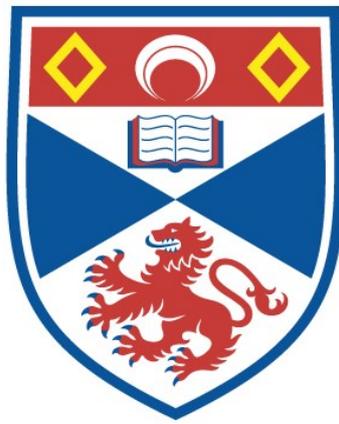


THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SAYYID QUṬB

Jamaludin Noordin Ibrahim

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of MPhil
at the
University of St Andrews



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THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF SAYYID QUTB

BY

JAMALUDIN NOORDIN IBRAHIM

Thesis submitted to the University of St Andrews for the
Degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil).

St Andrews

November 1987



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a. I. *Samudin Nordin Ibrahim* hereby certify that this thesis has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me, and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

date: *20.11.1987* Signature of candidate:

b. I was admitted as a candidate for the degree of M. Phil on ... *October 1986*; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between ... *1986/87* and *1987/88*

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date: *23.XI.87* Signature of Supervisor:

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PREFACE

This is an attempt by a student to discover and understand the political aspect of the thoughts of Sayyid Quṭb, a leading Muslim thinker in our time. I shall try to present his thoughts and his ideas as stated in and understood from his works.

A major emphasis in this thesis is only on important aspects of his political thoughts.

I wish to thank my excellent supervisor Dr. John Burton who helped me with a lot of suggestions and advice in supervising this work.

It is my weakness if there are any inadequacies or imperfections in this work.

Finally, I pray to Allāh to guide mankind into the right path *al-ṣirāt al-mustaqīm*. Āmīn.

27.10.1987.

Jamāludīn Ibrāhīm

TRANSLITERATION.

List of symbols used for transliteration of Arabic words.

Arabic	Symbol	Arabic	Symbol
ا	'	أ	a
ب	b	ت	t
ث	th	ج	j
ح	h	خ	kh
د	d	ذ	dh
ر	r	ز	z
س	s	ش	sh
ص	ṣ	ض	ḍ
ط	ṭ	ظ	ẓ
ع	c	غ	gh
ف	f	ق	q
ك	k	ل	l
م	m	ن	n
ه	h	و	w
ي	y		

VOWELS

اَ	a
----	---

اُ	u
----	---

اِ	i
----	---

LONG VOWELS

اَ	a
----	---

اِي	i
-----	---

اُو	u
-----	---

DOUBLE VOWELS

اِي	īy
-----	----

اُو	ūw
-----	----

DIPHTHONGS

اُو	au
-----	----

اِي	ai
-----	----

Titles of works in Arabic appear first in transliteration and then in English translation in brackets.

INTRODUCTION.

During the past two decades of this century, the world has been witnessing the phenomenon of the re-emergence of Islam in the Muslim world. This re-emergence in Muslim politics has attracted a great deal of attention in the media, the press, conferences and innumerable publications.

This phenomenon of Islam has been described by various titles: Islamic awakening, Islamic resurgence, Islamic revival, Islamic fundamentalism, Rise of Islamic fundamentalism, Islamic militancy, The rising tide of Islam, Islamic tide etc(1).

W. Montgomery Watt was right when he predicted that Islam will be one of the half-dozen significant political forces in the world(2), while J. Heyworth-Dunne's perception of the phenomenon of the Muslim society in Egypt saw the establishment of the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in 1928 as further evidence of the resurgence of Islam(3).

Renewalism and Reformism In Islam [*Tajdīd and Iṣlāḥ*] (4):

The basic principle of the renewalist and reformist is to call for a return to a strict adherence to, and application of the Qur'ān and the Sunna of the Prophet.

In Islamic history, the phenomenon of renewalism and reformism often occurred as a result of internal factors rather than external threats(5). The dynamic nature of Islam brings forth from time to time movements of renewal and reform to check the drift of the *Ummah* from the straight path(6).

And the so-called reform movements of Islam are nothing but purification efforts for reconstructing with a view to reasserting the authority of the Qur'ān and that of the Holy Prophet. In short, *tajdīd* and *iṣlāḥ* aims at a total reform of Muslim life in all aspects of life.

In the case of modern Islamic renewalism, reformism and revivalism focused most of their effort on exorcising the pernicious influence of Western Civilization.

The historical development of *tajdīd* and *iṣlāḥ* has been in different areas, in varying forms and in many themes: Among the popular themes are:

- a return [*rujūʿ*] to a strict application of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah.
- call to abandon superstitions and imitations,
- reacting against the spirit of *taqlīd*,
- the emphasis on *ijtihād*(?),
- need to understand Islam in terms relevant to the contemporary condition.

Ijtihād is an important part of the ideas and methodology of *tajdīd* and *Iṣlāḥ*. Through *ijtihād*, every renewalist and reformist could feel free to challenge some of the accepted beliefs or practices of the common consensus or tradition of the general population as Islamic, but for which the renewer or reformer found no justification in the Qur'ān or in the Sunna of the Prophet.

The common motto and the canonical argument in their works are: *Lā yaṣluḥu ākhiru hādhihī al-ummah illā bimā ṣaluḥa bihī awaluhā* [The later success of this community will only ensue through those elements which made for its initial success], and the integration or combination between

authenticity [aṣālah] and contemporary [mu'āṣirah] in order to face the reality of life.

After six centuries of many great achievements, the world of Islam began to decline in the succeeding six centuries. That means the Muslim world of the twelfth to the thirteenth Islamic centuries (eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) was weak and decadent, while in the Western world emerged the Industrial Revolution and development of technology which made Europe stronger militarily and materially than Asia and Africa, and the competition to get cheap raw materials and new markets to dump their manufactured goods. This was then followed by the emergence of the Era of Colonialism in which most of the Muslim countries, in their stagnant condition became easy victims.

By the seventeenth century, the power of the Ottoman Caliphs (Khilāfah 'Uthmāniyah) was being fundamentally checked and challenged by the emerging West. And after stagnation, backwardness and loss of independence, Muslims began to wake up from their slumber. The Salafīyah movement, a religious movement was philosophically founded on the work of Ibn Taimīyah, and had arisen as a reaction within Islam to bring the Muslim society back to the Qur'ān and the Tradition(8). A number of Salafīyah movements emerged in

several parts of the Muslim world from Morocco to Indonesia. There was: the Wahhābī movement in the Arabian Peninsula, the Shawkani movement of Yemen, the Sanusi movement of Libya, The Mahdi movement of the Sudan, the Muslim Brotherhood movement in Egypt and Syria, the Norsiyah movement in Turkey, the Jamā'at-i Islāmī in the Indo-Pakistani sub-continent, PAS (Islamic Party of Malaysia) and ABIM (Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia) in Malaysia and Mashumi Party in Indonesia(9).

In the nineteenth century, came the pioneer of the modern Pan-Islamic Movement, Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī (1839-1897), (the "Awakener of the East" as he is often called by Rashīd Riḍā), who summoned the Muslims to realise the concept of the unity of the Ummah in the face of Western Imperialism(10), and who pleaded for inter-Muslim cooperation for success in the struggle for a new life.

Al-Afghānī's ideas were preached and enriched by Shaikh Muḥammad 'Abduh (1849-1905) then by 'Abduh's friend and disciple Shaikh Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā (1865-1935). 'Abduh's reformist programme was based on four main points:

- a. the purification of Islam from corrupting influences and practices,

- b. the reformation of Muslim education,
- c. the reformation of Muslim doctrine in the light of modern thought,
- d. the defence of Islam(11).

After the First World War, Turkey won her independence and changed the form of government from caliphate to republic. Then Turkey joined Irān, ʿIrāq and Afghānistan in forming the *Sa'adabad Pact*, which was a fore-runner of the new emerging Muslim World unity(12). Then came the Second World War followed by the liberation of most of the Muslim countries. Accordingly, the political system of the independent Muslim countries was dramatically changed. Some of them have declared themselves to be "Islamic States" or their constitutions have a provision that Islam is the official religion of the state. Among these are: Afghānistan, Algeria, ʿIrāq, Irān, Kuwait, Mauretania, Morocco, Somālia, Tunīsia, United Arab Republic of Egypt, Yemen, and Malaysia(13).

The Islamic Revival [*al-Sahwah al-Islamiyah*]:

Obviously, Islam, in the modern time, has played a more active and widespread role in the Muslim politics in the struggle for independence from Western colonialism. Many analysts see ~~that~~ the decade of the 1970s as a landmark and starting-point of Islamic revival in this century. For during this period, a large number of Islamic revivalist groups emerged in the Muslim world, particularly in the middle eastern countries(14).

In the Islamic perspective, revivalism aims at re-establishing Islam in its totality through persuasion, if possible, or by force, if necessary. However, consideration would be given to the nature of Islam, as a dynamic movement which challenges Jāhiliyah both in theory and in practice, so that it becomes a living faith which grows in struggling against the surrounding forces.

It is wonderful, at this moment, that while the Western World in general confronted with a spiritual vacuum, complex problems relating to religious values in particular, is decaying, in the Eastern World, on the contrary, the re-emergence of Islam has been prevailing.

The ^{unusual}~~curious~~ events in the Muslim world during the 1970s and 1980s, especially in the Middle Eastern World, have stimulated and renewed people's interest in understanding both the role of Islam as a religion and the religious movements of Muslims..

The existence of the militant phenomenon of Islamic groups in the Middle East has been studied profoundly in the West especially at the political level. The biographical studies of men like Ayatollah Khomeini, Sayyid Quṭb and others are included in these approaches and these programmes.

Sayyid Quṭb in particular, many writers have described as a radical Islamic activist. His revolutionary thought and his contribution to the ideology of neo-activist Islam . deserve further examination(15).

The success of National Socialism in Europe (Nazism in Germany, Fascism in Italy, Spain, Greece and elsewhere) in the 1930s, indirectly encouraged the rise of radical national socialist groups, parties and movements in the Arab countries. Then the idea of Arab Socialism (*al-Ishtirākīyah al-‘Arabīyah*) became popular in some leading Arab countries from 1941 on(15). During this time, Muslim intellectuals began to deal with ideological questions in defending and redefining Islam in order to combat and to counter- attack the Western ideologies.

and
Socialism ~~or~~ Social Justice is one of the dominant themes in the socio-political thought in Egypt of that time. Sayyid Qutb's work: Social Justice in Islam was the right answer from Islam to the problem of injustice in society. This work deals with an area relatively unexplored by modern Muslim thinkers before him. He has proved that the people would find that everything they reckon new in scientific socialism was ~~old~~ ^{old} thirteen centuries ~~years ago~~ in Islam.

In Part 2, On Contemporary Societies, Western Ideologies and Western Civilization, I shall try to present a complete collection of the historical background on contemporary Western societies and their ideologies as provided by Sayyid

Quṭb in his works to understand the current human problems. The main outlines of the differences between the Islamic society and the Jāhili society are also examined in this part. This concept of Jāhiliyah which was used by Sayyid Quṭb was considered by many writers and analysts to have contributed to the reemergence of Militant Islam in 1970s and early part of 1980s.

In Part Three, there are some of Sayyid Quṭb's criticisms of modern ideologies which appeared primarily in the Western world that show how Islam would offer a solution.

Sayyid Quṭb's works on Islam represent Islam as able to answer the present human problems which came from the Western Civilization as encountered by educated Muslims, confronting the Western World in a continuing attack from the modern salafīyah movement ^{appealing to} ~~starting from~~ Ibn Taimīyah, Ibn Qayyim al-Jauzīyah, Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 'Abduh, Rashīd Ridā and Hasan al-Bannā.

In conclusion, no one would deny that Sayyid Quṭb was a reformer, a great preacher of Islam in his day and influential still after his death.

PART ONE

THE LIFE OF SAYYID QUTB

THE LIFE OF SAYYID QUTB.

Sayyid ibn Qutb Ibrāhīm, well known as Sayyid Qutb, born in a village called Mūshā [موشا], District of Asyūṭ [أسيوط], Egypt in 1906(1) died on 29 th August 1966 on the gallows during Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir's reign.

Sayyid Qutb is a leading Muslim thinker of the latter half of this century after al-Imām Muḥammad 'Abduh and al-Imām Ḥasan al-Bannā. He played a very important role in the Muslim Brotherhood Movement or Jam'ī yah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn in Egypt, as one of its most brilliant thinkers(2) and eminent writers and its chief spokesmen after the official dissolution of the movement in 1954(3).

He was a great Islamic missionary, a creative literary figure and a very critical Islamic thinker. His ideas and his religious movement received much attention from the learned (younger) Muslim generation especially in the Arab World(4) and other Muslim countries all over the world.

He wrote more than 24 books on Arabic literature and Islam. Several books by Sayyid Qutb were widely distributed and translated into several eastern and western languages. In eastern languages he appears in Persian, Urdu, Bengali, Malay/Indonesia, Afghan, Turkish etc and in western languages in English, French, German and Italian.

Sayyid Qutb's most important work, very widely distributed all over the world, is his interpretation of The Holy Qur'an known as "*Fī Zīlāl al-Qur'ān*" (In The Shade of The Qur'an) while his major political work is "*Ma'ālim fī al-Ṭarīq*" (Milestones or Signposts on the Road) (5). This latter book is probably the Brotherhood's most sustained and inspiring book. Scores of young people were and remain deeply influenced by it(6).

"*In The Shade of the Qur'ān*" - ever since its first appearance has been studied throughout the Arab World and all over the Muslim World by contemporary Muslim readers as a major contribution to a clearer understanding of the Qur'ān(7).

He wrote with a profound sense of conviction which led him to give his life for his belief. He was executed in

August 1966 by the Nāṣir ^{régime} ~~reign~~ of Egypt. Throughout his ordeal he faced the court with courage and integrity.

His brother, Professor Muhammad Qutb said: He started his life as a man of letters, preoccupied with the artistic side of life. The latter part of his life, on the other hand, was devoted to his vigorous struggle for the cause that had become his sole preoccupation. To the cause of Islam he devoted his thoughts and his feelings, his nights and his days, and indeed his whole life(8).

Sayyid Qutb's Family.

Sayyid Qutb came from a deeply religious family background of the Egyptian middle class in the time before the Revolution of 1919. His was a prosperous peasant family.

His father, Qutb Ibrāhīm, was known as a noble and generous man in his village, and acted as leader for his family. Qutb Ibrāhīm was also an active committee member of *al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī* (the Watani Party)(19). His forefathers were from the Indian sub-continent who had later moved to Arab countries(10).

Sayyid Qutb had a brother Muḥammad(11) and two sisters named Ḥamīdah and Amīnah. Two of his uncles studied at al-Azhar University, Cairo, a thing that rarely happened to rural people of the time(12).

His father came to Egypt and later married a girl from a village called Mūshā. The girl also came from a noble family. Their house become an informal centre for villagers meeting and discussing several topics raised by the daily newspapers. Qutb Ibrāhīm was the only person who regularly bought newspapers in that village(13). During the fasting month (Ramadān), the villagers came to his house every night to hear Qur'ān readings from invited readers(14).

Sayyid Qutb's Education.

Sayyid Qutb was sent by his father to *the kuttāb* (village Qur'ān School) in his village when he was six to learn Qur'ān (reading and learning by heart). But this pupil was very clever and was able to get the Qur'ān entirely by heart by the age of ten(15).

After four years of kuttāb, he moved to the government school, learning mathematics, reading and nashīd (religious songs) (16). While still a boy in primary school, he began to show unusual ability and literary talent. When he was ten, he usually read daily newspapers instead of his father to the villagers (17), his father's house having become a community centre in the village at that time.

Because of the National Revolution (1919), (demanding complete independence and a constitution) led by Sa'ad Zaghlūl, leader of the *Wafd Party*, Sayyid dropped his plan to move to Cairo for his secondary school education ^{at a school} (named *Tajhīziyah Dār al-'Ulūm*) (18). After the revolution, he stayed with his uncle in Cairo and studied at *Tajhīziyah Dār al-'Ulūm* (Dar al-'Ulūm Secondary School) and then at Dār al-'Ulūm University for his higher study in the Arts faculty (19).

As his father died when he was in secondary school, his mother, brother and sisters moved to Cairo and stayed with him till his mother died (20). After graduating, he was appointed a teacher in the government school in Dimyāt (دمياط) then in Ḥulwān (حلوان). During this time, he wrote on Arabic Literature - short stories, poetry, criticism etc, published in daily newspapers and

Before joining the Muslim Brotherhood, he published a monthly magazine named: *al-Fikr al-Jadīd* (The New Thinking) with financial support from Sayyid Muḥammad Ḥilmī al-Munyāwī, a printing works owner in Cairo(26). The nature of the magazine was to fight for social justice according to Islamic teachings. He criticised the corrupt political order, the tyranny of the landowners and economic exploitation by the Basha class and capitalists.

Sayyid Quṭb joined actively in the Muslim Brotherhood movement during the time in which the movement was facing very critical conditions due to the oppression of King Fārūq and his Prime Minister, Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al- Hādī.

In October, 1954, Sayyid Quṭb was arrested by Nāṣir when he (Nāṣir) was the subject of an assassination attempt said to have been organized by the Muslim Brotherhood(27). Ḥasan Ismāīl al-Hudaibī, new Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood after al-Bannā's assassination - was sentenced to life imprisonment (28) and Sayyid Quṭb on July 13, 1955 was sentenced to fifteen years jail with hard labour(29).

In 1964, after ten years in prison and with involvement from General ‘Abd al-Salām ‘Arif, President of Iraq, Sayyid

magazines(21). Later he was appointed inspector of schools by the Egyptian Ministry of Education.

His intellectual development changed during these later years. He began to write on the social, political and economic problems the Muslim ummah was facing, fighting for social justice, struggling against the predominance of the ruling class, the landowners, capitalists and imperialists.

Because of this, he was sent to the United States of America early in 1948 (on the pretext of studying the educational system in America)(22), coming back at the end of 1950. After returning from America, he wrote "Amrīkā allatī ra'aitu" (America Which I Saw), but unfortunately this book was never published(23).

Before leaving for America, he wrote "*al-ʿAdālah al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī al-Islām*" (Social Justice In Islam), his first book on Islamic thought and Islamic culture. The book was published in 1947 in Cairo (24). It was received warmly by the Muslim Brotherhood and al-Bannā - the leader of the movement said when he read the book: This book represents our thought and the author should become a member of our movement(25).

Qutb was released and later was arrested again on a charge of leading a terrorist apparatus that was reportedly plotting to assassinate President 'Abd al-Nāṣir, to destroy public installations, even to assassinate the popular movie stars and idols, Umm Kulthūm, Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb, 'Abd al-Ḥalīm Ḥāfiz, Najāt al-Ṣaghīra and Shādia(39).

Sayyid Qutb's Work:

Sayyid Qutb was a very creative writer. He produced more than twenty four books on Islam and Arabic Literature and there are many articles, poems and interviews published in several newspapers, magazines, periodicals, journals etc., from time to time re-published in books or anthologies.

A. On Arabic Literature:

(a) Novels:

1. *Tifl min al-Qaryah* (A Boy from the Village), (1945). Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, 1974, 191 pages, medium size. Modern Arabic novel

based on the author's childhood, same type as "al-Ayyām" by Ṭāhā Ḥusain and "Yaumiyyāt" by Taufīq al-Ḥakīm. The three of them wrote on their own childhood.

2. *al-Atyāf al-Arbaʿah.*

Together with his brother and two sisters.

3. *Ashwāk (Thorns).*

A modern Arabic novel based on part of the author's life, about his failure in love and why he never married.

4. *al-Madīnah al-Mashūrah.*

Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, 1974

First published in 1946 by Dār al-Maʿārif, Egypt, consists of 128 pages, small size .

Sequel to "Arabian Nights", a modern Arabic novel.

(b) Poem:

There are four anthologies published in

1. *al-Shāfi al-Majhūl*, 160 pages
2. *Qāfilah al-Rāqīq*,
3. *Hulm al-Fajr*,
4. *al-Ka's al-Masmūmah*,

B. Literature and Critique:

1. *Muḥimmat al-Shā'ir fī al-Ḥayāh* (1932)

This book was published in 1932 with an introduction by his former Professor Dr. Muhammad Mahdī 'Allām.

Originally a lecture delivered by the author at Dār al-'Ulūm University lecture room(30).

Consists of 98 pages, medium size.

2. *al-Taṣwīr al-Fannī fī al-Qur'ān* (1943).

First article by author on this topic "al-

Taṣwīr al-Fannī fī al-Qur'ān was published first in al-Muqtataf (magazine) volume 94, 1939(31).

Consists of 208 pages, large size, published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, sixth edition, 1980.

3. *Mashāhid al-Qiyāmah fī al-Qur'ān* (1945). First published in 1945 by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, the seventh edition published in 1983. This book was also published by Dār al-Ma'ārif, Cairo, the latest edition by this publisher is the seventh edition (without date).
4. *al-Naqd al-Adabī: Uṣūluhū wa Manāhijuhū* (Literary Criticism: Principles and Methods). Consists of 229 pages, large size, published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, fifth edition, 1983.
5. *Naqd Kitāb: Mustaḡbal al-Thaqāfah fī Miṣr* (Critique of the book: The Future of Culture In Egypt) by Dr Ṭāhā Ḥusain.

Originally a long essay by the author: "Naqd Mustaqbal al-Thaqāfah fī Miṣr," published by Dār al-ʿUlūm News (University Dār al-ʿUlūm Newspaper), April, 1939. By this time, Sayyid Quṭb was an author with al-Ahrām newspaper. Consists of 80 pages, medium size.

6. *Kutub wa Shakhṣiyāt.*

Reviews of modern Arabic books mostly novels and plays, with some essays on literary criticism. The book consists of 350 pages, large size. First published in 1946 by Maṭbaʿah al-Risālah, Egypt.

C. On Islam:

1. *al-ʿAdālah al-Ijtimāʿīyah fī al-Islām* (Social Justice In Islam), (1947), English translation: Sayed Kotb: Social Justice in Islam, by J.B.Hardie, Washington, 1953. Consists of 294 pages, large size.

2. *Ma'arakah al-Islām wa al-Ra'sumālīyah* (Islam Versus Capitalism), (1950).
On Islam's relation to socio-economic problems. First edition 1950, second edition 1952(33), consists of 122 pages, medium size.

3. *al-Salām al-Ālamī wa al-Islām* (Universal Peace and Islam), (1952). First edition published in 1952(34).
Sixth edition by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, 1974 and seventh edition, 1978. Consists of 200 pages.

4. *Nahwa Mujtama' Islāmī* (1969), a collection of articles from Majallat "al-Muslimūn" in 1951. Published by Maktabah al-Aqṣā, Jordan, 1969(35) and by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, third edition, 1978. Consists of 152 pages, medium size.

5. *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān* (In The Shade of The Qur'ān), (1953- 1964).
Consists of eight volumes, the latest

edition is in six volumes (4,012 pages, large size), published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, ninth edition, 1980

6. *Dirāsāt Islāmīyah* (Islamic Studies).
On modern Arabic or Islamic- oriented essays, first edition published in 1953 from several articles published in newspapers, magazines or radio programmes with an introduction by al-Ustadh Muhibb al- Dīn al- Khaṭīb, a great writer on Islam in Egypt (36). Fifth edition by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, 1980, consists of 250 pages, medium size.

7. *Hadhā al-Dīn* (This Religion of Islam).
First edition in Arabic published in 1963, 96 pages, medium size by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut.
Sixth edition 1982 (English translation) by International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, Kuwait; also published in America (English translation) by al-Manār Press, Palo Alto, California, 1967.

8. *al-Mustaqbal li hādihā al-Dīn* (Islam the Religion of the Future).
On Islam in the twentieth century.
First edition published in 1964, 140 pages, medium size by Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq.
Fifth edition (English translation) by International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, Kuwait, 1984.
9. *Khaṣā'is al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī wa muqawwimātuh.*
Chapter 1: *Khaṣā'is al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī.*
Contents: Islamic concepts concerning God, the universe, life and man.
Published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut and Cairo, seventh edition, 1980. Consists of 236 pages, large size, also published by Dār ihya' al-Kutub al-'Arabīyah, Cairo, first edition, 1962(37).
10. *al-Islām wa Mushkilāt al-Ḥadārah* (Islam and the problems of Civilization).
First edition published in 1968, Cairo, 191 pages, large size(38). Also published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, seventh edition,

1982.

11. *Ma'ālim fī al-Ṭarīq* (1965), (Milestones or The Signposts On The Road). The final book of Sayyid Qutb. This book is ^{the} quint-essence of his political work in which he divided social systems into either al-Niẓām al-Jāhilī or al-Niẓām al-Islāmī.

First published in 1965 by Dār al-Shurūq, Cairo, consists of 186 pages, medium size, also published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, tenth edition, 1982.

Translated into English and published by International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, Kuwait, 1978.

12. *Muqawwimāt al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī*,
Published by Dār al-Shurūq, Beirut, First edition, 1986, consists of 376 pages, large size.

THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD.

Jam'īyah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn is also known as al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn or al-Ikhwān only. And today it is variously translated as The Society of The Muslim Brothers, The Muslim Brotherhood or The Muslim Brethren(40).

This society was founded by Hasan al-Bannā nineteenth of March, 1928 in Ismā'īliyah(41), Egypt, and recently identified as the biggest contemporary Islamic movement.

The Muslim Brotherhood was considered as the most dominant of the modern Islamic reform movements. Indeed, modern Islamic history has not known a religious-political movement which penetrated into most of the Arab and Islamic countries, and drew to itself supporters and adherents as the Brotherhood has done(42). By the late 1930s it had become one of Egypt's most powerful organizations until now. It attracted members from a cross-section of society, professionals, bureaucrats, students, workers, small shopkeepers and some peasants(43). This movement was also recognised by Bernard Lewis as the most important movement in the 20th century(44). It was really a native mass

movement, perhaps the only one in modern Egyptian history, with tremendous popular appeal.

Islamic history has witnessed numerous activist movements in intellectual as well as in practical forms. The Muslim Brotherhood is one in the chain of a big circle of several past Islamic reformation movements which derived from the teaching of the Salafiyah movement (45). Al-Bannā said:

"It is a Salafite movement, a Sunni way, a ṣūfī reality, a political body, an athletic group, a scientific and cultural society, an economic company and a social idea" (46).

Undoubtedly, al-Bannā's well-developed and well-explicated ideology proved to have a substantial impact on Egypt in particular and the Middle East in general as well as the Muslim countries all over the world, its effects being felt from his life time until now.

Hasan al-Bannā in brief:

Hasan al-Bannā was born 17th October, 1906 in the delta town of Mahmūdiyyah, Egypt(47). He was the son of Shaikh Ahmad ibn ‘Abd al-Rahmān ibn Muḥammad al-Bannā al-Sā‘atī, a local religious notable and a watch repairer. His father was a hard working scholar of good reputation who was the author of a new arrangement of the Musnad of Ahmad ibn Hanbal(48).

He was guided and educated by his father. In 1920, when he was fourteen, he enrolled in the Junior Teachers' School in Damanhūr and completed his study at Dār al-‘Ulūm University in Cairo and graduated in Summer 1927. Al-Bannā was an intelligent and very hard working student. He read incessantly books on sufism, religious, nationalistic and heroic stories and was very interested in sufism(49).

When he was still young, he had already demonstrated a profound commitment to Islam and a deeply felt concern about the laxity of adherence to Islamic principles, the moral decay, and the like, in Muslim communities. For these reasons he was actively involved in several societies before the foundation of his own organization. (50)

On nineteenth of September, 1927 he accepted a position as a teacher of Arabic in a government primary school in Ismā'īliyya (51) and in association with others (largely intellectual Islamic association) (52), al-Bannā began a programme of teaching and writing in which he stressed the need for general reform along Islamic lines - of the social system, of the economic system, as well as the political system. In 1928, in Ismā'īliyya, he founded his own organization named Jam'iyah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn.

About five years after the foundation of the movement, in 1933, he was transferred as a teacher to Cairo at his own request (53). As the organization grew, he moved its headquarters to Cairo and began to organise on a full time basis and undertake more extensive and diverse activities.

In 1938, he laid down the principles upon which it would be based (54). He wrote letters to King Fārūq, to Prime Minister Muṣṭafā al-Nahḥās Pasha, to other ministers, to the rulers of the Islamic countries and also to various religious and civic notables calling them to practise Islam in every aspect of life.

As a result of his activities, he was imprisoned several times - by Prime Minister Sirrī Pāshā in October, 1941 and by Prime Minister al Nuqrāshī, on the charge of his having had a part in the assassination of Prime Minister Ahmad Māhir(55).

And on the evening of 12th February, 1949, Hasan al-Bannā was assassinated outside the headquarters of the Young Men's Muslim Association by members of the Egyptian secret police(56).

R. Hrair Dekmejian said: Al-Bannā , more than any other individual, can be considered the avatar of twentieth-century Sunnī revivalism(57).

The Ideology of Hasan al-Bannā.

Bannā's da'wah was a direct descendant of an earlier revivalist movement - the Salafite Movement, and advocated a return to the basic teaching of Islam. Al-Bannā said:

We believe that the rules and teachings of Islam are comprehensive, to include the people's affairs in the world and hereafter. Those who believe that these teachings deal only with the spiritual side of life are mistaken. For Islam is: doctrine, worship, homeland, nationality, religion, spirituality and a state, spirituality and work, scripture and sword. The Holy Qur'an speaks of this and considers it the essence of Islam (58).

Since Islam is a complete way of life governing the affairs of men in this world and in the next, al-Bannā directed his followers to work towards the reform of education, to struggle against poverty, ignorance, disease and crime, and to create an "exemplary society" which will deserve to be associated with the Islamic Sacred Law or al-Sharī'ah al-Islāmiyah(59), and the Islamic Caliphate as the ideal government.

For al-Bannā, Islam promises to solve all human problems. There is no regime in this world which will supply the renascent nation with what it requires in the way of institutions, principles, objectives and sensibilities to

the same extent as does Islam no nation adhered to [Islam] without succeeding in its aspirations(60). So setting up an Islamic Government is the only solution to these problems.

Accordingly, politics is an integral part of Islam and of the programmes of the Muslim Brotherhood(61).

Al-Bannā believed in gradual advancement and development, and always preferred productive and co-operative work with lovers of good and truth. He did not wish harm to anyone, no matter what his religion, race or country(62).

One of his followers summarized his view of al-Afghānī as merely a "cry of warning against problems", of 'Abduh as "merely a teacher and philosopher", and of Rashīd Riḍā as "merely a historian and recorder"(63).

The Muslim Brotherhood, on the contrary, means "Jihād" struggle and work, it is not merely a philosophical message(64). And because of that, ideas and views, the words, doctrine, worship, jihād, da^cwah, fatherland, citizenship, brotherhood (ukhūwah), principles (uṣūl),

manhaj, a Qur'ān, a power (qūwwah), sword (saif), dīn, government (ḥukūmah or ḥukm), action (ʿamal-collective work ʿamal jamāʿī), are regularly used by Hasan al-Bannā in his speeches, his writing and his conversation.

The Principles of the Muslim Brotherhood.

The mission of the Brotherhood is the mission of Islam itself. It is to "lead mankind toward truth, call humanity to the path of goodness and illuminate the entire world with the light of Islam" (65).

Because of the multi-faceted nature of Islam, al-Bannā based his movement on all of these principles:

1. It ^{is} a Salafite movement; it pursues the return of Islam to the purity of its source in the Qur'ān and the Tradition of the Prophet.
2. A Sunni Order; it is modelled on the Sunna in everything, particularly in matters of belief and worship.

3. A ṣūfī reality; it operates on the principle that virtue is in the purity of the soul, innocence of the heart, hard work.....
4. A political organization: it demands reform in internal politics, changes in the relationship between Islamic nations and the outside world, and the education of the people for integrity, self-respect and national consciousness.
5. An athletic club: it promotes good health, since the duties of Islam cannot be fulfilled without good health.
6. A scientific and cultural society; because Islam makes the search for knowledge an imperative of every Muslim and the Ikhwān in reality is a school of education, an institution dedicated to caring for body, mind and spirit.
7. It is an economic enterprise; because Islam deals with the acquisition and management of wealth.

8. It is a social idea; it deals with the problems of Islamic society and attempts to find solutions(66).

The strategy of The Muslim Brotherhood.

To achieve its principles, the Ikhwan emphasized various strategies. These strategies can be summarized as follows:

1. Avoid the battleground of theological disputes.
2. Avoid domination by notable and important men,
3. Avoid divisive political organizations such as parties,
4. Emphasize gradualness because every movement must pass through several stages before arriving at its goals,
5. Seek power in order to realize goals, including, if necessary, armed force.

6. Set up a religious government, because government is one of Islam's cornerstones, and includes education, legislation, adjudication and implementation and action, all of which are inseparable from one another.
7. Belief in Arab and Islamic unity.
8. Revival of the caliphate, because the caliph is the symbol of Islamic unity,
9. Consider and treat every country which aggresses against the Islamic homeland as a tyrannical state which must be resisted in every way (67).

The Muslim Brotherhood's Activities

To accomplish its principles and its strategies, the Muslim Brotherhood outlined the three-stage process through which the movement had to pass:

1. The propaganda stage (*Marḥalat al-da'wah*), which concentrated upon the education of the people,
2. The stage of attracting and selecting supporters (*marḥalat al-takwīn*), the drilling of recruits and the mobilization of those who answer "the call", and
3. The stage of action (*marḥalat al-ʿamal*).

Since the scope of Islam is wide, embracing all matters of life, the Muslim Brotherhood had planned its activities in every field of social life; included among these were;

a) Social activities:

- creating small educational institutions, i, e, schools etc
- to building (*ʿimārah/taʿmīr*) mosques,
- small hospitals and dispensaries for the public

- social clubs and organizations,
- publishing magazines, books, pamphlets and newspapers(68)
- organizing discussions, seminars, lectures etc,

b) Economic activities:

- building small industries,
- small shops,
- programmes to provide employment especially for the members.

c) Political activities:

- sending letters to the rulers of Islamic countries and to the religious and civic leaders,
- participating in the Palestinian war against Israēl,
- call for Jihād,

- demanding a return to the caliphate system,
- condemning some of the values of western political ideas,
- demanding a return to the rule of Qur'ān and Hadīth or Islamic government (*al-Hukūmah al-Islāmiyah*) .

The Muslim Brotherhood After al-Bannā.

On 17th October, 1951, Hasan Ismā'īl al-Huḍaybī Bey, a former judge, was announced as the new Director-General of the Muslim Brotherhood. Under his administration, he directed the simplification of the mission, the broadening of its base and the strengthening of its foundation(69).

The Muslim Brotherhood in the Nāṣir era (1952-1970).

1) From 23, July 1952 (after the revolution) to 1953, the Young Officers - who took control of Egypt - and the Brotherhood attempted to work together(70). But the latter became increasingly antagonistic to the regime and started to use violence.

In January, 1954, The Revolutionary Command Council (RCC) declared the Ikhwān to be a political party and ordered it disbanded. Al-Huḍaybī and 449 other Brothers were arrested(71). In October 26, 1954 an unsuccessful attempt was made by the more militant Brotherhood on Nāṣir's life(72).

2) The period between 1954 and 1970, was a period of tension in the relationship between the movement and Nāṣir. In the aftermath of that unsuccessful attempt on Nāṣir's life, the movement was dissolved, six of its leaders were tried and hanged, and more than 300 were given long terms of hard labour and 11,000 were handed sentences of various length (73).

Again, in 1965, the Brotherhood was accused of planning to overthrow Nāṣir. Many were arrested and in late August 1966, three of the major leaders were hanged, one of them Sayyid Qutb.

The Muslim Brotherhood in the Sādāt era (1970-1981).

The period 1970-1978, can be characterised as a time of "Peaceful Coexistence" between the Muslim Brotherhood and Sādāt. During this period, this movement was allowed to play an active role to increase Islamic consciousness for the nation(74). By Sādāt's announcement that Egypt is a state of *al-‘ilm wa al-īmān* (The State of Science and Faith), he released the Brothers from prison including the Muslim Brotherhood's Supreme Guide -Ismā‘īl Ḥasan al-Huḍaybī - and invited their participation in the drafting of relevant articles and sections in the new constitution for Egypt. Then the Muslim Brotherhood became an active participant, but the result was unsatisfactory for the Brotherhood(75). Eventually, during 1978 to 1981, the relationship between them seemed to be more critical and to move into confrontation. This situation was due to several factors, among them:

- a) The Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty (Camp David Agreement) and the attempt to provide a "Normalization" of relations between Egypt and Israel.

- b) *Infitāḥ Policy* (Open- Door Policy) - to bring as much foreign investment and tourism as possible to Egypt, especially from the western countries.
- c) Iranian Revolution and the Khomeini phenomenon (76).
- d) Sādāt's tendencies to bring Egypt into the Western camp in general and into an alliance with the U.S.A. in particular.
- e) Sādāt's decision that he would not permit the establishment of an Islamic party along the lines and principles advocated by the Muslim Brotherhood.
- f) The enormous growth of night clubs, prostitution, gambling, alcoholic beverage consumption and like activities.
- g) Sādāt's announcement of a new set of laws concerning the status of women, in which at least 30 representatives in the National Assembly had to be women, new restrictions on divorce and to make polygamy nearly impossible.
- h) The Brotherhood- through al-Da'wah - was unremittingly denouncing Sādāt in every attempt by him to solve the Arab-Israel conflict, Palestine

issues etc, since he could not legitimately speak for Islam(77).

- 1) In early 1977, the Brotherhood with other Islamic groups chose to participate heavily in the strikes, demonstrations and riots which took place in January. A numbers of casinos, night clubs and other pleasure spots of the rich and foreigners along the Pyramid Road were smashed and burned by them.

By 1980, 1981, Sadat had reneged on many of his earlier promises regarding - particularly - more Islamic teaching in his administration(78). And in the result, he was assassinated on 6 th October, 1981 by a group which came from the Egyptian military(79).

The Muslim Brotherhood in the Mubarak era (1981 until now).

With the assassination of Anwar al-Sādāt, Vice-President Muḥammad Husni al-Mubārak rapidly assumed leadership of the country. Mubārak attempted to change the face of the regime by selective reforms, besides his determination to uphold Sādāt's commitment to Israel and the United States(80).

Under Mubārak, religious experts were sent to jail to convince the young militants that their interpretations of Islam were faulty(81). According to a report, the Azharite 'ulama' cooperated in this effort of reconversion, while the ministry of Awqāf was reluctant to participate(82).

The Muslim Brotherhood and Other Islamic Groups.

There are more than half a dozen small but militant Islamic groups operating in Egypt, in addition to the Muslim Brotherhood, but it is very difficult to identify their groups, their sizes, activities and resources(83).

Among these groups:

1. *Munazzamat al-Tahrīr al-Islāmī* (The Islamic Liberation Organization - ILO) also sometimes known as *Shabāb Muḥammad* (Muhammad's Youth).
2. *Jamā'at al-Muslimīn* (the Muslim Group)(84) .
3. *Munazzamat al-Jihād* (Holy War Organization)(85).

4. *Hizb Allāh* (Party of God), an active underground group, headed by Yaḥyā Hāshim (District Attorney) (86).
5. *Hizb al-Tahrīr* (Liberation Party) (87)
6. *Jamā'at al-Ahrām* (Pyramid Society) (88).
7. *Qutbiyīn* (Followers of Sayyid Qutb)
8. *Munazzamat al-Jihād* (Jihād Organization). Among the top leaders of this organization are: Shaikh 'Abd al-Raḥmān, A. Zumur and M. Faraj. (89)
9. *Jamā'at al-Fath* (Society of Conquest), suppressed by Mubārak (90).
10. *Jund Allāh Group* (the Soldiers of God Group).

of the activity of militant Islamic groups

An acceptable definition ^{al-Din} was made by Prof. Sa'ad Eddin Ibrāhīm, a well known Egyptian sociologist, ~~on Militant Islamic Groups~~ *as actual violent group behavior committed collectively against the state or other actors in the name of Islam* (91). Only two groups of substantial size meet this definition.

The first is *Munazzamat al-Taḥrīr al-Islāmī* (Islamic Liberation Organization ILO). This organization, well known in the Arab mass media as *Jamā'at al-Fannīya al-askariya* (Technical Military Academy Group, henceforth abbreviated as MA) began on the initiative of Dr. Ṣāliḥ Sirīyya, an educated man with a Ph.D in science education, a Palestinian by birth, in his mid-thirties he had been a member of the Muslim Brotherhood branch in Jordan (known as *Ḥizb al-Taḥrīr al-Islāmī* (the Islamic Liberation Party)). This group appears to have been organized in the early 1970s.

In April, 1974 an attempt was made by this group to stage a coup d'état by taking over the Technical Military College in Cairo, in preparation for marching to the Arab Socialist Union (ASU), where Egypt's top ruling elite were scheduled to listen to a speech by President Sādāt. This plot succeeded in taking over the Military College but was foiled.

The second is *Jamā'at al-Muslimīn* (the Muslim Group). This group is known in the Arab mass media as *al-Takfīr wa al-Hijrah* (Repentance and Holy Flight (RHF)). The initiator of RHF is Shukrī Muṣṭafā, a veteran member of the Muslim Brotherhood, arrested in 1965, tried and jailed for a few years. He was educated in Cairo with a B. Sc in agricultural

science. The size of the group was then estimated to have between 3000 and 5000 active members who were highly organized and quite widely spread horizontally and vertically throughout Egyptian society(92).

A massive operation was kidnapping Shaykh Muhammad Husain al-Dhahabī, the former Minister of *Awqāf* (Religious Endowments) in July, 1977 and killing him, after its demand to release its members from prison was not met. After fighting between security forces and the group, over 400 members were arrested and five Takfir leaders were executed in March, 1979(93).

Referring to the sub-topic above (the Muslim Brotherhood and other Islamic Groups), members of the ILO and RHF claim that there is no difference between them and the Muslim Brotherhood in the religious component of ideology, reading of history and overall vision for the future. In fact they consider themselves as a continuation of the Brotherhood.

According to its members' own testimony, the MA group has been primarily influenced by the literature of the Muslim Brotherhood, especially the writing of Hasan al-Banna and Sayyid Qutb, ^{and the} also translated works of Abū al-A'ālā al-

Mawdūdī in Pakistan and Dr. 'Alī Shari'atī in Iran(94).

Between 1974 and 1977 many of the top leaders of the MA and RHF were arrested, many of whom had some direct or indirect affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood(95).

There were scattered confrontations between the authorities and other Militant Islamic elements, but the massive confrontations were made by two mentioned above.

The ideology of Islamic Militant groups in any part of this world in general and in Egypt in particular is to embody the will of God by leading a righteous life and following the correct path (*al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm*) as taught by the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth. This means the main responsibility of every Muslim is to rebuild a new social order based on Islam (full application of the *Sharī'ah*). Struggling (that means through militant Jihād) to bring that about is a duty of every true Muslim(96).

PART TWO

THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES.

Various types of societies with different characteristics appeared in modern times. Among these societies as stated by Sayyid Qutb in his books were*:

a) **The Communist Societies(1):** Based on Marxism, ~~its~~ *their* ultimate aim is to set up a classless society, with all means of production, distribution and exchange in society belonging to the public(2). Marxism wants to demolish the walls of race and colour, nation and geographical region based on a "class system". It denies the existence of god and believes that the universe was created by "matter" or by "nature", while all man's activities and his history have been created by "economic factors" or "the means of production"; the way of life it adopts is to be governed by the Communist Party. (3)

b) **Idolatrous Societies:** They believe in other gods besides God, their laws and regulations are derived from sources other than God, either from the nation or a party or from another basis(4). These types of societies can be found in India, Japan, the Philippines and Africa(5).

c) **Jewish and Christian Societies**(6): Originally they are the followers of transcendent religion but they have distorted the original beliefs and ascribe certain attributes of God to other beings(7). They have transferred the power to legislate to priests and rabbis. Although they do not regard them as gods, they give them the authority to make laws which are made by them rather than by God(8).

d) **The so-called 'Muslim Societies'** (9): Individually, they are Muslim, but their way of life is not based on submission to God alone. Although they believe in the Unity of God they have delegated the legislative attribute of God to others and submit to this authority, and from this authority they derive their systems, their traditions and customs, their laws, their values and standards(10).

d) **The Muslim Societies**(11): This type of society comes to exist when individuals and groups reject servitude to anyone except God, and accept submission to God, and decide that they will organise their scheme of life on the basis of this submission(12).

The Nature of The Islamic Society:

It is necessary to state that basically the nature of the Islamic Society is different from that of other societies such as Capitalism, Socialism, Communism etc, because the sources and foundations of the Islamic Society come from God alone while the other societies are man-made systems.

The most distinctive feature of an Islamic Society and its organization is that in all its affairs it is based on *al-Hākimiyyah* - Allāh's sovereignty over man. Allāh gives them a particular concept of the universe, of life, of human history, of values and purposes.

The Formation of The Islamic Society:

The message of Islam is to bring human beings into submission to God, to recognise that their true Sustainer and Lord is One God(16), to free them from servitude to other human beings so that they may devote themselves to the One True God, to deliver them from the clutches of human lordship and man-made laws, value systems and traditions,

Sayyid Quṭb divided the types of social systems stated above into either:

1. Islamic Society or al Nizām al Islāmī (13),
- or 2. Jāhili Society or al Nizām al Jāhili (14),

The Islamic Society:

The Islamic Society follows Islam in belief and ways of worship, in law and organization, in morals and manners(15). In this society the belief and ideas of individuals, their devotional acts and religious observances, and their social system are all based on submission to God alone.

In other words, the Islamic Society is the name of a group of people whose manners, ideas and concepts, rules and regulations, values and criteria, are all derived from ~~the~~ Islamic sources.

so that they will acknowledge the sovereignty and authority of the One True God and follow his law in all spheres of life.

To accomplish this sacred message, the formation of an Islamic Society is necessary (17).

The first principle toward the formation of an Islamic Society is to create some potential individuals whose hearts are purified from the worship of anyone other than God(18). Then they come together to make a group, then a community. On this basis the first Muslim group came into being and eventually developed into the first Muslim Community or *Ummah* (19).

The second principle is to create an Islamic Movement. The foremost objective of this movement is to change the practices of the Jāhilī Society, and its long term planning is to change the Jāhilī system at its very roots(20), and among the early programmes or stages of training and education for members of this movement is to remove themselves from all the influences of the Jāhiliyah - from its concepts, traditions and leadership(21).

It is understood that the Islamic Society is not one in which people call themselves 'Muslim' and their birth certificates register them as Muslim (22), but in which the Islamic Law has no status(23), for communities cannot be considered Islamic, whatever their numbers, if the system of life is constructed on some other foundation or if other sources are mixed with this foundation(24).

The Western Civilization today, unable to present any healthy values for the guidance of mankind, rather brings them to the brink of a precipice(25). It is more clear if we observe that all man-made ideologies, movements and theories derived from the Western Civilization have lost their vitality and have proved to be a failure(26).

Lastly he came to the conclusion that an 'Islamic Revival' is very important and unavoidable to lead mankind toward a new world of peace and harmony, fraternity and prosperity. But the question is, how is it possible to start the task of reviving Islam? Immediately, he answered that to achieve this goal, it would be necessary to form a vanguard or *ṭalī'ah*(27) of dedicated Muslims prepared to struggle and sacrifice themselves toward the formation of an Islamic Society(28).

These vanguards will surely become a dynamic movement which challenges Jāhiliyah both in theory and practice, so that it becomes a living faith which grows, struggling against the surrounding forces. There is no other way for the revival of Islam in the shade of Jāhiliyah in whatever age or country it appears(29).

Indeed, Islamic society was founded on the basis of a movement (*ḥarakah*) which derived from Islamic belief (ʿAqīdah Islāmīyah) (30). For him, the Islamic society comes into existence outside the human sphere and outside this world, it comes from Allāh to mankind(31).

Sayyid Qutb stressed confidently, that when the number of believers reaches three, it means that the Islamic society has come into existence (actually). These three increase to ten, the ten to a hundred, the hundred to a thousand and the thousand increase to twelve thousand(32) and the Islamic society grows and becomes established.

Sayyid Qutb stated that an Islamic Society can be born from within the old Jāhili Society(33), and the old society may become submerged into the new Islamic Society or it may

not, and it may make peace with the Muslim Society or may fight it(34).

The Characteristics of the Islamic Society:

In general, Sayyid Qutb outlined the major character of an Islamic society as follows:

1. *al-Hākīmīyah* - Sovereignty in the society belongs to Allāh alone, which is expressed in its obedience to the Divine Law only.

2. *The Nationality* - The Islamic creed is the relationship binding the individuals in the society based on the association of belief alone, not on association based on race or colour, language or country, regional or national interests(35). So, the Islamic Society is an open and all-inclusive community in which people of various races, nations, languages and colours are members(36).

3. *Honour: The most honourable man in this society is the one who is noblest in character(37).*

4. *Equality: All individuals are equally subject to a law which is not man-made* (38).
5. *Freedom: In this society, all men become free from the servitude of some men to others and devote themselves to the worship of God alone* (39).

On the other hand, the Islamic Society is not one in which people call themselves 'Muslim' but in all its affairs. It is based on worship of God alone. Islam in the society not only reigns in name but also governs.

The Jāhili Society:

The Jāhili Society is a way of life which does not follow Islam or al-hākimiyyah - the reign of Allāh's sovereignty on earth.

Jāhiliyyah means deviation from the worship of One God and the way of life prescribed by God. It derives its system of laws, regulations, habits and standards and values from a source other than God (40).

The Nature of the Jāhili Society:

As was stated before, the concept of Jāhili Society is to depose Allāh's sovereignty over man, and some people become above the laws and legislate them to rule over others.

For Sayyid Qutb, this outward manifestation of Jāhiliyah can be seen in different forms, different signs and names during different epochs, but its root and foundation are the same. For Jāhiliyah, to whatever period and stage it belongs, is Jāhiliyah. It is evil and corrupt, whether it be of the ancient or modern variety(41).

He saw Jāhiliyah as extending into almost all aspects of human life in modern times. All a people's beliefs and ideas, their art, rules and laws, even what we consider to be Islamic culture, Islamic sources, Islamic philosophy and Islamic thought are constructs of Jāhiliyah(42). In other words, all existing ideologies, societies, movements and values and moral systems are pagan or Jāhiliyah(43), because all of them believe in materialism, no matter what form is given the highest value and deny Allāh's sovereignty over them.

Hence, the world today is surrounded by Jāhiliyah, is of the same nature as it was during the first period of Islam, perhaps a little deeper (44).

According to Sayyid Qutb, Islam cannot accept any mixing with Jāhiliyah and never makes any compromise with any of the concepts of Jāhiliyah (45).

The Characteristics of the Jāhili Society:

The Jāhili Society appears in various forms, it can exist in the past, present and in the future, all of them ignorant of the Divine Guidance. Among them are:

1. *Shirk*: A society in which belief in God ^{alone} is denied,
2. *Belief in God*: a society which believes in God and permits people to observe their devotions in mosques, churches and synagogues yet, on the other side, the rule of God in their life is suspended (46)
3. *Worship*: A society in which some people worship others, or in other words, some people become

dominant and make laws for others, regardless of whether these laws are against God's injunctions and without caring for the use or misuse of their authority(47).

4. *The Value System*: A society in which materialism, no matter in what form, is given the highest value whether it be in the form of a 'theory' such as in the Marxist interpretation of history, or in the form of material production, as is the case with the United States and European countries and all human values are sacrificed at its altar (48).

However, Sayyid Qutb, while totally rejecting modern Jāhilī Society, called for a complete understanding of its foundations in order to combat it, not by force but by refuting its arguments and exposing its fallacies and its shortcomings(49).

The use of 'al-Jāhilīyah' or 'Jāhilī Society' or 'Jāhilī System' by Sayyid Qutb and some other modern Islamic writers originally may have been introduced by Sayyid Abū al Hasan ʿAlī al- Nadwī in his book: *Mādhā Khasira al-ʿālam bi Inhiṭat al-Muslimīn* (The Loss To The World Due to the Decline of Muslims), English translation: *Islam and the*

World(50) published by International Islamic Federation of Student Organizations, Kuwait, 1981. This book, originally written in Arabic, was published in Cairo in 1950 for the Academy of Research, Translation and Publication in Egypt(51).

These words were not known in Sayyid Qutb's writings (books and articles) on Islamic subjects published before 1951, such as: *al-Taṣwīr al-Fannī fī al-Qur'ān* (1943), *Mashāhid al-Qiyāmah fī al-Qur'ān* (1945) and *al-'Adālah al-Ijtima'īyah fī al-Islām* (1947), but appeared in books written after 1951 such as: *al-Islām wa Mushkilāt al-Ḥaḍārah* (1968), *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān* (1964), *Ma'ālim fī al-Ṭarīq* (1965) etc(52).

This term, traditionally used to refer to the faithlessness or loss of guidance in the pre-Islamic society of the Prophet's time, was used by Sayyid Qutb to refer to those aspects of the modern way of life in non-Muslim society as well as in Muslim society which do not strictly follow the teachings and principles of Islam(53).

SAYYID QUTB ON WESTERN CIVILIZATION

On the decline of the Ottoman Empire, international leadership passed from the Muslims to the non-Muslim nations of the West and a consequence of this change, the influence of Western Civilization, quickly spread all over the world. In a word, the world today is really dominated by Western Civilization in the non-Muslim countries as well as in Muslim countries (54). The influence of Western Civilization exists in every aspect of human life today.

Sayyid Qutb, as one of several Muslim thinkers in this century(55) had wide ideas on the reformulation of contemporary Islamic thought. He carefully analyzed Islam as a complete way of life proposed to the Muslims in particular and to the world in general, an Islamic ideology as an alternative to those current systems and ideologies which bring mankind today to the brink of the precipice(56).

In spite of proposing an Islamic Ideology as an alternative and at the same time re-interpreting Islam as a system correlated to the natural growth of society and the necessities of modern life, Sayyid Qutb deeply criticized

Western Civilization and its destructive values, standards and traditions(57). He believes this civilization will inevitably collapse because it is based on ideas and principles of human origin and therefore is founded on misconceptions, errors and considerations of self-interest. Besides, it contradicts human nature, or in other words, it will harm humanity as a whole(58).

The Origin of Western Civilization:

It would be advisable here to touch on a short history of the origin and root of this civilization to know the nature and spirit of it.

In a simple argument, Western Civilization came into existence starting from the rise of the modern national state, the rivalries of the French and Germans, Russians and Poles, Magyars and Southern Slavs. The religion became militant here on earth and then followed the secular conflict between the crescent and the cross(59).

The root of this contemporary Western Civilization is not of recent origin. Its origin was the Civilization of Ancient Greece and Rome hundreds of years ago.

Dr. Haas, a German scholar said:

The European Civilization was set by Ancient Greece (60)..

Prof Roger Garaudy said:

The Western World	:	Morally, is Christianity and Catholic itself,
Politically and Legally	:	Rome and Roman Law,
Thought and Arts	:	Greece (61).

The Characteristics of Western Civilization:

In his interpretation of the old Greek Civilization, Dr. Haas stated that the aim of this civilization was to develop man harmoniously while the supreme measure was a beautiful body. It clearly emphasized the senses, physical education -

games and dancing, and mental education - poetry, music, drama, philosophy. Even the sciences were kept in proportion so as to develop the mind but not at the expense of the body. Its religion had no spirituality, no theology, no mysticism" (62).

W. E. H. Lecky said: (the Roman Religion) was purely selfish. It was simply a method of obtaining prosperity, averting calamity and reading the future. Ancient Rome produced many heroes, but no saints. Its self-sacrifice was patriotic, not religious. Religion was neither an independent teacher nor a source of inspiration(63).

It has already been pointed out that most, if not all modern ideologies and movements appearing in the Western societies are revealed from their minds. The spirit of the West is dominated by materialism. Its thinkers, political and socio-economic leaders reject everything that does not have a direct bearing upon economic materialism and sexual desires. As a result, Darwinism, Freudianism and Marxism and other Western theories and social institutions are the direct consequences of the view that man is, after all, an elevated animal(64).

The real religion of the West today, the religion that rules over its mind and spirit, is not Christianity but Materialism(65).

Sayyid Qutb's views on Western Civilisation:

The high achievement of Western Civilization in science and technology, culture and material production was accepted by Sayyid Qutb. These developments are far ahead of those of the East and at least for a few centuries to come we cannot expect to compete with Europe(66). But unfortunately, this civilization with its ideas, cultures, customs and traditions makes recent mankind suffer, worried and confused, having been scorched by the fires of greed, materialism and hedonism.

The reason for this decline is not because their civilization has become poor materially or their economy and military power has become weak, but because their civilization is unable to present any vital values for the guidance of mankind.

All modern political ideologies and movements, socio-economic theories and the institutions created by the Western World derived from those values have lost their vitality.

He said:

Thus the humiliation of the common man under the communist system and the exploitation of individuals and nations due to greed for wealth and imperialism under the capitalist systems are but a corollary of rebellion against God's authority and the denial of the dignity of man given to him by God(67).

In this regard, Sayyid Qutb presented several arguments to mankind to reject this contemporary Western Civilization, to avoid suffering and humiliation. He accused this civilization of being a Jāhilī Civilization(68) for several reasons, among which are:

- a) Western Civilization is based on wrong belief, such as atheism, polytheism or monotheism, because it

has ignored the laws of God, rather it makes man ..
 (69).

- b) Western Civilization is based on materialism, no matter in what form, in theory or in practice. This concept of materialism assumes the meanings of ethic, morality and immorality and values systems are relative or due to economic factors or sometimes to political affairs(70). In other words, material production is considered to be more valuable and honourable than the development of human character.
- c) Western Civilization is based on a wrong worldview on man, on society, on life and on nature(71).
- d) Western Civilization is based on a wrong perception of the relationship between man and woman(72).

Sayyid Quṭb was not alone in his condemnation of Western Civilization. Before him, there were a number of Muslim thinkers who criticized the Western World and its civilization, especially its systems and values and advocated a return to Islam as an alternative to Western Capitalism and Communism. Among them were al-Imām Muḥammad ‘Abduh, al-Shaikh Jamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī, al-Imām Hasan al-

Bannā, Muḥammad Iqbāl, ‘Abd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī, Abū al ‘A‘lā al-Maudūdī, Abū al-Ḥaṣan ‘Alī al-Nadwī and others. For instance, Ḥasan al-Bannā said:

....the civilization of the West, which was brilliant by virtue of its scientific perfection for a long time, and which subjugated the whole world with the product of this science to its states and nations, is now bankrupt and in decline. Its foundation are crumbling, and its institutions and guiding principles are falling apart. Its political foundations are being destroyed by dictatorship, and its economic foundations are being swept away by crises.

All of humanity are tormented, wretched, worried and confused, having been scorched by the fires of greed and materialism(73).

The ideology of domination in the minds of Western nations did not define its goal without involving a fallacious chauvinism, and therefore it brought about internecine warfare and aggression against weak nations(74).

The present military force of Europe, everyone knows, comprises that army of injustice and the soldiery of greed(75).

Muhammad Iqbāl repeatedly and bitterly accused the West of cheating humanity of its basic values with the glittering mirage of its technology, of exploiting the territories it colonised in the name of spreading humanitarian values, which it itself flouted by waging internecine wars born of sheer economic savagery, and of dewomanizing the woman and dilapidating the family institution in the name of progress(76).

In the Western World itself, there are prominent figures in philosophy, history and politics who predicted the decadency of Western Civilization. For instance, Oswald Spengler in German after World War 1 and Arnold J. Toynbee in Britain after World War II gained wide audiences for their theories of history that seemed to imply an inevitable future decline of Western Civilization(77).

Steward C. Easton wrote in his book;The Western Heritage:

We have further concerned ourselves with the paradox that almost none of the writers or philosophers of stature in this century have been optimistic about the condition of man, and that all are engaged in trying to find meaning in the life of man, meaning which continues to elude them(78).

SAYYID QUTB'S CONCEPT OF CIVILIZATION.

What is the meaning of Civilization ? The word 'civilization' is derived from the Latin *civis*, it is a concept usually used by historians, anthropologists and moralists to describe certain stages of society generally contrasted with 'primitive', 'underdeveloped', 'barbarous'. This word has been defined variously by different disciplines of knowledge, even differently by different writers in one discipline.

Among the dominant definitions of Civilization derived from the western intellectual points of view are:

- a) A universalistic definition offered by the English anthropologist E.B. Taylor (1832-1917) in 1871:

"Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (79).

b) By Lewis Henry Morgan:

Civilization is a development from barbarism whereby an appreciable proportion of the members of society no longer get their own food as hunters, fishers, or farmers but consume the surplus produced by others in return for specialist services as crafts^smen, merchants, magicians, soldiers, judges or kings(80).

c) By an American anthropologist Clyde Kluckhohn:

The presence of two of the following: towns, writing, complex ceremonial centres(81).

d) Sjoberg :

The presence of writing in a society(82).

e) Prof Gordon Childe:

The knowledge of the art of writing(83).

Other definitions usually given to define the word civilization are:

- f) A society that is controlled by codified laws which are enforced by civil authority.
- g) Any given society, no matter how simple or complex.
- h) The superorganic.
- i) A complex, literate society, which uses metals, has a machine technology and a money economy(84).

In general, the most accurate and fruitful employment of this term is to denote the highest stage in social evolution. But no doubt, all these definitions are inaccurate and do not correlate to the teachings of Islam, for these definitions derive from the Materialism of the Western worldview(85) which was labelled by Sayyid Qutb as a Jāhili Civilization(86).

Yet, what type of civilization is hoped for by him and what are its principles and values ? Unfortunately there is no direct definition given by Sayyid Qutb, but it was widely

explained in his books: *al-Islām wa Mushkilāt al-Ḥadārah* and *Ma‘ālim fī al-Ṭarīq*(87). In a simple word, he defined the Civilized Society as an Islamic Society(88), which is a complete and real human civilization(89). Islamic Civilization is the true noble civilization that emphasizes human values and morals, intellectual and material progress, not a civilization which may make progress in industries, economics and sciences while these morals and humanities are suppressed, but one in which the dignity and honour of man are respected according to what God has prescribed(90).

Sayyid Qutb laid down the principles and values of Islamic Civilization. These are eternal and unchangeable.

1. The worship of God alone,
2. The foundation of human relationships on the belief in the unity of God,
3. The supremacy of the humanity of man over material things,
4. the development of human values and the control of animalistic desires,

5. Respect for the family,
6. The assumption of the vicegerency of God on earth according to His guidance and instruction,
7. The implementation of the *Sharī'ah*(91).

For him, Islamic Civilization is unique and universal. Therefore it can develop anywhere and in any environment. Of course, these forms differ, depending on local conditions in which these values develop, as long as these differences are within the circle and norms of the Islamic concept of Civilization. The real civilization was established in Madīnah, in Baghdād, in Spain, in Cairo, in Dehli or (Delhi), in Istanbūl and so on(92), it was never an Arab Civilization, it was never a mere nationality but always a community of belief(93).

He finished the chapter "*al-Islām huwa al-Ḥadārah*" with a quotation from the Qur'ān: (Our religion is) The Baptism of God, and who can baptize better than God ?(al-Baqarah: 138)

PART THREE

SOME CRITICISM OF MODERN IDEOLOGIES

SOME CRITICISM ON MODERN IDEOLOGIES.

~~Since~~ The real message of Islam is to release mankind from servitude of one man to another, ^{which implies the abolition of} ~~that means to abolish~~ all man-made systems so that the *Shari'ah* is the only system which ought to be established in the world(1). It is the function of Islam to change people's beliefs and actions as well as their outlook and way of thinking. Only under the Islamic Government, would people have complete freedom and real protection for their life, their dignity and wealth.

For Sayyid Qutb, all man-made systems and ideologies are the same in their nature and way of thinking, their materialistic worldviews on life are united, but the differences between them are in approaches and (in way of) arrangements (i.e. there was total freedom of investment in America, while it was guided in England and no investment at all in Russia and everything would be held by the community) (2).

He affirmed that all modern ideologies such as nationalism, capitalism, socialism, communism etc are destructive to the human being and the community. All of them failed to see that the underlying conflict in the world

is not economic but spiritual in nature. The real human struggle is not the possession and monopoly of wealth and power but for the heart, soul, allegiance and commitment of the human being.

In his view, Islam knows only two kinds of society: Islamic society and Jāhili society(3), and a struggle between a variety of social forces is the struggle between the *Party of God* and the *Party of Satan*(4).

From this vantage point, Sayyid Qutb was actively involved in the Muslim Brotherhood movement. He saw it as the *Party of God*. He believed that only Islam is capable of solving human basic problems, of granting men comprehensive social justice, of restoring for them justice in government, in economics, in opportunities and in punishment(5). Only Islam is able to combine two ideas without any contradiction or extremism: The idea of Nationalism in the Great Islamic State and the idea of a comprehensive social justice are dominant in it(6).

On the international political level, Sayyid Qutb insists that the Muslim World ought to unite in an Islamic Bloc. This Islamic alternative becomes necessary to free

them from subservience to either Capitalist Bloc in the West or Communist Bloc in the East, both what he calls the communist West and the capitalist East are the same. These two systems acted as one bloc of enmity toward us, and the case of Palestine is a witness to this(7).

To him, it is not necessary for Muslim states today to unite under one government, rather, they would unite under one bloc of Islam in which the *Shari'ah* is their legislation(8).

Inevitably for Islam to rule, is to introduce to humanity an ideal society such as is dreamed of by Communism, Socialism and Christianity(9).

In short, he said: Islam will remain the greatest and most powerful concept ever known in the history of man. The Islamic worldview on man, on life and on nature are ideal and comprehensive and grant more dignity to humanity(10).

CAPITALISM.

The Capitalist system, also called the Democratic system, came into being in Western societies after the The French Revolution which stressed individual freedom in all aspects of life. This concept conformed to the needs of European societies at that time and was their liberator from the ugly Feudalism(28).

Sayyid Qutb agrees that capitalism in its early stages brought about great progress to humanity. Production was increased, means of communication were improved and national resources were exploited on a large scale for the interest of both sides - capitalist groups and societies, an important advance contrasted with the Feudalistic era before(29).

But, such a glorious picture did not last long because the natural development of capitalism gradually changed this great freedom to great evil and rendered oppression to the majority in society. Consequently, this concept of freedom led to the freedom of monopoly, accumulation of wealth among the minority, usury and injustice in wages for workers(30).

Capitalism is a materialistic theory of social system, therefore contrary to human nature. The moral values in Capitalism refer to self-interest and always ally to the ruling class. Normally, capitalists use people and governments to justify their aims(31).

On the international level, the conflict among the capitalist countries led to competition for raw material resources, new markets for their goods and investments which in turn gave rise to colonialism.

Capitalism rests on the activities of usury, monopoly, violence and oppression(32). Therefore a small minority of the population - the capitalist class - own and control the major resources of the country. As a result of this, destructive wars and colonialism were the inevitable outcome of monopolistic capitalism(33).

Sayyid Qutb asserts that Capitalism as an ideology was unable to fulfil the development of European societies. Because of that, in the later part of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the propagandists of capitalism declared that capitalism was based on freedom of competition, ^{which} ~~that~~ conforms to the interest of individuals

and communities, but it became monopoly, the very contrary of competition(34).

The history of European countries told us that the Western societies had a lot of experience in social systems starting from the Slavery system of the Roman Empire and moving through Feudalism to Capitalism to Marxism and Nazism(35).

COMMUNISM.

It is inevitable that every contemporary Muslim thinker should pay more attention or lay special emphasis on Communism(17) as a system of belief and as a modern ideology in the world today.

The objection of Islam to Communism or Marxism is because of its atheism and materialism(18), a form of modern myth in the name of scientific revolution. Communism also limits human reality to the realm of the animal by focusing on food, drink, clothing, housing and sex, so in the Communist view the whole of human history is nothing but a struggle for food(19).

For Sayid Qutb, historically, Communism or Marxism is derived from the materialist concept of life, the idea that was embraced by the Western people from their early civilization - Roman Civilization - based on materialism(20). Communism or the Materialistic Interpretation of History came into existence because of its domination in the mind of the Western World after the French Revolution(21) and the extremism of individualistic Capitalism had come to an end(22).

He asserts that theoretically speaking, Communism is a small and an insignificant idea which deserves no respect from those who think humanely, above the level of food and drink(23). Marxism is completely ignorant of the human soul, its nature and history. It ascribes all human incentives to the feeling of material hunger and to the struggle for material gain. It describes all historical events as due solely to change in the means of production(24).

Marxism depicts the future as void of all human legacies, assuming that human beings will be philanthropic angels, each individual producing his utmost but receiving only according to his needs. It assumes that all this would take place without control or government. All these will happen, after the revolution when the "bourgeois" elements are eradicated giving the social order into the hands of the "proletariat" (25).

Islam allows private property and it is inviolable, but forbids that wealth circulate among a limited group of rich. Wealth is not sought for itself in Islam but is sought as a means to piety and a way to upright, merciful, and loving action, while Communism sees that ownership, private property and wealth are the source of all evil in society and they should be held by the community(26).

Sayyid Qutb asserts that Marxist doctrine or any social order influenced by Marxism cannot continue and survive except by coercion and in an atmosphere of intimidation and suppression (27).

NATIONALISM.

A careful reading of Sayyid Qutb's literature on Islamic political thought would clearly show that Nationalism or Patriotism or any modern ideologies are contradictory to Islam and he assumes them to be Jāhilīyah.

In his books especially *Ma'ālim fī al-Ṭarīq* and *Naḥwa Mujtama' Islāmī*, he argues that Nationalism came into being to fulfill the needs of certain situations in the last two centuries. Nationalism, indeed, a thing of the past, was now a human legacy. The role of Nationalism certainly was taken over by the thought of Social Justice(11).

Nationalism - today - remains a limited idea and irrelevant to the logical ideas and demands of the modern world. This type of grouping according to family, tribe, nation, country, race or colour is the residue of the primitive state of man, from a period when man's spiritual values were at a low stage(12).

Nationalism as a social and political doctrine, claims that all people should give their highest loyalty to their

own nation. This was rejected by Islam more than thirteen centuries ago. Prophet Muhammad assumed it as a "*muntanah*" a "*dead thing*" against which man's spirit should revolt(13). That was why he did not use the fire of Arab Nationalism from the beginning of his messengership. It can be said that if he had called people in this way, the whole of Arabia would have accepted it and united under his leadership, and when the authority had once developed in his hands, he could have used all this to make them accept Islam, for which purpose he was sent. But this is not the way. It is not a noble and an ideal concept of struggle. The All-Knowing and All-Wise Allāh did not lead His Messenger on that course(14).

Sayyid Quṭb says, for Islam, nationality means belief and a way of life, therefore Dār al-Islām is the only fatherland for every Muslim, the place that the Islamic faith, the Islamic way of life and the *Sharī'ah* are dominant(15) and only this meaning and this relationship^{are} worthy of man's dignity(16). That made all people of any race or colour equal under the banner of Islam.

In this connection, Islam freed all humanity from the ties of the earth and the chains of blood relationship.

SOCIALISM.

In 1948, Sayyid Qutb wrote a book: *al-‘Adālah al-Ijtimā‘īyah fī al-Islām* [Social Justice In Islam] (36). The major concern in his book was to explain that Islam, as a comprehensive way of life, had a unique concept of social justice and universalism. He aimed also to refute the misconception of some people especially the Western oriented Muslim intellectuals that Islam is socialism, or Islam and socialism are united, or at least, there is no contradiction in broad principle between Islam and socialism(37).

In spite of the fact that socialism comes closer to Islam and is parallel in many things, especially in the realm of economy(38), giving dignity of life for individuals, freedom of private property, justice in distribution of wealth and common ownership in certain properties and so on, yet socialism is a purely materialistic ideology, without moral values, therefore colonialism could be a product of such an ideology(39).

To him, Socialism is a racial system and local in orientation, whilst the Islamic system is a human system and one of universalism(40). Like communism, the example of the

ideal socialist society in action does not yet exist(41). In his view, the existence of socialism in the Western World during the last two centuries is the consequence of special circumstances of that time.

Socialism, like other man-made systems is incapable of making perfect rules for a harmonious life. Only God has this capacity and has done so in the form of the *Sharī'ah*(42).

PART FOUR

THE ISLAMIC SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS
OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES

THE ISLAMIC SOLUTION
TO THE PROBLEMS OF CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES.

It is necessary for Muslims to assume their role of leadership through Islam, to liberate all humanity from allegiance to any system or law other than the *Shari'ah*(1). Islam is commissioned to realize peace in the world, to eradicate oppression and injustice whenever they are found, even though it is the oppression of the individual against himself, the oppression of society against itself or the oppression of the government against its constituents(2).

To realize peace in this context is to secure the dominance of the Word of God in the world, affirming His Leadership, His Sovereignty [*Hākimiyyah*] and His Justice(3). Only through this way would the real peace be enjoyed by humanity.

He believes that Islam contains all the principles necessary to "correct and cure" social diseases in human societies in the past, present and in the future.

Sayyid Qutb starts with this argument: God is the creator of the universe and the creator of man. The same God

is also the organizer of the universe, of human life and of human relationship to the universe. Man is a part of the universe, the laws which govern human nature are no different from the laws governing the universe(4). And *Sharī'ah* which God has given to man to organise his life is also a part of the universal law. Thus obedience to the *Sharī'ah* becomes a necessity for human beings so that their life may become harmonious and in tune with the rest of the universe(5).

Indeed, the crisis in the modern world cannot be overcome except by the acceptance of the Islamic system as the regulative principle. Once the Islamic system is restored, the virtuous society would arise.

THE UNIVERSAL PEACE AND ISLAM.

Sayyid Qutb wrote a book: *al-Salām al-‘Ālamī wa al-Islām* (Islam and Universal Peace) in 1952 in which he affirmed that peace is the essential character of Islam(6).

In this book he stated: Islam's approach to spread *salām* throughout the world starts from the root of peace into the

human conscience, to their family, to their societies and to the universe. Peace is the eternal principle in Islam(7), and all Islamic principles are God-given and relevant for every time and place, conform to human nature, are grounded in the reality of life as an integration of creation with the law of life and the laws governing humans. For ^{the} Islamic worldview is a divine vision, the world is its scope and the human is its subject(8).

Jihād and War:

In Islam, war is the exception which becomes necessary when there is deviation from the integration exemplified in the religion of the one God, resulting in injustice, oppression, corruption and discord(9).

He sees the Jihād or war for the realization of the righteous society ordained by God as a liberating force, not as an oppression(10). Jihad works to realize the idea of universal revolution. It is not aimed at rule, control or booty(11). In other words jihād or Islamic war is to free man from subservience to human institutions, forces, and attitudes that are destructive of the human being and the community.

Islam rejects all the justifications for war in the world such as nationalism, racism, colonialism, greed and economic expansion or to fulfill desires of personal interests(12).

The only one kind of war permitted by Islam is one that is fought while striving to secure the dominance of the word of God in the world(13). That means that legal war in Islam can happen only in these two situations:

1. The war against those who oppose its way by force(14).
2. The war in order to liberate people and to realize social justice(15).

It is not the intention of Islam to force people into Islam. However, the compulsion comes into being against those who oppose its way by force(16). In this manner, Islam has placed a certain responsibility on Muslims:

- a. To protect the believers that they do not stray from the religion, permitting the use of force to repel force,

- b. To guarantee the freedom of propagation [Islamic da'wah]. It is the duty of Muslims to eradicate any oppressive powers which impede the way of da'wah.
- c. To affirm God's sovereignty on earth, and the duty of Muslims to remove those who usurp this sovereignty.
- d. To establish justice [Islamic Justice] that all people may enjoy it(17).

To accomplish real peace in all its aspects, society and the entire world, Islam emphasizes it in three arenas:

- a. Peace of conscience,
- b. Peace in the home,
- c. Peace in society(18).

Peace of Conscience:

The peace of conscience is a starting-point for the establishment of world peace. It would be achieved when a man makes peace with his own nature. He will have peace of

mind, then makes a complete harmony with the law of the universe. And obedience to the Shari^hah is the only way to attain that kind of peace and harmony. Only in this state will he be at peace with his conscience or men at peace with themselves(19).

Peace In The Home:

To create peace at home and for a healthy family life as the basic unit of society, Islam regulates family life. The relationship between husband and wife in a family should be based on love, mercy, tolerance, and cooperation. To accomplish these objectives, Islam pointed out certain rights and obligations for both sides, to each will be according to his (or her) position, among them are:

- marriage is concluded by mutual agreement, written or oral of the two parties.
- the woman obtains from her husband the *mahr* a contractual sum(20).
- the division of labour and responsibilities between husband and wife.

- the rights to inheritance.
- the rights to *faskh* or divorce [in certain circumstances] (21).

Peace in Society:

In Islam, the family is the basis of society and the basis of the family is the division of labour between husband and wife and the upbringing of children is the most important function of the family.

This kind of family provides the environment in which human values and morals develop and grow in the new generation.

When people live at peace with themselves and at peace in their homes then making peace and cooperation among individuals in society, ^{are} ~~is~~ followed automatically by peace in the whole society, and total harmony between human societies, living together under common principles: Brotherhood, equality, justice and social cooperation

In short, the peace of humanity or universal peace would be achieved when actions of men are in accord with the universe's laws and its movements(22). The Muslim contribution to make the world a place of peace and plenty, a place of progress and prosperity for one and all was recognized by history and historians(23).

SOCIAL JUSTICE IN ISLAM.

Sayyid Qutb's work on Islamic thoughts on Social Justice can be seen in his important books: *al-‘Adālah al-Ijtimā‘īyah fī al-Islām*(24) and *Ma‘ālim fī al-Ṭarīq*(25).

In his view, all modern human problems: Humiliation of mankind, moral decay, poverty and social injustice can only be solved by Islam's solution. For, Islam (or the Islamic system) conforms to human nature, it satisfies the dignity of all human needs in society(26). Islam strives to harmonize the interests of the individuals in the entire community.

Social justice in Islam is comprehensive human justice and not merely an economic justice, that is to say, it embraces all sides of life and all aspects of freedom(27).

Islamic thoughts on social justice are based on Islamic belief, laws and morals - and start with absolute submission to the will and sovereignty of

God alone. He asserts that social justice in Islam is perfect, it is concerned alike with the mind and the body, with the heart and the conscience.

General Principles of Social Justice In Islam.

The values with which this justice deals are not only economic values, nor are they merely material values in general, rather they are a mixture of moral and spiritual values together. Islam came establishing from the very beginning the principle of equal opportunity, guaranteeing individual needs and achieving a balance between the liberty of the individual to profit and the rights of society, the principle of private and public property, the principle of state interference in the economy and so on.

In his major work on this field - *al-‘Adālah al-Ijtimā‘īyah fī al-Islām* - he set out the general principles of social justice in Islam, which can be summarised as follows:

1. Liberation and Purification of the Soul,

2. Equality of opportunity,
3. Justice,
4. al-Takāful al-Ijtimā'ī " mutual social responsibility" (28).

1. Liberation and Purification of the Soul:

Islam considers that the first step toward the realization of this scheme is the liberation and purification of the soul (29).

2. Equality of Opportunity:

Islam does, of course, acknowledge the fundamental equality of all men, and basic justice among all, but over and above that, it leaves the door open for the achievement of preeminence through hard work, since different individuals have different methods of gaining their livelihood. Islam admits the reasonable causes of these differences, as being differences in strength and in

endowment. It does not admit differences that depend on rank and station. Such it absolutely denies.

3. Justice:

For Sayyid Quṭb, Islam is not only a religion but a comprehensive ideology that can and must regulate social and political life in its totality. Therefore, to realize justice in social life, Islam emphasizes justice in social order. It must be based on these three principles:

a. The justice of the ruler,

b. The obedience of the ruled,

and c. The *shūrā* between the ruler and the ruled (30).

4. al-Ṭakāful al-Ijtimā'ī:

The mutual social responsibility in Islam is an ideal which includes among its components the idea of social security in which each individual has an ordained right to

obtain what is sufficient for life in material and spiritual matters(31)

Each individual has the right to food, drink, clothing, transportation and housing. He also has the right of marriage which is one of the necessities as it is related to the preservation of life and the response to primary needs(32). The minimum for life must be guaranteed to all. "*People share in three things: Water, pasture and fire*". (Prophetic Tradition).

There is takāful between the individual and himself, between the individual and his family, between the individual and his society, between one community or ummah and other communities and between one generation and another(33).

Islam recognized property(34) as a social function, but the state forbids its utilization as a means of oppression and exploitation. Also recognized are natural instincts of the individual and his right to private property.

Islam, in order to uphold justice in distribution of wealth in society, prohibits the holding of wealth by one single group in society. This is imperative, to avoid antagonism and struggle among social groups which might destroy the unity of the Ummah.

Zakāt:

Sayyid Qutb sees in *Zakāt* one of the means of prohibiting the accumulation of wealth and one of the general principles of Islamic policy on wealth - "So that this (wealth) may not circulate solely among the rich from among you" (35). In spite of its importance, *zakāt*, as a devotional and social obligation, is limited in effect and cannot alone lead to social justice (36). Since *zakāt* is the minimum religious obligation on wealth, it is the task of the government to pass any taxation law it deems necessary to attain the general welfare in the realm of *al-Maṣāliḥ al-Mursala*. . . (~~Excepted Interests~~) and *Sadd al-Dharā'ī* (~~Precaution~~) (37).

Besides *zakāt*, several non-obligatory contributions are demanded from every Muslim to the society; among them are *ṣadaqāt* and *infāq*.

In short, social justice is a part of the totality of Islamic teachings and way of life. This part cannot completely function if the real Islamic way of life cannot come into existence in reality.

ISLAM: A LIBERATING FORCE.

Sayyid Quṭb is one of a few contemporary interpreters of Islam who sees the uniqueness of Islam's way of life from the whole aspect of life. He articulated the content, scope and method of this ideology so that it really became an alternative and a most powerful solution to the current problems of mankind. As was stated before, his writings and his thoughts have inspired numerous contemporary revivalist Islamic movements in the world. His ideas and interpretations of Islam have become the accepted definition of Islam in order to elaborate the role and the function of Islam in shaping real justice and ideal human civilization.

Islam was variously described by Sayyid Quṭb in order to interpret the nature and the scope of Islam as revealed by Allah to His Prophet:

1. Islam is a universal proclamation of the freedom of man from servitude to other men, the establishment of the sovereignty of God and His Lordship throughout the world, the end of man's arrogance and selfishness, and

the implementation of the rule of the Divine Sharī'ah in human affairs(38).

2. Islam is a universal declaration of the freedom of man from servitude to other men. Thus it strives from the beginning to abolish all those systems and governments which are based on the rule of man over man and the servitude of one human being to another(39).
3. This religion is a general proclamation for the liberation of 'man' on 'earth' from bondage(40) to creatures(41).
4. This religion is a universal declaration of human liberation on earth from bondage to other men or to human desires(42).
5. This religion is not a declaration for the liberation of the Arab man, it is not a message restricted to the Arab. Its object is 'man' the 'human' genus, its scope is the 'world'the whole world(43).

6. A comprehensive revolution against the government of humans in its various shapes, forms, systems and conditions and total rebellion against all conditions in the world where government is controlled by humans(44).

7. 'Ulūhīyah' means sovereignty; ascribing sovereignty only to God meant that the authority would be taken away from the priests, the leaders of tribes, the wealthy and the rulers(45).

The definition of the *Sharī'ah*:

The *Sharī'ah* of Allāh means everything that Allāh has decreed to organize human life. This includes the principles of faith, the principles of the administration of justice, the principles of morality and human behaviour as well as the principle of knowledge. It also includes instruction concerning all social, economic, political, ethical, intellectual, as well as aesthetic aspects of life(46).

The Definition of "Dīn":

To Sayyid Quṭb "religion" or "*dīn*" means a way of life. It includes more than belief (‘*aqīdah*). (In this sense communism is not a mere social system, it is an ideological ideal (47)).

The scope of Islam is universal. Only in the Islamic way of life do all men become free from the servitude of some men to others and devote themselves to the worship of God alone.

Historical evidence proved that Islamic conquest was one of civilizing, refining, guiding and teaching (48).

To him, the Divine attributes, the universe, life, man are all included in the Islamic concept, which is not only comprehensive and perfect but also realistic and constructive.

CONCLUSION.

Indeed, Sayyid Qutb is a reformer and a spokesman of a very active Muslim movement in this century. He wrote on Islam as a "*dīn*" - a complete way of life, that includes social order which derives from it to administer all human activities.

1. He elaborated Islam in:

- a. the nature and the scope of Islam, Islamic worldview on nature, on man, on society and on history,
- b. the function or the force of Islam,
- c. the mission of Islam,

and d. the Islamic *manhaj* (method and process).

a. THE NATURE and THE SCOPE OF ISLAM:

Islam as divine religion is universal in scope and comprehensive (*shāmil and kāmil*). Islam is an all-embracing concept, which regulates every aspect of life.

The *Sharī'ah* of Islam means everything that Allāh has decreed to organize human life.

b. THE FUNCTION or THE FORCE OF ISLAM:

For Sayyid Qutb, Islam is a comprehensive revolution to liberate mankind from man-made systems, to establish the kingdom of God on earth. And the concept of *tauhīd* is a principle to human liberation. In this sense, Islam considers the first step toward the realization of this scheme as the liberation and purification of the soul.

Islam struggles to release people from any pressure and oppression to give them complete freedom of choice, either to accept Islam or not.

c. THE MISSION OF ISLAM:

The mission of Islam is to call (*da'wah*) people to Islam, to lead Mankind towards truth, to call humanity to the path of goodness and illuminate the entire world with the light of Islam.

d. ISLAMIC MANHAJ:

For Sayyid Qutb, the Islamic manhaj is the authentic guideline from the Prophet Muḥammad to every Muslim in order to establish the kingdom of Allāh on earth. The experiences and the practices of the first Islamic generation in Makkah, then the establishment of the first Islamic State in Madīnah under the guidance of the Prophet, are the only way to reach God, all other ways do not lead to Him.

This Islamic *manhaj* can be realized only through these stages:

1. the formation of vanguards [*ṭalī'ah*] they become a nucleus, the agents, the life, the

organization, the action as well as the evidence of Islam itself.

2. the formation of Islamic family,
3. the formation of Islamic movement (*harakah*) or *jamā'ah*,
4. realization of *'uzlah* or *hijrah*,
5. the formation of Islamic society.

In this final stage, Islam comes into reality as a new vision for a new life, for humanity and real civilization.

2. He was the first contemporary Muslim thinker who made a clear distinction between two kinds of society: Islamic society and Jāhili society.

3. It is important to note that Sayyid Qutb, like most Muslim reformers from the early nineteenth century on, did not reject modernization and technology. He believed that it was possible to pick and choose those aspects of Western Civilization that conform to Islamic doctrine and morality

and neatly excise the rest. On the other hand, he called to reject the West, the concept of Westernization and apologeticism.

4. Sayyid Qutb pointed out some of the practical differences between Islam and man-made systems.

5. He sees the crisis in the Muslim world as one that cannot be overcome except by the acceptance of the Shari'ah as the regulative principle. Once the Shari'ah was restored, the Muslim virtuous society would arise.

In conclusion, ^aSayyid Qutb, was a leading Muslim thinker of his day. His works, ideas and his systematic approaches continue to be a fertile source of inspiration for Islamic revivalists in all corners of the world at least in our day.

SELECTIVE GLOSSARY

Caliph. The Western form of an Arabic term *khalīfah*, which means successor. In Islamic history, the *caliphs* were the successors of the Prophet as leaders of the Muslim community.

Imām, A term with numerous connotations, all revolving about the idea of leadership. As a title, it may refer to the individual who leads the communal prayers in a mosque, a renowned religious teacher or scholar. The term *imām* is used instead of *caliph*.

Shahīd. "witness". A martyr for the faith, who dies defending Islam or extending its way.

Salaf or al-Salaf al-Ṣāliḥ. First three generations of Islam.

Sufism. This dimension of Islam stresses the immanence of God. It manifests itself as the Islamic form of mysticism.

Shaykh. This term can apply to a tribal leader, a religious teacher or a ruler.

Taqlīd. Reliance on tradition.

'*Ulamā*'. Collective term for the learned men in the Islamic tradition.

NOTES

INTRODUCTION:

1. There are innumerable publications: books, magazines, periodicals and newspapers regarding these titles, for example, *Islamic Resurgence in the Arab World*, edited by Ali E. Dessouki, *Islam in Revolution, The Anatomy of Islamic Revival: Legitimacy Crisis, Ethnic Conflict, and The Search for Islamic Alternatives* and *The Anatomy of Islamic Revival*, by H.R. Dekmejian in *The Middle East Journal*, *Oil Wealth and Islamic Resurgence* by Daniel Pipes in *Islamic Resurgence, The Resurgence of Islam: The Spirit of the New Century*, in *Islam: Continuity and Change in the Modern World* by John Obert Voll, *The Return of Islam* by Bernard Lewis, etc. 2. for further discussion of the definition of these concepts and their history, see Fazlur Rahman, "Revival and Reform in Islam," *The Cambridge History of Islam*, ed. P.M. Holt, Ann K.S. Lambton, and Bernard Lewis, 2 vols. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), vol. 2, pp. 632-642, G.H. Jansen, *Militant Islam: The Historic Whirlwind*, *New York Times Magazine*, Abū al-Ālā Maudūdī, *A Short History of the Revivalist Movement in Islam*, trans. al-Anṣārī (Lahore: Islamic Publications, 1976), Hamid Enayat, "The Resurgence of Islam, 1: The Background," *History Today*, Maxime Rodinson, *Islam Resurgent ? Gazelle Review of Literature on the Middle East*, and A. Merad, "Iṣlāḥ", *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (new edition), vol. 4, pp. 141-163.

2. Watt, W. Montgomery, *Islamic Political Thought*, (Sixth series of Islamic Surveys), Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 1968, see Introduction of the book.
3. Heyworth-Dunne, J, *Religion and Political Trends In Modern Egypt*, Washington, 1950, p. 15
4. The Holy Prophet said: "God will send to this ummah at the head of each century those who will renew its faith for it".
5. *Tajdīd* and *Iṣlāḥ* are deeply rooted in the basic soil of Islam. The ^{words} ~~verbs~~: *aṣḥāḥ*, *iṣlāḥ*, *ṣulḥ*, *ṣāliḥ*, *muṣliḥ* (in various forms singular, plural etc) are very common in the vocabulary of the Qur'ān. The current Islamic revival is not simply a reaction to the West, it was only one of many reactions emanating from the ummah in response to the challenge of European civilization. Rather, it was part of an ongoing process of renewal (*tajdīd*) and reform (*iṣlāḥ*) which reflects a continuing tradition in Islamic history, see John O. Voll, *Renewal and Reform in Islamic History in Voices of Resurgent Islam*, edited by John L. Esposito (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), M. A. Zaki Badawī, *Three Reformers of Egypt* (London: Croom Helm, 1978) also see Tareq Y. Ismael, Jacqueline S. Ismael, *Government and Politics in Islam* (London: Frances Pinter, 1985), pp. 25-55, Nadwī, Abū al-Hasan 'Alī, *Rijāl al-Fikr wa al-Da'wah fī al-*

Islam, Kuwait, Dār al-Qalam, fifth printing, 1977, pp. 13-32, and *Iṣlāḥ*, in *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, New Edition, Vol. IV, p. 141-163.

6. The following are a list of the famous personalities in the historical continuity of *Tajdīd* and *Iṣlāḥ* in Islam from the age of *al-Salaf al-Sāliḥ* (the pious forefathers) to the modern time:

The first (Islamic) century	: The Caliph ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-‘Azīz.
The second century	: al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī.
The third century	: al-Imām Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal.
The fourth century	: Abū al-Ḥasan al-‘Ash‘arī.
The fifth century	: al-Imām al-Ghazālī.
The sixth century	: ‘Abd al-Qādir al-Jailānī.
The seventh century	: Jalāl al-Dīn al-Rūmī.
The eighth century	: al-Imām Ibn Taimīyah.
The ninth century	: al-Imām Ibn al-Qayyim al-Jauzīyah.
The tenth century	: al-Imām Ibn al-Ḥajar al-‘Asqalānī.
The eleventh century	: al-Imām Jalāl al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī.
The twelfth century	: al-Imām al-Shawkānī.
The thirteenth century	: Muḥammad ibn ‘Abd al-Wahhāb.
The fourteenth century	: al-Imām Muḥammad ‘Abduh.

The fifteenth century : ?

See Nadwī, Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī, op. cit and *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, op. cit.

7. Every *mujaddid* is a *mujtahid* (A person who uses *ijtihād* is called a *mujtahid*). *Ijtihad* is a process of independent legal judgement, effort or ability to deduce rules from the sources, or a process of analysis of certain current issues not mentioned directly in the Qur'ān or in the Sunna, to arrive at the true teaching of Islam.

Ijtihād is not simply an intellectual exercise, it is the legitimizing basis for opposition to the existing condition accepted as Islamic by the majority or certain groups in Muslim society.

8. Taqī al-Dīn Ahmad ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥalīm ibn Taimīyah, known as Ibn Taimīyah, a great Ḥanbalī scholar was born on tenth of Rabīʿ al-Awwal 661 A.H/1262 A.D in Ḥarrān, southern part of Iraq and Syria and died in prison in 728 A.H/1327 A.D.

He was one of the most outspoken advocates of a return to the original creed and practices of early Islam, arguing that the Qur'ān, the Sunna and the behaviour of the *salaf* (first three generation of Islam) define the basis of Islamic life.

Ibn Taimīyah's contribution to Islamic political theory was seminal, for it became the ideological foundation of the Salafīyah movement and contemporary Islamic activist movement.

9. The Wahhābī Movement was founded by Muḥammad Ibn ʿAbdul Wahhāb (1703-1792) in the Arabian Peninsula, the Shawkānī movement by al-Imām Muḥammad al-Shawkānī (1172-1250 A.H/1758-1834 A.D) in Yemen, the Sanūsī movement by ʿAbdallāh ibn Idrīs al-Sanūsī (d. 1931) in Libya, the Mahdī movement in the Sudan, the Muslim Brotherhood movement by al-Imām Ḥasan al-Bannā in Egypt, the Norsiyah movement by Saʿad al-Dīn Badīʿu al-Zamān al-Nursī in Turkey, the Jamaʿat-i Islāmī by Abū al-ʿAlā al-Maudūdī (1903-1979) in India, Parti Islam Se Malaysia (Islamic Party of Malaysia) by Dr. Burhānuddīn in Malaysia, Angkatan Belia Islam Malaysia (Muslim Youth Movement of Malaysia) led by Anwar Ibrāhīm in Malaysia, Serikat Islam by ʿUmar Tjokrominoto and Muḥammadiyah by Kiyai Haji Dahlān in Indonesia. While there is a number of thinkers and reformers like: Shah Wali Allāh al-Dihlawī (1703-1762), Maulānā Shiblī Noʿmānī, Maulānā ʿAbul Kalām Azad (1888-1958), Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl (1877-1938) in sub-continental India, ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd ben Bādīs (d. 1940), the Grand Muftī of Palestine Syed Moḥammad Amīn al-Ḥusainī, ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Kawākibī (1854-1902), Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khatīb, Muḥtafā al-Sibāʿī (d. 1965), Ḥasan Ismāʿīl al-Ḥudaybī, Sayyid Qutb in the Middle East, ʿAbd al-Rauf al-Sinkīlī, Dr.

Mohammad Nāṭṣir, Shaykh Muḥammad Ṭāhir ibn Jalāl al-Dīn (1867-1957), in Southeast Asia and others.

10. Al-Afghānī called Muslims to a new ijtihād, to re-interpret the history of Islam, to reject materialism and imperialism, and advocated that the Muslim world be united in foreign policy and defence. He extended his views into international politics and was perhaps the first oriental in modern times to reject the idea of European supremacy, see Zakī Badawī, M. A, op. cit, pp. 19-34, also Ismael, Tareq Y, op. cit, pp. 25-55.

11. *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Vol. 7, p. 410

12. Sa'adabad Pact. Treaty of non-aggression between Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, signed at the S. Palace in Teheran on 8 July, 1937. The Sa'adabad Pact did not play an important role, its council never even met after the outbreak of World War II. See Political Dictionary of the Middle East in the Twentieth Century, edited by Yaacov Shimoni and Evyatar Levine, Jerusalem, Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972, p. 333.

13. After the Second World War, a number of Islamic states or Islamic republics appeared. They are:

The Islamic Republic of Mauritania, The Islamic Republic of Somalia, The Islamic Republic of Pakistan and recently The Islamic Republic of Iran.

14. More discussion on the Islamic groups in Part One on The Muslim Brotherhood and Other Islamic Groups, p.

15. For example see Tareq Y. Ismael: *Government and Politics In Islam*, p. 110, Hamid Enayat: *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, p. 150 and Dekmejian: *Islam in Revolution*,

16. *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, Vol. IV, p. 125.

PART ONE: THE LIFE OF SAYYID QUTB.

1. al-ʿAzam, Yūsuf. *al-Shahīd Sayyid Qutb*, Beirut, Dār al-Qalam, 1980, pp. 20, some claim that he was born in 1903.
2. Sāmī Jauhar, *al-Mawtā Yatakallamūn*, Cairo, al-Maktabah al-Misri al-Hadith, 1977, p.
3. Ḥamīd Enāyat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought*, London, 1982, p. 150
4. For further information see Ḥamīd Enāyat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought on Fundamentalism, Nationalism, Democracy and Socialism*, see also Piscatori, James P, *Islam in the Political Process, on The Religion and Authority In Egypt*.
5. Ṭareq, Y. Ismael and Jacqueline S. Ismael, *Government and Politics In Islam*, London, Frances Pinter (Publisher), 1985, p. 110.
6. Piscatori, James, *op. cit*, p. 23

7. *Fī Zīlāl al-Qur'ān* consists of eight volumes in Arabic. It first appeared in English translation (volume 30th only) in 1979 MWH London Publishers, reprinted in 1981.
8. Prof Muḥammad Quṭb, in his introduction to *In The Shade of The Qur'ān*, Vol 30, English translation, London, MWH London Publishers, 1981.
9. al-ʿAzam, Yūsuf, op. cit, p. 23. Note: The president of the Waṭanī Party at the time was Muṣṭafā Kāmīl.
10. Told by Prof Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī Nadwī to Yūsuf al-ʿAzam. Prof Abū al-Ḥasan was a close friend of Sayyid Quṭb.
11. Prof Muḥammad Quṭb is now a professor in Islamic Studies in the University of Ummu al-Qurā, Makkah, Saudī Arabia. He is well known as a great writer on Islam, some of his books having been translated into English and other languages.
12. al-ʿAzam, Yūsuf, op. cit, p. 24
13. Ibid, p. 23
14. Quṭb, Sayyid, *al-Taṣwīr al-Fannī fī al-Qur'ān*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, sixth edition, 1980, see introduction.
15. al-ʿAzam, Yūsuf, op-cit, p. 25

16. Ibid, p. 20

17. Ibid, p. 23

18. Ibid, p. 31

19. Ibid,

20. Ibid, p. 32

21. Ibid,

22. Ibid, p. 34

23. Ibid,

24. Ibid, p. 155

25. Ibid,

26. Ibid, p. 35

27. al-Sayyid Marsot, 'Afāf Luṭfī, *A Short History of Modern Egypt*, Cambridge University Press, First Published 1985, p.

28. Tareq Y. Ismael, op. cit, 76
29. al-^ʿAzam, Yūsuf, op. cit, p. 39
30. Ibid, p. 125
31. Ibid, p. 75
32. Ibid, p. 125
33. Ibid, p. 157
34. Ibid, p. 161
35. Ibid, p. 163
36. Ibid, p. 229
37. Ibid, p. 171
38. Ibid, p. 177
39. Piscatori, James P, op. cit, p. 23

45. The Salafīyyah Movement is a religious movement dedicated to the puritanical reform of Muslim society philosophically formed on the work of Ibn Taimīyah (661-728 A.H / 1262-1327 A.D). In the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a number of Salafīyyah cults crystallized into significant political forces. The Wahhābī Movement in the Arab^{ian} Peninsula, the Shawkānī Movement of Yemen, the Sanūsī Movement in Libya and the Mahdī Movement in the Sudan.

46. Husainī, op. cit, p. 15.

47. See Ridwān Muḥammad Ridwān, *al-Ma'thūrāt li al-Imām al-Shahīd Ḥasan al-Bannā* back cover of the book and Anour 'Abdul Mālik, *Contemporary Arab Political Thought*, Zed Books Ltd, London 1983, p. 45 and see also Charles Wendell, *Five Tracts of Ḥasan al-Bannā (1906-1949)*, translated from the Arabic and annotated by Charles Wendell, University of California Press, 1975, p. 1

48. He had digested *al-Kutub al-Sittah (The Six Books)*, the *Muwatta' of Mālik*, the *Musnad of Shāfi'ī*, among others. He edited a part of the musnads of the four Imāms and the *Musnad of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal*, called *al-Fath al-Rabbānī fī Tartīb Musnad al-Imām Aḥmad al-Shaibānī*, and wrote a commentary on it called *Bulūgh al-Amānī min Asrār al-Fath*.

40. This section is based on the following sources:

Ishāk Mūsā Husainī, *The Moslem Brethren*, Lebanon, Khayat's College Book Cooperative, 1956.

Ḥasan al-Bannā, *Majmū'at al-Rasā'il li al-Imām al-Shahīd Ḥasan al-Bannā*. n.d, n. p.

Richard P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers*, London, University Press, 1969.

J. Heyworth-Dunne, *Religious and Political Trends in Egypt*, Washington, D.C. 1950.

41. Ḥusainī, op. cit, p. 10. According to J. Heyworth-Dunne, it was founded in 11th April, 1929/1st Dhul Qi'dah 1347, op. cit. p. 15.

42. Ḥusainī, op. cit. p. 86

43. R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution*, Syracuse University Press, New York, 1985, p. 81

44. See his article "The Return of Islam" in *Religion and Politics in the Middle East*, edited by Michael Curtis, p. 14.

al-Rabbānī, see Ḥusainī, op. cit, p. 26 and see also J. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit. p. 16

49. When he was a student, he had become a member of a ṣūfī order and took vows from the shaikh of the Hasafīyah Ṣūfī order in Ramaḍān 1341/1922 and was admitted to its ceremonies and functions, see Ḥusainī, op. cit. p. 28

50. In secondary school, he was elected president of the *Jam'īyah al-Ikhwān al-Adabīyah*, a literary society with other students he formed the *Jam'īyah Man' al-Muharramāt* (society for the Prevention of Sin), then he founded a reform society *Jam'īyah al-Hasafīyah al-Khairīyah* (The Benevolent Hasafīyah Society and became its secretary, and participated as a member of the *Jam'īyah Makārim al-Akhlāq al-Islāmīyah* (the Society of Islamic Ethics) and with a group of friends formed *Jam'īyah Shubbān al-Muslimīn* (the Young Men's Muslim Association/Y.M.M.A.), one of the active Muslim organizations in modern Egypt before the foundation of *Jam'īyah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* (the Society of the Muslim Brotherhood) see Ḥusainī, op. cit, p. 4, J. Heyworth-Dunne, op. cit, pp. 11-15

51. Mitchell, R.P, op. cit. p. 1 and Ḥusainī, op. cit. p. 10

52. Supported by six of his followers and loyal students, see Ḥusainī, op. cit. p. 10

53. Husainī, op. cit. p. 12

54. The Fifth General Conference of the Ikhwān and also the tenth anniversary of the movement.

55. Husainī, op. cit, p. 16.

56. This fact was stated by many authors, among them: Husainī, op. cit, p. 22, R. H. Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution*, p. 82, Tareq Y. Ismael & Jacqueline S. Ismael, *Government and Politics in Islam*, p. 73 and others,

57. R.H. Dekmejian, op. cit, p. 80

58. Bannā, op. cit, p. 269

59. Bannā, *Between Yesterday and Today*, in *Majmū'ah al-Rasā'il*, op. cit, p. 250

60. Bannā, *Toward the Light*, in *Majmū'ah al-Rasā'il*, op, cit, p. 190

61. Quoted by Husainī from *Qānūn al-Nizām al-Asāsī li Hayāt al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn* (Basic Regulation for the Organization of the Muslim Brotherhood) as amended by the General

Assembly in session 8th September, 1945, p. 4, see Husaini, op.cit, p. 18 and 158

62. The Fifth Conference of the Ikhwan had produced a set of ideas which though general in form, was the foundation of the ideology of Ikhwān. These ideas were the definition of Islam of the Muslim Brotherhood:

1. Islam as a total system, complete unto itself and the final arbiter of life in all its aspects.
2. An Islam formulated from and based on its two primary sources, the revelation in the Qur'ān and the wisdom of the Prophet in the Sunna, and
3. An Islam applicable to all time and to all places

63. R. Said, *Hasan al-Bannā* (in Arabic), Cairo, 1977, p. 30 see also Albert Hourani, *Arabic Thought in the Liberal Age 1798-1939*, Cambridge Press, London, 1983, pp. 7-8.

Before and after the 1920s, in which al-Bannā started his movement, Islamic Political Thought was divided among three schools of thought:

- a. The traditionalists, or conservative elements of al-Azhar, who theoretically refused any compromise with modernization and secularization, but who pragmatically

dealt and compromised with the Egyptian crown and the British authorities.

b. The modernizers or the students of Muhammad 'Abduh, who tried to modify the tenets of Islam to fit the requirements of western "modernizing" norms and their logical end, the secularization of Islamic society, and

c. The conservative reformers (the students of Rashīd Ridā), who agreed with the second school on the necessity of purifying Islam from innovation (*bid'ah*) which made Muslims depart from the true Islam, on opposition to taqlīd and on following the path of ijtihād. However, all these schools of thought were influenced by al-Afghānī's revolutionary thought, 'Abduh was a pupil and close friend of al-Afghānī, and Rashīd Ridā was a pupil and a disciple of 'Abduh.

64. Said, op. cit, p. 31

65. Bannā, *What Is Our Message, in Majmū'ah al-Rasā'il.*

66. Ibid, pp. 273-275

67. Ibid, p. 276

68. For example, the "al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn" one of the Ikhwan's publications, made its appearance on 20th May 1954 edited by Sayyid Qutb, see Ḥusainī, op. cit. p. 24

69. Ḥusainī, op. cit. p. 23

70. Conciliatory gestures adopted by the regime such as releasing all the Brotherhood who had been in imprisonment under the old regime and opening an official inquiry to search for the murderers of Ḥasan al-Bannā.

71. Tareq Y. Ismael & J.S. Ismael, op. cit, p. 76 .

72. Mitchell, R.P, op. cit, pp. 151-162 see also Ḥusainī, op. cit, p. 136

73. Ḥusainī, op. cit, p. 136

74. Some political observers said this is among Sādāt's strategies to use the Brotherhood as a curb upon the ambition, of the Nasserists and leftists groups or Marxist activities in Egypt, see T.Y. Ismael & J.S. Ismael, op. cit, p. 106 and see also R. Hrair Dekmajian, op.cit, p. 93

75. The result was also unsatisfactory for other traditionalists. Among the demands of the Brotherhood are:

- a. Islam to be declared the official state religion,
- b. *Sharī'ah* to be recognized as the primary source of legislation,
- c. *Sharī'ah* to be made the sole source of personal status laws, and any laws which contradicted *Sharī'ah* to be declared void.

see J.R.O'Kane " *Islam In The New Egyptian Constitution*",
the Middle East Journal, 26 (Spring 1972), p. 147

76. The growth of Islamic movements in Egypt is basically a indigenous product, the fact is made clear by the foundation of the al-Ikhwān and other schools of Islamic reformation in modern Islamic history,

77. See issues of *al-Da'wah* for August, 1976, January, April, September and December, 1977 and also January, 1978.

78. Islamic Law (*the Sharī'ah*) was declared to be one of the sources of the legislation in the 1971 Egyptian Constitution. Eight years later, the constitution was amended so as to make the *Sharī'ah* the main source of legislation, see

79. Lieutenant Khālīd al-Islāmbūlī and four others involved in Sādāt's assassination, see H.R. Dekmejian, *op. cit.*, p. 89

80. Ibid, p. 107

81. Ibid, p. 108

82. Ibid,

83. Some political observers argued that these phenomena emerged from the frustration of the people with their political leaders after the Arab defeat in the Arab-Israel War in June, 1967. They argued that the failure was attributable to the godless moral decay, secular features and the deviation from the path of Islam of the Arab states and only when these states and their peoples returned to the laws and tenets of Islam would success be achieved.

84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89 & 90 see H. R. Dekmejian, op. cit. pp. 179-193.

91. Sa^cad al-Dīn Ibrāhīm, *Anatomy of Egypt's Militant Islamic Groups*, International Journal of Middle East Studies, Vol. 12 (1980), p. 427

92. Ibid, p. 425

93. see H. R. Dekmjian, op. cit, p. 96 Ismael, Tareq Y, op. cit, p. 118 and see also Sa^cad ^{al-Dīn}~~Edin~~ Ibrāhīm, op. cit, p. 424

94. Sa'ad al-Dīn Ibn Āhīm, op. cit, p. 435 and see also H.R. Dekmejian, op. cit, pp. 91-92

95. Sa'ad al-Dīn Ibn Āhīm, op. cit, p. 427

96. Ibid, p. 430 and see also H. R. Dekmejian, op. cit, pp. 90-94

PART TWO: THE CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES.

*. This section is based on the following sources:

Sayyid Qutb, *Ma^cālim fī al Tarīq*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, Tenth edition, 1983.

Sayyid Qutb, *al- Islām wa Mushkilāt al- Ḥadārah*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq , Seventh edition, 1982.

Sayyid Qutb, *al-Salām al- ^cĀlamī wa al-Islām*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, seventh edition, 1978 .

Sayyid Qutb, *Nahwa Mujtama^c Islāmī*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, Third edition, 1978.

1. There is no differences in ultimate aim between Communism and Socialism except in means, that is the Socialists believe in democracy while the Communists believe it is impossible, see *Mushkilāt*, p.106

2. *Mushkilāt*, p. 104

3. *Ma^cālim*, p. 60,

4. *Ibid*, p. 99,

5. Ibid,

6. Ibid,

7. Ibid, p. 100,

8. Ibid, p. 101,

9. Ibid, p. 101, 116 see also *Mushkilāt*, p. 192

10. Ibid, p. 101-102,

11 & 12, *Ma^cālim*, pp. 95, 96, 97, see also *Mushkilāt*, p. 193-194

13 & 14, *Ma^cālim*, pp. 10, 95, 98, 116, 117, 120, 121, 124.

15. Ibid, p. 116, see also *Mujtama^c*, pp. 136-137, 152. In this book he argued that Islamic Society or an Islamic State is not a theocratic society or theocratic government.

16. *Mujtama^c*, p. 63. But Islam never forces people to convert to Islam, because religion depends upon faith and will, and these would be meaningless if induced by force. The Qur^{ān} said: *There is no compulsion in religion*, al-Baqarah: 256

17. *Mushkilāt*, p. 187

18. *Ma^cālim*, pp. 96, 97

19. *Ibid*,

20. *Ibid*, pp. 47, 54, 68, 91, 128, 129,

21. *Ibid*,

22. *Ibid*, p. 40 . In other places Sayyid Quṭb wrote: The Muslim community does not denote the name of a land in which Islam resides, nor is it a people whose forefathers lived under the Islamic system at some earlier time, *Ma^cālim*, p. 8.

23. *Ibid*, pp. 100-103

24. *Ibid*, pp. 92-93,

25. *Ibid*, p. 5,

26. *Ibid*,

27. *Ibid*, pp. 11, 12,

28. *Ibid*,

29. *Ma^cālīm*, p. 57.

30. It is important to mention here that Sayyid Qutb used interchangeable terms ḥarakah (movement) and ^caqīdah (belief or creed). He states that the man who received ^caqīdah received ḥarakah simultaneously. This is because of the nature of Islamic belief itself, this belief immediately brought into action - this action called '*ʿamal*' or '*jihād*', can appear in many ways, and the culmination of *jihād* is *shahādah* (martyrdom). See *Ma^cālīm*, pp. 43, 64, 74, 76,

31. *Ibid*, p. 128,

32. *Ibid*, pp. 129-130,

33. *Ibid*, p. 97,

34. *Ibid*,

35. *Ibid*, p. 58, see also *Mujtama^c*, pp. 95, 130

36. *Ibid*, pp. 29, 120, 160. 'Nationality' means belief and a way of life, and only this relationship is worthy of man's dignity, see *Ma^cālīm*, p. 159.

37 & 38. *Ibid*, p. 120.

39. *Ibid*, p. 120, see also *Mujtama'*, p. 131

40. *Ibid*, p. 10.

41. His brother Prof. Muḥammad Qutb wrote a book entitled: *Jāhiliyah al qarn al 'ishrīn* (Jahiliyah of the Twentieth Century), Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq.

42. *Ibid*, pp. 10, 21. He gave little explanation of this argument: The first Islamic generation drank solely from one spring - al-Qur'ān and al-Sunnah / al-Rasūl - and then attained a unique distinction in history. But in later times several other sources mingled with it. Among these sources are: Greek philosophy and logic, ancient Persian legends and their ideas, Jewish scriptures and tradition, Christian theology and in addition to these, fragments of other religious and civilizations. There mingled with them commentaries on the Holy Qur'ān, scholastic theology, jurisprudence and its principles. In short, the later generation obtained their training from mixed sources. see *Ma'ālim*, pp. 17-18.

43. *Ibid*, pp. 10, 11, 98-102.

44. *Ibid*, p. 21.

45. *Ibid*, pp. 163- 166, 167.

46. Ibid, p. 164.

47. Ibid, pp. 116-119.

48. Ibid, pp. 163-165.

49. Ibid, p. 71. It is not the intention of Islam to force its beliefs on people, but Islam fights the system and government which are based on the rule of man over man and pressures people politically and religiously, and when the pressure is lifted, Islam gives them complete freedom to accept or not to accept its beliefs, see *Ma'ālim*, p. 71.

50. Sayyid Quṭb was honoured to give a foreword to this book. He stated in several places the word 'Ignorance' in this foreword repeating and quoting what was said by the author in this book.

51. see *Islam and the World* on Translator's Note.

52 and 53. There are other terms used by Sayyid Quṭb which were also used by other modern Muslims writers like Ḥasan al-Bannā, Muḥammad Iqbāl, Muḥammad 'Abduh, al-Maudūdī and his brother Muḥammad Quṭb. From al-Maudūdī for instance: al-Ḥākimiyyah (*الحاكمية*), al-Ḥākimiyyah al-'Ulyā (*الحاكمية العليا*) and al-Ḥākīm al-'Ālā (*الحاكم الأعلى*).

54. According to Prof Roger Garaudy, world history until now has been dominated by two worldly civilizations. One is the Islamic Civilization which passed a few centuries ago and the present civilization - Western Civilization, see his book: *The Promises of Islam*,

55. Among the leading Muslim thinkers in this century are: al-Shaikh Muḥammad ʿAbduh, al-Ustādh Rashīd Riḍā, al-Imām Ḥasan al-Bannā, Dr. Muḥammad Iqbāl, Abū al Aʿlā al-Maudūdī, Muḥammad Quṭb, Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, Dr. Yūsuf al-Qaraḍāwī, Dr. Muḥammad Nāṣir etc.

56. Maʿālim, p. 5

57. Western Civilization introduced a very large number of systems, ideologies and movements for mankind in the social, political and economic spheres. In political life, for instance, Capitalism, Imperialism, Socialism, Communism, Nationalism, Nazism etc. In social life, for instance, Pragmatism, Liberalism, etc. In economical life, for instance, Capitalism, etc.

58. Khaṣāiṣ al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī wa muqawwimātuhu, p.

59. Hearnshaw, F. J. C, *Medieval Contribution To Modern Civilization*, London, 1921, p. 13

60. Halide. Edibe, *The Conflict of East And West In Turkey*, pp. 226-227 quoted by Abū al Hasan 'Alī Husnī al-Nadwī in, *Islam And The World*, Kuwait, International Federation of Student Organizations, 1981, p. 114

61. He quoted this opinion from Paul Valray, see an article by Ahmad Bahā' al-Dīn in *al-'Arabī*, The Ministry of Information, Kuwait, May, 1986.

62. al-Nadwī, *Islam And The World*, p. 114

63. Ibid, p. 118

64. The Darwinian theory of evolution on the origin of man in *The Origin of Species* by Charles Darwin, published in 1859.

Marxism: for Marx, the evolution of human society is determined basically by economic factors outside or largely outside men's conscious control.

65. Muhammad Asad, *Islam at the Crossroad*, Lahore, 1955, pp. 55-56 quoted by al-Nadwī in *Islam And The World*, p. 131.

66. *Ma'ālim*, p. 8, 9

67. Ibid, p. 10. The humiliation of mankind by Western Civilization appeared in various ways: Firstly by the animalistic theory of the origin of man, by Charles Darwin. Secondly by the sexual incentives theory by Freud and Thirdly by the theories on economic forces by Karl Marx through his Historical Materialism Theory often known as the theory of the materialist conception of man. All of them appeared in the nineteenth century, see *Mushkilāt*, pp. 76-77

68. Ibid, pp. 119, 121, 124, 175

69. According to Arnold Toynbee: Between 1563-1763 Western Civilization made a greater mental and spiritual revolution than any that had ever been made by society at any previous date since it had arisen among the local debris of the Roman Empire. Western thinkers now refuse to take their heritage from their predecessors on trust. See his book: *Mankind and Mother Earth*, USA, Oxford University Press, 1976, p. 356

70. For example, the scandal of Christine Keeler and the British Minister Profumo was not considered serious by British society because of its sexual aspect. It was condemnable because Christine Keeler was also involved with a naval attache of the Russian Embassy, and thus her association with a cabinet minister was a danger to state security, see *Ma^cālim*, p. 124 .

In the Islamic perspective, the moral and value systems are absolute, fixed and well defined. Moral standards and the value system are not determined by the environment and changing conditions. Rather they are fixed criteria above and beyond the difference in environments. See *Ma'ālim*, pp. 121-122.

71. Human nature for the Western philosophers, for example: Plato in "The Republic" assumed that men are born to be carpenters, soldiers or rulers. His assumption was shared by most Greek thinkers. *Machiavelli*: Man are naturally evil and will do whatever seems good to them without reference to justice, equity or virtue, so long as they are not held in check. *Hobbes*: considers men as if new sprung out of the ground like mushrooms, unsocialized, and uneducated by social and political intercourse with one another. That means men lived without law, without authority and without any means of curbing one another's aggression. *Rousseau*: Natural man, untouched by society, must be like the *orang-utan* or the "missing link" of the travellers' tales, speechless, solitary, devoid of any notion of time and devoid of self-consciousness. see *What Is Sociology, An Introduction To The Discipline And Profession* by Alex Inkeles, Harverd University, New Jersey, 1964, pp. 47-56, see also *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Political Thought*, edited by David Miller, Oxford, 1987, pp: 217-221 .

76. *The Encyclopedia Americana*, International Edition, 1977,
Vol 7, pp. 5-6 .

77. Easton, Stewart C, *The Western Heritage*, USA, 1961, p.
886

78. *Ibid.*

On society: Islam looks on society from the viewpoint of peace and harmony while Marxism looks on it from the point of view of Conflict Theory.

72. In Islamic perspective: The family system and the relationship between man and woman is fundamental, determining the happiness, dignity and harmony of human life. The legitimate relationship between man and women is only by marriage, and the basis of the family is the division of labour between husband and wife and the upbringing of children is the most important function of the family especially for wives. But woman's role in Western Industrial Civilization is merely to be attractive, sexy and flirtatious, she prefers to become a hostess or a stewardess in a hotel or ship or air company. In short she prefers to use her ability for material productivity rather than the training of human beings. See *Ma'ālim*, p. 123

73. Wendell, Charles, *Five Tracts of Ḥasan al-Bannā*, California, University of California Press, 1978, pp. 187-188

74. Ibid, p. 193

75. Ibid, p. 197

79. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Vol. 4, pp. 657-660.

80. *Chamber's Encyclopedia*, London 1966, Vol 3, pp. 596-7

81. Hugo F. Reading, *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, Great Britain, 1977, p. 36

82. Ibid.

83. *UNESCO History of Mankind, Cultural and Scientific Development*, Published by International Commission For A History of the Scientific And Cultural Development, of Makind, London, 1963, Vol 1, p. 359

84. John T. Zadrozny, *Dictionary of Social Science*, Washington D.C. 1959, Public Affairs Press, p. 47

85. For Socialism has been treated as an exclusively European phenomenon, and Socialism is based on materialism. According to Betrand Russell, Modern Europe and America have thus been divided, politically and ideologically into three camps. There are Liberals who still as far as may be follow Locke or Bentham. There are Marxists, who control the government in Russia and are likely to become increasingly influential in various other countries. The third section of modern opinion is represented politically by Nazis and Fascists. It is anti-rational and anti-scientific, it

emphasizes will, especially will to power. This it believes to be mainly concentrated in certain races and individuals, who therefore have a right to rule, see his book: *History of Western Philosophy*, London, George Allen and Unwin Ltd, first published in 1946, pp. 817-818.

86. *Ma^cālim* .

87. Chapter VII: *al-Islām huwa al-Ḥaḍārah* (Islam is the real civilization) in *Ma^cālim*. In this chapter he lines up the major principles and characteristics of Islamic Civilization.

88. *Ma^cālim*, pp. 117, 118, 126

89. Ibid, p. 119

90. Ibid, p. 131 see also *Mushkilāt*, pp. 5, 7, 8

91. Ibid, pp. 119-120, 132

92. Ibid, pp. 59, 133

93. His argument for this statement is: A person remains human regardless of what colour, race or nation he belongs to, but he cannot be called human if he is devoid of spirit and reason, see *Ma^cālim*, p. 120 and see also the characteristics of Islamic Society.

PART THREE: SOME CRITICISM OF MODERN IDEOLOGIES:

1. *Ma'arakah*, p. 55

2. *Nahwa Mujtama'*, p. 23

3. He also said: There are two kinds of culture: *Islamic Culture* based on the fundamentals of the Islamic worldview and the *Jāhili Culture* which manifests itself in a variety of systems, all of which can be explained by one principle, that of elevating thought [to the status] of a God not necessitating recourse to God's guidance, see *Ma'ālim*, p. 173

4. *The Party of God* stands under the banner of God and bears His insignia and *the Party of Satan* which includes every community, group, people, race and individual who do not stand under the banner of God, see *Hādihā al-Dīn*, p. 85

5. *Ma'arakah*, p. 36

6. *Ibid*, p. 61. And this *ummah* [Muslim] is justly balanced [*wasatā*] offering justice without extravagances on either side in all aspects of life, *al-Salām*, pp. 168-169 .

7. *Ibid*, p. 26, 30

8. *Ibid*, p. 53

9. *Ibid*, p. 61

10. *Naḥwa Mujtama'*, p. 42 see also *Dirāsāt*, p. 93 and *al-Salām*, p. 10

11. *Dirāsāt*, pp. 99, 100, 103, 163-164, see also *Ma'ālim*, p. 6 and *Ma'ārah*, p. 59

12. *Ma'ālim*, p. 159

13. *Ibid*,

14. *Ibid*, pp. 27-28

15. *Ibid*, pp. 158, 159

16. *Ibid*, p. 151

17. According to *The Programme of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union* as adopted by the Twenty Second Party Congress on 31 October, 1961, as Communism is a classless social system with one form of public ownership of the means of production and full social equality of all members of society, under it, the all-round development of people will be accompanied by the growth of the productive forces

through continuous progress in science and technology. All sources of public wealth will gush forth abundantly and the great principle "From each according to his ability, to each according to his needs" will be implemented. Communism is a highly organized society of free, socially conscious working people in which public self government will be established, society will become a prime vital requirement of everyone, a necessity recognized by all, and the ability of each person will be employed to the greatest benefit of the people. See *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, editors Julius Gould and William L. Kolb, compiled under the auspices of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, Tavistock Publications, Great Britain, 1964, pp. 113-114.

The term 'Communism' made its first appearance in 1841, and was thereafter used to designate the more proletarian and militant section of the Socialist movement. Marx and Engels gave the name 'Communist' to their famous manifesto of 1848, drawn up ^{to} provide a programme for the Communist League, which had grown out of one of the secret societies. See *A Dictionary of the Social Sciences*, editors Julius Gould, William L. Kolb, Great Britain, Tavistock Publications, 1964, pp. 113-114.

18. For example, Russia, a communist country armed Israel - a nation and a state founded on religion. Judaism also is

not a nationality but a religion. As we all know religion is the opium of the people and an enemy to communism. In this case, Russia has no principle except its own interest, it tramples the principles it advocates, see *Ma'arakah*, p. 33

19. This is the generalization from Marx from his observation on European history then the conclusion becomes a conclusion for the whole of human history, see *Ma'ālim*, p. 60

20. Qutb, Sayyid, *Naḥwa Mujtama' Islāmī*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, third edition, 1978, p. 23, see also *al-Mustaqbal li-Hādhā al-Dīn*, p. 58

21. Among the major principles of The French Revolution are to stress the fundamental equality of individuals. Its "*Manifesto of the Equals (1796)*" stated: Since all have the same needs and the same faculties let them henceforth have the same education and the same diet, see *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, edited by David Miller, first published 1987, p. 79.

22. *Naḥwa Mujtama'*, pp. 22-23 and see also *Ma'ālim*, pp.

23. *Ma'arakat*, p. 21

24. *al-Mustaqbal*, pp. 58-59 and see also *Mushkilāt*, p. 91.

For example, man as viewed by communism is just a passive being whose will has no importance whatever in the face of the material and economic forces. In Islam, man is an active being with a will of his own that is subject to the higher will of God alone, see Qutb, Muhammad, *Islam the Misunderstood Religion*, Kuwait, Dār al-Bayān Bookshop, n. d. p. 340.

25. *al-Mustaqbal*, pp. 65-66

26. *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, edited by David Miller, first published 1987, United Kingdom, p. 86

27. *al-Mustaqbal*, p. 68. According to *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Political Thought*:examples of ideal communism in action are rare. Perhaps it has only been realized in religion communities, in some secular communes, and among the few 'primitive' people remaining in the world, where sharing is a way of life. It has not been realized in communist countries, p. 88.

Communism as the essence of socialism does not yet exist in reality, see *Socialist Standard*, official journal of the Socialist Party of Great Britain and World Socialist Party (Ireland), March, 1986, Vol. 82, No: 978.

28. *Mushkilāt*, p. 99 see also *Nahwa Mujtama'*, p. 19

29. *Mushkilāt*, p. 100

30. *Ma^cālim*, p. 175, *Nahwa Mujtama^c*, p. 19.

31. *Mushkilāt*, p. 100

32. Oppression in its wide meaning, colonialism, murdering, threatening, plundering etc. For instance, Sayyid Quṭb mentioned that The French Government put under arrest those who taught Arabic language and Islam to the Algerian people [in Algeria] during the Algeria was ^r under French colonialism. see *Dirāsāt*, p. 169.

33. *Nahwa Mujtama^c*, p. 85

34. At last England turned to socialism and Russia to communism with major modifications in principle and method, see *Nahwa Mujtama^c*, p. 85

35. *Mushkilāt*, p. 95

36. The book is his first book on Islam. In the 1940's and 1950's the Muslim younger generation in Egypt in particular and in Middle East in general was composed of graduates from universities and other secular institutions competing with the new radical movements especially the leftist Wafdist and some Marxist groups.

37. A book: *Ishtirākīyat al-Islām (The Socialism of Islam)*, by Dr. Muṣṭafa Ḥusnī al-Sibāʿī, a former Dean of the Faculty of Islamic Jurisprudence and School of Law in the University of Damascus, Syria, a member of Syrian Parliament and the leader of the Syrian Organization of the Muslim Brothers, first published in 1959. The aim of the book, as stated in its introduction is to emphasize that Islam is alien to Socialism because of several factors. Most probably before publishing this book there are some claims that Islam and Socialism are united or the basic principles between them are very close. This type of similarities may raise some confusion among some Muslim scholars and make it difficult to distinguish between Islam and Socialism. Some of the terms which so frequently appear in the daily press of that time and among so-called intellectual circles are: The Socialism of Islam (*Ishtirākīyat al-Islām*), Islamic Socialism (*al-Ishtirākīyah al-Islāmiyah*) and The Socialistic nature of Islam (*al-Islām al-Ishtirākī*), see *Nahwa Mujtamaʿ*, p. 87, *Maʿālim*, p. 169 and *al-ʿAdālah*, p. 78

38. *Nahwa Mujtamaʿ*, p. 86

39. *Ibid*, p. 88

40. *Ibid*.

41. Socialism, when it is established must be on a worldwide basis. In socialism there will be no social organ of coercion - in short - no state, no police, no armed forces, no courts, no prisons, no machinery to coerce people to do what they might not want to do. In fact, profits, sales, markets, money, wages, banks and all the other buying and selling activities - will completely disappear in socialism. So the main features of socialism are: World community, in which all that is in and on the earth will have become the common heritage of all humanity (will belong to nobody), common ownership, democratic control and production for use. See Socialist Standard, March, 1986.

42. *Ma^cālim*, pp. 110-113.

PART FOUR: THE ISLAMIC SOLUTION TO THE PROBLAMS OF
CONTEMPORARY SOCIETIES.

1. *al-Salām*, p. 24, *Ma^cālim*, p. 71.
2. *al-Salām*, p. 170
3. *Ibid*,
4. *Khaṣāis*, pp. 47-50. Man cannot understand all the laws of the universe and the reality of human nature. He has been incapable of organizing this world for himself, because he did not possess a practical knowledge of his own nature, Dr. Alexis Carrel, see *al-Mustaqbal*, p. 73.
5. *Ma^cālim*, pp. 110-111
6. The word "*Islām*" itself is derived from the root *slm* which in Arabic means "to be at peace, to be an integral whole", and Islam means "to surrender to God's law and thus to be an integral whole". See *The Encyclopedia of Religion*, Mircea Elide (editors in chief), New York, MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987, vol. 7, p. 303. and see also *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, New Edition, edited by: E van

Donzel, B. Lewis and CH Fellet, Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1973,
vol. IV, p. 171.

7. *al-Salām*, p. 21

8. *al-Salām*, p. 172

9. *Ibid*, pp. 21-23, 29

10. *Ma^cālīm*, p. 173 ?

11. *al-Salām*, p. 172

12. *Ibid*,

13. The word of God [*Kalimat Allāh*] is the expression of His will, and the will of God which appeared for man is as told by God Himself: And fight them, until there is no more oppression, and there prevail justice and faith in God altogether and everywhere, *al-Qur ān* 8:39, and The religion before God is Islam, *al-Qur ān*, 3:19, see *al-Salām*, p. 23

14. *Ibid*, p. 24

15. *Ibid*, p. 15-17, 20 see also *Ma^cālīm*, pp. 91,

Dirāsāt, p. 38-41, *al-^cAdālah*, p. 78-79, 98 and *Fī Zilāl*, p.

16. *Ibid*, p. 24

17. Ibid, pp. 169-170

18. Ibid, p. 172

19. *Ma^cālim*, p. 112 and *al-Salām*, p. 28, 29, 51, 78-79

20. This *mahr* is not a dowry, which is not an obligatory thing. *Mahr* is a necessary element without which no marriage is valid, see Ḥamidullāh, Muḥammad, *Intoduction To Islam*, (Paris: Publication of Centre Cultural Islamique), 1959, p. 131.

21. *al-Salām*, pp. 67-71, 84-102, and *Ma^cālim*, 123. Marriage under *Sharī^cah* law may be dissolved either by the husband at his will, by mutual agreement of the spouses or by a judicial decree or by the claim from the wife [*faskh*].

22. *al-Salām*, pp. 28, 128 and *Ma^cālim*, p. 112 .

23. Garaudy, Roger, *Promises of Islam*,

24. He published this book in 1948, then spent two years in the United States studying educational organization. On his return to Egypt he joined the Muslim Brothers. The book is his first writing on Islamic subjects.

25. Sayyid Quṭb disagrees with some Islamic writers who use such terms as Islamic Socialism, Islamic Democracy etc, which he said could only result from the confusion of a divine order with a man-made system, see Ma^cālīm fī al-Ṭarīq, pp. 52, 213 see also al-^cAdālah al-Ijtīmā^cīyah fī al-Islām, pp. 76, 80

26. Islamic System or *al-Dīn al-Islāmī*, based on two basic principles derived from Islamic worldview on God, on Nature, on Life and on Man. Those two principles are:

- a. Unity of Mankind in origin, nature and growth.
- b. Islam is a universal system or Islamic Universalism.

see al-^cAdālah, pp. 78-79

27. Islam has survived by laying down the general, universal rules and by the process of time and by the emergence of individual problems, see al-^cAdālah, p.

28. al-^cAdālah, p. 52

29. He said: Even Christianity and Buddhism demand this spiritual freedom to achieve satisfaction in life, see al-^cAdālah, pp. 12, 32 see also Ma^cālim, pp. 30, 34

30. Ibid, pp. 80-83

31. Sayyid Qutb, *Fī al-Tārīkh: Fikrah wa Minhāj*, Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, 1974, p. 31.

32. Ibid, p. 32

33. al-^cAdālah, p. 52

34. In an Islamic perspective, property belongs to God in whose name the Muslim community utilize it and man is a merely trustee. He administers property as an agent and works for the general welfare of the society.

35. al-Qur'[']ān 59: 7

36. al-^cAdālah, p. 114

37. Ibid, pp. 118-119

38. *Ma^cālīm*, pp. 72-73.

39. *Ibid*, 71.

40. According to him, the greatest bondage - in the view of Islam is subservience to human laws legislated by humans, see *Fī Zīlāl*, vol. 9, p. 1434

41. *Fī Zīlāl*, vol. 9, p. 1433 and *Ma^cālīm*, pp. 69, 71, 73, 76, 81-82, 86, 87, 90

42. *Ibid*, see also *Ma^cālīm*, pp. 81-82.

43. *Fī Zīlāl*, vol. 9, p. 1434

44. *Ibid*, vol.9, p. 1433

45. *Ma^cālīm*, p. 26

46. *Ibid*, p. 136.

47. *Ibid*, p. 72, *al-^cAdālah*, pp. 78, 79.

48. A book "*The Preaching of Islam*" by T. W. Arnold was quoted by Sayyid Quṭb to prove That Islam is a liberating force for humanity. The other works quoted by him from

Western writers are "*The Making of Humanity*" by Brifield, see *al-Mustaqbal*, *Hādhā al-Dīn*, *Mushkilāt* and *Mā'ālim*.

6. *al-Salām al-‘Ālami wa al-Islām*, (1952),
Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, 7 th printing,
1978.
7. *Dirāsāt Islāmiyah*, (1953), Beirut, Dār al-
Shurūq, 1978.
8. *Fī Zilāl al-Qur’ān*, (1953 - 1964), Beirut,
Dār al-Shurūq, 9 th printing,
1980.
9. *Khaṣāiṣ al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī wa Muqawwimātuh*,
(1962), Beirut, Dār al-Shurūq, 7 th
printing, 1980.
10. *al-Islām wa Mushkilāt al-Hadārah*, Beirut, Dār al-
Shurūq, 7th printing, 1972.
11. *Hādihā al-Dīn*, (1962), Kuwait, International Islamic
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