The Political Thought of the Ikhwan Muslimin Leadership

Ahmad Dzulfahmi Muhamad - History Section, School of Distance Education, Universiti Sains Malaysia, Penang Malaysia.
Kamaruzaman Yusoff[*] - Professor, Academy of Islamic Civilization, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia,Malaysia.
Mansoureh Ebrahimi- Assistant Professor, Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Universiti Teknologi Malaysia, Malaysia.

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Abstract

As an integrated political system, Islamic politics places the main objective of shaping the faith of the Muslim community in particular. This formation became the main basis for the establishment of the Islamic state. The establishment of the Ikhwan Muslimin (IM) Egypt in 1928 was a response to the fall of the Ottoman Caliphate in 1924. Its establishment was also shaped by the political thought of its founder, Hassan al-Banna and IM leadership. This paper examines the political thought of the IM leadership that is fundamental to its struggle to uphold the Islamic State in Egypt. This study uses a qualitative research metode, by analyzing the primary and secondary sources related to the thought of IM leadership. The study suggests that IM's ideology and reflection were the main factors that influenced Egypt's political orientation especially on issues of leadership and the system of government. IM's political thought has also changed the development of an Islamic State in modern era.

Keywords: Ikhwan Muslimin, Political Thought, Islamic State, Politics, Egypt.

[*] E-mail : y.kamaruzaman@utm.my

1. Introduction

The political thinking of the Muslim Brotherhood (IM) was heavily influenced by the thinking of its founder Hassan al-Banna. However, the thinking of the IM leadership after al-Banna in the political context in Egypt also has to do with the atmosphere around it. The spread of modern ideologies such as secularism has spread in Egyptian Islamic society especially after almost a century of Western colonialism. In addition, the modernization carried out by the Egyptian government also played an important role in the development of the flow of thought in Egypt. The emergence of reform figures and the fall of the Ottoman caliphate also played an important role in shaping the thinking of the IM leadership after its founding. This paper will analyze the thinking of IM leaders such as al-Banna, Sayyid Qutb, Hassan al-Hudaybi and Umar al-Tilmisani on the factors of the dynamics of thinking of these IM leaders.

2.Research Background and Literature Review

In the discussion of IM leadership thinking, the study focuses on the dynamics of thinking of its leaders such as Hassan al-Banna, Hassan al-Hudaybi, Sayyid Qutb and Umar al-Tilmisani in influencing the ideology of this movement further shaping the political orientation in Egypt in particular.

Writing on the influence of IM leadership thinking in the political aspect has been a topic of discussion for some writers. Abu Sufian Ab. Ghani in his dissertation entitled The Construction of the Civilization of the Ummah: Thoughts and Approaches of Hasan al-Banna discusses the thoughts and approaches of al-Banna in the effort of building the civilization of the ummah. However, this study only describes the approach used by al-Banna in realizing his thinking and there is no direct discussion related to the thinking of other IM leaders (Abu Sufian,2000).

In Barbara H.E Zollner's writing entitled The Muslim Brotherhood, Hasan al-Hudaybi and Ideology provides an in-depth analysis of IM during al-Hudaybi's leadership. He also sought to bring the organization from the radical wing inspired by Qutb into the more moderate Islamic organization. This writing only focuses on al-Hudaybi's thought and there is no comprehensive discussion of other IM leadership thinking (Zollner,2009).

In Nooraini Sulaiman's study at the master's level, namely the Construction of Ummah Civilization in the Face of Challenges: The Struggle and

Thought of Sayyid Qutb. This study discusses Qutb's thoughts and struggles in the context of Egypt. The emphasis given by Qutb in the political aspect of Islam in building the civilization of the ummah. However, her study does not discuss comparisons between other IM leadership thinking in detail in political aspects (Nooraini,2002).

3.Methodology
The methodology used in this study is qualitative approach oriented that the study involves the collection and analysis of data. This study involves the library research method that is by using secondary sources to support the results of this study. Among the secondary sources studied and used in this study are such as theses, books, journals, seminar proceedings and papers that touch on the political thinking of IM leadership. There are a large number of theses especially the Doctoral level and books and journals that contribute knowledge related to the study. Researchers also conducted research and scrutinized the official website of IM as the site had information on the history, political role, biography of the IM leader and his thoughts. Each research data obtained was analyzed using historical methods and the thematic approach was also used to facilitate discussion. This method is done by sucking out themes related to the thinking of IM leaders in a political context.

4.Result and Discussion
4-1. Fundamentals of Nationality
In the political context of Egypt, the system of government implemented in Egypt is the result of a mix of models from the West that have many weaknesses. The pattern of Egyptian rule is seen to be more inclined to adopt policies and policies from the West because after being colonized by France, most Egyptian rulers re-applied their experience in the West and tried to assimilate into their system of government in Egypt. In the face of this crisis, some IM thinkers have expressed their political thinking by re-presenting the Egyptian system of government to a system of government based on true Islam. The discussion on IM political thinking is more focused on the thinking of IM leaders related to the Islamic state which leads to the foundation of nationhood, leadership and system of government. The debate on these three topics is the most important aspect of IM leadership thinking

leading to the involvement of this movement in the political process in Egypt.

Al-Banna has placed Islam as the most basic thing in state institutions. According to him, Islam must be the basis of nationhood in the context of an Islamic state because Islam is a comprehensive religion that encompasses all aspects related to human life. Islam is not only related to worship between man and God alone but Islam acts as a liaison agent between human beings in family life, society and country (Al-Khatib,2001). His statement can be seen as follows:

"Islam is a comprehensive system that encompasses all aspects of life. Islam is the country and the homeland or the government and the people. Islam is morality and strength or mercy and justice. Islam is a culture and a law or a science and a judiciary. Islam is also material and property or work and wealth. Islam is jihad and da'wah or military and fiqh. Just as Islam is the true faith and authentic worship, they are all the same teaching by our side (Al-Banna, 2002)."

The Islamic political thought put forward by al-Banna is based on his understanding of revelation which is fundamental in the life of the community and the country that underpins the Islamic system (Mahmud, 2007). Al-Banna rejects all forms of political thought whether liberal or secular ideology spread by the West in the Middle East. Orientalists have also influenced Muslim intellectual thought to separate revelation from worldly life. They equate Islam with Christianity which is oriented towards ritual aspects and has nothing to do with politics and the state. This is very clear as expressed by al-Banna about Islam and the political system by stating;

"Islam is not a terminology with the narrow meaning desired by its opponents and enemies as the perception of its adherents. Islam encompasses faith, worship, state and citizenship, tolerance and strength, morals and material, culture and law. Every Muslim with his status as a Muslim is required to care about every issue of his people. Whoever does not care about the affairs of the Muslims, then he is not part of them (Al-Banna,2008)."

This view shows that al-Banna completely rejects the thought that says Islam is separate from politics. According to him, Muslims who reject the relationship between Islam and politics show the imperfection of the

person's faith. The Islamic political system seeks to guide a person to have a broad view of the problems of the ummah, to be caring and sympathetic to the problems that plague Muslims (Al-Banna,2008).

Al-Banna states that Islam is present by bringing political knowledge and national affairs for the well-being of mankind as a whole (Al-Banna,1984). He explained that the separation of religion from politics was a virus spread by Western countries to the leaders of the Islamic world. He also stressed that IM is a movement that calls for the teachings of Islam with perfect understanding. For this movement, Islam regulates all matters of human life and works hard so that Islamic law is implemented in Islamic countries, especially in Egypt (Al-Banna,1984; Aziz Jamaludin,2012).

Islamic civilization without sharia as a source of inspiration is not appropriate and is considered to be lost in the direction of guidance and contrary to its terminology. Al-Banna states on this matter based on the verses of the Qur'an which means:

"Indeed We have revealed the Kitab Taurat, with guidance and enlightenment, with it are the Prophets who submit (to Allah) to set the law for the Jews, and (with them) their scholars and their priests, because they are entrusted to keep and carry out the laws of the Book of Allah (Taurat), and they are the guardians and guardians (of any change). So do not fear man but fear Me (by guarding yourself from committing immorality and obeying My command); and do not sell My revelations for a small price (for corruption, rank and other worldly gain); And whoever does not judge by what Allah has sent down, then they are the disbelievers. (Al-Quran, al-Maidah,5:44)."

For al-Banna, the verse not only combines politics and religion but also contains an explanation of the authority of the implementation of Islamic Shariah in life (Al-Banna,1961; S. Moussalli,1993). However, al-Banna felt that the success of a law depended entirely on the individual. It is the individual who determines the pattern of not drinking alcohol for example even if it is allowed by the laws of the country if it really adheres to religious rules. Al-Banna also argues that in the teachings of Islam who is responsible in a country is the head of state. The head of state can act according to current demands that bring benefits to the people. If the action taken by the head of state is good then the people must support it and if it is not good, the people must correct it (Al-Banna,1987).

Al-Banna often reminded IM members of the important issue of the struggle to liberate the Islamic state from any form of foreign domination and the need to establish an independent Islamic state where Islamic law is practiced in all areas related to society. He described if the Islamic state as stated could not be realized then all Muslims are considered sinners to Allah (Al-Banna,2012).

According to Qutb's opinion on the basis of statehood, only Islam has the right to be described as sharia and the rest is only counted as lust that is sourced from ignorance in shaping the true Muslim society. (Qutb,1995). He also stated that the world community today is exposed to two political concepts, namely the Islamic system and ignorance (Ismail,2006). Qutb also states that ignorance is not limited to one era only but is a development and situation that always happens either in the past, today and in the future. Man is said to be ignorant if he rejects part of God's law or punishes with man-made punishment in any way (Muhammad Uthmani,2007).

According to Qutb again, their way of life is also no longer considered in a state of embracing the religion of God. Those who do not want the law of God means they want the law of ignorance and live in a state of ignorance. Rejecting the Shari'ah as the basis of law in a government and state is a symbol of rejection of God's commands and laws contained in the Qur'an and sunnah (Qutb,1970). There is about the obligation to form a government and a country based on Islamic sharia. This can be clearly seen in the word of God which means:

 "And We have sent down to you (Muhammad) the Kitab (al-Quran) with the truth, confirming the previous revelations and guarding them to you (Al-Quran, al-Ma 'idah,5:48)."

According to Qutb in his commentary on the above verse, Allah revealed the book to the Prophet Muhammad as the book became the culmination of the previous book. The Quran is a major source of reference in matters of religion and human life that cannot be changed. The truth is portrayed very clearly because the Quran comes from Allah who has the right to lower His law to be implemented in the laws and regulations of human life (Qutb, 2000; Khatab,2006). n addition, according to Qutb, in implementing Islamic law, there is no gentleness and tolerance and there is no facility and permission to avoid this provision. Allah has emphasized that the implementation of Islamic law is a matter of Islamic faith which is the

boundary between faith and disbelief, between Islam or ignorance, law or lust (Qutb,1995).

Referring to the concept of Islam, Qutb explains human life as a whole according to the laws set by Allah. According to him, all the Egyptians in his time were infidels, including the Muslims themselves because they did not obey God's command (E. Shepard,1989). The true Islam in Qutb's view was only during the reign of the Prophet in Medina and the Muslim community thereafter was deviated for centuries (Qutb,1970; Lahoud, 2005). He also called on Muslims to return to understanding the teachings of Islam as a whole by returning to the Quran and Sunnah (Qutb,2000). Qutb also states that the way to overcome Ignorance is through Jihad (Falk, 2008). This change of thinking was also due to the political pressure imposed by the government especially after the dissolution of the IM in 1948 and during the Nasser regime. Many IM activists and members have been arrested, imprisoned and tortured (Meijer,2012). The existence of militant groups such as Jamaat al-Islamiyya and al-Takfir wal al-Hijra was inspired by Qutb thought (Roy,1994).

According to al-Hudaybi, he asserted that only Allah and not human beings can judge if society is still in a state of ignorance. He also stressed that Allah has delegated to Muslim countries many aspects of their political, economic and social life and Allah has revealed to us as His representatives to realize all His will (Cesari,2014). Al-Hudaybi also published his writing entitled Du'at la Qudat which is a Preacher rather than a Punisher who criticizes the ideology of Qutb. He continued to question the idea of Qutb jihad instead of teaching about faith, patience and perseverance. Al-Hudaybi also argues that it is the duty of all Muslims to obey all the instructions and rules of Allah and pave the way for an understanding of Islam (Johnston,2007).

According to al-Hudaybi again, he asserted that only Allah and not human beings can judge if society is still in a state of ignorance (Cesari,2014). But for al-Tilmisani who is the third General Mursyidul of IM, he clearly states that the ideology of Qutb is his sole view and does not represent the ideology of IM (Soage,2009). Al-Tilmisani also stressed that the IM rejected the terrorist strategy when confronted with the Egyptian government (Kepel, 1993).

Al-Banna's opinion on the importance of siasah syar 'iyyah as a matter of proposition and not this furuk however is not agreed by al-Qaradawi. As one

of the contemporary scholars who lives to this day, he thinks that siasah syar 'iyyah is a problem of furuk (Aziz Jamaludin,2012). Although he is an IM member and admires al-Banna, he argues that the question of siasah syar 'iyyah is included in the category of charity of a Muslim, not a basic matter of belief. his opinion of al-Qaradawi is in accordance with most of the opinions of sunnah scholars (Al-Qaradawi,1999).

However, al-Qaradawi advised not to take lightly the question of siasah syar 'iyyah and the system of government because although it is considered a matter of furuk, Islam does not only revolve around the question of faith only. Islam is faith and deeds, faith that is in the heart and that is justified by deeds. Therefore, if one considers the question of governance and statehood as a purely worldly problem and denies the role of religion then it is similar to the secular ideology that separates religion from the state. In this context, the occurrence of secular thinking is due to considering the problem of siasah syar 'iyyah as a problem of furuk. This is the same as breaking the commandments and laws that Allah has determined. Thus, the matter that is considered furuk turned into a matter of motion because there is a policy that denies the law of Allah from the deeds of Muslims to the problem of siasah syar'iyyah (Al-Qaradawi,1999).

4-2. Leadership
On the question of leadership in the context of the Islamic state, al-Banna stated that a leader must be a servant of a Muslim government, perform the duties of Islam and not do things that are condemnedA leader must be one who applies and implements Islamic law and teachings. Therefore, a government that does not implement Islamic law, that government does not deserve to be called an Islamic government (Abu Faris,2011).

Al-Banna states that a government deserves to be called an Islamic government if it fulfills three conditions, namely the religion of the perpetrators in a government, has a commitment to the morals of Islam and implements Islamic law (Hawwa,1988). Therefore, the concept of Islamic state for al-Banna lies in the existence or non-existence of the implementation of Islamic law in the government of that country and not just the name. Therefore, a government that does not apply Islamic sharia law is not referred to as an Islamic government (Al-Banna,1998).

The responsibility of a leader is a combination of responsibility towards God and the person being led, namely the people. This responsibility must

be proven in every speech and behavior. A leader is like an 'employee' to the people who are his masters (Al-Qaradawi,2007). A person who has been appointed as a leader must give up his personal life including family matters for the sake of the country. The administration of the country is the priority of a leader. A leader must focus on his job as a leader because his income is from the national allocation. This view of al-Banna refers to the speech of Saidina Abu Bakar (H. Rus 'an, 1983; Campo,2009) when he was appointed caliph; "O people, I used to work for my family, I was the one who generated income for them, but now I work for you so pay me from your baitulmal (Al-Banna,1998)."

Based on al-Banna's thoughts, he emphasized faith (Al-Banna,1982;1987) as the most important foundation in the matter of leaders. The faith of a strong and steadfast leader ensures that the government and the country succeed in holding the trust and command of Allah. Indeed, the Islamic political system is upheld based on faith. With the faith, vision and mission of a government will be strong in the face of social, political, administrative and national problems. The Islamic political concept of al-Banna does not accept the factors of race, ethnicity, skin color and other extreme asabiyah foundations as the main thrust in the matter of electing leaders because it is contrary to the concept of the totality of Islam itself. The main thing that is the adhesive that unites the people and the population of a country is the faith regardless of skin color, race, tribe, social and cultural position of a person (Aziz Jamaludin,2012).

The faith that unites Muslims is in accordance with human nature itself. Relationships united by faith need to be strengthened and strengthened compared to other bonds such as lineage and family (Al-Anbary,2008). This is in accordance with the word of Allah means:

"You (Muhammad) will not find a people who believe in Allah and the Hereafter, love one another and those who oppose it are their fathers, their children, their relatives or their families (Al-Quran, al-Mujadalah,58:22)."

According to al-Banna again, a strong belief makes Muslims recognize universal brotherhood. Muslims get two benefits as a result of this foundation. First, the basis of faith will evoke an Islamic liberation movement that does not resemble other liberation movements either in terms of purpose, means, movement management, results and benefits. A Muslim liberator liberates a state in order to uphold the truth. If the people in that

country are enlightened by Islamic guidelines, then discrimination will be eradicated, tyranny will be replaced by the values of justice, love, brotherhood will be created throughout the country (Al-Banna,2012).

The second benefit gained by the strength of the faith is the brotherhood between Muslims which makes them responsible for every territory occupied by Muslims in Islamic countries. Every leader must protect and fulfill the rights of his people. Therefore, every Muslim living in the country, must protect his country from enemy attacks, free himself from the clutches of the colonialists and tyrannical rulers. In addition, the characteristics of leadership in the context of the Islamic state can be seen in one of the main axes in the political discipline syar 'iyyah is the basis of morality (Al-Qaradhawi,1980) to be lived and applied in Islamic government. Moral foundations are the mainstay for leaders to call for preservation and loyalty as well as protect human rights from slander and extreme thinking. The Islamic political system is the best system in the history of human civilization where the concept of siasah syar 'iyyah emphasizes the importance of respecting human rights (Al-Banna,1988).

In this regard, al-Banna suggested feelings of love, affection and itsar and goodness as the core of community and state life. Islam supports these pure values theoretically and practically by instilling noble qualities in human beings so that they always do good even to animals. According to al-Banna, the basis of morality is a high value in the implementation of the syar 'iyyah political system. This is in accordance with Islam as a religion that promotes love as brought in greetings when greeting fellow Muslims. The signal that every Muslim always says before doing something is the bismillah speech, which contains the nature of Allah, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate (Aziz Jamaludin,2012).

Touching on the question of leadership, Qutb is of the view that Islamic rule should be held by Muslims because they are the best ummah created by Allah to mankind. Qutb also mentioned that the position of leadership position can only be achieved through the free and preferred election of the people. The views of IM figures on leadership can also be examined in Qutb's commentary which explains regarding the government is from the group of believers who have the conditions of faith and the limits of Islam as described in the verse that requires obedience to Allah and His Messenger. For the believer, the most basic obedience is to obey the

command to obey Allah and His Messenger. Allah also commands to be obedient to the government from the group of believers who are obedient to Allah and His messenger. The command to obey the leader is obligatory as long as the leader does not violate the limits of Allah's law. This verse also explains that the conditions of faith and the definition of Islam which is the basic system of Muslims are also the basis of the judicial system and power. It all starts and ends with accepting laws and rules from Allah alone (Qutb, 1994).

According to Qutb, the call to do good and prevent evil is a political responsibility borne by the authorities in the government. It is the duty of the chosen people with all the sacrifices and difficulties that exist to resist evil, organize the good and protect the society from the elements that damage it. All this can be realized by upholding the correct understanding and view of nature's relationship with Allah the Almighty Creator. By seeking the pleasure of Allah and avoiding His wrath, man strives to carry out the principles of Islam in life either as an individual or as a member representing his institution. From this foundation, human beings with their awareness can apply the law of Allah until the creation of a system of life and society and a country that is obedient to Islamic principles. (Qutb, 2000).

There are many propositions put forward by Audah to justify and prove the obligation of kifayah on Muslims to uphold imamah (leadership) in their lives. Leadership is among the obligatory obligations just like the obligation of jihad and the judiciary. If leadership is upheld by those who are experts in the matter, the obligation will fall on the shoulders of other Muslims. But if ignored, all Muslims will bear their sins until the matter of leadership is upheld (Audah,1978).

Audah's view in the context of ahlu al-halli wa al- 'aqdi, the selection must be from the scholars among the Muslims selected based on their expertise. In this matter, those who are not experts in the field of syariah also become members but they can not issue opinions related to syariah. Audah also set the conditions to become a member of the shura must be fair, knowledgeable and able to give a thoughtful opinion. According to Audah, shura members should not reach an agreement in giving an opinion because the majority vote is the best if they can give a true opinion. The obligation

of Shura on Muslims is necessary based on the majority vote in the hall (Abdul Aziz,2011).

According to al-Qaradawi, it is the duty to return Islam to the leadership of society in all aspects of life. This should be done in congregation because individual charity will not succeed (Al-Qaradawi,1992). Al-Qaradawi also asserted that it is an obligation to bring down wicked leaders provided we have evidence of wickedness and that such leaders can no longer be advised (Al-Qaradawi,1997).

4-3. System of Government
In the context of the system of government, human beings need state life because they need to implement good and prevent evil. Government is needed to manage and govern all people for the welfare and good of all human beings. Government is also needed to prevent immorality and disobedience from occurring in society (Al-Maududi,1986).

The pattern of government in Egypt is more prone to westernization because the rulers are more prone to Western mold. The Egyptian government applied their experience in the West and tried to assimilate it into the system of government of the country (Qutb,1993). According to Qutb, the Western system has its weaknesses and shortcomings because the Western system of life is materialistic (Hasan,1986). Not only that, the concept of Western democracy for him is nothing more than a falsehood that practices discrimination among human beings based on skin color differences.

In the Islamic political system, ruling a country with the law prescribed by Allah is the duty of the leader to make the Quran and sunnah as a source of law in making laws and regulations (Azyumardi Azra,1996). Applying Islamic law in the system of government and the country is proof of obedience to Allah and a symbol of confidence in Rasulullah SAW. Rejection of the implementation of Islamic law either in whole or in part, is considered a violation of Allah's provisions. This matter is threatened with His punishment and torment. Therefore, the application of Islamic law in the system of government and all matters involving the government and the people becomes an obligation that can not be avoided by Muslims (Al-Anbary,2008).

Many propositions and sources of law that are the debate about the obligation to form a government and country based on Islamic sharia. This can be clearly seen in the word of Allah which means:

"And We have sent down to you (Muhammad) the Book, with the truth, confirming the previous revelations and guarding them to you (Al-Quran, Al-Maidah,5:48)."

To strengthen the hold and guidance of Muslims in community and state life, al-Banna recommends the Quran as the only solution (Al-Banna,1983). The Quran was revealed to apply its principles, reinforcement and success as an idea. Therefore, al-Banna urged the government to make reforms in the lives of the people with the implementation of sharia based on the Quran. A comprehensive social reform policy plays a role in safeguarding and taking responsibility for the achievement of government goals and disseminating them to all human beings (Al-Banna,2012).

According to al-Banna, in order to develop a system of government in an Islamic state and trust in carrying out the laws and commands of Allah, Islamic governance must be based on three main principles, namely the responsibility of leaders before Allah and before mankind, the unity of Muslims on the basis of Islamic beliefs the will of the people through deliberation, taking into account the opinion of the people as well as respecting the commands and prohibitions in Islam (Al-Qaradawi,2007). He also thinks that Muslims are a strong union because of the existence of brotherhood based on Islamic beliefs. For him, there is no perfection of faith except by strengthening the brotherhood of fellow Muslims in realizing a government based on Islamic politics. Muslims do not recognize differences in matters of principle because the system adopted by the Islamic state is based on unity of heart in the Islamic faith (Al-Qaradawi,2007).

According to al-Banna, Rasulullah SAW equated disbelief with division and disunity. Al-Banna also wants to state that the extreme attitude of asabiyah towards certain groups or parties by ignoring the Islamic brotherhood will threaten the basis of the unity of the ummah and efforts to establish a government based on Islamic law. Whatever the form of the country's political system, this matter can not prevent the creation of the ummah unity which is the basis of the Islamic social system (Abu Faris,2011).

In the context of respecting the aspirations of Muslims, al-Banna argues that the system of government based on Islamic politics should respect the ideals and desires of Muslims. He is also of the view that the right of government is the responsibility of the people ruled and the rights of the people ruled are

the responsibility of the government (Al-Banna,1985). They as citizens have the right in the implementation of the administration or voice their opinions when consulting with the government. The duty of the government is to consult with the people, listen and appreciate their views and take good advice from the people (Abu Faris,2011).

According to al-Banna again, as long as the principles of Islamic law are the main axis in government and country, then the name and form of the country can be referred to as an Islamic state. Referring to the system in Egypt that runs the parliamentary system, al-Banna argues that the matter is not contrary to Islamic principles and methods. The constitution and laws made in Egypt include the three main principles that are the main pillars of the system of government, namely the responsibility of the government, the sovereignty of the people and the appreciation of the aspirations of the people (Abu Faris, 2002).

The top leadership of the government has rights and responsibilities in the life of the country. Al-Banna has outlined the principle of government as the obligation of an Islamic government based on the perspective of the Quran and sunnah. The duty is to maintain peace and enforce the law, ensure education for the people, provide strength, maintain health, safeguard the interests of the people, develop wealth and protect natural resources, strengthen morale and spread da'wah (Abu Faris,2011).

In this context, al-Banna explains that, the government that performs the above duties, carries out its responsibilities and pays full attention to the people and this is acknowledged by its people. Leaders also need to be fair by protecting the property of the people and the country and not misusing the country's finances (Abdul Hadi,2009). Al-Banna also developed Islamic political theory in relation to leaders in Islamic government who did not perform their duties, did not listen to advice from ahlul halli wal 'aqdi (Musa,1963) and does not accept recommendations to rectify any irregularities. When irregularities in the government have reached the jama'i level, then the government should be dissolved (Aziz Jamaludin,2012).

The removal of the head of state and the dissolution of his government requires strength because this action forces the head of the leader or the government to relinquish his office and power. For al-Banna, a government that does not implement Islamic law can not get recognition because the application of Islamic law is a basic principle (Moussalli,1993). He also

stated that if the government does not want to implement Islamic law, the ahlul halli wal 'aqdi must advise him and give his views. If his advice and views are ignored, further action is to dismiss the government and the government should be dissolved because in his view, human beings cannot obey a government that does not obey Allah's commands (Al-Banna,2012).

Al-Banna gives several steps to remind and correct the government that deviates or does not apply Islamic law in the system of government and country. First, by using the da'wah approach (Helbawi,2010). The da'wah approach used must be da'wah organized by the Quran and sunnah in an effort to give awareness and understanding to leaders to implement Islamic law (Musk,2003). Da'wah in this context should be sought to provide a comprehensive understanding of Islamic politics to all walks of life. The goal of da'wah is to form a Muslim personality who understands Islamic law and syariah. With the existence of people who have a personality according to Islamic law, will in itself form a family, community and subsequently a country that applies Islamic laws and principles perfectly (Abu Faris,2011).

If the path of da'wah is not effective in correcting the system of government that deviates from Islamic law, al-Banna recommends using physical ability at this level (Aziz Jamaludin,2012). Physical use in this context is not meant to bring down the existing government but to oppose practices that are contrary to Islamic law that occur in society such as prostitution, gambling and the sale of alcohol. He also did not rule out the possibility of using the power of the hand to prevent immoral activities. Not only that, al-Banna also expects the government to act decisively by not allowing the existence and closing the place of existing vices. However, he refused to use the revolutionary approach (Kamus Dewan,2010) or violence to change a government that is deemed not to comply with the provisions of Islamic law (Abu Faris,2011).

According to Qutb, in expressing his ideas on the system of government, a country's political questions are very important in shaping its system of government. Therefore, he thinks it is necessary to return to the Islamic political system, which is a democracy based on shura. According to Islam, the system is not limited but it is appropriate according to the atmosphere, time and place. The principle of shura that is implemented will give justice to the community. Joint negotiations are necessary to establish a government that is specifically stated in Islamic law (Qutb,1993). In

addition, the system of government based on the principles of justice and satisfaction between those who are ruled can prevent the occurrence of dissatisfaction with the government. Qutb is also of the view that a ruler has the right to rule as long as he obeys Allah's commands and enforces His laws (Qutb,1993).

Qutb has also conveyed his political aspirations to the community through his book, Fi Zilal al-Quran. Issues such as government, state constitution, oppression, corruption, tyranny and Palestinian issues are widely voiced in this book. Qutb has placed more emphasis on this concept of power by raising the issue of al-Hakimiyyah. He used this term a lot in debating the verses of the Quran related to power, governance, constitution and way of life which are very close to political issues.

Qutb in his interpretation of Fi Zilal al-Quran gives a long enough description of the obligation to uphold the country based on the caliphate system. According to him, the appointment of man as the caliph of Allah on this earth is not solely for the sake of power, conquering foreign territories and ruling. The function of the caliph includes all with the purpose of being used to achieve welfare, development, construction and further uphold the system of life that Allah has outlined for human (Qutb,2000). Qutb's next political thought idea was with regard to the Khilafah and the Islamic State. He stated that Muslims should restore the glory of the Islamic caliph by holding the reins of world government. He called on Muslims to rise again after their thoughts were obscured by the ideology of human creation which turned out to have led to destruction and failure (Moussalli,2012).

In addition to the special features of Islamic law itself which is universal and suitable to be used as the legal basis of the Islamic system of government. Even the comprehensiveness of this law can be seen clearly when it is also used as the legal basis of other beings such as the moon, stars, trees, animals and so on. This is the proof that shows that Islamic law is the best law set by Allah. According to Qutb again the system of government should also be based on the policy of deliberation (Qutb,1985). A system of government based on free choice of deliberation and application of the law as determined by Allah will surely gain the trust of his people. This deliberation has been explained in the Quran in His words which means;

"…who settled his affairs by deliberation (Al-Quran, al-Shura,42:38)" and "…and consult with them in some matters (Al-Quran, Ali Imran,2:159)."
According to Qutb, this deliberation can eliminate any element that can affect the unity of society. This is because with the concept of deliberation it means that every individual in society must participate in deciding something related to political life. The way this deliberation is implemented will give justice to the community. Joint consultation is necessary to create a government that is specifically stated in Islamic law (Qutb,1993).

The practice of shura invented by Qutb is taken from the model practiced by Rasulullah and his companions. According to him, the Islamic political system also guarantees the life of the community where it is formed and administered. This Islamic system is more voluntary and responsible for the people to be governed by law and contribute more than what society needs. The general rules implemented by the Islamic system are suitable for all situations whether place, time and state of society (Sulaiman,1995). The Islamic political system based on the principles of justice and satisfaction between the government and those in power can prevent the occurrence of public dissatisfaction with the government that rules the country. Qutb argues that a ruler has the right to rule as long as he obeys Allah's commands and enforces His laws. (Qutb,1993).

According to Qutb, shura-based joint negotiations are necessary to create a good government even though there is no specific consultation system specified in Islamic negotiations. How to get an opinion depends on the different circumstances of each age and atmosphere. This is because the consultation shows that Muslims must participate in or participate in decisions related to political life and they should not feel dissatisfied with the matter for which their opinion has been sought. (Qutb,1993).

5.Conclusion

The emergence of the IM founded by al-Banna was due to political factors and the history of political development that Egypt had gone through. Egypt was under the rule of the Ottoman Empire before being colonized by the French and later the British. Egyptian society has been influenced by foreign influences in various aspects such as political, economic and social. Not only that, this foreign influence has also caused the Egyptian community to be further away from the teachings of Islam because the colonialists placed more emphasis on the materialistic aspects of life and extreme entertainment

so that there are unstoppable social symptoms. Islam as a comprehensive system is different from the Western system which is the practice of most human societies. As an integrated political system, Islamic politics places the main objective of shaping the faith of the Muslim community in particular. This formation became the main basis for the establishment of the Islamic state. On the other hand, the Western political system prioritizes worldly interests alone regardless of the interests and needs of life in the hereafter. In order to achieve that goal, they are willing to do anything as long as the goal is achieved.

After al-Banna's death, the influence of IM's political approach changed as it was influenced by Qutb's radicalism approach. He is considered by IM to be the second ideological trigger after al-Banna. This is because the political pressure imposed by the ruling regime is like being imprisoned and severely tortured. In addition, the ruling regime also did not implement Islamic principles in its administration and this has further strengthened the basis of radicalism among IM members.

However, this approach of radicalism was not agreed upon by al-Hudaybi because he stated that it is not human beings who punish every mistake committed. He preferred a simple and gradual approach in an effort to give Islamic awareness to the community as the Prophet did to the Arab community of Quraysh. Al-Hudaybi is also more comfortable with IM becoming a dakwah movement than participating in party politics because it can criticize the government and the government. However, this thought of radicalism was not IM's stance in the formation of political orientation in Egypt.

6. Acknowledgement

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