

Sayyid Quṭb: Individual to Collective Action

Thameem Ushama*

Abstract: Sayyid Quṭb was active in mobilising people for independence and eliminating foreign domination of Egypt. He took part in the 1952 revolution in which Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir rose to power with the predominant support of the Brotherhood. The success of the revolution that brought honour to him is withstanding, Sayyid Quṭb felt betrayed by the leaders of the 1952 Revolution and hence he decided to embark upon collective action by joining the Brotherhood. The ensuing conflict between the Brotherhood and the leaders of the Revolution eventually led to his detention for ten years and finally to his martyrdom.

Sayyid Quṭb is one of the most influential Muslim thinkers and activists of the twentieth century. He is also one of the most misunderstood ideologues of the Muslim Brotherhood organization, which worked for an Islamic resurgence in Egypt. He means different things to different people. For some, he is the key ideologue of Islamic militancy and terrorism. For others, he is the key intellectual of Islamic reform and revival. Sayyid Quṭb emerged first as a literateur with secular leanings but soon turned to Islam. As an Islamic activist, he devoted his efforts at reforming the individual and the society but contributed immensely to the success of the 1952 Egyptian Revolution which aimed at abolishing monarchy and establishing an Islamic system of governance in Egypt. Contrary to general belief, Sayyid Quṭb was not associated with the Muslim

*Dr. Thameem Ushama is Associate Professor, Department of Uṣūl al-Dīn and Comparative Religion, International Islamic University Malaysia. E-mail:ushama@iiu.edu.my

Brotherhood *ab initio*, but joined it much later. The present study is necessitated by the absence of an analytical study documenting Sayyid Quṭb's transformation from individual to collective revolutionary actions and of him joining the Brotherhood for establishing an Islamic socio-political order.

The Shaping of Quṭb's Thought

Sayyid Quṭb was born in the village of Musha near Asyut in Upper Egypt into a family of rural notables. Quṭb went to the state school in the village and memorized the Qur'ān on his own by the time he was ten years old. In 1921, Quṭb moved to Cairo, and graduated from *Dār al-'Ulūm* teacher training college with a B.A. in Arts in Education in 1933. He was then employed as a teacher by the Ministry of Public Instruction, starting his career in the provinces, and was later transferred to Hulwan, a suburb of Cairo. From 1940 to 1948, he served as an inspector for the Ministry.

During that time Quṭb had a liberal worldview influenced by a great literary figure 'Abbās Mahmud al-'Aqqād who propagated Western thought and culture through his writings.¹ According to many writers, al-'Aqqād opened his library to equip Quṭb with various branches of knowledge and sciences, supported him in the beginning of his professional life, and guided his research and analytical study. As such, al-'Aqqād's influence on Sayyid Quṭb was pervasive.²

Indeed, Sayyid Quṭb was unequivocal in praising al-'Aqqād as a towering literary figure and held him in the highest esteem. Yet, Sayyid Quṭb suffered from a sort of uneasiness. The study of Western thought and culture did not fit into what he had learnt in his early days. He was in a state of unrest, suspicion and confusion.³ In a conversation with Sayyid Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Nadwī, he confessed to have passed "through a stage of doubt" about life and its purpose.⁴ Then he proceeded to read the Qur'ān for literary reasons. Eventually, the Qur'ān influenced him and gradually he advanced with it towards realizing and perfecting the belief.

Sayyid Quṭb enjoyed living a literary life for almost a quarter century. In spite of his remarkable literary taste, he perceived spiritual bankruptcy and sterility in his mentor al-'Aqqād, criticized him from

time to time, and regarded him as an intellectual giant and competent author who relied solely on reason. Al-‘Aqqād was not pleased with Sayyid Quṭb’s quest for spirituality. Sayyid Quṭb maintained his link with the Qur’ānic text. He began to read the Book for literary purpose when he was preparing his research on *al-Taṣwīr al-Fannī fī al-Qur’ān* (The Artistic Image of the Qur’ān).⁵ While doing research, he looked into factors other than artistic and literary aspects of the Qur’ān. Additionally, he authored *Mashāhid al-Qiyāmah fī al-Qur’ān* (The Scenes of the Last Day in the Qur’ān)⁶ and *al-‘Adālah al-Ijtimā‘iyyah fī al-Islām* (Social Justice in Islam).⁷ His book *‘Adālah* was written on the basis of the Qur’ānic guidance. He discovered convincing answers to questions, which had confused him during his early research. He enriched them with his renewed reflections from the Qur’ān which eventually shaped his life and all other writings.⁸

Sayyid Quṭb began gradually to stay away from the literary school of al-‘Aqqād, criticized his views on literature, perception, thinking and life and eventually proceeded to found a new literary school, a new view and a new perspective for literature and life.⁹ This new trend in Sayyid Quṭb’s thinking was evident in an article published in *al-Kitāb* (The Book) as follows:

Indeed time has come that we understand the poetry after we analysed each of these stages, and after we realized everything of these experiences. The time has come to understand the poetry neither in the way of the school of al-Shawqī, al-Ḥāfiẓ and al-Manfalūṭī, or in the way of al-‘Aqqād, al-Shukrī and al-Māzinī. Both of these sections of schools were like two stages among the stages of development well established in their role in the renaissance. The time has now come to differentiate the two in understanding the poetry.¹⁰

Though Sayyid Quṭb suffered from a period of “doubt” and uneasiness, he was neither a heretic nor was he influenced by heretical ideas, as alleged by Sulaymān al-Fayyād.¹¹

Islamic Reform: Individualist Approach

Sayyid Quṭb commenced his political life with the Wafd party. In February 1942, he dissociated himself from it, and joined the Sa‘ad

party, which had split from Wafd. He remained loyal to it until 1945 and ultimately left all political parties, and expressed the view that "his pen was not for a political party."¹²

He found no political party with sincerity and dedication to work for the welfare of the people and for the sake of the nation. He found no politician who believed in hardship and sacrifices to benefit the future generation. According to him, all of them developed a state of mind that glorified the British Empire and were convinced that Great Britain could not be forced out of Egypt and that poverty was an indigenous disease. They were submissive to the colonial masters, subservient to foreign domination, and their hearts were devoid of the spirit of sacrifice for their people and the Ummah.¹³

Sayyid Quṭb neither believed in sycophancy nor cherished the idea of promoting self-interest. Consequently, his confidence in all political parties gradually vanished. He did not remain idle at home but used his pen and personality for the service of his country and its prosperity. He called for reforming the social, cultural and political life of the people on the basis of Islamic ideals and principles. His writings focused on achieving his goal of Islamic reform. However, his call for the above activities was absolutely based on individual effort. There was no collective or organizational effort. This meant that he moved here and there alone disseminating his views. He thought in solitude on the state of the nation and the people. At that time, he was not a member of the Muslim Brotherhood movement which was then very popular.

Some writers contend that in the mid-forties, Sayyid Quṭb made concerted efforts towards forming a new Islamic reform organization and to establish an Islamic *da'wah* organization and, eventually, he started gathering the Muslim youth for that purpose.¹⁴ Meanwhile, new assignments were entrusted to him. He was compelled to travel to the United States of America. When he returned from the United States, he discovered the goal of his persistent search in the Brotherhood movement. To quote Yūsuf al-'Aẓam:

His thought led him to establish an organization of the youth, that could work within a confined framework, comprehensive methodology of the movement calling for renewal of Islamic life... except that fate disallowed him to promote this thought in the

generation of the Believers, which Ḥasan al-Bannā had served. He met in this generation his object of desire and found in the youth his goal of persistent search. Had Sayyid Quṭb desired to establish a new organization and to found a second movement other than the movement of the Muslim Brotherhood, he could have received full support from the authorities and from the rulers every cooperation, because, the Muslim Brotherhood at that time was at the door of violent trial.¹⁵

Khālidi refutes the above view and argues that Sayyid Quṭb never felt it necessary to establish a new organization. He emphasizes that Quṭb had nowhere announced such an intention, not even to the Muslim youths who were around him.¹⁶

The true situation is that Sayyid Quṭb called for an Islamic reform and kept open his house in Ḥulwān for the public. Many who were influenced by Sayyid Quṭb's ideas frequented his house.¹⁷ His Ḥulwān house functioned as a club as well as a central place of assembly.

Anxious youths visited Sayyid Quṭb to listen to his speeches, his discussions, and his guidance.¹⁸ It was a non-violent Islamic call by Sayyid Quṭb for a holistic reform based on Islamic principles. He took an active part in the Egyptian Revolution of 1952 but as an individual reformer not allied to any particular organization.

Initiative for Revolution

Historians are almost unanimous that the Muslim Brotherhood Movement (*al-Ḥarakah al-Ikhwān al-Muslimīn*) had its full share of planning and preparation for the 1952 Egyptian revolution.¹⁹ It is stated that the original plan for the revolution precisely began in the 1940s. Books like *Ṣafḥāt min al-Tārīkh* (Pages from History),²⁰ *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn: Ru'yah min al-Dākhil* (Muslim Brotherhood: A View from Inside),²¹ *al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn wa al-Niẓām al-Khāṣ* (Muslim Brotherhood and the Special System),²² *Ḥaqīqat al-Khilāf bayn al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn wa Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir* (Reality of Differences between Muslim Brotherhood and Jamāl),²³ and *Asrār Ḥarakāt al-Ḍubbāṭ al-Aḥrār wa al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* (Secrets of Free Officers and the Muslim Brotherhood),²⁴ and others refer to the strategic plans and blueprints for the revolution.²⁵

In the memoirs of 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Ra'ūf facts concerning the role of the Brotherhood are traced out, particularly about the most important document of planning for the revolution and consolidating the efforts of officers to go ahead with it.²⁶ According to this source, Maḥmūd Labīb was appointed as an authorized representative of the Brotherhood for military affairs.

In October 1942, key members of the Muslim Brotherhood attended the provocative talks delivered by Ḥasan al-Bannā at the headquarters.²⁷ Many of the senior military officers including Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir were also invited. The talk resulted in the successful formation of the first *usrah* (a small-organized unit of members) group, which comprised seven officers in 1944. Maḥmūd Labīb was appointed its leader. The members were 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Ra'ūf, Jamal 'Abd al-Nāṣir, Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, Ḥusayn Aḥmad Ḥamūdah, Sa'ad Tawfīq, Ṣalāḥ Khalīfah and Khālīd Muḥyī al-Dīn.²⁸ Two years later, these seven individuals took their oaths of allegiance with 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sanadī who was then responsible for the "Special System" of the Brotherhood. They made an oath with Allah (SWT), the Exalted, and Glorious, to organize their lives based on the Qur'ān as well as to strive in the cause of Allah (SWT). This took place in the beginning of 1946.²⁹

These seven "brothers" along with the remaining group of officers ultimately formed a new organization called *al-Ikhwān al-Ḍubbāt* (Brotherhood Officers).³⁰ Gradually, it grew in strength and impact. Maḥmūd Labīb chaired it. 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir were seen to be its most active and prominent members. Maḥmūd Labīb was following the secret "Special System" of the Muslim Brotherhood under the leadership of 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sanadī.

In 1949, negotiations for truce took place between the Jews and the leadership of the Arab world. Consequently, the Egyptian armed forces returned from Palestine. Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir was among the returnees. Immediately, Maḥmūd Labīb called for a meeting to discuss the issue. 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir were among those who were present. Several meetings were held. The issue of the assassination of Ḥasan al-Bannā was the major agenda of the discussion. In successive meetings, it was decided to put an end to monarchy and fight for the establishment of an Islamic order

through a revolution. It was further resolved to train the civilians of the Brotherhood and to start the fight against the British forces.³¹

In May 1949, Ibrāhīm ‘Abd al-Hādī, the then Prime Minister of Egypt, summoned the officer Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir to his office. He intimidated Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir to support him and be a witness to the accusation that the Brotherhood was engaged in a plot.³² Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir denied the allegation and refused to cooperate with the conspiracy theory, which pleased Maḥmūd Labīb. This action explicitly depicts the sincerity and commitment of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir to his beliefs and convictions to work for the Brotherhood. The pressure of the head of the government did not influence him. This conspiratorial development led to a proposal by Maḥmūd Labīb to change the name of the organization from *al-ikhwān al-ḍubbāt* (Brotherhood Officers) to *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār* in order to protect the Muslim Brotherhood from such allegations by the King, the political parties, and Great Britain later on.³³

In September 1949, serious differences arose between ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir and the senior officers of *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār*. It was an unfortunate development. It is argued that Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir wanted to move fast towards the revolution and to open up *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār* to officers of the army although they were not in conformity with the philosophy of the Brotherhood and never reflected a respectable Islamic character. However, ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf maintained his oath of allegiance with the Brotherhood, determined to obey the instructions of its Guidance Council, and appealed to reduce the membership of the organization and to reject acceptance of other officers into it. Finally, after some reconsideration, both of them agreed on the need to follow the moderate opinion of ‘Azīzi al-Miṣrī who apprised them that the main objective was throwing out the British from the soil of Egypt and abolishing the monarchical system in the country.³⁴ However, after some time, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir informed ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf that the principal objective was the abolition of monarchy and therefore he had recruited some of the non-Brotherhood officers such as Ṣalāḥ Sālīm and ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Amīr into the organization without the knowledge and approval of the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood.³⁵ This act was Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s first violation of the oath of allegiance.

Eventually, being displeased with Jamāl's unilateral action, 'Abd al-Rawūf conveyed to their leader Maḥmūd Labīb the differences between him and Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir as well as Nāṣir's new unhealthy plans and strategies that might harm their objectives. While this crisis was being resolved, Maḥmūd Labīb fell sick and was half paralysed and eventually died in 1950.³⁶ The secrets and properties and other details were with him at the time of his death.³⁷

The army officer Ḥusayn Ḥamūdah narrates what transpired between him and Maḥmūd Labīb before the latter's death:

I visited Maḥmūd Labīb just before his demise. I found Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir with him. He said to me and to Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir: "Truly I will die. I will write a memoir on behalf of the officers of the Brotherhood. I have some of the subscriptions with me. I will hand them over to Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir to continue the organization of the Brotherhood for the *dubbāt*." He appealed for cooperation between Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and 'Abd al-Rawūf.³⁸

Ḥusayn Ḥamūdah left Maḥmūd Labīb's house. At that time Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir was with him. When Labīb died Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and Ḥamūdah participated in his funeral prayers. Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir acknowledged that he took from Labīb all the secrets, names, and assets of the Brotherhood organization for *Dubbāt* (Officers), which was known as *al-dubbāt al-aḥrār* (Free Officers).³⁹

Nāṣir's Rise to Power

After some time, Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir disclosed his desire to Ḥamūdah that he would form a new organization of *dubbāt* (Officers) with the support of the non-Brotherhood officers. Then he declared his withdrawal from the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood. He added that upon the death of Ḥasan al-Bannā and Maḥmūd Labīb, the relationship of the Brotherhood *dubbāt* (Officers) was broken with *dubbāt al-jaysh* (Army Officers). Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir claimed that for the sake of security, he severed the ties with 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Sanadī, the president of the secret civilian wing of the Brotherhood.⁴⁰

Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir resigned from *al-dubbāt al-aḥrār* after 1950. He also distanced himself from the leadership of the Brotherhood.

He joined hands with the non-Brotherhood forces and accepted individuals such as ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm Āmir, Zakariyyāh Muḥyī al-Dīn, Ṣalāḥ Sālim and Jamāl Sālim known for their unacceptable and immoral behaviour.⁴¹

Meanwhile, the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood realized the need for continuing the relationship of the *ḍubbāt* (Officers) with the parent body of the movement through weekly *usrah* (a small-organized unit of members) meetings and participation. A special arrangement was made to maintain the bond between the *ḍubbāt* (Officers) and the top leadership. This helped maintain the real spirit behind the goal.

From the brief analysis made above, it is evident that *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār* that brought about the revolution in 1952 in Egypt was a unit of the Brotherhood. Indeed, it continued to uphold the Brotherhood spirit for five years after its inception in 1946, until Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir resigned from it in 1950.⁴²

Yet, officers of the Brotherhood remained influential, and were ready to serve in the organization of *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār*. Office-bearers like Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusayn, Ḥusayn Ḥamūdah, and Ṣalāḥ Khalīfah remained quite active. In addition, a new organization of officers led by Abū al-Makārim ‘Abd al-Ḥayy, which was independent of *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār*, contributed to strengthening the objectives of the Brotherhood.

It is worth mentioning that until the last minute of the preparations for the revolution, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was in contact with the leadership of the Brotherhood and, outwardly loyal to it and kept his membership intact.⁴³ He pretended to be sincere and loyal to the Brotherhood. Of course, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was seen to be an astute political actor.

Then circumstances and developments necessitated Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir to formally renew his relationship with the leadership of the Brotherhood organization in spite of the fact that he had officially withdrawn from *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār* and resigned from both its chairmanship and basic membership. He wished to revive the friendship once again. As mentioned above, he cut off every original relationship that he had with ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Abd al-Ra’ūf, Ḥusayn

Ḥamūdah and other office bearers of the Brotherhood. However, he was successful in developing a new relationship in the end through Ṣalāḥ Shādī, another officer of the Brotherhood.

Ṣalāḥ Shādī narrated that ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Ghanīm came to him towards the end of 1950, of course, after the demise of Maḥmūd Labīb, and conveyed to him the desire of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir to renew his relationship with the Brotherhood. Ṣalāḥ Shādī informed ‘Abd al-Qādir ‘Awḍah of this development. ‘Awḍah authorized Ṣalāḥ Shādī to accept Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir. Likewise, the relationship was renewed between Shādī and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir in the office of Ḥasan al-‘Ashmāwī. Then the liaison between Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir and the leadership of the Brotherhood continued through the effort of Ṣalāḥ Shādī.⁴⁴

As a result, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was able to maintain his link with the group of respected members of the Brotherhood such as Ṣalāḥ Shādī, Ḥasan al-‘Ashmāwī, ‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥilmī, Farīd ‘Abd al-Khālīq and Ṣāliḥ Abū Raqīq.⁴⁵ It is believed that Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir exploited this opportunity to achieve his egoistic objectives. The people who extended their support were honest, simple-minded and innocent in their dealings. However, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was very cunning, pursued a different agenda and continued to pretend to be loyal, undetected by anyone.

The cooperation between the new Brotherhood Committee and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir along with members of his Free Officers continued.⁴⁶ The liaison between the two groups increased especially in the last days before the outbreak of the Revolution.⁴⁷ The Brotherhood Committee was reporting everything that happened between them and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir to Ḥasan al-Ḥudaybī, the General Guide.

‘Abd al-Qādir Ḥilmī recorded that the Brotherhood Committee that was in alliance with Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir reported to Ḥasan al-Ḥudaybī what had happened with Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir. That was just before the outbreak of the Revolution. Consequently, the General Guide expressed to members of the Committee his fears about Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir as his deeds apparently contradicted his words. The General Guide directed them in many sessions that the most important thing was to keep the officers to uphold Islam and to be sincere with

implementation of *sharī'ah* (Islamic law) based on their pledges. The officers understood the wider goal.⁴⁸

With the approval of the General Guide, they met Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir in the house of 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥilmī. Hilmi narrated what transpired at the meeting:

We gathered with Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir. I explained to him the viewpoint of the General Guide. I mentioned to him the conditions. Indeed Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir agreed to all conditions and stipulations. He confirmed and reassured us of his acceptance. Of course, truly, he was sincere in his agreement with us.⁴⁹

It is argued that on 22 July 1952 in the house of 'Abd al-Qādir Ḥilmī, Ṣalāḥ Shādī took Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir aside and reminded him of their earlier treaty on the fundamentals and goals which they had agreed to for the sake of Allah (SWT) and the nation.⁵⁰ The revolution exploded on 23 July 1952 with the coordination of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and the Muslim Brotherhood.⁵¹ On 30 July 1952, the first meeting between Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and Ḥasan al-Ḥudaybī was held at the residence of Ṣāliḥ Abū Raḳīq, one of the committee members who had agreed with Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir.⁵² The other five members were also present.⁵³

Ṣāliḥ Abū Raḳīq reported that Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir denied in that meeting any coordination or co-operation or consultation between them pertaining to the Revolution.⁵⁴ He added that he rejected the idea of the contribution of the Brotherhood to the Revolution in any respect. It is mentioned that the General Guide was shocked at the words of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and turned to Ḥasan al-'Ashmāwī and expressed his surprise:

'Didn't you agree on the participation, O Ḥasan?' 'Ashmāwī replied, 'yea, we agreed.' However, Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir reiterated to Ḥasan al-Ḥudaybī: 'We never agreed to anything.'⁵⁵

The other five members were surprised at the refusal of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir to keep his part of the pact with them.⁵⁶

The General Guide Ḥasan al-Ḥudaybī was astonished. It is reported that several meetings were therefore held to further the cause. Attempts were made to bring about a compromise and to make Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir realize the importance of adhering to the pact. However,

the meetings were not fruitful. The General Guide told Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir:

Listen, O Jamāl, you have not respected the treaty...And we regard you as a movement oriented person committed to reform...And if you do good, you are doing good to your country...And if you are in error I shall give you a piece of advice that will please Allah (SWT).⁵⁷

When Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir left, Ḥasan al-Ḥudaybī told the five members present that Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was as if in search of the Unseen.

The gap between the Muslim Brotherhood and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir and leaders of the Revolution began to widen gradually.⁵⁸ Their relationship slowly diminished and was finally cut off.⁵⁹ Then a conspiracy was orchestrated to destroy the Brotherhood. The Muslim Brotherhood was accused of an assassination attempt on the life of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir.⁶⁰

Consequently, the Brotherhood leadership was forced to fester in the ugly prisons of Egypt. Successive trials started afterwards. Likewise, the historians observe that the organization of *al-ḍubbāt al-aḥrār* originated only as a Brotherhood force, preparation for the Revolution started only from it and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was an officer of the Brotherhood. He later on distanced himself from it. He formed a new force. He later renewed his relationship with the Brotherhood. Then the Revolution was successful through their joint efforts. Finally, upon coming to power he attacked the Brotherhood with violence and tyranny.

Sayyid Quṭb and the Revolution

The relationship of Sayyid Quṭb with the leaders of the Revolution was rather strange. He actually started his mission of reform before the outbreak of the Revolution. Some of the officers contacted him before the Revolution. His books and vision influenced the officers. Coordination between them was developed. They entrusted him with some of the reform activities. They were very friendly towards him and considered him as their mentor and guide.

It is believed that Sayyid Quṭb proceeded towards an Islamic intellectual vision and practical mission after his return from America in 1950.⁶¹ He was devoted to social reform and the establishment of an Islamic polity. He continued to call for reform and the eradication of social evils in the society. He published harsh Islamic pro-reform articles in such magazines and periodicals as *al-Risālah* (The Message),⁶² *al-Ahrām* (The Pyramids),⁶³ *Rawz al-Yūsuf*, *al-Ishtirākiyyah* (The Socialism),⁶⁴ *al-Liwā' al-Jadīd* (The New Banner)⁶⁵ and *al-Da'wah* (The Call).⁶⁶

Through the articles that he wrote prior to the Revolution, Sayyid Quṭb fought against all manifestations of corruption, revolt, and superstition in the social, economic and political life. He also attacked those who were responsible for vice, immorality and wickedness without naming them, especially the palace and the dependants of King Fārūq. Included in his criticism were corrupt politicians, capitalists, feudal lords, decadent male and female artists, supporters of British domination, French and American infiltrators, and others who betrayed the nation.⁶⁷

Undoubtedly, these articles dealt with what had actually happened in the community in terms of difficulties and misfortunes. Occasionally, the censorship committee seized Sayyid Quṭb's articles and prohibited the newspaper or journal from publishing them. Sometimes, Sayyid Quṭb was summoned for interrogation or prosecution for publishing an article, either to a police station or to a court. Despite these hurdles, his publications increased greatly. His friends and associates requested him to exercise caution, Sayyid Quṭb, however, remained steadfast in his duty to the nation and the *ummah*.

Sayyid Quṭb was directly involved in the revolution. The reform-oriented enthusiastic articles of Sayyid Quṭb influenced officers of the national army who had the desire for change.⁶⁸ Several of the officers attached themselves to *al-ḍubbāṭ al-aḥrār*. The leadership of the secret organization under the patronage of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir appealed to the officers to read the articles of Sayyid Quṭb and enrich their understanding of Islam through his thought-provoking books.⁶⁹ Sayyid Quṭb's first Islamic ideational discourse, *Social Justice in Islam*, was one of the books that the *ḍubbāṭ al-*

aḥrār read and discussed in their secret sessions. This book, of course, motivated the officers towards their commitment to fight for the just cause. Al-Ṭāhir Aḥmad Makkī states in *al-Hilāl*:

The book *Social Justice in Islam* met with warm reception. The book left a clear impact on the thought and vision of Free Officers. This was one of the first books read by them before the outbreak of the revolution. Of course, the officers were reading it in 1951. The armed forces bought several copies of the book. Ibrāhīm 'Āṭīf, who was elected as the secretary of the force along with Muḥammad Najīb, distributed the book to the army officers.⁷⁰

It is said that due to the significant role played by Sayyid Quṭb, he was compared with the famous Mirabeau who contributed to the success of the French Revolution, and was nicknamed Mirabeau of the Egyptian Revolution.⁷¹ He is undeniably the father of the Egyptian Revolution.

Before the outbreak of the revolution, the leaders placed Sayyid Quṭb on a high pedestal. The leadership of the revolutionary machinery recognized his scholarship and gave him an elevated position. His skills and strategic writings were acknowledged and appreciated by many. As a result, Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir visited his residence in Ḥulwān.⁷² The leaders of Free Officers consulted him, sought advice from him on various matters pertaining to the preparation for the Revolution, and studied with him the strategic means for its success.

Sulaymān Fayyāḍ recorded a visit to Sayyid Quṭb's house in Ḥulwān after the outbreak of the Revolution. He wrote on what transpired during his conversation with Sayyid Quṭb in the garden of his residence:

I asked his opinion about the revolution. He smiled and told me: 'Here, under this tree, the officers of Free Officers held some of their meetings with me on the preparation for the revolution.' Then, Sayyid Quṭb entered his house. He returned holding an envelope. He took out photographs from it. He began to show them to me one by one. He was in every photo under the same tree. All photos were taken at night using the flash camera. In every photo, the officers of Free Officers were there. Sayyid Quṭb was seated with them in the centre of every photo. When I handed over

the last photo to him I said, 'I don't see Muḥammad Najīb among them.' He replied, 'That is what they came up in the process of preparations for revolution.' Then, he pointed at a photo of Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣr and said, 'This is the real leader of the revolution, now hiding behind Muḥammad Najīb. Tomorrow there will be some other thing for him.' I said to him, 'Are you happy about the revolution?' He replied, 'I don't find in the development of its affairs things that provide relief. The Americans are trying to take possession instead of the British! Do you understand what I mean?'⁷³

Maḥmūd al-'Azb, one of the officers of Free Officers of the Muslim Brotherhood from Port Sa'īd reminisced about the presence of the leaders in Sayyid Quṭb's house discussing the ways and means for the success of the Revolution:

Indeed, our leader and our mentor Sayyid Quṭb was the one who practically guided us for the revolution. He ordered us to prepare for it. Truly, it is not possible for the army to forget that Sayyid Quṭb was the father of revolution, yes the father of revolutions.⁷⁴

Maḥmūd al-'Azb further described Sayyid Quṭb's role as follows:

Just a few days before the revolution, we received an order from Sayyid Quṭb to be ready. At that time, I was at the helm of the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood in Port Sa'īd. When I received the order, I visited Cairo and proceeded to Sayyid Quṭb's house. He was in the preparation of the revolution. He was mobilizing enough strength and resources for its success. This portrays Sayyid Quṭb's high position among the people of the revolutionary council whereby they were satisfied with him, his secret activities, and studied with him its plans and its details.⁷⁵

When the Revolution took place in 1952, Sayyid Quṭb was in a respectable position. He was respected by all activists who recognized his efforts and sacrifices in the preparation of the Revolution. Many of the leaders of the Revolution frequented his house. He was the only civilian present in the meetings of the revolutionary leadership council. He, however, distanced himself from public gatherings. He also avoided public appearances with the leaders of the Revolutionary Council.⁷⁶

As a mark of respect, the revolution leaders organized in August 1952 a special ceremony in which Sayyid Quṭb was invited. in

August 1952, to deliver a talk at the army club on "Ideological and Spiritual Liberation in Islam."⁷⁷

The talk was attended by many people including diplomats, senior literary figures, writers, authors, thinkers, lawyers, *shari'ah* scholars, and personalities like Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid.⁷⁸ The leaders of the Revolution indeed wished to attend the talk. It was decided that Muḥammad Najīb, the leader of the council of revolution, would attend and grace the occasion.

Unable to attend, he authorized his deputy Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir to represent him. He also sent a message with Anwar al-Sādāt apologizing for his inability to attend the felicitation ceremony. His letter of apology was read before the audience. Muḥammad Najīb mentioned in the letter:

Sayyid Quṭb was truly a leader of the revolution and its teacher, a mentor and a patron, a leader of its leaders, and a president among its presidents.⁷⁹

The leaders of the Revolution exploited this occasion by appreciating, congratulating, greeting, and saluting Sayyid Quṭb. They highlighted his virtues and traits and extolled his remarkable characteristics. Ṭāha Ḥusayn, Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ghafūr 'Aṭṭār and Maḥmūd al-'Azab spoke extolling the virtues and expounded the role of Sayyid Quṭb in the preparation of the Revolution and his position on the Revolutionary Council.

In his speech admired by thousands including Ṭāha Ḥusayn and Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid, Sayyid Quṭb announced:

Truly, the revolution had begun. We do not have to turn away from it, because it did not work ... It is worth mentioning that removal of the King was not the objective of the revolution but the objective was the return of the country to Islam.⁸⁰

Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir's response is worth noting:

My elder brother Sayyid Quṭb. By Allah (SWT), nothing would reach you except our bodies in a kneeling and stiff position. We have an agreement with you in the name of Allah (SWT) rather we renew our deal with you to be your ransom until death.⁸¹

The Revolutionary Council proposed to appoint Sayyid Quṭb, as mentioned by Ahmad Aṭṭar, as Minister of Education. However, Sayyid Quṭb declined the offer. They then urged him to assume the post of the Director General of Broadcasting and Information, but he excused himself again. Finally, upon their insistence, he agreed to be the General Secretary of the Liberation Organization and served it for a few months. He was not comfortable with a position that forced him to make compromises and accommodate the wishes and decisions of higher authorities.

Liberation Organization

Alarmed at the growing influence of the Muslim Brotherhood, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, in the beginning of 1953, decided to form an organization or a political party to help consolidate the achievements of the Revolution. To this end, Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir issued an order for the establishment of a Liberation Organization on 23 January 1953.⁸²

It is reported that Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir wanted the Brotherhood to merge with the Liberation Organization and to dissolve their branches all over Egypt. He sent Ibrāhīm al-Ṭahāwī in February 1953 to Ṣalāḥ Shādī with the proposal. But Ṣalāḥ Shādī rejected it. Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, however, succeeded in convening a meeting of the Central Working Committee of the Brotherhood to discuss the issue of merger. The meeting was held at the house of the consultant Hilmī ‘Abd al-Bāqī. Among those present were Ṣāliḥ Abū Raqīq, Farīd ‘Abd al-Khāliq, Ṣalāḥ Shādī and Ḥasan al-‘Ashmāwī. Having discussed the issue for several hours in detail, they rejected the proposed merger and stated categorically that there will be “No merger forever.” Subsequently, resentment and ill-will increased.⁸³ Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm recorded:

The leadership of the Brotherhood never prohibited its individual members from moving as they wished and did not put an end to its members meeting with the members of the Liberation Organization or visit their office. In the midst of the call of Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir for merger, a number of Brotherhood emissaries visited the headquarters of the Liberation Organization. They participated in the enterprise and gave input for their philosophy. Their contribution in giving proper shape to the Liberation Organization

was remarkable. Of course, they were professors of the university and writers. They were also instrumental in drawing up the objectives of the Liberation Organization. During this interim period, when these Brotherhood experts had an encounter with the Liberation people, they observed them gradually giving dangerous statements and arrogantly claiming that the Liberation Organization was more widespread than the Brotherhood. The Liberation leaders were not interested in following the model of the Prophet Muḥammad(SAS) or ‘Umar or Khālīd. However, they were proud of imitating Lenin, Marx, and Freud. The Brotherhood experts and the emissaries returned to us disappointed and sad.⁸⁴

Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm added that al-Bahy al-Khawli informed him of what he saw and heard from the people of the Liberation Organization.

Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, then wanted to get Sayyid Qutb and al-Bahy al-Khawli in the organization. The newspaper *Akḥbār al-Yawm* (Today’s News) reported that Sayyid Quṭb was chosen for an important post. It was rumoured that he had become Minister of Education, and al-Bahy al-Khawli was given the big post in the Ministry of Endowments. Sayyid Qutb rushed and announced his dissociation with the Liberation Organization.⁸⁵

Sayyid Qutb, the Organization and the Brotherhood

Khālīdī is of the view that Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was in contact with the Brotherhood on the issue of the Liberation Organization and was trying to win Sayyid Quṭb for it. Khālīdī did not agree with ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm that at that time Sayyid Quṭb was a member of the Brotherhood or he was from it officially. Khālīdī thought that Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm was of the understanding that Sayyid Quṭb was very close to the Brotherhood and the people saw him as its representative and Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was dealing with him on that assumption.

As for the Liberation Organization, it is a fact that Jamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was collaborating with Sayyid Quṭb during the period of the formation of the Liberation Organization. Sayyid Quṭb worked in the Organization for less than a month and resigned from it in February, 1953.

Reconciliation Attempts

At the time when Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir was in conflict with the Brotherhood, Sayyid Quṭb maintained a cordial relationship with him. During this time, Sayyid Quṭb was not officially affiliated to the Brotherhood. He was neutral.

Sayyid Quṭb was afraid that the rift between the Brotherhood and the Organization might lead to hostility and distress. This he viewed would be a big loss for the Brotherhood, the Revolution, and the nation as a whole. Therefore, Sayyid Quṭb initiated a compromise between Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir and the Brotherhood, as he was friendly with both sides. He referred to the conspiracy orchestrated by Jamāl's group of cronies who planted hatred about the Brotherhood in him. It was discovered that some people presented false and fabricated news about the integrity of the Brotherhood and fed Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir with negative reports.

There is a view that the rift between the two organizations was a result of a conspiracy hatched by foreign intelligence agencies. Sayyid Quṭb stated that:

In relation to the difference between the leaders of the Revolution and the Muslim Brotherhood, I noticed the progress from the nearest, because, I worked more than twelve hours a day in the close vicinity of the Revolution leaders, and I was with them and with those who were around them. The most important thing is that Fu'ād Jalāl was one of the members of *Jam'iyyat al-Falāḥ*. He was also an assistant secretary of the organization. He was a minister in the first cabinet after the Revolution. I observed on many occasions that he hastened the rift between the Revolution leaders and the Muslim Brotherhood. Fu'ād Jalal exploited the gap between them. He also exploited the confidence that he enjoyed from Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir in diluting his thought several times. Fu'ād never concealed anything from me, for he considered me to be a very close ally of the Revolution leaders.⁸⁶

Sayyid Quṭb concluded that Fu'ād Jalāl, who was held responsible for the conflict, was certainly a loyal representative of the American agency in all respects. Sayyid Quṭb tried his best to bring about a compromise between the conflicting parties but was unsuccessful. The direction changed.

Sayyid Quṭb's Conflict

It was possible for Sayyid Quṭb to remain loyal to the Revolution leaders for a long time, to enjoy respectable government positions and to accumulate wealth. He, however, was too honest to indulge in such practices. He believed that the Revolution leaders, in particular Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, were truthful and loyal to the nation as well as committed to its development along Islamic lines. Hence, he cooperated with the leaders after the Revolution in order to achieve the real goal.

Sayyid Quṭb was offered important positions as a token of appreciation for his contribution and substantial support. However, Sayyid Quṭb rejected all such offers because he was neither desirous of positions nor did he want to accumulate wealth. He refused the offer to become Minister of Education. He also refused to be the Director of Broadcasting. He did accept the post of the General Secretary of the Liberation Organization to give an Islamic framework to it and to train its members to develop the Egyptian youth and the generation of the Revolution in Islamic fundamentals and virtues. Soon, Sayyid Quṭb was disappointed. He found in the majority of the leaders of the Revolution, especially in Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir, everything other than sincerity for the goal and sacrifice for the nation. He observed a change in the philosophy of the Revolution and the system of Free Officers. It was not in accordance with his dream and expectation. He discovered hostility, injustice, rebelliousness, and total deception in Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir. He also sensed hypocrisy, falsehood and contempt for Islam and distrust for Muslim missionaries, especially the Muslim Brotherhood.

Sayyid Quṭb urged officers to work for the implementation of an Islamic code of life, which was agreed upon by both parties prior to the Revolution. However, this suggestion was turned down. The Revolution leaders including Jamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir were hesitant to honour the covenant. This compelled Sayyid Quṭb to tender resignation from his post as General Secretary of the Liberation Organization. He wrote:

I continued the work with Revolution leaders from July 1952 until February 1953. When my vision and their vision differed on the issue of Liberation Organization and the methodology of its

formation as well as on other ongoing issues at that time, there was no way for me except to come out of it. At that time, my relationship with the Muslim Brotherhood began to flourish and develop.⁸⁷

The newspapers did not publish a single word of explanation about his resignation and its implication. This was regarded as a blessing in disguise that prompted Sayyid Quṭb to incline towards the Muslim Brotherhood and embrace a greater mission. He was soon elected to the leadership committee of the Brotherhood and became their Chief spokesman. This infuriated Jamal. Relations were cut-off. Sayyid Quṭb was seen to be a major challenge to Nasir's political survival. Consequently, a conspiracy was hatched and false accusations were made. Sayyid Quṭb was imprisoned and finally hanged.

Conclusion

Sayyid Qutb began his intellectual career under the tutelage of a secular nationalist. In November 1948, he went to the United States to study educational curricula. He spent two-and-one-half years moving between Washington DC. and California, where he realized the materialistic attitude of the literary arts and its lack of spirituality. He reverted to Islam. His serious concern was the deteriorating condition of the people. His early reform efforts were personal and individual. Then, for the sake of the nation, he supported the 1952 revolution in order to abolish monarchy and establish a republic based on Islam as an ideology of the state.

Throughout his reform activities, there was no indication of violence or extremism though in his speeches he encouraged the people to support the revolution aimed at establishing democracy. Often his harshness or courage in dealing with issues has always been misconstrued. His withdrawal from the revolutionary force was due to the deception and vested interests of those who were in the forefront of the revolution and not because he was planning something else. Upon resignation from the entire revolutionary force, he joined the organization of the Muslim Brotherhood which infuriated the military leaders whose conspiracy led to the martyrdom of Sayyid Quṭb in the hands of the state apparatus.

Notes

1. Ṣalāh 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Khālīdī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād* (Sayyid Quṭb: From the Birth to the Martyrdom) (Jordan: Maktabat al-Aqṣā, Ammān, 1991), 163.
2. Ibid.
3. Muḥammad Tawfīq Barakāt, *Sayyid Quṭb: Khulāṣat Āyātuhu wa Manhajuhu fī al-Ḥarakah wa al-Naqd al-Muwajjah Ilayhi* (Beirut: Dār al-Da'wah, n.d.), 12.
4. Abū al-Ḥasan 'Alī al-Nadwī, *Mudhakkirāt min al-Sharq al-'Arabī*, 2nd edition, (Beirut: Mu'assasat al-Risālah, 1975), 189. Nadwī, a great Islamic scholar, was a rector of Dār al-'Ulūm Nadwat al-'Ulamā' in India.
5. Sayyid Quṭb, *al-Taswīr al-Fannī fī al-Qur'ān* (Cairo: Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1986).
6. Idem, *Mashāhid al-Qiyāmah fī al-Qur'ān* (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1992).
7. Idem, *al-'Adālat al-Ijtīmā'iyah fī al-Islam* (Beirut: Dār al-Shurūq, 1978).
8. Khālīdī, Ṣalāh 'Abd al-Fattāh, *Sayyid Quṭb al-Shahīd al-Ḥayy*, 2nd ed. ('Ammān, Jordan: Maktabat al-Aqṣā', 1985), 133.
9. Ibid., 107.
10. *Al-Kitāb*, 5th volume, 2nd Part, February 1948, p. 248.
11. al-Khālīdī, *Sayyid Quṭb min al-Mīlād ila al-Istishhād*, 234.
12. *Al-Risālah*, 13th year, Vol. 2., No: 648, 3 December 1945, 1309.
13. *Al-Risālah* 14th year, Vol. 2., No: 681, 22 July 1946, 796-797.
14. 'Aẓam, Yūsuf, *Al-Shahīd Sayyid Quṭb Ḥayātuhu wa Madrasatuhu wa Āthāruhu*, 1st ed. (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam), 37.
15. Ibid.
16. Khālīdī, Ṣalāh 'Abd al-Fattāh, *Sayyid Quṭb min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 1st ed (Damascus: Dār al-Qalam, 191), 314.
17. Ibid.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid., 287.
20. Ṣalāh Shādi, *Ṣafhāt min al-Tārīkh*, 1st ed. (Kuwait: Dār al-Shu'ā', 1981).
21. Maḥmūd 'Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn: Ru'yah min al-Dākhil. Aḥdāth Ṣanā'at al-Tārīkh*, 1st ed. (Alexandria: Dār al-Da'wah, 1979).
22. Aḥmad 'Ādil Kamāl, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn wa al-Niẓām al-Khāṣ* (Alexandria: Dār al-Da'wah, 1962).
23. Muḥammad Ḥāmid 'Abū al-Naṣr, *Haqīqat al-Khilāf bayn al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, 2nd ed. (n.p., 1987).
24. Ḥusayn Muḥammad Aḥmad Ḥamūdah, *Asrār Ḥarkat al-Ḍubbāt al-Aḥrār wa al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* (Cairo: Dār al-Zahra' li al-I'lām al-'Arabī. 1987).

25. Khālidī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 287.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid.
28. ‘Abd al-Mun‘im ‘Abd al-Ra ‘ūf, *Mudhakkirāt ‘Abd al Mun‘im ‘Abd al-Ra ‘ūf*, 1st. ed. (Cairo: Al- Zahrā’ li al-Isām al-‘Arabī, 1998), 43.
29. Ibid., 44-46.
30. Ibid., 46.
31. Ibid., 63- 64.
32. Ibid., 64.
33. Ibid.
34. Ibid., 65.
35. Ibid.
36. Ibid., 65- 66.
37. Ibid.
38. Khālidī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 290.
39. Ibid.
40. Ḥamūdah, *Asrār Ḥarakah al-Ḍubbā’ al-Aḥrār wa al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn*, 150-157.
41. Khālidī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 291.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid., 292.
44. Shādī, *Ṣafhāt min al-Tārikh*, 122.
45. Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Halīm, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn: Ru ‘yah min al-Dākhil Aḥdāth Sana‘at al-Tārikh*, 133-135.
46. Khālidī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 294.
47. Ibid.
48. Shādī, *Ṣafhāt min al-Tārikh*, 176-177.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid.
51. Khālidī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 294.
52. Ibid.
53. Ibid.
54. Shādī, *Ṣafhāt min al-Tārikh*, 182.
55. Ibid.
56. Khālidī, *Sayyid Quṭb: min al-Mīlād ilā al-Istishhād*, 294.

57. Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun: Ru’yah min al-Dākhil. Ahdath Sana’at al-Tārīkh*, 24.
58. Khālīdī, *Sayyid Quṭb min al-Milād ilā al-Istishhād*, 295.
59. Ibid.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. *Al-Risālah* was a liberal publication founded in 1933 and edited by Ahmed Hasan al-Zayyat, a professor of literature at the American University in Cairo.
63. A daily newspaper, founded in 1876 by Sālim and Bishārah Taqtā, controlled by the government but usually described as “semiofficial.”
64. A monthly magazine.
65. Founded in 1944 and was edited by Faṭḥī Riḍwān.
66. The journal of Muslim Brotherhood, established in 1951 by Sāliḥ ‘Ishmarī.
67. Khālīdī, *Sayyid Quṭb min al-Milād ilā al-Istishhād*, 296.
68. Ibid., 298.
69. Ibid.
70. Ibid.
71. Ibid.
72. Ibid.
73. See *Jarādīb al-Liwā’ al-Ardaniyyah*, No: 696, 10 September 1986, taken from *Majallat al-Hilāl al-Miṣriyyah*, September 1986.
74. *Majallah Kalimat al-Ḥaqq* that was published by Aḥmad ‘Aṭṭar in Makkah 1st year, 2nd ed., Ṣafar 1387H., 38.
75. Ibid.
76. Ibid.
77. Khālīdī, *Sayyid Quṭb min al-Milād ilā al-Istishhād*, 302.
78. Ibid.
79. Ibid.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., 304.
82. See *Majallah Kalimat al-Ḥaqq*, 1st year, 2nd Issue, May 1968, 37-39.
83. Maḥmūd ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun: Ru’yah min al-Dākhil. Ahdāth Sanā’at al-Tārīkh*, vol. 3, 185.
84. For details of conflict between the two on the issue of Liberation Organization, see Ṣalāḥ Shādy, *Ṣafḥāt min al-Tārīkh*, 208-218.
85. Ibid., 174.
86. Quṭb, *Sayyid, Limādhā A’damūnī*, n.d, 13-14.
87. Ibid., 11.