22. Al-Junâbi, Ahmad Anwar, Qâ'id al-Dawa's Harât Batal wa Térîkh Madrasah. [the leader of the movement, life of a man and history of a school], (Cairo, 1365 A.H./1945 A.D.), p. 127.
23. ibid., p. 144.
25. al-Funni, op. cit., p. 137.
26. Ibid., p. 137
29. See details, Ibid., pp. 59 - 63.
30. Ibid., pp. 63-68; also al-Jaffa, op. cit., pp. 96-98.
CHAPTER TWO

32. Ibid., p. 17
33. Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 14
35. Ibid., p. 70.
36. Among the first bearers of the idea was Aḥmad al-Sukkari, who was in Wāḥiḍīyān and the Wakīl [secretary] of the Brethren Association. He and one other were put in charge when al-Banna traveled to al-Ḥijāz. He was a constrict writer, but afterwards he rescinded from the association. ʿAbd al-'Azīz b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, al-ʿĀṣar al-Durrā (see Mūṣā Emām, Ḥāfiz al-Banna, op. cit., p. 6).
38. Ibid., p. 88; see also al-Jundi, op. cit., pp. 74, 75.
42. Al-Jundi, op. cit., p. 127.
43. Ibid., p. 107, and al-Ḥajjājī, op. cit., p. 109
46. Al-Ḥajjājī, op. cit., p. 199.
47. Ibid., p. 201.
48. Al-Banna, Kitāb Qawm 'An reality, [are we a practical people], Cairo 1945, pp. 57-58.
49. Al-Ḥajjājī, op. cit., p. 250.

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50. See in the book, *Tahrir al-Dawā*, [revolution of blood], by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sa'īdī, undated, a speech over the tomb of the hāshīshīn in the year 1325, p. 11; and an article from *Jerusalem*, p. 108; and an article on the tomb of Bilāl, p. 113.

51. See the articles, entitled, "Nehm", [we], appearing in *al-Iṣḥāq al-Insānī*, No. 52, 3 Jul 1946.

52. See the pamphlet entitled *Nehm al-Insān*, [towards the light], by al-Sanā'ī, Cairo, 1936, pp. 30-36.

53. Ibid., p. 30, par. 1.


57. Ibid., 4 Jul 1946.


59. Ibid., p. 35.

60. Ibid., pp. 41-42.

61. Ibid., p. 56.

62. See *Sawāq al-Iṣ̄̄hāq al-Qadīm li Tahrir al-Hāshīšīn al-Insānī*, [basic regulations for the organization of the Muslim Brethren], as amended by the General Assembly in session, 8 Sep 1945, p. 4.


64. Ibid.: in another place it is said that the number was nearly a million. See the introduction to the memoirs of al-Bannā`.

65. See the weekly magazine *al-Salwāb*, [the covenant], No. 61, 15 April 1952.

66. Introduction to the memoirs of al-Bannā`.

86. A copy of the statement appears in Al-Tauhid Al-Muslimin, No. 135, 10 Oct 1946.
89. Ibid., No. 185, 9 Dec 1946.
70. Al-Jashari, Abu Ahmad, Bahar al-Sulabh, [man of the hour], undated, p. 53.
71. Al-Ikhwan Al-Muslimin, 7 May 1946; and the newspaper, Al-Manar, [the lighthouse], Damascus, No. 408, 14 May 1946.
73. Al-Da'wah, No. 61, 15 Apr 1952.
74. For the details of these incidents, known as the case of the Jeep, refer to the pamphlet, Aybak Fikhr al-Shubhah va Mardith al-Talibin, [statements of the principal witnesses and incidents of torment], undated, and another pamphlet, entitled Al-Mawthab wa Nafs al-Din, [recitals and text of the judgment], also undated. Subsequently, Al-Ansar, [the pyramids], and Al-Masir, [the Egyptian], and others besides published the investigation.
75. Al-Manar, No. 538, 22 Feb 1949.
76. For specific cases in the concentration camps, see the book, Haitham Hakim [Hakim Concentration Camp], by Muhammad 'Ali al-Fahri, one of the internees. He is also the owner of the newspaper Al-Shura [advice], formerly published in Cairo.
77. Newspaper, Al-Fanhur Al-Masir, [the Egyptian masses], 5 Feb 1951, in which this declaration is identified.
78. Al-Da'wah, published a description in No. 44, 10 Dec 1951.
80. The first three books are by 'Abd al-Qadir 'Awad, judge in the national courts and a member of the association. The following books are also by his hand: Al-Jashari fi al-Islam, [criminal legislation in Islam], Al-Mahdi fi al-Islam, [Finance and rule in Islam], and Al-Islam wa Asqalun al-Kaliyyah, [Islam and our financial condition]; all of these have this transcript: ...
referred to. The three other books are by Muhammad al-Ghazzâli, a member of the association and their most prolific writer in defense of the doctrine. Besides these books, he wrote *Mta Huna Ma'lem*, [from here we know], in answer to the book by Shaikh Khâlid Muhammad Khâlid which caused a great stir, entitled *Mta Huna Nukhbat*, [from here we begin]. Also the book, *'A'idat al-Mu'alim* [the creed of the Mu'als], and the book, *Al-Islâm al-Muflâra 'Aliyy* [Islam the exalted], are his. These are all slanted in the same direction. Among other books on this subject are *Harb al-I'jâb fi al-Islâm wa Harb al-Najâh fi al-Islâm* [systems of war in Islam and systems of work in Islam] by Janâl al-Dîn 'Arîyâd and *Al-Islâm wa Huquq al-Insân* [Islam and the rights of man] by 'Abî al-Kun'ilî Bahâ'î.

11. A monthly magazine; the owner and editor-in-chief is Sâ'îd Samaqân. The first number was published on 30 November 1931. The editor is one of the foremost propagandists of the Brethren; very eloquent and persuasive. He is a graduate of Faid the First University. He was sent into exile during the time of 'Abî al-Hâdî and settled for a while in Pakistan. Then he returned to Cairo. There is another weekly magazine called *Al-Salyah*, owned and edited by Ûlîh al-'Asetânî, a member of the association; however the association announced that this magazine does not speak on behalf of the group. It appeals to the masses and has a political tone while the magazine *Al-Mu'alim*, has a sedate, scholarly tone.
CHAPTER THREE

82. Introduction to the memoir of al-Banna.
84. Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimin, 6 May 1946.
85. 'Ala Shurah Hasan al-Banna', op. cit., I, 3; thus their sabbes became a Koran between two swords.
86. Al-Majjali, Suh wa Harbîn, op. cit., p. 264.
87. Ibid., p. 101.
88. Ibid., pp. 103-113.
89. Muhâakkarât Hasan al-Banna', pp. 5, 29, 49.
90. Ibid., p. 11.
91. Ibid., p. 15
92. Ibid., p. 16
93. Ibid., p. 17
94. Ibid., p. 20
95. Al-Îndi, op. cit., p. 84
96. Ibid., p. 84; Muhâakkarât Hasan al-Banna', pp. 6-20, 46.
97. Muhâakkarât Hasan al-Banna', p. 25
98. Ibid., p. 83
99. Ibid., p. 82
100. He said in his memoirs: 'We repulsed many of those belonging to [Sufi] orders for their deviation from the teachings of Islam; we were devoted, free in our thinking and sincerely loyal in the appreciation of the value of the acts of worship, the remembrance [of God] and the propriety of behaviour.' p. 49
101. ibid., p. 53.
102. See names of the texts in ibid., p. 32.
103. ibid., p. 25.
104. ibid., p. 31.
105. ibid., p. 49.
108. Al-Samī, op. cit., p. 156.
110. Al-Ṣaḥḥājī, ʿAbd al-Razāq, 5 Dec 1951.
111. Al-Ṣaḥḥājī, ʿAbd al-Razāq, op. cit., p. 93.
112. As an example of that, see ʿAbd al-Rahmān, Ṣawāb al-Dār, op. cit., pp. 9-18, and ʿAbd al-Rahmān, ʿIṣār Yaḥyā, Madīnā al-Ṭāhā, p. 23, and Al-Ṣaḥḥājī, Ṣūb wa Ṣawāb, op. cit., p. 360.
114. p. 290.
117. See page 142.
118. ibid., p. 58.
120. Al-Ṣaḥḥājī, ʿAbd al-Rāzāq, op. cit., pp. 120-122.
121. The weekly newsletter, Ṣawāb, 12 Dec 1946, and Al-Ṣawāb al-Muslihin, 12 Dec 1946.
122. Al-Ṣaḥḥājī, Ṣūb wa Ṣawāb, op. cit., p. 294.
CHAPTER FOUR

137. Al-Fāṣīḥī, Rāhī al-Sāḥib, op. cit., p. 93.
140. Ibid., p. 374.
141. See Da'wātunā, [our movement], an undated pamphlet, but one of their first. There is no signature, however it is probably by al-Baṣmā.
143. Da'wātunā, p. 11.
144. Ghār, 'Abd al-Baṣīr al-Sayyid, Maṣāba Rauza al-Wār, [how do we call the people, endorsed by al-Baṣmā, (second edition, 1946), p. 4; this means they are Salafites.
146. Al-Fāṣīḥī, Nisr wa Rāhīm, op. cit., p. 280.
147. These six principles are the paragraphs of the second article in the second chapter of the basic regulations for the Brethren which were ratified by the General Assembly in 1945.
148. Kni Tustah Ṣasa al-Baṣmā, op. cit., p. 27.
149. Da'wātunā, p. 23.
151. Ibid., p. 37.
152. Ibid., pp. 41-42.
153. Ibid., pp. 50-52.
144. ibid., pp. 55-57, and al-Tawāwul al-Muslihīn, 30 Jul 1946.

146. Al-Banna', *Ila 'Arsh 'Adl ва al-Ra'a*, op. cit., p. 26. See also an article by al-Banna' in the introduction to the magazine, *al-Shabab*, [the meteor], which was printed in the forward to the first number of the magazine, *al-Khidam*, dated 30 Nov 1945, especially p. 3, wherein the mission of *al-Shabab* is summarised; it is also the mission of the movement.


149. Ibid., 5 May 1946

150. Ibid., 6 Jun 1946


152. Al-Banna', *Ila 'Arsh 'Adl ва al-Ra'a*, op. cit., p. 23


155. Ibid., p. 193


158. The new Director-General followed the path of his predecessor and submitted to Nahy al-Ri'ali Pasha, a letter which expressed the viewpoint of the Brethren on local and foreign politics, such as the purification movement which al-Ri'ali Pasha had announced he was determined to enforce and the case of the negotiations with the English, etc. ... See the newspaper *al-Abrar*, dated 28 Mar 1952.

150. Ibid., 10 Jul 1946.
151. Ibid., 10 Jul 1946.
152. Ibid., 11 Jul 1946.
153. Ibid., 25 Jul 1946.
154. Ibid., 24 Jul 1946.
155. Ibid., 14 Jul 1946.
156. Ibid., 30 Jul 1946.
157. Ibid., 30 Jul 1946.
158. Also similar to these appear in the pamphlet, Abdurrahmān ibn Kāsīm al-‘Arabī, [our aims and principles], issued by the Central Committee in Damascus, 1365-1946. I am of the opinion that they are similar to the ideas of the Brethren in Egypt. See the resolutions of the sixth congress of the Muslim Brethren, p. 7.
161. Ibid., 30 May 1946.
162. Ibid., 18 Jun 1946.
163. Ibid., 3 Jun 1946.
165. There appeared in the Minister’s letter to them: “We have seen that your group, which has penetrated many villages and towns, from the North to the South, is, in truth, carrying out its share of the struggle... and provides an opportunity to realize a great part of your reform program.” In this is a recognition of the extent of their influence at that time. See al-Ṣāḥī al-Muṣlimīn, 11 Oct. 1946.
179. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslihīn, 3 Jul 1946.
175. Ibid., 23 Jun 1946.
181. Ibid., 7 Jun 1946.
182. Ibid., 20 Jun 1946.
183. Ibid., 31 May 1946.
184. Ibid., 3 Jun 1946.
185. Al-Islaāī, Risāl wa Rayhūn, op. cit., p. 309.
186. Ibid., p. 310.
187. Ibid., p. 323.
188. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslihīn, 24 Jun 1946.
189. Ibid., 21 Jun 1946.
190. Al-Dal'wah, 15 Apr 1948.
192. See Rayhūn 'an Naṣrā' Al-Khaṭ'at al-Islāīyāt wa al-Farā'id al-Dawā'īyāt.
[an announcement on the project of the Islamic press and daily newspaper], 1948.
193. See the names of the companies in the magazine, Al-Dal’wah, 15 Apr 1948.
194. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslihīn, 12 Jul 1946.
197. See Abdūfuna ‘al-Muḥādīfuna, op. cit., p. 5, wherein he mentions that in Western civilization, there is much good and much evil; that the help of its industry and sciences is indispensable, and that every innovation which is beneficial and does not destroy the personality is a new force supporting
the existence of the nation ... etc. ... this statement reveals their practical attitude vis-à-vis Western civilization. It refutes the saying that they opposed it generally. However, it is not denied that some of their writers went to extremes in attacking Western civilization; nevertheless, the general trend is shown in this explanation.

202. Ibid., 11 Jun 1946.
212. Ibid., 18 Jun 1946.

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CHAPTER SIX

213. Muhammad ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz died in the year 1308 A. H./1791 A. D.


216. Ibid., p. 7.

217. Ibid., p. 8.

218. Al-Qā'id, Kitāb al-Qā'īd, op. cit., p. 304.

219. Ibid., p. 233.

220. Al-Sa'di, op. cit., p. 86.

221. Al-Ṣamā'ilī, Kitāb al-Sharī' fī 'l-Ḥaḍīth, op. cit., p. 11.

222. Min Kitāb Rāsūl al-Rāsūl, op. cit., p. 11.

223. Ibid., pp. 42-43.


226. Ibid., 10 Oct. 1946.

227. Ibid., 3 Dec 1946.

228. Min Kitāb Rāsūl al-Rāsūl, op. cit., p. 34.

229. Ibid., p. 56.
230. These statistics were published in the Egyptian magazine, Al-Sharq Al-A'lam, No. 866, 26 Dec 1941.


233. Al-Sahih, His wa Farhoun, op. cit., p. 388.


235. Al-Sa'ati, op. cit., p. 129.

236. Al-Sahih, His wa Farhoun, op. cit., p. 349.

237. Al-Sahih, Rasa'il al-Sha'bi, op. cit., p. 121.


240. Aqeeda, op. cit., p. 36.

241. Al-Banna, Li'a Av Sharif Nadir al-Muq, op. cit., p. 30; Salat, op. cit., p. 6; and Al-Sa'ati, op. cit., p. 100.

242. Their attack on the Communists was unceasing, both before and after the period of tribulation. For example, see al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen, 17 Jul 1946.

243. This policy was made clear by al-Banna in a letter he sent to King Farouk, al-Naffas Pasha, and the heads of governments in the Islamic world in 1936, published under the title, Abu al-Mur; see pp. 20-23.

244. Al-Ikhwan al-Muslimeen, 17 May 1946.

245. Ibid., 6 Jun 1945.


247. Al-Sahih, Rasa'il al-Sha'bi, op. cit., p. 143; Al-Banna, Hal Al-muqam.
^udilr^, op. cit., p. 38; al-'azz^, R^h va N^h^, op. cit., p. 194.

CHAPTER SEVEN

240. Summarised from one of al-Banna’s speeches. See His Emptah Hasan al-Banna, op. cit., pp. 30-35. See also Majmū‘at Maqālāt Hasan al-Banna, [collection of articles by Hasan al-Banna], p. 36.


244. Aḥmad, op. cit., p. 73.

245. Concerning this, see an open letter from al-Banna to Mr. Churchill in the newspaper, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, 23 May 1946.

246. Al-Sa‘īt, op. cit., p. 43.


248. See p. 79.


250. Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn, 30 Nov. 1946.

251. See El-Ǧām‘ al-Jātir li Janā‘at al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn fi Lībān, [the basic regulations for the organisation of the Muslim Brethren in Lebanon], 1 May 1949, in 16 pages.

252. Up until now, six precepts have been published in small-size pamphlets in 1951. The fourth precept contains their principles and a summary of their precepts. It is mentioned in the sixth precept that they are a religious mission, an athletic group, an educational league, a social organisation, and an economic company - all of which are the attributes of the group in Cairo.
this respect, they advocate al-Jutūwh which is a Brethren trend also. If 'Ibād al-Hajjām might be compared with the Mōslem Brethren in Lebanon, it could be said that 'Ibād al-Hajjām is closer, in word and deed, to being a small branch of the Brethren in Egypt, while the other, apparently, at least, is still but a name.

263. See the report of the mission to the Sudan in al-Ībrāhīm al-Muḥammad, 19 Nov 1946.
264. Ibid., 20 Dec 1946.
265. Ibid., 28 Oct 1946.
266. Ibid., 13 Nov 1946.
267. Ibid., 2 Oct 1946.
268. The magazine, al-De'wān, 15 Apr 1952.
CHAPTER EIGHT


270. Al-Fandu, Ahmad Anwar, Jāhibah al-Hadīrāt al-Sharī‘ah, [the fall of Western civilization], (Cairo, 1355 A.H./1935 A.D.), p. 20.


272. See prosecution's charge to the court in the newspaper al-ʿAṣṣaṣ, [the basis], party-paper of al-Kutbah al-Ma‘īdi party which was lead by al-Maqūb al-Dannā and then by Ibrahim ʿAbd al-Dāwi, No. 703, 15 September 1949.

273. Al-Naʿthirāt is a collection of Koranic verses, Hadiths and prayers, collected by al-Dannā complying with the Sunna of the Prophet. He required his followers to recite them both individually and in groups at appointed times (in the morning, from dawn to noon; in the evening, from the late afternoon until the last call to prayer). Some of them were to be recited upon certain occasions. Al-Dannā classified the types of the “dhikr”, as follows: repentance or contemplation, pleas for knowledge, and pleas for livelihood. On the whole these were a kind of discipline for the people. Most likely al-Dannā acquired these activities from Sufism, even though they are referred to in the Prophet’s Hadith. The prayers called “wird”, [pl.-warād] are lamentations and invocations which are also well known in Sufism. Al-Naʿthirāt were printed in a small book of 101 pages (Cairo, Maṣbaḥat Dār al-Liṣāb al-ʿArabī, 1951).


275. This is evident from a number of their basic regulations such as the swearing of allegiance and obedience to the leader, the confidence in

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his leadership, and compliance with decisions whether the members differ with
them or not.
277. ibid., 3 June 1946.
278. Min Manqah Ragaa al-Banuna, op. cit., p. 67.
279. ibid., p. 17.
281. The magazine Al-Rastiah, No. 946, 7 Jan 1952, and the magazine, al-Da‘wah
No. 43, 15 Jan 52. The writer is a member of the Fund the First Academy of the
Arabic Language and the editor-in-chief of al-Ashar magazine. His magazine
is famous and popular. It has begun lately to support the Brethren and to
praise their movement.
282. The magazine Beirut, Beirut, 22 Jan 1952.
283. For the development of Egyptian civil legislation, see Mahmassi, 
op. cit., pp. 75-80. He notes that modern Islamic legislation [in Egypt],
is derived from three sources: comparative law, decisions of Egyptian Judges,
and the Islamic canon law.
284. Apparently, the Brethren, after the period of tribulation noticed this.
In the tract which they published under the title, Da‘wata‘ fi Tau‘ Jadlu
[our movement in a new phase], a title of significance as is apparent, they
strongly presented the spiritual and moral element: What concerns us most
in our movement and is the most important of what we rely upon for its growth,
its manifestation and its spread, is the hope for spiritual awakening. The
first thing we want is the awakening of spirit in every heart, a true awakening
in the inner-consciousness and the senses. We are not so much concerned in
this movement with reform branches and various practical measures as we are with
the centering of this idea in the soul (p. 17). There is no stronger and clearer expression than this to characterize the new development. The religious government has also disappeared or at least has been weakened. They mentioned: 'Islam lays down broad principles and ignores the details. It draws up methods of application and leaves it to the times and ages after that to do their own work. Hence it is a law for all times and for all places.' (p. 283)

They attacked the dividing of courts into Shari'ah and non-Shari'ah courts and called for the unification of the court-system on the basis of considering the Islamic Shari'ah as the law of the land and the source of its legislation. (p. 27)

This is a new development as compared to what they wrote and what was written about them in publications appearing before the period of tribulation. The tract does not bear the name of the author but it is noted at the head of it that it is "from the Mamluk Brethren." Ma'ṣūmat Dār al-Kitāb al-ʿArabi. 1952. 285. Quoted from Islam in the Modern World; The Middle East Institute, 1962, p. 54.


287. Such an opinion still stands after the period of tribulation as appears from their tract Ḥaʾāriyyāt al-Turūs al-Madīna, p. 10, wherein they mentioned that the West in recent times lived in its last days for the materialistic instinct, feeling only for things material and not aspiring the existence of any other so that sympathies of human compassion died in its soul and the lights of spiritual and godly instincts have been dimmed. The West came to dominate the whole world with its sciences, knowledge, pleasures, luxuries, discoveries, inventions, soldiers, and wealth; it has colored human thought everywhere. Nevertheless they do not attack the West and its civilization in the old way for it appears that they adopted the view of al-Ḥanāfī who praised the techni-
cal aspect as is mentioned in another place. They attribute the overrating of the attack against Western civilization to some of their members who do not represent the movement and do not speak in its name. Actually the prevalence of the movement among the masses is the reason for the contradictions and the uncontrolled distribution of opinions. It is not fair to hold the movement responsible for what comes about as a result of this characteristic.

287. Ibid., pp. 57, 82.
290. Ibid., pp. 24, 25.
291. This declaration was issued by the editors of the magazine Al-Muslim on the occasion of the visit of the foreign minister of Spain to Egypt. Probably it was written by the editor-in-chief, Salih Khayat, who is considered one of the group's most outstanding members. (See the magazine Al-Muslim, No. 6, Vol. I, April 1952, p. 98.) See also Rasa al-Islam, [Islam's day], by Dr. Ahmad Asa, in which he ties up the fate of Islam and the fate of the struggle between the two camps. p. 161.
292. They alluded to this saying and mentioned the maxim itself in Haiwatul fi Fajar Jadid, p. 26.
293. See note 284.
295. In four parts, published by Dâr Ithirâ al-Kutub al-'Arabiyah, Cairo, 1930.
296. The book Min Dusah Nabi by Sheik Khâlid Muhammed Khâlid takes this path. However the author believes that religion should be used as a means of realizing social justice and he does not denounce religion.

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