

Sayyid Qutb's Role in the Muslim Brotherhood Movement: A Diachronic Analysis

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Abstract:

This article deals with the role of Sayyid Qutb in the Muslim Brotherhood Movement in particular and his contributions to Islamic rejuvenation in general. It explores his involvement in reform activities prior to his affiliation to the movement and highlights his Islamic understandings. Disappointed by the political trend, he retired from politics once and for all and thus there is a discussion on the circumstances that led him to reach this conclusion. Evaluating Sayyid Qutb's motivations, inclinations, inspirations, and other factors that brought him nearer to the movement, the article critically examines his position, his involvement and his role in the movement until his support for the Revolutionary government and the ultimate withdrawal from it. The charge that he was unqualified to lead the Brotherhood due to his short term affiliation is studied. An analysis is made to see his alleged involvement in co-ordinating with communists and his role in solving the internal crisis of the Brotherhood.

Introduction

Sayyid Qutb,¹ an ideologue of the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*²) is well known for his Islamic thought and venerated for his contribution

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to contemporary Islamic revival. His role as a guide and mentor for the movement is widely acknowledged and his methodology of Islamic movement of revivalism has influenced not only the people in the Arab world but the Muslim world in general. The Muslim world recognized him as a guide and mentor for Islamic revivalism especially in the second half of the twentieth century. However there are some charges that Sayyid Qutb had adopted a digressive attitude from the original thought of the movement.³ It has been stated that his duration in the movement was short and thus his leadership credibility has been questioned and challenged. There was also an accusation against him that he transgressed the limit and worked contrary to the spirit of the movement.

In view of the above observation, it is appropriate to deliberate on the issue to explore the truth and therefore the article is aimed at examining and investigating statements, remarks, comments, conclusions and charges made about him. The study primarily explores both his professional and public life to underscore his contributions to socio-political reforms prior to his official affiliation to the Muslim Brotherhood. It also evaluates Sayyid Qutb's motivations, inclinations, inspirations, and other factors that brought him nearer to the Movement. Furthermore, the paper also makes a critical examination of his position, his involvement and role in the Movement until the "Revolutionary government" arrested him in 1953 along with other members of the movement.

To begin with, a brief survey is made about Sayyid Qutb's activities, experiences and observations which were motivational factors for his affiliation to the Brotherhood. It is hoped that this article will explore the truth and depict substantial justifications and evidences that Sayyid Qutb was devoted to reform until he formally joined the Movement.

It is an established fact that Sayyid Qutb had developed his link with the Qur'anic text before his contact with the Brotherhood. He initially read the Qur'an for literary purposes as he was conducting his research on the artistic illustrations in the Qur'an (*al-Taswīr al-Fanni fī al-Qur'ān*).⁴ For this purpose he says that he read the Qur'an uninterruptedly and continuously in the process of carrying out

a comprehensive quality research. The Qur'anic study had made him gradually turn to other aspects, departing from his earlier artistic and literary interests. Ultimately he ended up in preparing another research entitled *al- 'Adalah al-lijtima 'iyyah fi al-Islam*⁵ (Social Justice in Islam). It is believed that he completed this masterpiece after he was inspired by the Qur'anic guidance. He confesses that he discovered answers to questions which had brought confusion to him during the early period of his research activities.⁶

He provides many reasons and circumstances which compelled him to quit politics including all key political persons for he was convinced that no political party demonstrated sincerity and dedication to work for public welfare and development of the nation. According to Sayyid Qutb, Egyptian politicians neither believed in hardship nor in struggle but in easy life. He further observed that political leaders had not manifested the true agenda for the future generation. According to him, politicians developed a state of mind and accepted from the bottom of their soul that Britain could not be forced out of Egypt or conquered or that poverty could be eradicated. For this reason, they were submissive to colonial masters and often apologetic in their mentality and subservient to foreign domination. Their behaviour reflected incapability and incompetence to lead the future Egyptian generation and their hearts were devoid of the spirit of sacrifice. No sign of foresighted vision was found in them for the development of the nation.⁷

The general view is that Sayyid Qutb did not belong to this category. He did not believe in sycophancy nor did he promote the idea of self-interest. Nevertheless, his confidence in all political parties gradually decreased. His retirement from politics did not confine him to remain idle at home but he used his potential for the service of his country and its development.

This scenario indicates that Sayyid Qutb moved towards the Qur'an, which led him to understand Islam. He was an Islamic reformer from 1947 and called for reforming the social, cultural, intellectual and political life on the basis of Islamic ideals and principles. Since then his writings focused on achieving his goal of Islamic reform and revolutionary thought. But his call for reform was an individual effort

and there was no sign of collective or organizational effort. This implies that he individually moved here and there disseminating his views and conducting discourses. He contemplated in solitude on the state of the nation and the destiny of the people. At this time, he was not affiliated to the Brotherhood, which was at the helm of its activities and peak of its thought, particularly in the last days of Hasan al-Banna, as Sayyid Qutb was not inclined to any political party or reform organization, Islamic or non-Islamic.

Some scholars hold the opinion that in 1940s, Sayyid Qutb made concerted efforts in forming a new Islamic reform organization and tried to establish an Islamic *da'wah* society. In order to achieve his objective, he even started gathering Muslim youths.⁹ Meanwhile, certain circumstances compelled him to travel to the United States of America. When he returned from the United States, he discovered the aspired goal of the Brotherhood. To quote Yusuf al-'Azam:

Sayyid Qutb's thought led him to establish a youth organization which could work within a certain framework and comprehensive methodology to call for revival of Islamic life. ..except that fate disallowed him to promote this vision in the generation of the Believers, which Hasan al-Banna had served. He discovered in this generation his object of desire and found in the youths his intended goal. Had Sayyid Qutb desired to establish a new organization and to found a second movement other than the movement of the Brotherhood, he could have received full support from the authorities because the Brotherhood at that time was at the door of violent trial.¹⁰

The viewpoint that Sayyid wished to form a new organization is refuted. It is asserted that Sayyid Qutb did not see any need to establish a new organization. According to Yusuf al-Azam, there is no evidence to support this theory. He emphasizes that Sayyid Qutb had nowhere announced this intention, not even to the Muslim youths who were around him.¹¹

The true situation is that Sayyid Qutb called for reform and kept open his house in Hulwan for the public. It is true that many who were influenced by Sayyid Qutb's thoughts frequented his house.¹² Sayyid Qutb discussed his reform and

motivational thoughts with the visitors. However, the statement that Sayyid Qutb felt the need for a new organization is not substantiated despite the fact that his Hulwan house served as a central place of assembly for enthusiastic Muslim youths whose desire was to restore peace and to benefit from his experience and to listen to his speeches, his discussions, and his guidance.¹³ Although Sayyid Qutb initially did not think of organizing the youths, he seemed to have ignited the fire of spirit in them to work for Islam and the nation. It was an attempt for total holistic change for reform. This move of Sayyid Qutb may be interpreted as an ice-breaking move, instilling a revolutionary spirit in the youths.

In this period, the Brotherhood was fully involved in reform activities. There was a lot of similarity between the thought of Sayyid Qutb and the vision of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. There is no evidence whether Sayyid Qutb met Hasan al-Banna or heard a talk or lecture by him.¹⁴ It is not confirmed that Sayyid Qutb had relationship with the Brotherhood before his journey to the United States of America.¹⁵ However, it does not imply that he never knew about Hasan al-Banna or the Muslim Brotherhood movement.¹⁶

The Muslim Brotherhood, after the Second World War, was at the peak of its activities and in the prime of its influence on the life of the Egyptians. It is argued that Sayyid Qutb knew about its activities.¹⁷ It is said that he neither perceived the value of the Brotherhood, nor the impact of Hasan al-Banna on the people and he never realized its strength in the life of Egypt. Sayyid Qutb states: "I did not know except a little about the Brotherhood until I travelled to the United States of America in the spring of 1948."¹⁸ By this time he had completed his book *al-Adalah al-Ijtima'iyah fi al-Islam* (Social Justice in Islam) and wished to publish it. His US visit, however, delayed its publication.

It is a hearsay that Sayyid Qutb contracted with Hasan al-Banna to publish his book and that Hasan al-Banna was the one who published it and ordered its distribution among the Brotherhood.¹⁹ What is true is that Sayyid Qutb entrusted it to his brother Muhammad Qutb who embarked on its publication, and thus the first edition appeared in April 1949.

It is believed that Sayyid Qutb forwarded a dedication of his book *Social Justice in Islam* to the Muslim youths in general. But many, including the Egyptian armed forces, assumed that the dedication of the book referred specifically to the youths of the Muslim Brotherhood who were in prisons. This time the Brotherhood members were living a life of misery and many of them were behind the walls of prisons as a price for their heroic struggle against the Zionists in Palestine. The Sa'ad government suppressed the Brotherhood as well as those who had affiliated to it. Sayyid Qutb who was then in America on an official mission was accused for his alleged incitement of the youths by his act of the dedication of the book. Thus the book was withdrawn from the market. It is stated that the armed forces were not in favour of publishing the book except after the author deleted its dedication to the Muslim youths of the Brotherhood.²⁰

The Brotherhood members misunderstood that Sayyid Qutb had only referred to them in the dedication of the book, *Social Justice in Islam* and were surprised by it. Thus they began to distribute it both inside and outside prisons. The book served as a motivating and stimulating force in arousing people's socio-political consciousness. As Yusuf al-'Azam reports, Hasan al-Banna was once holding the book in his hand and commenting in public, "This is our thought and it is probable that the author of the book is one of us."²¹ In this connection, Yusuf al-'Azam is convinced that in his dedication Sayyid Qutb actually meant the youths of the Brotherhood. He does not support the alternative view that Sayyid Qutb was not referring to the Brotherhood youths alone.²²

Al-Khalidi records that he consulted Muhammad Qutb,²³ Sayyid Qutb's brother about different interpretations of the dedication of the book and his reply was very clear. According to Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb never meant the youths of the Brotherhood literally. However, he dedicated it to the Muslim youths in general. But he regretted that the misunderstanding of this issue created havoc in the nation.

Why should the researchers dispute the interpretation about the dedication, while there is a candid statement by Sayyid Qutb himself? It is authentic and it

could be a response to Yusuf al-'Azam who held a different opinion. To quote Sayyid Qutb:

Once the book *Social Justice in Islam* was published in 1949 with a dedication, the Muslim Brotherhood conceived it as though I referred to them in its dedication and it was not like that. However they considered its author their friend!²⁴

It is obvious from the quotation that Sayyid Qutb did not aim at the Brotherhood in the dedication of the book's first edition. However, during the second edition in 1954, he actually referred to the youths of the Brotherhood, after he had become a real, committed and active member of the organization.

Realization of the Brotherhood

Sayyid Qutb's observation of some events in the United States of America made him to conclude that the United States was a sponsor of Zionists and Crusaders who were acting against Islam and Muslims, especially against the Brotherhood, which was seen as a champion of contemporary Islamic revival movements. In the United States of America, Sayyid Qutb's Islamic awareness strengthened his commitment to work for an Islamic agenda. He refers to two crucial events which occurred in America that brought him near to the Brotherhood, for he came to know more precisely of the movement and its role, its contributions and its impact on the antagonistic forces.

First, when Hasan al-Banna's assassination was announced following a conspiracy of the colonialists and imperialists in February 1949, Sayyid Qutb was in a hospital in one of the cities of America. He witnessed a phenomenon of extreme joy and glee in every place around him, in the press, in all means of communication and in clubs. Almost everyone in the city was dancing and congratulating each other on an escape from the most dangerous person of the East in their perspective. Sayyid Qutb says:

Hasan al-Banna was assassinated in 1949 and my attention turned with severity to what American newspapers had observed and commented. Likewise the British who reached America on account of their interest had malicious joy and they showed candid jubilation in dissolving the Brotherhood and the killing of its General Guide.²⁵ The British Intelligence officer Don authored a dangerous book entitled *Religious and Political Trends in Modern Egypt*. He discussed the role of the Brotherhood in some detail. He illustrated the Brotherhood's threat to the Western World, warned the people of the West and called on them to resist and bombard it.²⁶

Sayyid Qutb says that he read *Religious and Political Trends in Modern Egypt* in America and it made him register his resentment and rancour against the Westerners and particularly the efforts of the Orientalist, Don in kindling this malice among the Westerners. The above events and factors motivated Sayyid Qutb to contemplate the need to come closer to the Brotherhood. The second experience of Sayyid Qutb was with the British officer, Don, whom he met more than once at his residence. Don went on to discuss with Sayyid Qutb all the happenings in Egypt, particularly the political and social issues as well as the perils anticipated by Egypt. He projected the movement as a dangerous force. The British intelligence officer went on narrating to Sayyid Qutb a detailed secret report about the activities of the Brotherhood. He also drew his attention to the efforts of Hasan al-Banna, his speeches and his movements, since the founding of the organization. The intelligence officer presented him a detailed picture of the danger that would destroy the country if this organization succeeded and attained political power and that it would also put Egypt into a backward state and resist Western civilization. He stressed that the hope would lie in the hands of the educated youths of Egypt who should make it impossible for the movement to come to power. On the other hand, Don's open advice to Sayyid Qutb was to refrain from the movement and to publicly attack it, because if it were to go out of Egypt, it would disintegrate and dissolve America, its position, and the interest of its allied states.²⁸ This movement, as Don expressed and concluded, was the worst enemy of the British imperialists.

In spite of all these negative appraisals highlighted by Don, the British intelligence officer, Sayyid Qutb continued to have good faith and trust in the work of Hasan al-Banna and the movement. As a result, he set out in political articles an attack on British colonialism. His articles were geared to fight feudalism, social and political injustices. King Faruq was troubled and depressed by Sayyid Qutb's articles that laid foundations for political consciousness and awareness among the people. Consequently, the King ordered a ban on the magazine and prohibited Sayyid Qutb from writing. Sayyid Qutb stated:

I said to myself (while I was in the house) now the truth has a share and it has convinced me that this movement is the plain truth and there was no excuse for me with Allah, the Exalted and the Glorious, if I did not follow it. This is America dancing on the skull of Hasan al-Banna. This is Britain utilizing her means and her intelligence agencies, even inside America to counter and destroy the movement and I made up my mind from the bottom of my soul to get affiliated to it. Since then, I did not go to Don's house, the British intelligence officer.²⁹

After this experience, Sayyid Qutb abstained from writing throughout his stay in the United States of America. It was not impossible for him to write and publish his articles but he intentionally refrained from it. Perhaps this abstention was due to the fact that he was musing over a thing greater than writing. It is stated that Sayyid Qutb, while he was in the United States of America had ideas to begin the Islamic work by training various groups of educated Muslim youths over there. Every group consisted of five individuals, but he thought long over his plan. He lamented himself: "Why should I start from the beginning of the way while others have already started and operated far in stages in this direction? Is it not superior and better to start from where they stopped and follow their way in this field?"³⁰ He then resolved after his return from the United States of America to study about Hasan al-Banna. Sayyid Qutb records:

I read all of Hasan al-Banna's letters and comprehended his immaculate life and true objectives. I understood why he was oppressed and why he was assassinated, and I made a covenant with Allah, the Exalted

and Glorious, to uphold the trust after him and to continue the journey on the same way by which he met Allah, the Exalted and Glorious.³¹

Sayyid Qutb fulfilled his promises and even followed the same path. It is important to note at this juncture that both had similar endings: Sayyid Qutb was hanged in penitentiary whereas Hasan al-Banna was shot in the middle of a street; he passed away the same night in the hospital.³²

When Sayyid Qutb returned from America in 1950 he was then very close to the Muslim Brotherhood. The events that took place and what he observed in America inspired him to fraternize with it and this increased his Islamic consciousness and urged him to accelerate his reform activities. Meanwhile, the Muslim youths were not only respectful of Sayyid Qutb but were also surprised at his intellectual activities. They frequented his house, making an impact on him by their support and drawing him closer to the movement. But Sayyid Qutb did not join it officially before the Revolution of 1952 because of his greater focus on reform of society and abrogation of monarchy as well as his preparation for the Revolution. When the Revolution started, he was occupied with the leaders of the Revolution. In fact he was the only civilian spending more than twelve hours a day with them. It is argued that all these obligations and responsibilities delayed his association with the Brotherhood. Sayyid Qutb narrates:

When I returned (to Cairo) at the end of 1950, some Muslim youths began to visit me and spoke to me about my book *Social Justice in Islam*. (They complained that) There was no official site for them to carry out their Islamic work for the movement, which was under an embargo.³³

Lack of official site and informal activities were the factors that delayed Sayyid Qutb's association with the movement as observed by some historians. It is argued that when the crisis of differences between Sayyid Qutb and the leaders of the Revolution began, he started to come closer to the Brotherhood. Another

considerable factor that brought Sayyid Qutb nearer to the movement was what he observed after his return from America: the role of foreign agents and their agreement and co-ordination with enemies both inside and outside to destroy the Brotherhood and particularly to prevent the outbreak of the Revolution.

The most important example of that is what Sayyid Qutb himself mentioned: the members of al-Falah Society³⁴ had polarized the men of the Revolution, the men of literature and the men of politics. Amad Husayn, who was the closest ally of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, led the society. Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir was handing over the centres and jobs to them, which enabled them to fight with the Brotherhood. At the head of these agents, as Sayyid Qutb says, was Fu'ad Jalal, an under secretary of al-Falah Society as well as a minister in the first cabinet after the Revolution and a close ally of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir.³⁵

In his memoirs, Mahmud 'Abd al-Halim provides some information about Sayyid Qutb's initiation in the Brotherhood, and especially the General Guide, before his formal admission to the movement in 1953. In brief, the Brotherhood led the campaign against the British armed forces in Suez Canal at the end of 1951 and the British forces retaliated with brutality, destroying houses and wounding or killing people. In the first few days, three students, 'Abd al-Ghani, 'Umar Shahir and Ahmad al-Manisi of the Brotherhood were killed. After this incident, opinion was divided among the members and leaders. Two views emerged. The opinion of one of the groups within the Brotherhood was that it should enter into a campaign against the British forces with all strength while another group wanted to wait for the appropriate opportunity and time; otherwise, it argued, the British forces would mow down the Brotherhood youths on the banks of the Canal. Meanwhile, the newspaper, *al-Misri*, published a statement by Muhammad Tahir Munir³⁶ calling for support of the second opinion, to endure and persevere for a while. Muhammad al-Ghazali, a member of the Guidance Office of the Brotherhood, responded to him in the same newspaper with a statement calling for force and rallying in the fight against the British and to pit the full weight of the Brotherhood against the British forces. In the face of two conflicting views of al-Ghazali and Munir, both

members of the Brotherhood, some people were concerned about non-participation of the Brotherhood in the fight against the British and were afraid of their abstention from *jihād*. Hasan 'Abd al- Quddus, a journalist, published an article expressing his anxiety and apprehension, and urging the Brotherhood to prepare for an encounter with the British. He praised the struggle of the Brotherhood and their philosophy of *jihād*. Amidst conflicting opinions and critical situations, some who were nearer to the Brotherhood wanted to hear the opinion of Hasan al-Hudaybi, the General Guide. In this regard, Mahmud 'Abd al-Halim states: "At this time Sayyid Qutb came forward and he was at that time still in the ranks of sympathizers of the Brotherhood. He forwarded an appeal to the General Guide to issue a conclusive statement. *Al-Misri* published a statement by him entitled "The view of the Brotherhood and the view of Islam."³⁷ Sayyid Qutb became entrenched in the association after this.

Although Sayyid Qutb praised the earlier opinion of al-Ghazai, his own view was different:

Neither Tahir Munir, president of the Brotherhood of Suez, nor Muhammad al- Ghazali, member of the Guidance Office, has the right to issue an official statement of the Brotherhood on this critical issue. The Brotherhood's policy authorizes only the General Guide to make an official statement... The people are in urgent need of a clear, candid, tangible and 'official position of the Brotherhood in these days, for there are others who call for their words... and the friends of the Islamic movement are among them. They are eagerly waiting to hear the official statement.³⁸

Sayyid Qutb concluded his statement with an open call to the General Guide to be frank and candid to settle the situation and to announce a clear stand, which would highlight the exact position of the Brotherhood and put an end to the conflicting statements. From the above statement of Sayyid Qutb, it is obvious that until his writing in 1952, he was never a member of the Brotherhood formally, but only their friend; between him and them there was a reciprocal confidence and mutual

respect.

It is observed that the General Guide, due to his good will and trust in Sayyid Qutb, replied to him after two days on 3 January, 1952 in the newspaper, *al-Misri*³⁹ with a clear statement. He confirmed in it the stand of the Brotherhood on *jihad*, their intention of fighting the British and reforming the life of the People. However his call was for a quiet and peaceful approach, leaving the activities of the Brotherhood and their state of *jihād*. Al-Hudaybi added about Sayyid Qutb:

The writer Sayyid Qutb said: 'The role of Islam in the struggle of the people is always a positive one and the people struggle today on account of two splendid goals. That is the absolute liberation from foreign colonialism and social justice from exploitation. As for the living standard, perhaps, the writer knows the view of the Brotherhood about it and no one other than him knows it. It is our duty to provide shelter, dress, food and medical treatment for every individual in the state and it is known that this is spread out and elaborately mentioned in his books and letters.'⁴⁰

Admiration of al-Banna

Sayyid Qutb expressed his deep and unequivocal admiration for al-Banna by underlining that many Islamic workers understood the Islamic creed, but al-Banna's understanding was unique, since no other Islamic worker had the qualities of a founder and no other founder was endowed and granted with the genius for the grand design. The genius of the structure manifests in each step among the steps of the organization, from the *usrah*⁴¹ to the *shu'bah*⁴² to the region, to the administrative office, to the Foundation Committee to the Guidance Office. This is from the structural perspective and it is the least of the manifestations of al-Banna's genius. However, the internal structure of the organization was more precise and significant which is an evidence of the genius behind the structure of the organization of al-Banna. It was the spiritual edifice in particular.

Sayyid Qutb's greatest admiration was reserved for al-Banna's part in setting up the Muslim Brotherhood:

Let Allah, the Exalted and the Glorious, make the Brotherhood live... Egypt turned towards good fortune of diligence and felt depressed of the matter, and *jihād* was not reckoned with exclamation and applause. Egypt turned towards the people to do the work, but it did not find anyone except the Brotherhood which was ready for sacrifice and trained for struggle and martyrdom. They left others who concentrated on giving sermons and producing writings. The Brotherhood went actively to the field of *jihād*. Of course, they left others' meetings and sessions, carried the arms and went forward silently.⁴³

Sayyid Qutb says that some of the manifestations of the Brotherhood and particularly its aims and objectives and its comprehensive activities were the factors that moved and excited him to join it. To quote him: "In my view, it is the proper and suitable organization that can work for Islam on the basis of its comprehensiveness, its scale, its liveliness and its commitments. There is no substitute for this movement that struggles to put an end to all plans and conspiracies of Zionism, Colonialism and Crusaders."⁴⁴

Sayyid Qutb also mentioned his viewpoint after the oppression of Jamal 'Abd al- Nasir:

The policy of Zionists, Colonialists and the Crusaders was to get rid of the Brotherhood in the region. These forces accomplished their interests, designs and gradually garnered success. When Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir banned the Brotherhood and put its members in various prisons, these forces influenced the Egyptian society and corrupted it. Then, this trend eventually resulted in the expansion and dissemination of heretical thoughts and the spread of moral decadence. The destruction of the Brotherhood and its suppression of training activities were their main objective.⁴⁵

One is able to observe the relation between this decadent character as a result of the destruction of the Brotherhood and the plan of Zionists, Crusaders and Colonialists. My soul is filled with conviction of the necessity for an Islamic movement like the Brotherhood in the region. Zionists, Crusaders and Colonialists are repulsive to this

movement and wish it total failure and defeat. This is clear from their goals, books, measures, actions, resolutions, machinations and plots. All these forces stand together to weaken the Islamic 'aqidah and erase its character... and to put an end to the activities of the Brotherhood. On the one hand, they achieved their goals and, on the other, they assisted in disseminating heretical ideas and thoughts and moral decadence.⁴⁶

It is obvious that Sayyid Qutb diligently admired the martyr al-Banna. And his admiration was focused on the genius of al-Banna in two respects. First, the balanced spiritual building up of the members of the movement with mutual correspondence between knowledge, spirit, and the movement from one direction and the specialized Islamic schools such as mysticism and traditionalism from another direction. And second, the organizational spirit of the members which deserves praise. Indeed, this organization was the first of its kind in the Muslim world infused with collective and congregational work.

It has been reported that Sayyid Qutb came into contact with the Brotherhood through the initiative by Muhammad Hilmi al-Manyawi.⁴⁷ It is further mentioned that when Salih 'Ashmawi, one of the influential leaders of the Brotherhood, impressed by Sayyid Qutb's truthfulness, earnestness and sincerity; extended an invitation to him to join the movement.⁴⁸ Sayyid Qutb responded positively to the invitation. When the political situation in the country improved and the ban on open activities of the Brotherhood was lifted, Hasan al-Hudaiybi was elected the new General Guide. Sayyid Qutb, it is said, was seen to be sitting in the forefront to take his oath of allegiance. But other reports do not tally with this narration and argue" that Ashmawi was not instrumental to Sayyid Qutb's decision to join the Brotherhood, nor was he present when Hasan al-Hudaybi was being elected.

It is claimed that Sayyid Qutb himself believed that he was born again and according to him; his date of birth was the date of his joining the Brotherhood. According to some writers, he was always reiterating this statement: "I was born

in 1951.”⁴⁹ Some writers mention that he joined the Brotherhood in 1951 and therefore they cite this as evidence. But, Salah ‘Abd al-Fattah states it was a mistake. According to him, there are other remarks as well about his joining the movement. Some said that he joined in 1950 immediately after his return from the United States of America. Others conjectured that he joined in 1951 based on his alleged statement that he was born in that year. Yusuf al-‘Azam has supported the latter opinion. There is another view that he joined the Brotherhood in 1952 just before the outbreak of the Revolution. Yet, another one by Salah ‘Abd al-Fattah who stated that Sayyid Qutb actually joined the Brotherhood in the beginning of 1953 after the Revolution.⁵⁰

It has been stated that Sayyid Qutb regarded a large part of his life (forty-five years) as null and void. Later, he proceeded with sincerity and dedication to the service of Islam and the Islamic movement. He commenced writing fiery and thought-provoking articles which smoothened and put in order the 1952 Egyptian Revolution. He was considered as the chief architect of the Revolution. His articles deprived the oppressors of sleep. They posed him problems. Many among his friends and associates sympathized with him. He was counselled to be silent on the pretext that the people had not reached the stage of consciousness to follow him and realize what he wanted. Sayyid Qutb said:

I don't want to die. I assure you I like to live. I like to live a long life and I am not fed up with this life. I have only completed a small part of my duty. Much remains for me to do. Another thing is that I was away from Allah, the Exalted and Glorious, for a long period of my life and I hope to live a little longer. I want to spend my life in nearness to Him, a period corresponding to my adolescence.⁵¹

In addition to articles, Sayyid Qutb undertook more researches. He delivered lectures, held seminars, administered sessions and participated in discourses. As he was attracting many scholars and influencing the audience, they interacted with him and handed over their leadership to him. The headquarters of the Brotherhood

saw him as its official spokesman. Several members of the Brotherhood benefited from his experience and worked according to his instructions and opinions. His home in Hulwan witnessed waves of Muslim youths from Egypt and abroad visiting him.

Muslim Unity and Role in the Brotherhood

One of the most prominent visions of Sayyid Qutb was his call for the establishment of an Islamic bloc that would unite all the Muslim peoples as a third bloc.⁵² According to him, it would be different from the two existing blocs of Communism and Capitalism.⁵³ The third bloc would be independent and stable. It would function as a liberating force from the domination of either the Communist or the Capitalist forces. He conducted discourses, delivered public lectures and published articles justifying and explaining his proposal. Indeed the Brotherhood supported the call and invited all Muslim nations to positively consider his proposal. But, unfortunately, some unforeseen incidents that occurred later on buried this noble call in its cradle.

As observed in the preceding pages when Sayyid Qutb returned to Egypt, the ban was still in force on the Brotherhood. However, the members pursued their activities though there was no legal approval. They wrote and published newspapers like *al-Mabāḥith* (The Research) and *al-Da'wah*⁵⁴ (The Islamic Call). *Al-Da'wah* reserved a few pages for such articles. And Sayyid Qutb wrote in Muslim Brotherhood's *al-Da'wah*; Socialists' *al-Ishtirikiyyah*, and the Nationalists' *al-Liwa al-Jadīd*⁵⁵ (The New Banner), which were ideologically opposed to terrorization and oppression. Sayyid Qutb's articles were full of vigour and vehemence and it is the opinion of several writers that the articles disturbed the oppressors and made an impact on the hearts of the people.

History has recorded that Sayyid Qutb pursued his reform mission with the Brotherhood for more than a year and a half from March 1953 until November 1954. His activity with them was in conformity with his nature and culture. As a result, Sayyid Qutb was entrusted with the responsibility of the department of

Islamic Call. Since his association with the Brotherhood, in addition to the *da'wah* responsibility, he was also made chief editor of its newspaper. He edited some of the monthly bulletins of *Islamic Culture*. His most important position at this time was supervision of the newspaper *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*. This was a newspaper published every Thursday by the headquarters of the Brotherhood. When the Guidance Office of the Brotherhood decided to restore the publication of the magazine *al-Ikhwān*, it assigned the restoration job to Sayyid Qutb and entrusted him with its editorship.

Sayyid Qutb made concerted efforts to mobilize the resources and recruited the best brains to serve Islamic Call. His own brother Muhammad Qutb, wrote for the magazine. Two of his sisters, Aminah and Hamidah, were assigned to edit the magazine and to write the column on women's affairs. When the leaders of the Revolution arrived at an agreement on the British departure from Egypt in 1954, the Brotherhood was not satisfied with it and argued that it was unfair for Egypt and that it was not a real withdrawal of Great Britain. They, therefore, criticized it severely. Sayyid Qutb began to publish vehement articles highlighting the disadvantages and loopholes of the treaty. Sayyid Qutb brought out its first issue on 20 May, 1954. He managed to publish twelve issues. The magazine was banned; Sayyid Qutb abandoned it on 5 August 1954. The reason for its discontinuance was the direct control and intervention of the authorities, especially when the crisis of the differences between the Revolutionary Government and the Brotherhood worsened, and censorship prevented the publication of its articles. During his trial in the court of Jamal Salim on 22 November 1954, Sayyid Qutb confessed that he closed the newspaper on his own initiative, for he was unable to publish the articles, analyses and comments sent to him due to the censorship. Though the censorship curtailed his publications, he continued giving talks. Among the Brotherhood activities, his delivery of public talk in the headquarters was very pertinent. Members of the Brotherhood attended the talks in large numbers.

It has been reported that the Egyptian Social Studies Committee commissioned Sayyid Qutb to represent it at the conference of Social Studies

circle held in Damascus on 2 March 1953.⁵⁶ He travelled to Damascus and delivered a lecture on "Moral Education as a Means for the Realization of Social Integration"⁵⁷ The Brotherhood branch of Damascus availed itself of the opportunity of his stay and organized for him a public lecture to be delivered at the Faculty of Arts of Damascus University. Many admirers encircled Sayyid Qutb discussing the beauties of the Qur'anic expressions. He illustrated multiple dimensions of the Qur'anic text. As it was his wont, neither a book nor a piece of paper was in his hand during his presentation as mentioned by Muhammad al-Yasin, his escort during his stay in Syria.⁵⁸

After the conference, Sayyid Qutb proceeded to the borders of Jordan to pay a visit. But, according to some sources, the Jordanian forces prohibited him from entering on the orders of the Commander-in-Chief of the British Jordanian army who ruled Jordan at that time.⁵⁹ On 2 December 1953, an Islamic conference was held in al-Qudus (Muslims holy place in Jerusalem), which invited the Brotherhood. The Islamic organizations and personalities from all comers of the Muslim world participated in it with an objective of discussing the strategy for the protection of al-Qudus. The Guidance Office in Egypt nominated Say'iid Qutb to represent the movement at this conference.⁶⁰

It is stated that Sayyid Qutb was elected as a member in the new Guidance Office for the Brotherhood. Then he was appointed the chief of the department of propagation in the office⁶¹ and was given an opportunity to disseminate the Islamic message, and the ideology, aim and methodology of the Brotherhood internally as well as outside Egypt. Sayyid Qutb carried out his responsibility to a fault.

Sayyid Qutb accompanied Hasan al-Hudiyabi in one of his journeys to Upper Egypt, delivered lectures there and studied the wretched condition of the people with regard to political, social and physical matters.⁶² He was deeply affected by their conditions and consequently he wrote articles exposing the misery to the people of Egypt. His articles aroused the sentiments of the people in the country. When the Brotherhood collided with the authorities in the beginning of 1954, many of its leaders were detained. Sayyid Qutb was one among those detained. He

remained in prison along with others for three months in 1954. Later, the detainees were released due to the emergence of differences between the officers of the Revolution.

In the last days, but before the brutal massacre⁶³ at the end of 1954, and after Sayyid Qutb perceived the plots against the Brotherhood, he secretly moved from Cairo to Bani Suwaif, the town where he had worked as a teacher earlier. There he published secret brochures disclosing the designs and plans of the authorities for suppressing the Islamic movement and exposed the indifferent behaviour of the leaders of Revolution. Sayyid Qutb was arrested as a result of the activities and the Brotherhood was accused of attempting to murder Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir.⁶⁴

It is not surprising to note that the duration of Sayyid Qutb with the Brotherhood was very short. It was the period between his joining the organization and the occurrence of the trial: from March 1953 to November 1954.⁶⁵ Some historians argue that the brevity of his period of formal organizational experience was used as an excuse for depriving him of position and as a proof of his incompetence for the leadership position. They are also of the view that Sayyid Qutb had no long-standing experience in the movement *per se* and as such his ideas and thoughts could not be considered relevant and feasible.⁶⁶

Some objections were raised to the extent that they refused Sayyid Qutb's leadership of the movement, because certain parties argued that he did not live a life of the movement for a long time, nor had he spent many years with it, and that he never absorbed the methodology, plan and concept of *jāmi'ah* (Community). Due to this short membership, Sayyid Qutb was regarded as not being qualified to lead the new organization in the 1960s and was unfit to advance his missionary thought and dynamism for the Muslim Brotherhood. His critics were particularly critical of his exegesis *Fī Zilāl al-Qur'ān*⁶⁷ (In the Shade of the Qur'an) and his book *Ma'ālim fi al-Tariq*.⁶⁸ (Milestones).⁶⁹ They also, as a result of the short association and experience, differed on the understanding and interpretation of the *jama'ah* in the collective work and the Islamic Call. They contended that his

Islamic Calls in those works reflected his lack of understanding of the vision of the collective and congregational work.⁷⁰ They also indirectly called for rejecting the thoughts of Sayyid Qutb's Islamic work and resisting his interpretation of *da'wah*.

Many expressions were cast on Sayyid Qutb's thought and his methodology of the Islamic movement. One such view is below:

Before his imprisonment, Sayyid Qutb may have spent three years or in fact only two years within the Brotherhood. And in prison, he saw what had happened due to injustices and oppression of Islam and killing of Islamic workers and inhuman torturing of the people. Truly these incidents made an impact on his thought and his perception of the styles of the change.⁷²

The above viewpoint sowed the seeds of misunderstanding with regard to his exegesis of the Qur'an and other interpretations and religious exhortations among several Muslims as well as Western writers. It is not appropriate to reach the conclusion on his thought-on the basis of remarks that all his views are influenced by his prison life. What is observed is that Sayyid Qutb endeavoured to provide solutions to contemporary problems of mankind with the sole aim to establish socio-political and economic justice.

It is true that Sayyid Qutb's affiliation to the Brotherhood before his incarceration was short, and it is also true that prison atmosphere did not provide him an opportunity to maintain the relation between him and the leadership of the Brotherhood which disabled him to lead the movement from the prison. It is not, however, appropriate or sensible to take these factors as a means to decide against him and his leadership role. It is more important to know whether or not a person has sincerity and trustworthiness in his commitment, rather than to see whether he has prolonged experience.

Although Sayyid Qutb's period in the movement was short, he was true in his belief, work and dedication. It is not fair to take the time factor as a key reason to disagree with his concept and methodology. Historical realities of Sayyid Qutb

exhibit the fact that he was truthful in his belief and task, truthful in his commitment and work, truthful in his *jihād* and his Islamic work, truthful in his organizational attachment and dynamism.

After the tribulation, his belief and organizational commitment became stronger than before. It is important to note that some people who joined the Brotherhood moved away from it for various reasons. Sayyid Qutb, on the other hand, did not abstain from it; he, in fact continued working for it. It is, therefore, irrational and illogical and even unethical to measure his immense intellectual, spiritual and practical contribution to the movement on the basis of the time factor, that is, his short association with the organization before entry into the prison. It is argued that it is important not to forget the fact that the contributions of those who are committed to the Islamic mission sincerely, even if it is for a short period due to their death is no lesser than those who have long standing contributions to the movement.⁷³

Charge against Sayyid Qutb

Some researchers and historians accuse Sayyid Qutb of involvement in things against the Brotherhood's interests, despite the fact that he categorically denied his involvement in such things. One such accusation is that Sayyid Qutb was assigned to be a representative to the Egyptian Communist Party.⁷⁴ It was held that after the middle of 1954, the Communist Party wanted a co-ordination between the Brotherhood and their Party in order to resist the rule of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. 'Abd al-'Aziz Ramadan mentions, in his book *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn wa al-Tanzīm al-Sirri*, that this was contained in the secret newsletter of the Communist Party. According to him, the newsletter claimed that Sayyid Qutb met the representative of the Communist Party twice, first on 16 July 1954 and then on 20 August 1954. Negotiations between Sayyid Qutb and the Communist Party representative centered around how to resist and face the men of Revolution and overthrow the Government and on the ways of co-ordination between the Brotherhood and the Communists in this connection.⁷⁵ But it seems that such

inclinations of his association was far fetched. Examining the available materials, it is possible to conclude that there was absolutely no connection between them. Thus the above accusation has to be rejected and the only conclusion that one can come to is that it is a fabrication. Historically, the Communists distorted many things. Moreover, the Brotherhood did not direct Sayyid Qutb towards such a thing. Sayyid Qutb also did not refer to this incident when he confessed to the Egyptian interrogators and the prosecutors in the Court. Sayyid Qutb was committed to speaking the truth even in adversity. Had it happened as claimed, he would have mentioned it.

Internal Revolt

Among the top-level leaders, a critical internal difference occurred in 1953, which led to a serious dissension among the ranks of the organization. It is argued that several transgressions were committed by 'Abd al-Rahman al Sanady, the President of the Special System (*al-nizām al-khāss*)⁷⁶. This eventually led to the decision by the Guidance Office to dismiss 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sanady along with three of his assistants, Ahmad Zaki, Ahmad 'Adil Kamal and Mahmud al-Sabagh. The event was reported in the newspapers on 22nd November 1953.⁷⁷ These four dismissed 'brothers' made their attempt to spread confusion. A number of 'brothers' extended their support to them in breaking into the house of the General Guide Hasan al-Hudaybi in order to force him to resign from his post.

It is notable that there was a secret pact between the four dismissed rebels and three other top leaders, who were members of the Founding Committee. They were Salih 'Ashmawi, Muhammad al-Ghazali and Ahmad 'Abd al-'Aziz Jalal. It is believed that there was a secret connection between those rebellious dismissed 'brothers' and Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir, whereby there was a collective effort in designing their plans with Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and co-ordinating with him on the modus operandi of the removal of the General Guide. This is to ensure that a new General Guide can be appointed from their side and favourable to Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. The ensuing formation of a new Guidance Office representing the

dissident group will then be more acceptable to Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir.⁷⁹

Although the number of dissidents was not that large, their disturbance was sensed everywhere and it was very disturbing due to the secret support extended by the Government under the leadership of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir to accelerate the crisis. A group of dissidents occupied the headquarters on Friday 27 November 1953. The three great leaders, Salih 'Ashmawi, Ghazali and Jalal, were with them. From there, they declared the dissolution of the Guidance Office, removal of the General Guide and formation of a new Guidance Office. They also announced the appointment of Sayyid Sabiq as the new General Guide and Salib 'Ashmawi as secretary.⁸⁰

Among those who were present in the headquarters were Salab al-'Attar and Sayyid old, the two assistants of 'Abd al-Rabman al-Sanady. Both of them were nearer to the formal leadership, i.e., the leadership of Hasan al-Hudaybi, and worked with wisdom in weakening the position of the rebellious occupiers of the headquarters and dispersed a majority of them to their houses until Salab Shady came with a group of supporters and ended the occupation of the headquarters by the dissident group.

During this critical time the contribution of Sayyid Qutb was great. This dangerous dissension, which shook the heart of everyone, left its mark on everyone's way for years to come. Sayyid Qutb noticed the threat of the conspiracy of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and his vested interest in scattering the powerful position of the Brotherhood and the removal of the General Guide. He strongly registered his protest and resisted the conspiracies of Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir. It is stated that some important people contributed to bring the issue of occupation of the headquarters to an end:

During our waiting that evening near the house of the General Guide, we met Sayyid Qutb, who showed extreme anger. Sayyid 'Id states that when he was given an opportunity to meet Sayyid Qutb in prison, he asked him about the interest of Zionists and World Crusaders and about the internal differences of the Brotherhood. He replied to him that 'Ali Amin contacted him at 2 p.m. on Friday 27 November 1953

and told him that the Brothers were arming themselves and he (Sayyid Qutb) was sitting in the house. Sayyid Qutb said, 'I stood up, took a taxi and went to the house of the General Guide and I did not find anything other than the normal thing.. .and I went to the headquarters, I did not find anything conspicuous likewise... Then everything happened after that. This is what made me confirm that the matter was planned from more than one direction.'⁸¹

Sayyid Qutb assured his support for the official leadership, like all other members of the Brotherhood. On Sunday 29 November 1953, a great delegation from all branches of the Brotherhood came to the headquarters formally declaring and reconfirming their support for the legal General Guide Hasan al-Hudaybi, who had been elected according to the constitution of the organization.⁸² The Guidance Office met in the headquarters and Sayyid Qutb delivered his speech to the delegation in which he affirmed his wholehearted support and called on the brothers to express their confidence in Hasan al-Hudaybi. His speech was witnessed by leaders like 'Abd al-Hakim 'Abidin, Hasan Dawh, 'Izzuddin Ibrahim, Sa'id Ramadan and Khamis Hamidah. Finally, the General Guide, Hasan al-Hudaybi delivered his speech and thanked the speakers and others present for their undivided support.⁸³

Conclusion

It is possible to assert on the basis of above discussion, that Sayyid Qutb was reasonably fair and moderate in dealing with issues on various occasions and situations. He was devoted to reform; and when he was dissatisfied with political activities, he withdrew from politics embracing a higher aspiration. It seems that he was not silent but continued his mission of writing and conducting discourses that brought about peoples' awakening for the sake of national interest.⁸⁴ It is substantiated that his personal observation of certain incidents in America brought him nearer to the Muslim Brotherhood movement. And he was also suspicious of foreign interference in local politics and particularly in creating tension between

Jamal 'Abd al-Nasir and the Brotherhood. His admiration of Hasan al-Banna and his master plan for the establishment of an Islamic way of life as well as other plots that he observed here and there made him join the Brotherhood. He believed that this is the best way to serve his nation. Dissatisfied with unhealthy activities of both the Capitalist and the Communist blocs, he called for the establishment of a third bloc so that Muslims can enhance their unity. Being contented with the Brotherhood's commitment he became its spokesman and represented it in various international seminars and conferences. He provided leadership more of the spiritual kind rather than organizational as it is obvious from his witness. The study shows that he was not inclined to Communism nor was he part of the internal revolt. In fact he made concerted efforts to overcome various crises of the movement even before his formal attachment. His role was crystal clear. His contribution to the development of Islamic consciousness through his consistent efforts before and after joining the movement was worthy of appreciation.

References and Notes

1. He was a thinker, a literary figure, a journalist, and a well-known Qur'anic exegete in the twentieth century.
2. This movement was founded by Hasan al-Banna in 1927 in Egypt whose objective was to arouse people's consciousness about Islam and prepare for liberation of Egypt from the British imperialists.
3. Mustafa Mashhiir, Hasan al- Turabi and Fathi Osman hold this view.
4. Sayyid Qutb, *Al-Taswīr al-Fanni fī al-Qur'ān* (n.p: Dar al--Shuruq, n.d).
5. Sayyid Qutb, *Al 'Adālah al-Ijtima'iyyah fi al-Islām*, (Beirut: Dar al--Shuruq, 1974).
6. Salah 'Abd al-Fattah al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al- Shahīd al-Hayy*, 2nd edition ('Amman, Jordan: Maktabat al-Aqsa, 1985), p. 133.
7. *Al-Risalah*, 14th Year, 2nd Volume, and No: 681, Dated 22 July 1946, pp. 796-797.
8. Hasan al-Banna was the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood movement. It worked for an Islamic revival in Egypt and was eventually banned by the regime time and again. This was the movement that Sayyid Qutb got affiliated to after the 1952 revolution.
9. Yusuf al-'Azam, *Al-Shahīd Sayyid Qutb, Hayātuhu wa Madrasatuhu wa Athāruhu*, 1st. edition, (Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, n.d), p. 37.
10. Ibid.
11. Salah 'Abd al-Fattah al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-Istishhād*, 1st. edition, (Damascus: Dar al-Qalam, 1991), p. 314.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid.
14. Ibid., p. 314.
15. Ibid.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid, p. 315.
18. Sayyid Qutb, *Limadhā A'damūni* (Why did They Execute Me), (n.p.: Al-Sharikah al-Su'udiyah li'l Abhath wa al-Taswiq, n.d), p. 10. This was the last document that Sayyid Qutb wrote before his execution. It has been published in *Al-Muslimūn* (The Muslims) .This journal was published in Saudi Arabia and 1985 was the first year of publication.
19. Al-Khalidi, *op. cit.*, p. 315.
20. Ibid.
21. Yusuf al-'Azam, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

22. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-Istishhād*, p. 316.
23. He is Sayyid's real brother who upheld Qutb's mission after his death and currently working in King 'Abdul 'Aziz University, Jeddah, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia.
24. Sayyid Qutb, *Limādha A 'damūni*, p. 10-11.
25. Ibid.
26. Richard Mitchel, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, Tr. Abu al-Su'ad Publication, p. 8. Al-Khalidi quotes this in his book *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-istishhād*, 320.
27. It was founded in the town of Ismailiyyah in 1928.
28. Al-Khalidi quoted this from Muhammad Qutb.
29. Al-Khalidi quoted this passage from the draft copy of the research that was prepared by 'Abd Allah 'Azzam about Sayyid Qutb in his book *Sayyid Qutb al-Shahīd al-Hayy*, p. 136.
30. *Al-Shihāb*, 9th Year, 6th Issue, September 1972, p. 8.
31. *Al-Mujtama'*, No: 115, Dated 29 August 1972, p. 11.
32. To know more about Hasan al-Banna's death refer to Sadiq Amin, *Min Tārīkh al-Harakat al-Islāmiyyah*, n.d.
33. Sayyid Qutb, *Limādha A 'damūni*, 11.
34. It is said that it was sponsored by American agents.
35. See the story of Fu'ad Jalal and Al-Falah Society in *Limādha A 'damūni*, pp. 12-14.
36. He was the President of the Suez branch of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*.
37. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-Istishhād*, 328.
38. Ibid.
39. *Al-Liwa 'al-Misri'*, founded in 1922, was a daily newspaper for the National Party of Egypt.
40. Mahmud 'Abd al-Halim, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn Ruw'yah min al-Dakhil. Abdath Sana'at al-Tārī'kh*, 151 edition, (Alexandria: *Dār al-Da'wah*, 1979), 489.
41. It refers to a small organized unit of the members of the Muslim Brotherhood movement established by al-Banna.
42. It refers to a branch of the Muslim Brotherhood at different places of the Villages.
43. Sayyid Qutb, *Dirāsah Islāmiyyah*, (n.p: Dar al-Shuruq, n.d.), pp. 225-226.
44. Ibid., p. 243.
45. Sayyid Qutb, *Limādha A 'damūni*, 11.
46. Ibid., pp. 17-26.

47. He was the proprietor of *Dār al-Kitāb al- 'Arabī* (The Arab Book House) and a member of the Guidance Office of *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* in charge of the publication of the magazine *al-Fikr al-Jadīd*.
48. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-Shahīd al-ljāy*, pp. 138.
49. Ibid.
50. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-Istishhād*, pp. 332-335.
51. Sayyid Qutb, *Dirāsah Islāmiyyah*, pp. 143-144.
52. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-Shahīd al-Hayy*, p. 140.
53. Ibid.
54. *Al-Da'wah* was the journal of Muslim Brotherhood, established in 1952, by Salih 'Ashmawi, a leader of the Brotherhood.
55. The weekly *al-Liwa' al-Jadīd* was founded in 1944 and edited by Fatihi Radwan.
56. Ibid.
57. Ibid.
58. Al-Shihab, 4th Year, 11th Issue, Dated 15 August 1970, p. 9.
59. Yusuf al-'Azam, *op. cit.*, p. 38.
60. Ibid.
61. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb al-Shahīd al-Hayy*, 144.
62. Ibid.
63. It is stated that there was a secret plan to carry out big massacre of the sincere members of the Muslim Brotherhood movement as it was feared that they would agitate against Jamal's government which bring negative image and destroy the popularity of the state.
64. *Al-Mujtama'*, No: 205, Dated 27 August 1974, p. 18.
65. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-Istishhād*, p. 337.
66. Ibid.
67. Sayyid Qutb, *Fī Zilāl al- Qur'ān*, 8 Vols, (Beirut: Dar al- Kitāb al-' Arabi, 1977).
68. Sayyid Qutb, *Ma'ālim fī al-Tarīq* (Signposts on the Road), 7th edition, (Beirut: Dar al-Shurīq, 1980).
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. *Al-Mujtama'*, 8th Year, No: 821, Dated 16 June 1981, p. 21.
73. Ibid., p. 339
74. Ibid.

75. ‘Adil Hamudah, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Qaryah ila al-Mushannaqah*, 1st edition, (Cairo: Sina li’I Nashr, 1987), 118-119. Also see: ‘Abd al-‘Azim Ramadan, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn wa al-Tanzīm al-Sirrī*, pp. 199-200.
76. It refers to a top level body of the leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood.
77. Al-Khalidi, *Sayyid Qutb min al-Milād ila al-Istishhād*, p. 341.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Mahmud ‘Abd al-Halim, vol.3, p. 214.
83. Ibid.
84. In case of Muslim Egypt national interest always coincided with the interests of the Ummah (Global Islamic Community)—C. Editor.