Muhammad Qutb's Islamist Thought: A Missing Link between Sayyid Qutb and al-Qaeda?

Masami Nishino[*]

Abstract

Although both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb are Islamist thinkers, most researchers do not recognize the importance of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism. However, through the analysis of Muhammad Qutb's writing and his life, this paper posits that both Qutb brothers are important Islamist thinkers. In terms of Islamism, this paper assumes that after Muhammad Qutb was influenced by Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb influenced al-Qaeda; namely, Muhammad Qutb played a mediating role between Sayyid Qutb and al-Qaeda in the intellectual history of Islamism. Thus, this paper argues that while Sayyid Qutb played an important role in constructing al-Qaeda intellectually, his younger brother Muhammad Qutb also played a significant role in building al-Qaeda because, as a teacher, he educated both bin Laden and Safar al-Hawali. In addition, as an activist there is a possibility that he personally helped Abdullah Azzam, the other teacher of bin Laden. Furthermore, as an Islamist thinker, Muhammad Qutb's perspective of the world in which the US confronts Islam, as well as his denunciation of modern Western ideologies such as democracy and secularism, influenced al-Qaeda, and his long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism prevented it from becoming obsolete and thus preserved its appeal to an audience that includes al-Qaeda.

Introduction[1]

In June 2014, the Islamic State of Iraq and al-Sham (ISIS), which is a former al-Qaeda affiliate, enlarged its controlled areas in Iraq and declared the re-establishment of the Islamic caliphate.[2] Immediately, this news was broadcast globally and shocked the world.[3] However, only two months prior in April 2014, the Egyptian Islamist thinker Muhammad Qutb reached the end of his long life in Saudi Arabia, although the circulation of the news of his death was apparently limited to the

[2]   Reuters, "After Iraq gains, Qaeda offshoot claims Islamic 'caliphate,' " June 29, 2014, (http://www.reuters.com/article/2014/06/29/us-syria-crisis-iraq-idUSKBN0F40SL20140629). Although ISIS was an al-Qaeda affiliate, in February 2014 al-Qaeda broke off relations with ISIS. Then, in June 2014, ISIS renamed itself "Islamic State" (IS). See BBC, "Al-Qaeda disavows ISIS militants in Syria," February 3, 2014, (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-26016318); BBC, "Isis rebels declare 'Islamic state' in Iraq and Syria," June 30, 2014, (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-28082962).

[3]   For example, The *New York Times*, "The Caliphate Fantasy," July 2, 2014, (http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/03/opinion/the-caliphate-fantasy.html); BBC, "Isis rebels declare 'Islamic state' in Iraq and Syria," June 30, 2014, (http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-28082962).

Middle East media.[4] Does this mean that he does not deserve the attention of the world? This thesis argues that he deserves it because he wrote many books as a prolific Islamist writer for more than half a century, educated many disciples as an Islamist professor, and was one of the two teachers of Osama bin Laden, the founder of al-Qaeda.[5] Therefore, it is likely that Muhammad Qutb played an important role in building the ideological framework of al-Qaeda, which is a major concern for the world as shown by the news of ISIS. Many researchers say that Sayyid Qutb, an elder brother of Muhammad Qutb, virtually founded radical Islamism in the 1960s, and Sayyid Qutb's Islamism has intellectually influenced many radical Islamist organizations including al-Qaeda since the 1970s.[6] This thesis agrees with the view of the important role of Sayyid Qutb in that respect. However, most researchers do not pay enough attention to Muhammad Qutb, although he wrote many books just as Sayyid Qutb did and the books of both Qutb brothers are published by the same Arab publisher, Dār al-Shurūq.[7] As a result, while many studies have been done on Sayyid Qutb and his influence on al-Qaeda, no substantial research has been conducted on Muhammad Qutb. Therefore, this thesis focuses on Muhammad Qutb and situates him in his proper place in the intellectual history of Islamism. This thesis assumes that after Muhammad Qutb was influenced by Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb influenced al-Qaeda; namely, Muhammad Qutb played a mediating role between Sayyid Qutb and al-Qaeda in the intellectual history of Islamism. This thesis is structured as follows. Firstly, it reviews literature on Muhammad Qutb. Secondly, it presents his life and his books. Through the presentation of his life, this thesis demonstrates his personal role as an educator and an activist in building al-Qaeda. Thirdly, this thesis analyzes Muhammad Qutb's Islamism and demonstrates its characteristics. Fourthly, this thesis compares the two Qutb brothers' Islamism in order to demonstrate the similarities and differences between the Qutb brothers and extract the intellectual originality of Muhammad Qutb. Fifthly, this thesis compares Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, and al-Qaeda in terms of Islamism and demonstrates Muhammad Qutb's intellectual influence on al-Qaeda. Thus, this thesis argues that while Sayyid Qutb played an important role in constructing al-Qaeda intellectually, his younger brother Muhammad Qutb also played a significant role in building al-Qaeda because as a teacher he educated both bin Laden and Safar al-Hawali, a famous Muslim religious scholar who influenced bin Laden, and as an activist there is a possibility that he personally helped Abdullah Azzam, the other teacher of bin Laden. In addition, as an Islamist thinker his perspective of the world in which the US confronts Islam and his denunciation of modern Western ideologies such as democracy and secularism influenced al-Qaeda, and his long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism prevented it from becoming obsolete and thus preserved its appeal to an audience that includes al-Qaeda.

---

[4]   Al-Ḥayāt, "After 50 years in Saudi Arabia, the death of the Muslim Brothers' thinker Muhammad Qutb in Jeddah," April 4, 2014, (http://alhayat.com/Articles/1594638/).

[5]   Wilfred Cantwell Smith, *Islam in Modern History*, Princeton University Press, 1957, p. 159; Muḥammad Quṭb, *Mughālaṭāt*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2006 (Hereafter cited as *Mughālaṭāt*); Peter L. Bergen, *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden*, Simon and Schuster, 2002, p. 50.

[6]   For example, François Burgat, *Islamism in the Shadow of Al-Qaeda*, University of Texas Press, 2008, p. 101; Gerhard Bowering ed., *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 442; Erik A. Claessen, *Stalemate: An Anatomy of Conflicts between Democracies, Islamists, and Muslim Autocrats*, ABC-CLIO, 2010, p. 151.

[7]   See bibliography.

Literature Review

Although there is no research which mainly focuses on Muhammad Qutb, some researchers address him briefly in relation to Sayyid Qutb, Osama bin Laden, and Islamism. The first study that mentions Muhammad Qutb is W. C. Smith's *Islam in Modern History* published in 1957.[8] Smith's study is different from others because it mentions Muhammad Qutb more frequently than Sayyid Qutb.[9] The reason why the study pays less attention to Sayyid Qutb can probably be attributed to the fact that it was published before Sayyid Qutb's execution in 1966, namely, before he became famous.[10] According to Smith, Muhammad Qutb identified Christians with crusaders and believed that attacks by crusaders against Islam were still going on.[11] Smith's research proves that Muhammad Qutb became an Islamist thinker by the mid-1950s at the latest.

According to John Esposito and John Voll, especially after the Arab defeat in the Six Day War in 1967, the writings of Muslim Brothers such as Hasan al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, and Muhammad Qutb were read and had a great influence on the Islamic movement in Tunisia.[12] That study shows that both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb belonged to the Muslim Brothers in Egypt and as prominent thinkers they influenced Islamism in Tunisia.

Olivier Carre and Gilles Kepel emphasize the role of Muhammad Qutb as an editor of Sayyid Qutb, because Muhammad Qutb edited and corrected Sayyid Qutb's texts which were either published in an incomplete form or unpublished, and enabled those texts to be published as complete versions.[13] For example, one of Sayyid Qutb's books, *Components of the Islamic Concept (Muqawwimāt al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī)*, remained unpublished during his lifetime and was edited by Muhammad Qutb and published posthumously.[14] As another example, after Sayyid Qutb rewrote his exegesis of the Qur'an *In the Shade of the Qur'an (Fī Ẓilāl al-Qur'ān)* from 1964 to 1966, Muhammad Qutb edited the complete version of that exegesis.[15]

According to John Calvert, Muhammad Qutb was already recognized as an Islamist thinker during Sayyid Qutb's lifetime, and after the death of Sayyid Qutb he served as an intellectual successor of Sayyid Qutb and influenced Islamism in Saudi Arabia.[16] That study pays more attention to Muhammad Qutb as a thinker, not an editor. Calvert says that after Muhammad Qutb moved to Saudi Arabia, he made Sayyid Qutb's Islamism more moderate and apolitical.[17] Charles Tripp has the same opinion.[18] However, at the same time, Calvert states that the radical Egyptian

---

[8]   Smith, *op. cit.*

[9]   *Ibid.,* pp. 101, 108, 157, 159, 315.

[10] Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*, University of California Press, 1985, pp. 42-43.

[11] Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 101, 159.

[12] John L. Esposito and John O. Voll, *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 95, 97, 98.

[13] Olivier Carre, *Mysticism and Politics: A Critical Reading of Fi Zilal Al-Qur'an by Sayyid Qutb, 1906-1966*, Brill, 2003, p. 17; Gilles Kepel, *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, I.B.Tauris, 2006, p. 51.

[14] Sayyid Quṭb, *Muqawwimāt al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī,* Dār al-Shurūq, 1988, p. 14. The foreword of this book is written by Muḥammad Quṭb.

[15] Carre, *op. cit.,* p. 17.

[16] John Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, Hurst & Co., 2010, p. 230.

[17] Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 276.

[18] Charles Tripp, "Sayyid Qutb: The Political Vision," in Ali Rahnama ed., *Pioneers of Islamic Revival*, Palgrave Macmillan, 1994, p. 177.

Islamists such as Muhammad Qutb introduced Islamic activism to Saudi Arabia and that this caused the Awakening (Ṣaḥwa) movement to emerge there in the 1980s, although that movement is not considered to have been moderate.[19]

According to Abdel Bari Atwan, Muhammad Qutb was one of the two teachers of Osama bin Laden, and bin Laden studied Islamic culture with his teachers at the University of Jedda.[20] After the 9/11 attacks in 2001, many newspapers such as the *Guardian* reported this.[21] The other teacher was the aforementioned Abdullah Azzam.[22] Although there is some research on Azzam, no substantial research has been done on Muhammad Qutb.[23]

In summary, those studies reveal that Muhammad Qutb was an influential Islamist thinker with a long career, an intellectual successor and an editor of his brother Sayyid Qutb, and a teacher of Osama bin Laden. As typically shown by Tripp, before the 9/11 attacks in 2001, researchers tended to emphasize the moderate aspect of Muhammad Qutb's thought.[24] But after 2001, because the mass media reported that Muhammad Qutb was a teacher of bin Laden, researchers turned their attentions to some extent to Muhammad Qutb's role in radical Islamism in Saudi Arabia, as shown by Calvert.[25] Similarly, after 2001, some researchers started to recognize the importance of Muhammad Qutb as an Islamist. For example, while Kepel pays attention almost exclusively to Sayyid Qutb in his book written in the 1980s, he frequently mentions Muhammad Qutb and uses the expression "the Qutb brothers," namely Sayyid and Muhammad, in his book written in the mid-2000s.[26] In that book, Kepel uses the term Qutbists to describe the disciples of the Qutb brothers, although that term usually means the disciples of Sayyid Qutb.[27] Kepel's new terminology might prove to increase the importance of Muhammad Qutb among researchers. However, in addition to the fact that those studies do not mainly focus on Muhammad Qutb, all of them have one deficiency in common. Namely, they do not analyze Muhammad Qutb's primary sources in detail, although he wrote many books. Therefore, this thesis analyzes his first sources in order to make some contributions to the study of Islamism in general, and Muhammad Qutb in particular.

---

[19]   Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 276.

[20]   Abdel Bari Atwan, *The Secret History of Al Qaeda*, University of California Press, 2008, p. 43.

[21]   The Guardian, "This man may become our nemesis," September 10, 2001, (http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/oct/10/afghanistan.terrorism28).

[22]   Atwan, *op. cit.,* p. 43.

[23]   As for research on Abdullah Azzam, for example, see Thomas Hegghammer, "Abdullah Azzam, the Imam of Jihad," in Gilles Kepel and Jean-Pierre Milelli eds., *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words*, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008, pp. 81-101.

[24]   Tripp, "Sayyid Qutb: The Political Vision," p. 177.

[25]   Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 276.

[26]   Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, pp. 34-69; Gilles Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West*, Harvard University Press, 2004, pp. 174-176, 178, 183, 255.

[27]   Kepel, *The War for Muslim Minds*, p. 255; As for the general definition of Qutbist, see Tawfiq Aclimandos, "The Muslim Brotherhood and political change in Egypt," in CeSPI, International IDEA, and IAI eds., *Islamist Mass Movements, External Actors and Political Change in the Arab World*, 2010, p. 59.

Life of Muhammad Qutb and His Works

Muhammad Qutb's full name was Muḥammad Quṭb Ibrāhīm al-Shādhilī. He was born on 26 April 1919, in the village of Mūshā in the governorate of Asyut in Egypt.[28] He was 13 years younger than his brother Sayyid Qutb.[29] Because his mother sent her two sons Sayyid and Muhammad to Cairo for education, Muhammad Qutb completed his elementary and secondary school education there. Following this, Muhammad Qutb studied English language and literature at Cairo University and graduated in 1940.[30] While Sayyid Qutb studied Arabic language and literature at Dār al-'Ulūm, he complained that he could not study foreign languages there and advised Muhammad Qutb to study English.[31] Therefore, there is a possibility that Muhammad Qutb accepted that advice. It is certain that Muhammad Qutb could read English. For example, in his book *Misleading (Mughālaṭāt)*, when he quoted an English book, he said that he had read it in English.[32] After his graduation, Muhammad Qutb continued his study in the higher education center for teachers and received a diploma in education and psychology there.[33] Then, after the Nasser assassination attempt by a member of the Muslim Brothers in Alexandria in 1954, both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb were arrested in the wave of mass arrests of Muslim Brothers members.[34] However, while Sayyid Qutb remained in prison until 1964, Muhammad Qutb was released after a short imprisonment.[35] Before these arrests, Muhammad Qutb lived with Sayyid Qutb and other family members, and they were dependent on Sayyid Qutb economically. However, because Sayyid Qutb was in prison, Muhammad Qutb had to work to support his family from 1954 to 1964.[36] In 1964, Sayyid Qutb was released and lived with Muhammad Qutb for a short period. But in July 1965 Muhammad Qutb was arrested, and in the following month Sayyid Qutb was arrested and the Egyptian regime uncovered their plot to overthrow that regime.[37] While Sayyid Qutb was executed in 1966 by the Nasser regime, Muhammad Qutb was released on October 17, 1971 by the Sadat regime.[38] In the early 1970s, he moved to Saudi Arabia and taught at several universities there, especially at Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca.[39] As a professor, he educated many disciples and supervised

---

[28] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/). This website was established by disciples of Muḥammad Quṭb. (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/%D8%B9%D9%86-%D8%A7%D9%84%D9%85%D9%8 8%D9%82%D8%B9/).

[29] Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

[30] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).

[31] Calvert, *op. cit.,* pp. 60-61.

[32] *Mughālaṭāt*, p. 49.

[33] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).

[34] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).

[35] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/); Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, p. 42.

[36] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).

[37] Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, pp. 32-34; James Toth, *Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual*, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 90.

[38] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/). But according to Calvert, Muḥammad Quṭb was released in 1972. Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 276.

[39] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/). According to Calvert, Muḥammad Quṭb moved to Saudi Arabia within a year after his release, and got a teaching position at the Mecca branch of King Abd al-Aziz University. Because the website says that he taught in several universities, those universities probably include King Abd al-Aziz University. Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 276.

many master theses and doctoral dissertations.[40] His two most famous disciples are Osama bin Laden, the founder of al-Qaeda, and Safar al-Hawali, a key member of the Awakening (Ṣaḥwa) movement. Bin Laden took courses in Islamic studies taught by Muhammad Qutb at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah.[41] Safar al-Hawali completed his master's thesis and doctoral dissertation under the supervision of Muhammad Qutb at Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca.[42] In parallel with his teaching, he wrote books, gave speeches, and participated in conferences.[43] As for family life, because in the mid-1960s Sayyid Qutb mentioned the children of Muhammad Qutb, it is certain that Muhammad Qutb got married and had children when he lived in Egypt.[44] However, it seemed that he got married again soon after his emigration to Saudi Arabia in the early 1970s.[45] After spending more than 40 years in that country, Muhammad Qutb died on the 3rd or 4th of April 2014 in Jeddah at the age of 95.[46]

In addition to his role as a professor of bin Laden in Islamic studies at King Abd al-Aziz University in Jeddah, as a supervisor of al-Hawali at Umm al-Qurā University in Mecca, Muhammad Qutb indirectly intellectually influenced bin Laden via al-Hawali, because Muhammad Qutb intellectually influenced al-Hawali and then al-Hawali intellectually influenced bin Laden. It is certain that al-Hawali was influenced by Muhammad Qutb. For example, the title of al-Hawali's master's thesis "Secularism: its origin, its development, and its effects in the contemporary Islamic life" proves a strong intellectual influence of Muhammad Qutb because secularism is an important subject of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism.[47] Hence, it seems that al-Hawali chose that topic because he was influenced by his supervisor. Likewise, it is certain that bin Laden respected al-Hawali and was intellectually influenced by him. For example, when Saudi Arabia invited the US forces to defend its territory from the probable Iraqi aggression in 1990, bin Laden joined al-Hawali's opposition to the presence of those forces in Saudi Arabia, and then he denounced the imprisonment of al-Hawali.[48]

Moreover, as an Islamist activist Muhammad Qutb may have enabled Abdullah Azzam to meet bin Laden through his personal support. There is a possibility that Abdullah Azzam, one of the two teachers of bin Laden, went to Saudi Arabia and got a teaching job there because

---

[40] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%81-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%87%D8%A7/).

[41] Bruce Lawrence ed., *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, Verso, 2005, p. xii.

[42] Mansoor Jassem Alshamsi, *Islam and Political Reform in Saudi Arabia: The Quest for Political Change and Reform*, Routledge, 2010, p. 59; Muhammad Qasim Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*, Princeton University Press, 2010, p. 156.

[43] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).

[44] Sayyid Quṭb, *Li-mādhā A'damūnī?*, al-Sharika al-Sa'ūdīya li-l-Abḥāth wa-l-Taswīq, n. d., p. 41. (Hereafter cited as *Li-mādhā*)

[45] Calvert, *op. cit.,* p. 276; Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/). Calvert says that Muhammad Quṭb got married (in Saudi Arabia) at the age of 50. But according to the Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, he was 52 when he was released from the prison in Egypt. Therefore, he probably got married in his fifties (in Saudi Arabia), and not at the exact age of 50.

[46] Al-Ḥayāt, *op. cit.*

[47] Zaman, *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*, p. 156; Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/%D8%B1%D8%B3%D8%A7%D8%A6%D9%84-%D8%A3%D8%B4%D8%B1%D9%81-%D8%B9%D9%84%D9%8A%D9%87%D8%A7/).

[48] Peter L. Bergen, *The Osama Bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of Al Qaeda's Leader*, Simon and Schuster, 2006, p. 149; Kepel and Milelli eds. *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words*, p. 279; John Calvert, *Islamism: A Documentary and Reference Guide*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008, p. 178.

Muhammad Qutb personally helped Azzam's job search.[49] Hegghammer says that because Azzam had a good personal relationship with the Qutb family in Egypt before his move to Saudi Arabia, it was possible for Muhammad Qutb to help Azzam in Saudi Arabia.[50] If that is true, while being one of the two teachers of bin Laden, Muhammad Qutb gave the other of the two, namely Azzam, the opportunity to meet bin Laden. Hence, that hypothesis might further strengthen the importance of Muhammad Qutb in building bin Laden as a founder of al-Qaeda.

While it is not clear when Muhammad Qutb joined the Muslim Brothers, it is almost certain that he was a member (or a former member) of that organization.[51] At the very least, it is certain that he became an Islamist by the 1950s, because as an Islamist he wrote books such as *Suspicions about Islam* (1954) and *The Human Being between Materialism and Islam* (1950).[52] Furthermore, it is known that his brother Sayyid Qutb joined the Muslim Brothers in 1953.[53] Moreover, the following facts virtually reveal that Muhammad Qutb was a member of the Muslim Brothers. For example, after the Nasser assassination attempt in 1954, when many members of the Muslim Brothers were arrested, along with Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb was arrested as well.[54] In addition, after Muhammad Qutb was released from his short period in prison, he attended the meetings of the Muslim Brothers in Cairo.[55] Furthermore, after Sayyid Qutb's release in 1964, when the Egyptian regime restarted its crackdown on the Muslim Brothers in 1965, Muhammad Qutb was arrested prior to the arrest of Sayyid Qutb, and the Qutb brothers were regarded as main leaders of the new conspiracy against the Egyptian regime, and the copies of both Sayyid Qutb's book *Signposts* and Muhammad Qutb's book *20th Century's Jahiliya* were confiscated.[56] On top of this, when the imprisoned members of the Muslim Brothers were released by the Sadat regime and many of them left Egypt for Saudi Arabia in the early 1970s, Muhammad Qutb was released and moved to Saudi Arabia.[57] Although Sayyid Qutb asserted that Muhammad Qutb never belonged to the Muslim Brothers in his book *Why Did They Execute Me? (Li-mādhā A'damūnī?)* written just before his execution in 1966, which means that Muhammad Qutb did not join that organization at least until 1965, the credibility of that assertion is dubious.[58] Additionally, when Muhammad Qutb died, his obituary in the *al-Hayat* newspaper described him as a thinker of the Muslim Brothers.[59]

Muhammad Qutb had a long career as an Islamist thinker and wrote many books from the 1950s to the 2000s as follows. Along with the works of Sayyid Qutb, the works of Muhammad Qutb

[49] Hegghammer, "Abdullah Azzam, the Imam of Jihad," p. 90.
[50] *Ibid.* According to Hegghammer, then Muhammad Qutb taught at King Abdul Ibn Saud University in Jeddah. Because the website of Muḥammad Quṭb says that he taught in several universities, those universities probably include that university in Jeddah.
[51] For example, Anne-Sofie Roald says Muhammad Qutb was a former member of the Muslim Brothers and left that organization. Anne-Sofie Roald, *Women in Islam: The Western Experience*, Routledge, 2003, p. 55.
[52] As for the publication years of the first editions, Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 159; Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/); the Catalog of Library of Congress (http://catalog.loc.gov).
[53] Toth, *op. cit.,* p. 75.
[54] Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).
[55] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, p. 230; Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/).
[56] Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, pp. 32-34.
[57] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, p. 276; Barbara Zollner, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan Al-Hudaybi and Ideology*, Routledge, 2009, p. 48.
[58] *Li-mādhā*, p. 70.
[59] Al-Ḥayāt, *op. cit.*

are mainly published by the Dār al-Shurūq bookshop.[60] Muhammad Qutb started to write as an Islamist in the 1950s at the latest. His earliest works as an Islamist include *Human Being between Materialism and Islam (al-Insān bayna al-māddīya wa al-Islām)* (1950), *Suspicions about Islam (Shubhāt ḥawla al-Islām)* (1954), *Glimpses from the Messenger (Qabasāt min al-Rasūl)* (1957), *Are We Muslims? (Hal Naḥnu Muslimūn?)* (1959), *The Battle against the Tradition (Maʿrakat al-Taqālīd)* (1959), *About the Human Mind and the Society (Fī al-Nafs wa al-Mujtamaʿ)* (in or before 1962), *Studies in Human Psychology (Dirāsāt fī al-Nafs al-Insānīya)* (1963?), *The Method of Islamic Education (Manhaj al-Tarbiya al-Islāmīya)* (the 1960s?), *The 20th Century Jahiliya (Jāhilīya al-Qarn al-ʿIshrīn)* (1965), and *The Changing and the Unchanging in the Human Life (al-Taṭawwur wa al-Thabāt fī Ḥayāt al-Basharīya)* (1968). These were written before he left Egypt for Saudi Arabia in the early 1970s. Then, after his migration to Saudi Arabia, his works include *The Method of Islamic Art (Manhaj al-Fann al-Islāmī)* (1973), *Quranic Studies (Dirāsāt Qurʾānīya)* (in or before 1980), *Contemporary Schools of Thought (Madhāhib Fikrīya Muʿāṣira)* (1983), *The Concepts which Must be Corrected (Mafāhīm yanbaghī an tuṣaḥḥaḥ)* (1987), *The Islamic Awakening (al-Ṣaḥwa al-Islāmīya)* (1990), *Islamic Vision for the Situations of the Contemporary World (Ruʾya Islāmīya li-Aḥwāl al-ʿĀlam al-Muʿāṣir)* (1991), *About Application of the Islamic Law (Ḥawla Taṭbīq al-Sharīʿa)* (1991), *There is no God except Allah: Creed, Law, and Method of Life (Lā Ilāh illā Allāh: ʿAqīda wa-Sharīʿa wa-Minhāj Ḥayāt)* (in or before 1993), *The Secularists and Islam (al-ʿAlmānīyūn wa al-Islām)* (1994), *Lessons from the Ordeal of Bosnia and Herzegovina (Durūs min Miḥnat al-Busnah wa al-Harsak)* (1994), *How Do We Write the Islamic History? (Kayfa naktubu al-Tārīkh al-Islāmī)* (1995), *Our Contemporary Reality (Wāqiʿnā al-Muʿāṣir)* (1997), *About Building the Islamic Foundation for Social Sciences (Ḥawla al-Taʾṣīl al-Islāmī li-l-ʿUlūm al-Ijtimāʿīya)* (1998), *The Orientalists and Islam (al-Mustashriqūn wa al-Islām)* (1999), *The Issue of Enlightenment in the Islamic World (Qaḍīyat al-Tanwīr fī al-ʿĀlam al-Islāmī)* (1999), *How Do We Call People? (Kayfa nadʿū al-Nās)* (2000), *The Muslims and the Globalization (al-Muslimūn wa al-ʿAwlama)* (2000), *From Issues of the Contemporary Islamic Thought: About the Religious Affairs, the History, the Economy, and the Literature (Min Qaḍāyā al-Fikr al-Islāmī al-Muʿāṣir: fī Umūr al-Dīn, fī al-Tārīkh, fī al-Iqtiṣād, fī al-Adab)* (2003), *Pillars of the Faith (Rakāʾiz al-Īmān)* (in or before 2005), *Misleading (Mughālaṭāt)* (2006), *The Location of Education in the Islamic Activity (Makānat al-Tarbiya fī al-ʿAmal al-Islāmī)* (in or before 2008), *About the Islamic Interpretation of the History (Ḥawla al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī li-l-Tārīkh)* (2006), and *This is the Islam (Hādhā huwa al-Islām)* (2008).[61]

---

60   As for the titles of the Quṭb brothers' works published by Dār al-Shurūq, for example, see Muḥammad Quṭb, *Jāhilīya al-Qarn al-ʿIshrīn*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1993, p. 293. (Hereafter cited as *Jāhilīya*.)

61   As for the publication years of the first editions, Muḥammad Quṭb, *al-ʿAlmānīyūn wa al-Islām*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1994, p. 2 (Hereafter cited as *ʿAlmānīyūn*); Muḥammad Quṭb, *Ḥawla al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī li-l-Tārīkh*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2008, p. 1; Muḥammad Quṭb, *al-Muslimūn wa al-ʿAwlama*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2006, p. 1 (Hereafter cited as *ʿAwlama*); Muḥammad Quṭb, *Madhāhib Fikrīya Muʿāṣira*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2001, p. 1 (Hereafter cited as *Madhāhib*); Smith, *op. cit.,* p. 159; Website of Muḥammad Quṭb, (http://mqutb.wordpress.com/about/); the Catalog of Library of Congress, (http://catalog.loc.gov); the Catalog of British Library, (http://explore.bl.uk); Worldcat, (http://www.worldcat.org); the Library Catalog of University of Cambridge, (http://ul-newton.lib.cam.ac.uk); the Catalog of SOAS, (http://lib.soas.ac.uk); Oxford Libraries Online, (http://solo.bodleian.ox.ac.uk); the Catalog of Cornell University Library, (https://catalog.library.cornell.edu).

Islamism of Muhammad Qutb and Its Characteristics

The Islamism of Muhammad Qutb has nine characteristics, namely, a negative view of the history of Western Christianity, Jewish conspiracy theories, a conservative vision of women, condemnation of modern Western ideologies, a description of the complete history of Islam and Egypt, the denunciation of Orientalists, the concept of jahiliya, the virtual denunciation of the existing regimes in the Middle East, and a worldview in which the US confronts Islam. In analyzing the Islamism of Muhammad Qutb and its characteristics, this thesis uses his first sources in this chapter. This procedure is necessary before comparing his Islamism with that of Sayyid Qutb and al-Qaeda because there is no previous research that exposes the full picture of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism.

As the first of nine characteristics of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb had a negative view of the history of Western Christianity and he found unauthenticity, corruption, and un-scientific superstition in the history of Christianity. For example, he regarded Paulo as a virtual founder of Christianity and alleged that in the beginning of the history of Christianity, Paulo propagated an old religion that was different from the true religion of Jesus Christ, and improperly named it Christianity.[62] According to Muhammad Qutb, that distorted Christianity separated the law from the creed and authorized the unreligious Roman law to govern.[63] Furthermore, he asserted that the Christian clergy was corrupt in medieval times as proven by the sales of indulgences, the notorious Inquisition, and the Pornocracy in which immoral women intervened in the selection of the Pope.[64] In addition, he claimed that as the examples of the persecution of Galileo Galilei and Giordano Bruno demonstrated, the Church had oppressed scientists.[65]

As the second characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb advocated Jewish conspiracy theories through his assertion that Jews intervened in the French revolution and exploited Darwin's theory of evolution, and brought the three great Jewish scholars so as to annihilate religion and morality and thus tried to advance their plan to change all mankind into donkeys. He asserted that Jews regarded themselves as the chosen people and that they planned to change non-Jewish people into donkeys, namely slaves who would serve Jews.[66] As evidence, he cited statements in the Talmud which indicate discriminatory feelings of superiority on the part of Jewish people, such as "All mankind other than Jews are donkeys. God created them as vehicles for the chosen people".[67] He insisted that because Jews viewed religion and morality as barriers which prevented Jews from advancing their plan, they aimed at the elimination of those barriers.[68] As evidence, he mentioned the sentences in *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* such as "We have to remove the concept of God from the reasoning of all mankind other than Jews."[69] According to him, in order to eliminate these barriers Jews intervened in the French Revolution in the 18th century and changed its direction for their own purposes.[70] Through their intervention, he said, Jews strived to

---

[62]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 11-12.
[63]   *Madhāhib*, p. 13.
[64]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 57, 63, 67.
[65]   *Madhāhib*, p. 47.
[66]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 79, 84.
[67]   *Madhāhib*, p. 83.
[68]   *Madhāhib*, p. 84.
[69]   *Madhāhib*, p. 85.
[70]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 87-88.

replace its original goal of eliminating the authority of the Church and the clergy with their own goal of eliminating religion.[71] As evidence of that intervention, he asserted that the slogan of that revolution – liberty, equality, and fraternity – had originally been advocated by the Freemasonry, namely the Jews in his recognition.[72] In addition, in order to destroy religion and morality, he said, Jews exploited Darwin's theory of evolution. Although the theory was originally limited to biology, he said that the Jews swiftly transformed it into a comprehensive theory which included the disciplines of philosophy, politics, economics, sociology, and psychology, and the three great Jews, that is, Karl Marx, Sigmund Freud, and Emile Durkheim, invented their respective theories based on Darwin's theory of evolution.[73] He asserted that all three had the common goal of annihilating religion and morality.[74] For example, he stated that Marx negated the permanent value of religion because Marx claimed that moral values including religion were mere reflections of each stage of development in history and those values changed when a new stage of development came.[75] Furthermore, he said that Marx denied the role of religion absolutely through his claim that religion did not have any role in communist society, namely the last stage of development in history.[76] As for Freud, he said, based on the Oedipus complex which conceptualized the myth of a man who killed his father and married his mother, Freud asserted that religion had been created by human sexual desire and not by God, and thus he defamed religion.[77] Muhammad Qutb regarded Freud's theory as effective in degrading religion because sexual desire was considered dirty in Europe at that time.[78] Likewise, according to him, Durkheim denied the existence of permanent values such as religion and morality through his concept of collective consciousness. He insisted that according to Durkheim's theory, human beings are controlled by a collective consciousness, and each person is a mere recipient of orders and directions from that collective consciousness without his or her own will. According to Muhammad Qutb's conception of Durkheim's theory, the collective consciousness permanently continues to change and does not stop at a specific state, with each generation of people having their own respective thought, creed, and norm of behavior, and therefore the existence of permanent value was denied.[79]

As the third characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb had a conservative vision of women. For the first example, he opposed the mixing of men and women in society, such as coeducation. Although he did not deny the right of women to be educated, he insisted that men and women should not be educated in the same curriculum because of biological differences between men and women and his view that the role of men was different from that of women.[80] According to him, historically, after women were permitted to study in universities, although at first female students abstained from chatting with male students, gradually conversations between the two

---

71 *Madhāhib*, p. 87.
72 *Madhāhib*, p. 87.
73 *Madhāhib*, pp. 97-98, 100.
74 *Madhāhib*, p. 100.
75 *Madhāhib*, pp. 102-104.
76 *Madhāhib*, p. 105.
77 *Madhāhib*, pp. 109, 111.
78 *Madhāhib*, p. 112.
79 *Madhāhib*, pp. 115-116.
80 *Madhāhib*, pp. 134-135.

sexes became common in classrooms, and then the most shameless female student would spend time alone with a male student on their campus.[81] As his assertion shows, he opposed coeducation because it could cause immoral sexual relations. Hence, that opposition confirms his conservative vision of women. For the second example, he opposed women's participation in society, such as women's labor. According to him, historically, after the Industrial Revolution in Europe, because wages of male workers were law, they often abandoned their female family members and therefore those women were forced to work in factories for their own survival.[82] However, he said, because capitalists discriminated against women and paid them one half of male workers' wages, those women suffered from poverty and this caused some of them to prostitute themselves.[83] Thus, he insisted that in Europe women had not started to work voluntarily, but instead had been forced to do so due to economic necessity because Europe had not applied the sharī'a (Islamic law) to protect women.[84] But, he said, because the sharī'a designated a provider for each woman and obliged the state to provide for her from its budget if there was no provider for her among her relatives, in the Islamic states which applied the sharī'a there were no women who were forced to work for their survival.[85] Thus, although he did not prohibit women from working outside their homes, he substantially opposed it, because he preferred a society where women did not need to work. For the third example, he condemned women's exposure such as pornography, because the sharī'a did not permit women to lose their innate sense of shame and to be naked on the beach.[86] He condemned western newspapers which printed pictures of naked women on the beach, on the road, or indoors and the stripteases which revealed sexual intercourse on the stage and were broadcast on television as sexual abnormality.[87] In addition, when he cited his personal experience in which he saw a male photographer taking photographs of a girl wearing a swimsuit on the beach, he described the girl who at first refused to open her legs as nearly shameless and the same girl who finally agreed to open her legs for that photographer as totally shameless.[88] For the fourth example, he opposed feminism and considered it anti-Islamic. He regarded the so-called women's liberation movement as deeds of crusaders and Zionists to harm Islam and asserted that crusaders and Zionists supported the women's "liberation" movement in Turkey, Egypt, and other countries in order to develop Muslim women who hated Islam.[89]

As the fourth characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb condemned modern Western ideologies such as secularism, democracy, communism, and nationalism.

As for secularism, he condemned it through his assertion that Islam did not need it because it was a product of distorted Christianity in Europe and his claim that the positive image of secularism in the Middle East was attributed to the incorrect translation. On the origin of secularism, he claimed that after the medieval era in Europe in which the clergy oppressed people, those oppressed people started to avenge religion in the Renaissance period, and that

---

[81]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 139-141.
[82]   *Madhāhib*, p. 124.
[83]   *Madhāhib*, p. 124.
[84]   *Madhāhib*, p. 124.
[85]   *Madhāhib*, p. 124.
[86]   *'Almānīyūn*, p. 89.
[87]   *Madhāhib*, p. 359.
[88]   Muḥammad Quṭb, *Hal Naḥnu Muslimūn?*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1995, p. 188. (Hereafter cited as *Hal*.)
[89]   *Jāhilīya*, pp. 277-279.

change generated secularism.[90] However, he insisted that Islam could not adopt secularism, which separated religion from politics, because there was no separation between the creed and the sharī'a in Islam.[91] Likewise, he claimed that Islam did not need secularism because Islam never persecuted the legitimate human activities such as scientific research.[92] In addition, according to him, because secularism gave unlimited freedom to people, they lost morality and this caused ugly results such as the two World Wars and the atomic bombs dropped onto Japan.[93] Thus, he rejected the validity of secularism. Furthermore, by swapping a word with a positive connotation (al-'almānīya) for a word with a negative connotation (al-lādīnīya), he tried to damage the reputation of secularism. He insisted that although the English word "secularism" was usually translated as al-'almānīya (literally, intellectualism) in Arabic, because secularism had nothing to do with 'ilm (intellect) and that word meant the separation between the human life and the religion, that translation was wrong and the word "secularism" should be translated as al-lādīnīya (literally, non-religionism or anti-religionism) in Arabic.[94]

As for democracy, he condemned it because firstly the demerits of democracy were larger than the merits of it, and secondly, the opinion that the import of democracy was beneficial to current Muslim countries was wrong, and thirdly, unlimited legislation as an essential factor of democracy was forbidden in Islam. On the one hand, he regarded liberal democracy as the best among all kinds of un-Islamic ideologies and gave it a positive evaluation to some degree.[95] However, after comparing its profits with its losses, he determined that the former was smaller than the latter.[96] In addition, while he found a similarity between Islam and democracy in the principle of consultation (shūrā), he regarded it as an accidental coincidence and denied the compatibility between Islam and democracy.[97] Moreover, arguing against those who insisted that the Muslim countries should introduce democracy because democracy was better than tyranny in the existing Muslim countries, he insisted that such advantages of democracy had been attained in the Western countries through their long-term struggle and it was impossible for people in the Muslim countries to import democracy and implement it swiftly without their own long-term struggle.[98] He believed that Islam should not borrow a part of any foreign ideologies including democracy because Islam was a perfect system.[99] Moreover, while unlimited legislation is an essential component of democracy, he asserted that any legislation beyond the border of ijtihād was forbidden in Islam because unlimited legislation would cause anarchy and moral degeneracy, even if there was consensus on that legislation among all mankind.[100] As examples in which mankind legislated unanimously and ingenerated disorder, he cited sexual freedom and money interest.[101]

---

[90]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 448-449, 458.
[91]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 496, 499.
[92]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 479, 496.
[93]   *Madhāhib*, pp. 460, 468-469.
[94]   *Madhāhib*, p. 445.
[95]   *Madhāhib*, p. 226.
[96]   *Madhāhib*, p. 219.
[97]   *Madhāhib*, p. 251.
[98]   *Madhāhib*, p. 254.
[99]   *Madhāhib*, p. 254.
[100] *Madhāhib*, pp. 228-229.
[101] *Madhāhib*, pp. 228-229.

As for communism, he condemned it because firstly, communism denied religion and morality and tried to dismantle families, and secondly, communism was unpractical in terms of management of the economy, and thirdly, primitive communism as a premise of modern communism was fabricated. He asserted that communism and dialectic materialism, which was the theoretical foundation of communism, exaggerated material and economic factors in history and regarded all kinds of spiritual values, including religion and morality, as mere temporal reflections of economic conditions.[102] Specifically, he said, communism considered the role of religion as a drug for impoverished people and regarded the role of family as a tool for private property in pre-communist society. Therefore, he said, communism tried to annihilate religion and dismantle the family in communist society because both religion and family did not have any roles there.[103] But he denounced that communist interpretation because he considered family to be an innate ethical norm to prevent sexual immorality and thought that communism aimed to dismantle family in order to corrupt morality.[104] In addition, he denounced that interpretation because he considered religious faith to be innate human nature just like sexual desire. He claimed that it was impossible for communism to annihilate religious faith and religion because both sexual desire and religious faith belonged to innate and imperishable human nature and Christianity in the medieval era had failed to exterminate sexual desire in spite of the oppression targeting it.[105] Furthermore, he accused communism of impracticality in the management of the economy. For example, he said, after having been an exporter of wheat, the Soviet Union was forced to import it because the suppression of private property caused its agricultural output to decrease, and finally, Nikita Khrushchev permitted a certain level of private property in order to increase its output and this demonstrated the failure of a key element of communism, namely the abolition of private property.[106] Moreover, he refuted the existence of primitive communism, which was the first stage of human history according to the communist interpretation of history, by disproving the features of primitive communism such as the communism of sex, perfect economic equality among members, and the angelic ideal situation of the society. Thus, he negated the theoretical validity of communism because its existence was a premise of modern communism.[107] As for the communism of sex, namely, the sharing of women, although communism referred to the statements of explorers that a part of the indigenous inhabitants in Africa, Asia, and Australia practiced the sharing of their women as evidence, he rejected that evidence because, even though those statements were true, the sharing was limited to a portion of people and therefore it could not serve as evidence for the universality of sharing.[108] As for the perfect economic equality among members, he asserted that the situations of the indigenous inhabitants discovered by explorers in the 19th and 20th centuries disproved it because in each clan, there was a clan chief and his appearance was different from that of the other members in terms of dress and accessories, and he often enjoyed exclusive privileges

---

[102] *Madhāhib*, p. 323, 334.

[103] *Madhāhib*, p. 105.

[104] *Madhāhib*, p. 350.

[105] *Madhāhib*, p. 346.

[106] *Madhāhib*, p. 371.

[107] *Madhāhib*, pp. 355-356, 358, 360-361.

[108] *Madhāhib*, p. 358.

such as polygamy.[109] As for the angelic ideal situation of the society in primitive communism, he rejected it as unrealistic because he could not find any evidence for it.[110]

As for nationalism, he denounced both language-based nationalism (al-qawmīya) and territorial patriotism (al-waṭanīya), because firstly, Europe intentionally exported those two ideologies to Muslims in order to replace Islam and weaken Muslims and their jihad spirit and secondly, people could not choose their first language and their birthplace.[111] For example, he said, after Europe exported al-waṭanīya and replaced the jihad spirit with it, the Egyptian independence movement became less hostile and more conciliatory toward Britain, as the stances of Saad Zaghlul and Ahmad Lutfi al-Sayyid demonstrated.[112] For another example, he said, before the exportation of al-qawmīya to Muslims, when Theodor Herzl asked the Ottoman Sultan Abdulhamid II to transfer the ownership of Palestine to the Jews, he refused because he recognized that the land belonged to Muslims and not to him personally.[113] However, after the exportation of al-qawmīya, Turks became at odds with Arabs in the Ottoman Empire and that hostility among Muslims led to the Arab revolt under the direction of T. E. Lawrence, the abolition of the Caliphate, and the establishment of the Jewish country in Palestine.[114] In addition, he opposed both al-qawmīya and al-waṭanīya, because he did not consider territory and language as an adequate bond which united people. He claimed that while religion was an adequate bond to unite people, both territory and language were not because in contrast to religion, which people could choose on their own free will, people could not choose their birthplace and their first language.[115]

As the fifth characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb presented the complete history of Islam and Egypt and while he regarded the history of Islam and Egypt as declining from the ideal status to the miserable one, he evaluated Arab-Muslims relatively-positively and mainly attributed the responsibility for the historical declination to people other than Arab-Muslims. For example, he mainly attributed the responsibility of the Muslims' decline to non-Arab Muslims such as Persians in the Abbasid dynasty and Turks in the Ottoman Empire.[116] Then, after the European colonialism started with Napoleon's invasion, he attributed this responsibility to France and Britain, namely the West. But in the modern era also, he allocated positive roles to Arab Muslims and negative roles to non-Arab Muslims because he assessed the Wahhabi movement and the Mahdi movement positively, and the Muhammad Ali Dynasty negatively.[117] Those assessments might imply his nationalistic pro-Arab stance, although he denounced nationalism. Interestingly, he thought that Muslims had fully applied the sharī'a from the 7th century until the late 18th century when Napoleon introduced French law, as shown below.[118]

He described the history of Islam and Egypt as follows. The first period of the history of Islam, namely the era of the Prophet Muhammad and the Righteous Caliphs, was ideal and at

---

[109] *Madhāhib*, p. 360.

[110] *Madhāhib*, p. 361.

[111] *Madhāhib*, p. 577.

[112] *Madhāhib*, pp. 578-579.

[113] *Madhāhib*, p. 581.

[114] *Madhāhib*, pp. 581-584.

[115] *Madhāhib*, pp. 554-555, 562.

[116] *Hal*, pp. 103, 106-107

[117] *Hal*, pp. 127, 129-132.

[118] *Hal*, p. 117; *'Almānīyūn*, p. 54.

that time Islam, including the sharī'a, was fully applied.[119] Then, during the Umayyad dynasty, the first deviation from the principles of Islam emerged. But in general, the deviation was minor and the rulers applied the sharī'a.[120] After that, during the Abbasid dynasty, Persians introduced un-Islamic concepts such as Sufism and philosophy into Islam. However, although society in the Abbasid dynasty deviated further than that of the Umayyad dynasty, it still remained Islamic.[121] Subsequently, the Turks seized power in the Ottoman Empire and those Turks immobilized the intellectual legacy of Islamic jurisprudence. Because the development of Islamic jurisprudence is linked to the development of society, when the former stopped, the latter also stopped. Thus, Islam fell into a crisis.[122] Under such circumstances, when Napoleon defeated the Muslims in Egypt, a bad page of the Islamic history started.[123] Because Napoleon enacted new laws derived from French law, with the exception of the period of Tatar (Mongol) rule, for the first time the Muslims became governed under laws other than the sharī'a and the range of application of the sharī'a was confined to family law.[124] After that, Muhammad Ali came to Egypt and he wished to be independent of the Ottoman Empire. France supported him because the independence of Egypt meant the fragmentation of the Islamic world into small entities and it enabled the West to destroy Islam.[125] At that time, because the two reform movements, namely, the Wahhabi movement and the Sudanese Mahdi movement, tried to remove the influence of the West, Europe utilized Muhammad Ali to attack those two.[126] Then, in 1882 Britain occupied Egypt and remained there for 70 years. During that period, the policy which aimed to annihilate Islam was implemented and the crusader colonialism succeeded in that annihilation.[127]

As the sixth characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb regarded the Orientalists' academic activities as a part of the Western organizational plot against Islam, and thus denied the trustworthiness of those Orientalists. He alleged that in cooperation with Christian missionaries and colonialism, Orientalists aimed to create a situation in which Muslim countries were not based on Islam and their plot contributed to the Crusaders' attacks against Islam in the modern era.[128] He insisted that although those Orientalists pretended to be honest, in fact they intentionally devised theories which degraded Islam, as shown by their assertions which suspected the authenticity of genealogy of the Prophet Muhammad and denied any originality in all academic products of Islam. As a result, he said, many Muslims believed that Islam had deficiencies.[129] He referred to W. C. Smith's *Islam in Modern History,* which mentions Muhammad Qutb negatively, as the worst example of those Orientalists' deeds.[130] Muhammad Qutb criticized Smith, because Smith authorized the Republic of Turkey based on secularism as a legitimate Islamic state and regarded it

---

[119] *Jāhilīya*, p. 203; *'Almānīyūn*, p. 69.

[120] *Hal*, pp. 101-102.

[121] *Hal*, pp. 103, 106.

[122] *Hal*, pp. 106-107.

[123] *Hal*, pp. 112, 115-116.

[124] *Hal*, p. 117; *'Almānīyūn*, p. 54.

[125] *Hal*, p. 127.

[126] *Hal*, pp. 129-130.

[127] *Hal*, pp. 131-132.

[128] *Hal*, pp. 181-182.

[129] *Hal*, p. 178.

[130] *Hal*, p. 179; Smith, *op. cit.,* pp. 101, 108, 159.

as an ideal model.[131] According to Muhammad Qutb, Smith gave a negative evaluation of Pakistan, which established its state system based on Islam, because Smith tried to persuade Muslims that they could live in any societies not based on Islam.[132] In addition to Smith, Muhammad Qutb referred to other famous Orientalists such as Hamilton A. R. Gibb, Gustav E. Von Grunebaum, and Ignac Goldziher.[133]

As the seventh characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb adopted the concept of jahiliya, which could accuse the contemporary states' regimes of being un-Islamic. The Arabic word "jāhilīya" literally means ignorance. In the traditional Islamic usage, the word is often used to mean the Arabian Peninsula in the age prior to the birth of Islam in the 7th century. Therefore, in that usage, the range of the concept of jahiliya is limited in terms of time and geography.[134] However, Qutb claimed that jahiliya was not limited to a specific period or territory and that it could emerge anytime and anywhere and could take various forms.[135] Thus, he unleashed the concept from the shackles of time and geography. He defined jahiliya as a state of mind which refuses divine guidance and as a state of organization which rejects governance by what God revealed, namely, governance by the sharī'a.[136] The latter half of that sentence shows that his concept of jahiliya had a political nature. He insisted that in Islam there were two kinds of governance (or political regimes), namely, governance by God and governance by jahiliya.[137] He also explained that while only God had sovereignty and legislative power and therefore the sharī'a was applied in governance by God, people had the legislative power and therefore man-made law was applied in the governance by jahiliya.[138] Thus, he adopted the dichotomy between Islam and jahiliya and asserted that all political regimes were theoretically categorized into Islam or jahiliya.

In addition, he regarded confrontation between Islam and jahiliya as inevitable, because he considered hostility against Islam to be a feature common to all kinds of jahiliya.[139] He insisted that the stance of jahiliya against Islam was an enmity and that jahiliya never treated Islam tolerantly even when Muslims were peaceful.[140] Therefore, he regarded jihad as the inevitable means to establish the right society.[141] Thus, he virtually urged people to fight against the regimes categorized as jahiliya and build the new regime categorized as Islam, although he used implicit expressions.

However, for the methodology of toppling the regimes categorized as jahiliya, his stance on the use of force was vague. On the one hand, he opposed the usage of violence.[142] But on the other hand, it seems that he implicitly authorized the use of force because he claimed that it was

---

[131] *Hal*, pp. 180-181.

[132] *Hal*, pp. 181-182.

[133] *Hal*, pp. 22-23, 175.

[134] Zollner, *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan Al-Hudaybi and Ideology*, p. 57; Yvonne Yazbeck Haddad et al. eds., *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991, p. 27; Juan Eduardo Campo, *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Infobase Publishing, 2009, p. 387.

[135] *Jāhilīya*, pp. 6, 8.

[136] *Jāhilīya*, p. 7.

[137] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 64.

[138] *Madhāhib*, pp. 235, 237, 243.

[139] *Jāhilīya*, p. 267.

[140] *Jāhilīya*, pp. 269-270.

[141] *Jāhilīya*, p. 254.

[142] *'Awlama*, p. 42.

impossible to establish an Islamic regime through democracy and cited as evidence the military intervention in the election outcome in which the Islamists won in Algeria in the early 1990s and the interference in the Welfare Party in Turkey in the 1990s.[143]

As the eighth characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb virtually denounced the regimes in the modern Middle East, especially the Nasser regime in Egypt, as jahiliya. For example, when he utilized the concept of jahiliya in evaluating the current situation of the world, he virtually categorized all the existing political regimes into jahiliya.[144] This implies that he categorized the regimes of all Muslim-majority countries in the Middle East, including Egypt, into jahiliya, and denied the legitimacy of those regimes, although he avoided explicit expressions. He insisted that although both the Arabs prior to the birth of Islam in the 7th century and those who were thought to be Muslims in the modern era belonged to the same category of jahiliya, those two belonged to different groups in that category.[145] He explained that while jahiliya prior to the birth of Islam in the Arabian Peninsula had been simple, jahiliya in the modern era was the worst kind of jahiliya.[146] He attributed the main responsibility for the current jahiliya in the Middle East to Europe and exempted Muslims in that area from that responsibility to some degree because he asserted that the jahiliya prevailing in the modern era in the area called "the Islamic world" was not indigenous but imported from Europe under its colonialism.[147]

In order to deny the Islamic legitimacy of the regimes in the Middle East and categorize them as jahiliya, he utilized a new concept of "self-proclaimed Muslim" and defined "self-proclaimed Muslim" as people, communities, and countries which allege that they are Muslims but do not adopt the sharī'a as their law. He also categorized them as jahiliya.[148] Namely, he viewed their stance on the application of the sharī'a as a criterion to classify them as Muslim or not. As for specific usages, for example, he said, "The Muslim community (umma) deviated from the way of God. […] Therefore, that community was no longer a "Muslim" community even if [members of] that community still had Muslim names and sometimes prayed and fasted."[149] In that example, the phrase "Muslim" community meant self-proclaimed Muslim community. For another example, he said, "Jahiliya's stance of enmity, resistance, and war does not change whether it is in the east or the west or in a country which claims to be an Islamic country."[150] In that example, "a country which claims to be an Islamic country" meant a self-proclaimed Muslim country.

In addition to that theoretical denunciation of the regimes in the Middle East, more specifically, he implicitly denounced the Nasser regime in Egypt as jahiliya. For example, in *20th Century's Jahiliya* published in 1965 during the Nasser regime, he referred to *Islam and Our Political Situations* and *Financial Policy and Governance in Islam* by 'Abd al-Qādir 'Awda as ideal books on politics and economics in Islam.[151] 'Awda was a member of the Muslim Brothers

---

143 *'Almānīyūn*, p. 62; *'Awlama*, p. 42.
144 *Jāhilīya*, p. 282.
145 *Jāhilīya*, pp. 9-10.
146 *Jāhilīya*, pp. 9-10.
147 *Jāhilīya*, pp. 41, 114, 273.
148 *Jāhilīya*, p. 21.
149 *Jāhilīya*, p. 222.
150 *Jāhilīya*, p. 270.
151 *Jāhilīya*, p. 224.

and was executed for his alleged involvement in the assassination attempt on Nasser in 1954.[152] The fact that Muhammad Qutb appreciated a book written by a person who was executed by the Nasser regime reveals his condemnation of that regime. For another example, in his book *The Secularists and Islam* published after his migration to Saudi Arabia in 1994, he said that political authoritarianism existed for a long time in Muslim history and denounced it as an existing deficiency.[153] Furthermore, he insisted that the military personnel who implemented the most disgusting form of authoritarianism in Muslim modern history were not those who governed in the name of religion but the secularists who followed the model of communism and aimed to eliminate Islam.[154] Because the context reveals that military personnel referred to Nasser and his regime, these statements are his implicit denunciation against that regime. Moreover, in that same book, he told a story of a member of the Muslim Brothers who was arrested and tortured in a military prison in Egypt on charges that he read books by Sayyid Qutb and spoke about those books to people, and Muhammad Qutb criticized that imprisonment.[155] That statement reaffirms his condemnation of the Nasser regime. Furthermore, Muhammad Qutb authorized people to topple rulers who did not apply the sharī'a, because he asserted that in the political system in Islam, people would obey a ruler as long as that ruler preserved the sharī'a, and if he went outside the framework of the sharī'a, they would rob him of his authority.[156] Because it is obvious from the context that he did not regard the Nasser regime as one which applied the sharī'a, this statement virtually justifies the overthrow of that regime, while the same logic is applicable to other regimes in the Middle East.

On top of his accusation against regimes, Qutb condemned certain Muslim religious scholars ('ulamā) who did not fulfill their duty to stand against authoritarianism but instead supported it.[157] For example, he denounced the Saudi pro-regime 'ulamās who authorized the US stationing because, firstly, he thought that legitimate ijtihād (independent reasoning) which complied with the regulations of Islamic jurisprudence was different from illegitimate ijtihād which did not comply with those regulations but instead yielded to human desires, and secondly, he regarded the 'ulamās' permission to a country to deploy its armed forces in a certain area under the pretext of the new world order as an example of the latter illegitimate ijtihād. As is obvious, this example implies the stationing of the US forces in Saudi Arabia in the 1990s. Qutb may have criticized the Saudi regime indirectly through his denunciation of the Saudi pro-regime 'ulamās, although he avoided doing so explicitly.[158]

As the ninth characteristic of his Islamism, Muhammad Qutb had a worldview in which the US confronted Islam. For example, in as early as the mid-1960s, while he recognized that the world was governed by two kinds of jahiliya regimes, namely, communism exemplified by the Soviet Union and capitalism exemplified by the US, he regarded the US as the leader of modern jahiliya which provided the biggest armed forces for the fight against Islam in Asia and Africa,

---

[152] The Guardian, "Muslim Brotherhood in pictures," February 8, 2011, (http://www.theguardian.com/world/gallery/2011/feb/08/egypt-muslim-brotherhood-in-pictures#/?picture=371546446&index=2).

[153] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 39.

[154] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 44.

[155] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 75.

[156] *Jāhilīya*, p. 230.

[157] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 47.

[158] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 57.

and used the most vicious methods for that purpose.[159] At the time, he predicted that after the two kinds of jahiliya regimes collapsed in the future, Islam would fill the vacuum caused by the collapse.[160] Then, after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, he considered the US as the master of globalization and alleged that the governments in the Islamic world that massacred Muslims were built by the US.[161] Moreover, he asserted that the US encouraged those governments to annihilate Islam.[162] These statements reaffirm his worldview in which the US, along with the governments supported by the US in the Islamic world, confronted Islam. As his recognition of the US as the master of globalization demonstrated, he thought that the goal of globalization was to compel people to adopt the American way of life.[163] He regarded Islam as one of the opposition forces against globalization.[164] Furthermore, he considered the US's high-handed attitude toward the oil-producing countries in the third world as an example of the confrontation between the US and Islam in the era of US-led globalization. He insisted that while the third world produced the vast majority of oil and Muslims comprised the largest force of that world, when oil prices were hiked, the "superpower" (this was Qutb's implicit reference to the US) demanded the oil producing countries to increase oil supply in order to decrease the oil price, and these countries yielded to US pressure.[165] Thus, he perceived the inequality between the US and oil producers and the resulting inadequate cheap oil price as a part of his worldview in which the US confronted Islam.[166] Curiously, Muhammad Qutb pointed out the possibility that the important European and Asian countries could challenge the US hegemony in the US-led unipolar world. For example, he claimed that Germany and France refused to obey the US and that it was not easy to force China and Japan into obedience to the US.[167]

In the framework of the confrontation between the US and Islam, Qutb refused to recognize the legitimacy of international organizations such as the United Nations. His denunciation of these organizations is found exclusively in his books published in the 1990s and the 2000s, namely, after the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, he named the five permanent members of the United Nations Security Council as the five tyrannies and condemned their veto as a means which blocked justice and guarded tyranny.[168] Because the US was one of those permanent members, his accusation was obviously leveled against the US.

In his view, as further reinforcement of the worldview in which the US confronted Islam, the US-led West embodied by his expression "crusaders" and the Jews embodied by his expression "Zionists" formed a united front against Islam, because he believed that the US was controlled by Jews. For example, his statement that the crusaders and the Zionists endeavored in fighting against Islam inside the so-called Islamic world demonstrates his belief in the cooperation between the

---

[159] *Jāhilīya*, p. 290.

[160] *Jāhilīya*, pp. 288-289.

[161] *'Awlama*, p. 42.

[162] *'Awlama*, p. 42.

[163] *'Awlama*, p. 45.

[164] *'Awlama*, p. 59.

[165] *'Awlama*, pp. 9-10.

[166] *'Awlama*, pp. 9-10.

[167] *'Awlama*, p. 58.

[168] *Mughālaṭāt*, p. 35; *'Almānīyūn*, p. 57.

US-led West and the Jews.[169] He frequently referred to the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963 as an example that proved the Jews' control over the US. He believed that Kennedy was assassinated by the Jews because he did not obey their orders.[170]

Comparison of Muhammad Qutb and Sayyid Qutb in Terms of Islamism

In terms of Islamism, while Muhammad Qutb and Sayyid Qutb had many things in common, as demonstrated below, Muhammad Qutb's characteristics include the more integrated Jewish conspiracy theory, the more extensive denunciation of the modern Western ideologies including secularism and democracy, the more coherent description of history, the more specific condemnation of the Orientalists, the perspective of the world where the US confronts Islam, and the long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism. In comparing the Islamism of the Qutb brothers, this thesis uses both first and second sources in this chapter because, unlike the insufficient previous research on Muhammad Qutb, there is a large amount of reliable previous research on Sayyid Qutb. In this chapter, firstly this thesis demonstrates that among the nine characteristics of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism proven in the previous chapter, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb had four things in common: a negative view of the history of Western Christianity, a conservative vision of women, the concept of jahiliya, and the virtual denunciation of the existing regimes in the Middle East as jahiliya. Secondly, this thesis demonstrates that among the nine characteristics of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism, while Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb had another four things in common, that is, the Jewish conspiracy theory, the condemnation of modern Western ideologies, the description of the history of Islam and Egypt, and the denunciation of the Orientalists, in those four issues Muhammad Qutb provided more comprehensive and integrated thought than Sayyid Qutb. Thirdly, this thesis demonstrates that among those nine characteristics of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism, Sayyid Qutb did not share the worldview in which Islam confronted the US with Muhammad Qutb. Fourthly, this thesis considers the long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism conducted by Muhammad Qutb as an additional characteristic of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism, although it is undiscovered without the comparison of Muhammad Qutb and Sayyid Qutb in terms of Islamism.

Firstly, among the nine characteristics of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism proven in the previous chapter, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb had four things in common: a negative view of the history of Western Christianity, a conservative vision of women, the concept of jahiliya, and the virtual denunciation of the existing regimes in the Middle East as jahiliya. As for the negative view of the history of Western Christianity, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb shared it. For example, in the same way as Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb condemned Paulo as a person who distorted Christianity in its early times.[171] Moreover, just as Muhammad Qutb did, Sayyid Qutb denounced the medieval Church's oppression of scientists such as Galilei and Bruno, and asserted that that oppression made the Europeans hostile toward all religions and resulted in the destruction of the comprehensiveness of religion.[172] As for the conservative vision of women, Sayyid Qutb

---

[169] *Jāhilīya*, p. 290.

[170] For example, see *'Awlama*, p. 39; *'Almānīyūn*, p. 69.

[171] Sayyid Quṭb, *al-Mustaqbal li-hādha al-Dīn*, Minbar al-Tawḥīd wa al-Jihād, n. d., p. 20.

[172] *Ibid.,* pp. 17, 32; Sayyid Quṭb, *Maʿālim fī al-Ṭarīq*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1979, pp. 134-135 (Hereafter cited as *Maʿālim*).

and Muhammad Qutb shared it. For example, just as Muhammad Qutb did, Sayyid Qutb virtually opposed women's labor outside the home because he thought that it was the obligation of men in Islam to earn money and feed their families and he viewed woman's labor as men's incapability to fulfill their duty.[173] Although Sayyid Qutb's stance on coeducation is unclear, because he supported woman's seclusion in general, it seems that he opposed coeducation as Muhammad Qutb did.[174] Moreover, in a similar manner to Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb denounced women wearing swimsuits on the beach as shameless, through his poem which described those women as cheap meat and cockroaches.[175] As for the concept of jahiliya, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb shared it, because Sayyid Qutb advocated that concept in *Signposts* published in 1964.[176] In that book, Sayyid Qutb adopted the dichotomy and divided all human societies into two categories, namely, Islamic society and jahiliya society.[177] He insisted that while Islamic society was a society in which the sharī'a was applied and only God had sovereignty, jahiliya society was all societies except Islamic society.[178] Sayyid Qutb defined the presence or absence of application of the sharī'a in each society as the criterion for categorizing societies into the Islamic or jahiliya categories, and he stressed that Islamic society did not mean a society in which its residents performed religious practices such as prayers.[179] Thus, Sayyid Qutb's concept of jahiliya is almost the same as Muhammad Qutb's. As for the virtual denunciation of the existing regimes in the Middle East as jahiliya, Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb had this in common. For example, just like Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb implicitly denounced those regimes including the Nasser regime as jahiliya because he categorized all existing societies in the world as jahiliya societies.[180] Because his word "society" (mujtama') substantially means a state, his assertion meant that he regarded all existing states as jahiliya ones. Naturally, they included the then-existing regimes in the Middle East including the Nasser regime. Furthermore, Sayyid Qutb's implicit classification of the then-existing regimes in the Middle East into the fourth group of jahiliya societies reinforced his denunciation of those regimes as jahiliya. He classified all the jahiliya societies into four types, namely, communist societies, idolatrous societies, Christian and Jewish societies, and societies which erroneously claimed that they were Islamic societies.[181] Among those four types, although Sayyid Qutb explicitly identified the idolatrous societies with India, Japan, the Philippines, and the African countries, and it is obvious from the context that the communist societies indicated communist countries such as the Soviet Union and the Christian and Jewish societies indicated countries such as the US and Israel, he did not give any specific examples of countries categorized into the fourth group.[182] However, it is almost certain that he categorized the regimes in the Middle East into that group, namely, the societies which erroneously claimed that they were Islamic societies, because he defined that group as societies in which the residents performed religious practices but the sharī'a was not

---

[173] Sayyid Quṭb, *al-Islām wa Mushkilāt al-Ḥaḍāra*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1992, p. 68; Toth, *op. cit.,* p. 277.

[174] Toth, *op. cit.,* p. 277.

[175] Sayyid Quṭb, "Ṣarāṣīr," in *al-Risāla*, No. 683, August 1946, pp. 856-858.

[176] Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, pp. 46-47, 69.

[177] *Ma'ālim*, p. 105.

[178] *Ma'ālim*, p. 105.

[179] *Ma'ālim*, p. 105.

[180] *Ma'ālim*, p. 89.

[181] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 89-91.

[182] *Ma'ālim*, p. 89.

applied.[183] Moreover, the chronological sequence of the Nasser regime's behaviors demonstrates its evaluation that Sayyid Qutb denounced it as jahiliya in *Signposts*, because he was arrested in 1965 and executed in 1966 by that regime just after he published *Signposts* in 1964.[184]

Secondly, among those nine characteristics of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism, while Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb had another four things in common, that is, the Jewish conspiracy theory, condemnation of modern Western ideologies, the description of the history of Islam and Egypt, and the denunciation of the Orientalists, in those four issues Muhammad Qutb provided more comprehensive and integrated thought than Sayyid Qutb.

As for the Jewish conspiracy theory, while both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb advocated that theory and Sayyid Qutb probably outlined it first and Muhammad Qutb then imported it from him, it is Muhammad Qutb who further developed it.[185] It is certain that along with Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb advocated the Jewish conspiracy theory. For example, according to Uriya Shavit, Sayyid Qutb is the person who played an important role in the integration of the Jewish conspiracy theory into Islamism and Muhammad Qutb imported that theory from him. According to him, Sayyid Qutb drew on *the Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and asserted that the Jews were the driving force behind the Christians' crusaders and they had invented atheistic communism for their anti-Islamic purpose.[186] Similarly, according to Derek Penslar, Sayyid Qutb associated the Jews with all the world's evils such as capitalism, communism, atheism, materialism, and modernism and he is the man who imported European-style anti-Semitism and integrated it into Islamism.[187] Likewise, according to Brian Farmer, Sayyid Qutb claimed that the Jews had conspired against Muslims since the era of the Prophet Muhammad, and he had a belief that anyone who harmed Muslims was by definition a Jew, and thus he stimulated anti-Semitism intellectually.[188] Moreover, Sayyid Qutb's belief that usury was the most important activity of Jews and his assertion that usury eventually transfers all the wealth of mankind into the hands of Jewish financial institutions' owners reaffirm his conspiracy theory.[189] However, although Sayyid Qutb outlined that conspiracy theory, it is Muhammad Qutb who further developed it into the more cohesive one, as shown by the following comparison of the brothers. For example, Sayyid Qutb denounced Darwin, Freud, and Marx as figures who dehumanized mankind in their respective ways. Namely, according to Sayyid Qutb, in order to dehumanize mankind Darwin created the theory of evolution that mankind had evolved from animals, Freud claimed that mankind was driven by sexual desire just like animals, and Marx asserted that the necessities of mankind were food and sex, which were the same as the necessities of animals.[190] However, because the relation between non-Jewish Darwin and the other

---

[183] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 89, 91.

[184] Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, pp. 32, 34, 69.

[185] Uriya Shavit, *Islamism and the West: From "Cultural Attack" to "Missionary Migrant,"* Routledge, 2013, p. 72.

[186] *Ibid.,* p. 72.

[187] Derek J. Penslar, "Anti-Semites on Zionism: from Indifference to Obsession," in Jeffrey Herf ed., *Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Historical Perspective: Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, 2013, p. 16.

[188] Brian R. Farmer, *Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-first Century*, Peter Lang, 2007, p. 95.

[189] *Ma'ālim*, p. 129.

[190] Ibrahim M. Abu-Rabi`, *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*, SUNY Press, 1996, p. 159.

two Jews was vague, Sayyid Qutb's statements lacked the cohesiveness of those three in terms of the Jews. By contrast, Muhammad integrated those three into his Jewish conspiracy theory, as shown above. Namely, Muhammad Qutb asserted that the theory of non-Jewish Darwin was exploited by Jews, and the three Jews, that is, Marx, Freud, and Durkheim had developed their respective theories based on Darwin's theory and thus furthered their plan to change mankind into donkeys.[191]

As for condemnation of the modern Western ideologies, while both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb condemned those ideologies, unlike Muhammad Qutb who equally condemned all of communism, secularism, democracy, and nationalism, Sayyid Qutb's condemnation substantially focused on communism and nationalism.[192] The difference between the brothers might be attributed to the fact that Muhammad Qutb inherited Sayyid Qutb's intense denunciation of communism and nationalism, and then he continued to develop his thought in the post-Nasser era and the post-Cold War era when secularism and democracy increased in importance. It is obvious that just like Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb denounced all of those ideologies in theory, because Sayyid Qutb rejected all of them as man-made ideologies.[193] However, unlike Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb's condemnation substantially focused on communism and nationalism. In all likelihood, Sayyid Qutb's intense denunciation of communism and nationalism can be attributed to the fact that he developed his thought in Egypt in the 1950s and 1960s, namely, during the reign of Nasser who embodied Arab nationalism in the Cold War era in which the influence of the communist Soviet Union was enormous.[194] As for communism, for example, Sayyid Qutb condemned it through his interpretation of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. According to Sayyid Qutb, because the economic disparity in the Arabian Peninsula in the era of the Prophet Muhammad was severe, if the Prophet had chosen the economic revolution, namely, communism, his way could have become easier. However, according to him, God did not choose it for the Prophet because it was not the righteous way.[195] Furthermore, he cited the decrease in grain production in the Soviet Union as evidence of the failure of the communist economy.[196] In addition, as described earlier, he denounced communist societies as the first type of the jahiliya societies because communism denied religion.[197] Along with his condemnation of communism, he denounced both language-based nationalism (al-qawmīya) and territorial patriotism (al-waṭanīya) through his assertion that both of the two were no longer able to provide anything.[198] Likewise, Sayyid Qutb denounced nationalism through his interpretation of the life of the Prophet Muhammad. According to him, because the Prophet Muhammad was from the most noble branch of the Quraysh tribe, if the Prophet had advocated Arab nationalism (al-qawmīya), he could have united the Arabs more easily. However, Sayyid Qutb said that God did not choose the nationalism for the Prophet because

---

[191] For example, see *Madhāhib*, pp. 97-98, 100.

[192] *Maʿālim*, pp. 3-4, 130.

[193] *Maʿālim*, p. 153.

[194] As for the life of Sayyid in the 1950s and 1960s, for example, see Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt*, pp. 41-42, 68-69.

[195] *Maʿālim*, pp. 25-26, 36.

[196] *Maʿālim*, p. 4.

[197] *Maʿālim*, p. 89.

[198] *Maʿālim*, p. 4.

it was not the righteous way.[199] Furthermore, Sayyid Qutb's anti-nationalistic stance is obvious because he insisted that a Muslim had no nationality except his creed which made him a member of the Muslim community.[200]

In contrast, Sayyid Qutb's condemnation of secularism and democracy is relatively less-extensive. For example, while Sayyid Qutb referred to communism and nationalism as illegitimate options for the Prophet Muhammad, he did not cite secularism or democracy in that context.[201] The absence of his allegorical mention of secularism and democracy might be attributed to his perception which did not regard those two as serious threats. Moreover, in *Signposts*, while Sayyid Qutb used the words "communism" and "nationalism" and their synonyms frequently, he used the word "democracy" twice, and the word "secularism" and its derived word three times.[202] This decreased frequency also proves his relative indifference to those two.

As for the history of Islam and Egypt, although Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb shared the historical perspective that Muslims (including Egyptians) had declined from the ideal situation in the era of the Prophet Muhammad to the present miserable situation, Sayyid Qutb's description of the history is more fragmented and patchier than that of Muhammad Qutb, and Sayyid Qutb's estimation of the history is harsher than that of Muhammad Qutb. It is certain that along with Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb had the historical perspective that Muslims (including Egyptians) had declined from the ideal situation to the miserable one. For example, Sayyid Qutb said that while the Muslim situation during the reign of the Prophet and the first two caliphs Abu Bakr and Umar was ideal, their situation gradually declined under the following caliphs Uthman and Ali, and then, during the Umayyad dynasty the decline increased and their situation deteriorated to the previous un-Islamic status of jahiliya.[203] Moreover, according to Sayyid Qutb, during the Abbasid dynasty and the Ottoman Empire, the Muslims' deteriorated situation did not recover, and in the mid-20th century all existing societies in the world were in a status of jahiliya.[204] However, unlike Muhammad Qutb' extensive description of the complete history, Sayyid Qutb's description of the history excessively put its focus on early times and the present day and he paid little attention to the period between them, such as the Abbasid dynasty, the Ottoman Empire, and the Muhammad Ali Dynasty and hence he failed to provide a cohesive description of the complete history. For example, Sayyid Qutb's description of the Abbasid dynasty and the Ottoman Empire is very short and he did not mention the Muhammad Ali dynasty.[205] Moreover, while Muhammad Qutb assessed the declining history of Islam after the end of the righteous caliphs' era relatively positively as demonstrated by his evaluation that Muslims continuously applied the sharī'a until the era of Napoleon, Sayyid Qutb denounced that history almost entirely excluding a few exceptions such as the reign of Umar ibn Abd al-Aziz in the Umayyad Dynasty.[206]

As for the denunciation of the Orientalists, while both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb

---

[199] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 23-24.

[200] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 138, 144.

[201] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 21-36.

[202] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 3, 33, 90, 92, 154.

[203] Toth, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

[204] Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229; *Ma'ālim*, p. 89.

[205] Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 228-229; *Hal*, pp. 103, 106-107, 112, 115-117.

[206] Toth, *op. cit.*, p. 228.

denounced them, unlike Muhammad Qutb who denounced famous Orientalists such as W. C. Smith by name, Sayyid Qutb did not mention specific names and condemned them in general terms. For example, Sayyid Qutb warned people not to trust the Orientalists' interpretation of Islamic history, because they wrote that history for the purpose of degrading Islam.[207] However, Sayyid Qutb did not cite specific examples of Orientalists. Because the Orientalists whom Muhammad Qutb cited were already famous in Sayyid Qutb's lifetime, Muhammad Qutb's longevity is not a factor which caused the difference between the brothers.[208] Hence, the absence of Sayyid Qutb's citation might be attributed to his educational background that he did not study foreign languages in school, because Muhammad Qutb, who studied English at university, mentioned many Orientalists' works.[209]

Thirdly, among those nine characteristics of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism, Sayyid Qutb did not share the worldview in which Islam confronted the US with Muhammad Qutb. On the one hand, it is true that Sayyid Qutb detested the US after his visit there in 1948 and his witnessing of its deteriorated ethical values. For example, Sayyid Qutb accused Americans of neglecting religion.[210] As another example, Sayyid Qutb condemned the loose sexual morality, which nullified the distinction between human and animal, in the US.[211] But on the other hand, as Sayyid Qutb's worldview in *Signposts* demonstrates, because he virtually perceived the communist countries exemplified by the Soviet Union and the Arab nationalist countries exemplified by Egypt as threats to Islam, although he similarly recognized the Christian countries exemplified by the US as another threat, he did not have the worldview in which Islam confronted the US as its sole main enemy. Instead, he considered each of the communist countries, Arab nationalist countries, and Christian countries as an enemy of Islam.[212] The difference of the Qutb brothers' perspective on the world does not result from Muhammad Qutb's longevity after Sayyid Qutb's death in 1966, because Muhammad Qutb already regarded the US as the biggest enemy of Islam in the mid-1960s.[213]

Fourthly, the long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism conducted by Muhammad Qutb for about half a century since 1966 is an additional characteristic of Muhammad Qutb's Islamism, although it is undiscovered without the comparison of Muhammad Qutb and Sayyid Qutb in terms of Islamism. As an intellectual successor to Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb's reworking contributed to retaining the freshness of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism and prevented it from becoming obsolete. While the Qutb brothers had many things in common intellectually, the fact

---

[207] Toth, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-216.

[208] While Sayyid died in 1966, among the four Orientalists whom Muḥammad cites, Hamilton A. R. Gibb died in 1971, Gustav E. Von Grunebaum died in 1972, and Ignac Goldziher died in 1921. While W. C. Smith died many years later in 2000, his famous book was published in 1957, namely in Sayyid's lifetime. Edward W. Said, *Orientalism*, Penguin Books India, 2006, p. 373; Jacques Waardenburg, *Muslims as Actors: Islamic Meanings and Muslim Interpretations in the Perspective of the Study of Religions*, Walter de Gruyter, 2007, p. 255; Győző Vörös, *Egyptian Temple Architecture: 100 Years of Hungarian Excavations in Egypt, 1907-2007*, American Univ in Cairo Press, 2007, p. 21; Gary Kessler, *Fifty Key Thinkers on Religion*, Routledge, 2013, p. 148; Smith, *op. cit.*

[209] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, pp. 60-61; *Mughālaṭāt*, p. 49; *Hal*, pp. 22-23, 175, 179.

[210] David Goldmann, *Resurgent Islam and America*, Xulon Press, 2010, p. 93; Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*, p. 40.

[211] John Calvert, *Islamism: A Documentary and Reference Guide*, p. 73.

[212] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 23-24, 88-91.

[213] *Jāhilīya*, p. 290.

that long-lived Muhammad Qutb integrated the historical events of the world from the 1960s to the early 21st century into his Islamism is one important difference between the brothers. For example, after Sayyid Qutb died in 1966, Muhammad Qutb incorporated the collapse of communism, US unipolarization, globalization, the Bosnia and Herzegovina conflict, and the Chechen conflict into his thought.[214] Moreover, unlike Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb considered secularism and democracy as serious intellectual threats to Islam, probably because those ideologies rose in the Middle East after Sayyid Qutb's death.[215] Furthermore, his aforementioned denunciation of the US forces' stationing in Saudi Arabia, his accusation of the US of controlling the oil price, and his de-legitimization of the UN are also included in that reworking, since all of those issues emerged after his brother's death.[216]

Comparison of Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, and al-Qaeda in Terms of Islamism, and Muhammad Qutb's Intellectual Role in Influencing al-Qaeda

Through the comparison of Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb, and al-Qaeda in terms of Islamism, this thesis proves three things in this chapter. Firstly, while al-Qaeda members' works demonstrate that al-Qaeda highly appreciates Sayyid Qutb and is influenced by him, those works do not clarify al-Qaeda's evaluation of Muhammad Qutb and his influence on that organization. Secondly, although al-Qaeda is influenced by the common characteristics of the Qutb brothers' Islamism, because those characteristics were probably originated by Sayyid Qutb and then inherited by al-Qaeda, the intellectual influence of Muhammad Qutb on al-Qaeda is relatively small in them. Additionally, the influence of Muhammad Qutb is wrongly underestimated because of the mix-up of Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb. Thirdly, Muhammad Qutb intellectually influenced al-Qaeda in the following three things, that is, the worldview in which the US confronted Islam, the denunciation of modern Western ideologies such as democracy and secularism, and the reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism.

Firstly, while al-Qaeda members' works demonstrate that al-Qaeda highly appreciates Sayyid Qutb and is influenced by him, those works do not clarify al-Qaeda's evaluation of Muhammad Qutb and his influence on that organization. For example, it is certain that Ayman al-Zawahiri, the current supreme leader of al-Qaeda, highly appreciates Sayyid Qutb, because al-Zawahiri cited Sayyid Qutb and showed respect for him many times in his work *Knights under the Prophet's Banner (Fursān taḥta Rāyat al-Nabī)*.[217] Moreover, in his other work *Bitter Harvest: Sixty Years of Muslim Brothers (al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn 'Ām)* al-Zawahiri repeatedly praised Sayyid Qutb, although that book was written to denounce the Muslim Brothers which Sayyid Qutb belonged to.[218] However, it is difficult to deduce al-Qaeda's evaluation of Muhammad Qutb through those works. For example, in the first edition of *Bitter Harvest* released in 1988, al-Zawahiri criticized Muhammad Qutb, because, according to al-Zawahiri's perception, while

---

[214] *Mughālaṭāt*, p. 82; *'Awlama*, pp. 9-10, 23.

[215] *Madhāhib*, pp. 178, 445.

[216] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 57; *'Awlama*, pp. 9-10; *Mughālaṭāt*, p. 35.

[217] Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, pp. 6-7.

[218] Ayman al-Ẓawāhirī, *al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn 'Ām*, n. p., first edition, 1988, (http://www.tawhed.ws/r1?i=6222&x=2gxseb4t); Ayman al-Ẓawāhirī, *al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn 'Ām*, n. p., second edition, 2005, pp. 1, 12, 93, 113, (http://www.tawhed.ws/r?i=2gxseb4t). Because the first edition is provided in html files, it is impossible to cite page numbers.

Muhammad Qutb appropriately denounced both democracy and the Muslim Brothers' inadequate participation in democracy, Muhammad Qutb did not accuse Hasan al-Banna of his erroneous participation in elections and tried to condone al-Banna's deviations.[219] Namely, although al-Zawahiri criticized Muhammad Qutb in terms of the evaluation of the founder of the Muslim Brothers, except for this al-Zawahiri agreed with Muhammad Qutb's views. In addition, in its second edition released in 2005, al-Zawahiri erased his previous reference to Muhammad Qutb but did not explain about that erasure.[220] This contributes to further ambiguity of al-Qaeda's evaluation of Muhammad Qutb.

Secondly, although al-Qaeda is influenced by the common characteristics of the Qutb brothers' Islamism such as the virtual denunciation of the regimes in the Middle East as jahiliya, because those characteristics are probably originated by Sayyid Qutb and then inherited by al-Qaeda, the intellectual influence of Muhammad Qutb on al-Qaeda is relatively small in them, and additionally, the influence of Muhammad Qutb is wrongly underestimated because of the mix-up of Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb. The fact that al-Qaeda inherited those characteristics is obvious. For example, according to Stephane Lacroix and Assaf Moghadam, in terms of authorizing attacks against the regimes in the Middle East by applying the concept of jahiliya, al-Zawahiri is an intellectual heir of Sayyid Qutb.[221] In addition, al-Zawahiri uses the word jahiliya in the same connotation as Sayyid Qutb's usage.[222] Moreover, according to Ekaterina Stepanova, Sayyid Qutb's interpretation of jahiliya can be obviously traced in bin Laden's statements.[223] While those researchers insist that those key figures of al-Qaeda are influenced by Sayyid Qutb, they do not mention the influence of Muhammad Qutb on al-Qaeda, probably because of chronological sequence. Both Sayyid Qutb and Muhammad Qutb virtually denounced the existing regimes in the Middle East by utilizing the similar concept of jahiliya in their books published in the mid-1960s. However, while Sayyid Qutb's book *Signposts* was published in 1964, Muhammad Qutb's book *The 20th Century Jahiliya* was published in 1965.[224] Therefore, the intellectual originality is attributed to the person who published earlier, namely, Sayyid Qutb, and this reinforced the recognition of the researchers that Sayyid Qutb influenced al-Qaeda. Moreover, Muhammad Qutb's *The 20th Century Jahiliya* is sometimes misunderstood as a work of Sayyid Qutb and that misunderstanding might cause the erroneous underestimation of Muhammad Qutb's influence on al-Qaeda. For example, in Sayyid Qutb's posthumously-published work *Why Did They Execute Me? (Li-mādhā A'damūnī?)* an erroneous commentary says that Sayyid Qutb explained about his thought written in his book *The 20th Century Jahiliya* to the court.[225] This clearly demonstrates that the editor of that book confused Sayyid Qutb's works with Muhammad Qutb's.

---

[219] Zawāhirī, *al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn 'Ām*, first edition, 1988, (http://www.tawhed.ws/r1?i=6222&x=2gxseb4t).

[220] Zawāhirī, *al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn 'Ām*, second edition, 2005.

[221] Kepel and Milelli eds. *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words*, p. 323; Assaf Moghadam, *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*, JHU Press, 2011, pp. 108-109.

[222] Ophir Falk and Henry Morgenstern, *Suicide Terror: Understanding and Confronting the Threat*, John Wiley & Sons, 2009, p. 39.

[223] Ekaterina A. Stepanova, *Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict: Ideological and Structural Aspects*, Oxford University Press, 2008, p. 81.

[224] As for publication years, see Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*, p. 42; *Mughālaṭāt*, p. 84.

[225] *Li-mādhā*, p. 33.

Thirdly, Muhammad Qutb influenced al-Qaeda in the following three things, that is, the worldview in which the US confronted Islam, the denunciation of modern Western ideologies such as democracy and secularism, and the reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism. The latter two are suitable for that worldview and reinforce it.

After Muhammad Qutb provided the worldview in which the US confronted Islam as early as the mid-1960s, al-Qaeda inherited that worldview as follows.[226] For instance, the 9/11 attacks against the US in 2001 are the most evident example that demonstrate al-Qaeda's worldview in which the US confronted Islam. In addition, al-Qaeda key figures' statements reaffirm al-Qaeda's perception of the world. For example, in order to support such attacks ideologically, after the 9/11 attacks bin Laden issued video and audio statements and praised attacks against the US.[227] Furthermore, after bin Laden admitted his direct involvement in the 9/11 attacks in his video statement issued in October 2004, he threatened further attacks against the US in his audio statement issued in January 2006.[228] Along with bin Laden, al-Zawahiri also issued similar statements. For example, on January 6th, 2006, al-Zawahiri issued a video statement and alleged that the US was defeated by Muslims in Iraq and Afghanistan.[229] And in the same month, he issued another video statement and claimed that the US was fighting against Islam and warned that al-Qaeda was planning new attacks in the US.[230] Moreover, the following three cases further reinforce al-Qaeda's perception of the world. Firstly, al-Qaeda participated in the simultaneous bombings of the US Embassies in Kenya and Tanzania in 1998. Secondly, al-Qaeda conducted a suicide attack against the US Navy destroyer *Cole* in Aden harbor in 2000.[231] Thirdly, in August 2006, al-Qaeda planned to explode multiple airplanes bound for the US while in-flight by using liquid-based explosives.[232]

In addition, after Muhammad Qutb assumed that significant European and Asian countries such as Germany, France, China, and Japan would challenge the US hegemony in the world where the US confronts Islam in the post-Cold War environment, his vision might have influenced al-Qaeda.[233] For example, bin Laden suddenly offered a truce to Europe through his audio statement issued in April 2004. In that statement, while he proposed a truce to European countries which determined not to intervene in Muslim countries, he ruled out the possibility of a truce with the

---

[226] *Jāhilīya*, pp. 288-290.

[227] Michael Scheuer, *Osama Bin Laden*, Oxford University Press, 2011, pp. 251-253; The Guardian, "New video shows Bin Laden alive," December 27, 2001, (http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/dec/27/afghanistan. oliverburkeman).

[228] Aljazeera, "Full transcript of bin Ladin's speech," 1st November 2004, (http://www.aljazeera.com/archive/ 2004/11/200849163336457223.html); Brad K. Berner, *Jihad: Bin Laden in His Own Words: Declarations, Interviews, and Speeches*, Peacock Books, 2007, p. 276.

[229] CNN, "Al Qaeda No. 2: Bush must admit defeat in Iraq," January 7, 2006, (http://edition.cnn.com/2006/ WORLD/meast/01/06/alqaeda.video/index.html).

[230] CNN, "Al-Zawahiri: Bush the 'Butcher of Washington'," January 30, 2006, (http://edition.cnn.com/2006/ WORLD/asiapcf/01/30/zawahiri.transcript/); The Washington Post, "Zawahiri Calls Bush a 'Butcher' in Video," January 30, 2006, (http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2006/01/30/AR2006013000609. html).

[231] Katerina Dalacoura, *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, 2011, p. 46.

[232] Tom Lansford et al. eds., *America's War on Terror*, Ashgate Publishing, 2013, p. 132.

[233] *'Awlama*, p. 58.

US.[234] That offer is interpreted as his attempt to divide the unity of Europe and the US in the war against al-Qaeda.[235] Although the truth is ambiguous, Muhammad Qutb's vision might be one of the factors which caused bin Laden to offer that proposal, because prior to bin Laden's statement in 2004, Muhammad Qutb presented his aforementioned assumption in 2000 and bin Laden was his disciple.[236]

Muhammad Qutb's denunciation of modern Western ideologies such as democracy and secularism, which is suitable for the worldview in which the US confronted Islam especially after the decline of communism and nationalism, influenced al-Qaeda. For example, bin Laden condemned democracy. In 2002, he claimed that the democracy which the US called for was beneficial exclusively to the US and the white race, and stated that the US prevented the rest of the world from establishing democracy.[237] His recognition that the US does not support democracy outside the West is almost consistent with Muhammad Qutb's view that regards the intervention in the results of elections in which Islamists won in Turkey and Algeria in the 1990s as evidence which proves that Muslims cannot rely on democracy.[238] Then, after the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime in 2003, when democratization was progressing in Iraq, bin Laden denounced democracy as jahiliya contrary to Islam and warned people in Iraq not to become members of the legislative councils and not to legislate laws contradictory to the sharī'a.[239] Al-Zawahiri also condemned democracy. According to him, democracy is a form of polytheism and the opposite of monotheistic Islam, because democracy gives the legislative power to people and deifies them, and sovereignty including legislative power exclusively belongs to God and people cannot usurp it in Islam.[240] In terms of the sovereignty of God, al-Zawahiri's logic is similar to Sayyid Qutb's.[241] However, although Sayyid Qutb rarely mentioned the term democracy, it is Muhammad Qutb who regarded democracy as one of the main ideological threats to Islam and analyzed it in detail.[242] Therefore, in the recognition of democracy as a threat to Islam, al-Zawahiri has much in common with Muhammad Qutb. Moreover, al-Zawahiri denied the legitimacy of elections in Afghanistan, Egypt, and Iraq and asserted that the US supported the results of those elections only because anti-US Islamists had not won in them.[243] Here, his view is close to Muhammad Qutb's aforementioned one. In addition to condemnation of democracy, al-Qaeda denounces secularism as well. For example, in 2002 bin Laden accused the US of separating religion from politics.[244] In 2004 he described his ongoing war as a conflict between Islam and secularism.[245] Along with him,

[234] BBC, "Full text: 'Bin Laden tape'," April 15, 2004, (http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/world/middle_east/3628069. stm).

[235] The New York Times, "Tape, Probably bin Laden's, Offers 'Truce' to Europe," April 16, 2004, (http://www. nytimes.com/2004/04/16/international/europe/16tape.html).

[236] *'Awlama*, p. 2; Stefan M. Aubrey, *The New Dimension of International Terrorism*, vdf Hochschulverlag AG, 2004, p. 147.

[237] Brad K. Berner, *Quotations from Osama Bin Laden*, Peacock Books, 2007, p. 43.

[238] *'Almānīyūn*, p. 62; *'Awlama*, p. 42.

[239] Brad K. Berner, *Quotations from Osama Bin Laden*, Peacock Books, 2007, p. 43.

[240] Sayed Khatab and Gary D. Bouma, *Democracy in Islam*, Routledge, 2007, p. 79.

[241] *Ma'ālim*, p. 80.

[242] *Ma'ālim*, pp. 3, 154; *Madhāhib*, pp. 178-257.

[243] Christopher M. Blanchard, *Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology*, DIANE Publishing, 2010, p. 12.

[244] Berner, *Quotations from Osama Bin Laden*, p. 134.

[245] *Ibid.*

al-Zawahiri also condemned secularism. For example, in his audio statement issued in January 2005, al-Zawahiri regarded secular government as unacceptable and contrary to Islam. In addition, in his letter to Abu Mus'ab al-Zarqawi in Iraq in 2005, al-Zawahiri insisted that even if the US troops withdrew from Iraq, the jihadists should continue their armed struggle in order to prevent secularists from governing Iraq, and in the future the battlefield of the jihad should be extended to the neighboring secular countries.[246] That insistence demonstrates al-Zawahiri's anti-secularism stance.

Muhammad Qutb's long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism played an important role in handing the Qutb brothers' Islamism on to al-Qaeda, because that reworking prevented Sayyid Qutb's Islamism from becoming obsolete. For example, after the death of Sayyid Qutb, Muhammad Qutb integrated issues such as the US-led unipolar world, oil prices, globalization, and various regional conflicts into Islamism which he inherited from his elder brother. By doing this, in the environment in which the world experienced drastic changes such as the price of oil soaring in the 1970s and the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Muhammad Qutb succeeded in preserving the freshness of that thought and preventing it from becoming obsolete. For example, just like Muhammad Qutb, both bin Laden and al-Zawahiri argued the issue of the US interference in the price of oil from the viewpoint of Islamism.[247] Because the price of oil has remained an important issue since the 1970s, the fact that both Muhammad Qutb and al-Qaeda argued that issue does not assure that Muhammad Qutb influenced al-Qaeda. However, it seems that Muhammad Qutb's long-term reworking, in which he continued to incorporate the various new issues into Islamism, contributed much to maintaining the freshness of the Qutb brothers' Islamism and preserving its appeal to an audience that included al-Qaeda, because Sayyid Qutb's Islamism theorized under the 1960s environment would have inevitably diminished in appeal if it had not been reworked by Muhammad Qutb for about half a century after the death of Sayyid Qutb.

Conclusion

In conclusion, while Sayyid Qutb played an important role in constructing al-Qaeda intellectually, his younger brother Muhammad Qutb also played a significant role in building al-Qaeda as a teacher, an activist, and a thinker. After he moved to Saudi Arabia in the 1970s, as a teacher Muhammad Qutb educated both bin Laden, the founder of al-Qaeda, and Safar al-Hawali, a famous Muslim religious scholar who influenced bin Laden. During his stay in Saudi Arabia, as an Islamist activist, there is a possibility that Abdullah Azzam, the other teacher of bin Laden, found a teaching job in that country because Muhammad Qutb personally helped him in his job search. If that is true, while being one of the two teachers of bin Laden in Islam, Muhammad Qutb gave the other one the opportunity to meet bin Laden. As an Islamist thinker, Muhammad Qutb's perspective on the world in which the US confronted Islam and his denunciation of modern Western ideologies such as democracy and secularism influenced al-Qaeda, and his long-term reworking of Sayyid Qutb's Islamism prevented it from becoming obsolete and thus preserved its appeal to an audience that included al-Qaeda. Namely, although it is believed that al-Qaeda inherited the common characteristics of the Qutb brothers' Islamism from Sayyid Qutb, if it were

---

[246] Devin R. Springer, *Islamic Radicalism and Global Jihad*, Georgetown University Press, 2009, p. 46.

[247] Berner, *Quotations from Osama Bin Laden*, p. 134; Christopher M. Blanchard, *Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology*, p. 15.

not for the reworking of Muhammad Qutb, Sayyid Qutb's Islamism might have lost its appeal and al-Qaeda may not have inherited it from Sayyid Qutb.

Bibliography

Abu-Rabi`, Ibrahim M. *Intellectual Origins of Islamic Resurgence in the Modern Arab World*, SUNY Press, 1996.

Alshamsi, Mansoor Jassem. *Islam and Political Reform in Saudi Arabia: The Quest for Political Change and Reform*, Routledge, 2010.

Atwan, Abdel Bari. *The Secret History of Al Qaeda*, University of California Press, 2008.

Aubrey, Stefan M. *The New Dimension of International Terrorism*, vdf Hochschulverlag AG, 2004.

Bergen, Peter L. *Holy War, Inc.: Inside the Secret World of Osama Bin Laden*, Simon and Schuster, 2002.

Bergen, Peter L. *The Osama Bin Laden I Know: An Oral History of Al Qaeda's Leader*, Simon and Schuster, 2006.

Berner, Brad K. *Jihad: Bin Laden in His Own Words: Declarations, Interviews, and Speeches,* Peacock Books, 2007.

Berner, Brad K. *Quotations from Osama Bin Laden*, Peacock Books, 2007.

Blanchard, Christopher M. *Al Qaeda: Statements and Evolving Ideology,* DIANE Publishing, 2010.

Bowering, Gerhard ed. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought*, Princeton University Press, 2013.

Burgat, François. *Islamism in the Shadow of Al-Qaeda*, University of Texas Press, 2008.

Calvert, John. *Islamism: A Documentary and Reference Guide*, Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008.

Calvert, John. *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islamism*, Hurst & Co., 2010.

Campo, Juan Eduardo. *Encyclopedia of Islam*, Infobase Publishing, 2009.

Carre, Olivier. *Mysticism and Politics: A Critical Reading of Fi Zilal Al-Qur'an by Sayyid Qutb, 1906-1966*, Brill, 2003.

CeSPI, International IDEA, and IAI eds. *Islamist Mass Movements, External Actors and Political Change in the Arab World*, 2010.

Claessen, Erik A. *Stalemate: An Anatomy of Conflicts between Democracies, Islamists, and Muslim Autocrats*, ABC-CLIO, 2010.

Dalacoura, Katerina. *Islamist Terrorism and Democracy in the Middle East*, Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Esposito, John L. and John O. Voll. *Makers of Contemporary Islam*, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Falk, Ophir and Henry Morgenstern. *Suicide Terror: Understanding and Confronting the Threat*, John Wiley & Sons, 2009.

Farmer, Brian R. *Understanding Radical Islam: Medieval Ideology in the Twenty-first Century*, Peter Lang, 2007.

Goldmann, David. *Resurgent Islam and America,* Xulon Press, 2010.

Haddad, Yvonne Yazbeck et al. eds. *The Contemporary Islamic Revival: A Critical Survey and Bibliography,* Greenwood Publishing Group, 1991.

Herf, Jeffrey ed. *Anti-Semitism and Anti-Zionism in Historical Perspective: Convergence and Divergence*, Routledge, 2013.

Kepel, Gilles. *Jihad: The Trail of Political Islam*, I.B.Tauris, 2006.

Kepel, Gilles. *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: The Prophet and Pharaoh*, University of California Press, 1985.

Kepel, Gilles. *The War for Muslim Minds: Islam and the West,* Harvard University Press, 2004.

Kepel, Gilles and Jean-Pierre Milelli eds. *Al Qaeda in Its Own Words,* Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2008.

Kessler, Gary. *Fifty Key Thinkers on Religion*, Routledge, 2013.

Khatab, Sayed and Gary D. Bouma. *Democracy in Islam*, Routledge, 2007.

Lansford, Tom et al. eds. *America's War on Terror,* Ashgate Publishing, 2013.

Lawrence, Bruce ed. *Messages to the World: The Statements of Osama Bin Laden*, Verso, 2005.

Moghadam, Assaf. *The Globalization of Martyrdom: Al Qaeda, Salafi Jihad, and the Diffusion of Suicide Attacks*, JHU Press, 2011.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *al-ʿAlmānīyūn wa al-Islām*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1994.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *al-Muslimūn wa al-ʿAwlama*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2006.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *Hal Naḥnu Muslimūn?*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1995.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *Ḥawla al-Tafsīr al-Islāmī li-l-Tārīkh*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2008.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *Jāhilīya al-Qarn al-ʿIshrīn*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1993.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *Madhāhib Fikrīya Muʿāṣira*, Dār al-Shurūq, 2001.

Quṭb, Muḥammad. *Mughālaṭāt,* Dār al-Shurūq, 2006.

Quṭb, Sayyid. *al-Islām wa Mushkilāt al-Ḥaḍāra*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1992.

Quṭb, Sayyid. *Li-mādhā Aʿdamūnī?*, al-Sharika al-Saʿūdīya li-l-Abḥāth wa-l-Taswīq, n. d.

Quṭb, Sayyid. *Maʿālim fī al-Ṭarīq*, Dār al-Shurūq, 1979.

Quṭb, Sayyid. *Muqawwimāt al-Taṣawwur al-Islāmī,* Dār al-Shurūq, 1988.

Quṭb, Sayyid. *al-Mustaqbal li-hādha al-Dīn*, Minbar al-Tawḥīd wa al-Jihād, n. d.

Rahnama, Ali ed. *Pioneers of Islamic Revival,* Palgrave Macmillan, 1994.

Roald, Anne-Sofie. *Women in Islam: The Western Experience*, Routledge, 2003.

Said, Edward W. *Orientalism,* Penguin Books India, 2006.

Scheuer, Michael. *Osama Bin Laden*, Oxford University Press, 2011.

Shavit, Uriya. *Islamism and the West: From "Cultural Attack" to "Missionary Migrant",* Routledge, 2013.

Smith, Wilfred Cantwell. *Islam in Modern History,* Princeton University Press, 1957.

Springer, Devin R. *Islamic Radicalism and Global Jihad*, Georgetown University Press, 2009.

Stepanova, Ekaterina A. *Terrorism in Asymmetrical Conflict: Ideological and Structural Aspects*, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Toth, James. *Sayyid Qutb: The Life and Legacy of a Radical Islamic Intellectual*, Oxford University Press, 2013.

Vörös, Győző. *Egyptian Temple Architecture: 100 Years of Hungarian Excavations in Egypt, 1907-2007*, American Univ in Cairo Press, 2007.

Waardenburg, Jacques. *Muslims as Actors: Islamic Meanings and Muslim Interpretations in the Perspective of the Study of Religions,* Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

Zaman, Muhammad Qasim. *The Ulama in Contemporary Islam: Custodians of Change*, Princeton

University Press, 2010.

Ẓawāhirī, Ayman al-. *al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn ʿĀm,* n. p., first edition, 1988.

Ẓawāhirī, Ayman al-. *al-Ḥiṣād al-Murr: al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn fī Sittīn ʿĀm*, n. p., second edition, 2005.

Zollner, Barbara. *The Muslim Brotherhood: Hasan Al-Hudaybi and Ideology*, Routledge, 2009.