

# Islamic Resurgence in the Hijaz Region 1975-1980

Mazin S. Motabagani\*

## Introduction

Though the 1967 defeat of the Arab armies in the war with Israel was a disastrous event in modern history of the Arab World, it was at the same time the spark that led to revitalise the Islamic resurgence. The Islamic movements that were crushed in Egypt, Syria and other Arab countries found refuge in the so-called reactionary regimes or the remaining monarchies. The Arabs had to question they we were defeated in spite of the loud rhetoric of the Egyptian media that Egypt had the army that cannot be defeated and that Egypt was leading the progressive socialist regimes. Many views came out to analyse that defeat one of which was that the lack of adherence to Islamic teaching was the main cause of such defeat. Of course Sadiq Jalal Al-Azm and Arab professed that communists believed that religion was the main cause. However many thought that this is the point of a new wave of Islamic movement to flourish around the Arab World. What is said that Sadat gave support to the Islamic movement in Egypt particularly the Muslim Brotherhood to combat the Nassirist and Socialist maybe of some support to these movements, but the truth is that these movements were still alive despite the rigorous fight they faced during the reign of Adul Nasser.

In 1973, life in Saudi Arabia and particularly in the Hijaz region was heading towards increasing westernization, which also meant a more materialistic way of living. Also in the seventies Saudi Arabia witnessed its first economic boom which meant flooding the country with hundreds of

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\*Associate Professor, Orientalistics- Department of Islamic Studies, Faculty of Education, King Saud University, Riyadh.

thousands of expatriate workers and their families. Some Saudis began to accumulate wealth allowing them more chances to travel outside Saudi Arabia. No indication could be seen that there is going to be an Islamic resurgence. However, so much was going on discretely. Those who fled the revolutionary regimes in Syria, Iraq and Egypt took teaching positions in Saudi Arabian institutions. Most of them, but by no mean, all belonged to the Muslim Brotherhood Organization. Besides teaching, they held private preaching, teaching and they even indoctrinated young Saudis. In addition, the Saudi Ulema, felt the need to combat westernization and the lack of adherence to Islam.

In the year 1972, or a little before, Sheikh Muhammad Sharawi, the eminent Egyptian scholar (minister of endowments and Islamic affairs), started his lectures on the exegesis of the Qur'an. These lectures were attended by people from all walks of life. When he left Saudi Arabia, Sheikh Muhammad Qutb took his place, and was as popular as Sharawi.

At this time, the cassette tapes of Sheikh Abdul Hamid Keshk reached Saudi Arabia. The cassette tapes shops were only selling tapes of singers, but with the popularity of Keshk these shops entered the competition by copying and selling of Keshk's tapes.

The resurgence had other elements and features, and this paper intends to examine this topic as follows. Firstly, I will provide a historical background to the intellectual and religious climate in Saudi Arabia before the advent of the resurgence. Secondly, I will highlight the main personalities who had a direct effect on this resurgence. Thirdly, the paper will discuss the siege of the holy mosque in Makkah by Juhaiman Al-Otaibi. I will then look at the measures that the government took to slow down this resurgence and how the Islamic movement gained strength and almost reached its peaks just before the second Gulf war.

This paper will mainly rely on my first hand experience as a student of history at King Abdul Aziz University (1974-1986) and then as a writer on, and observer of, this resurgence till today. I will also refer to other written sources on Islamic resurgence in Saudi Arabia.

## **Part I**

### **Historical Background**

Saudi Arabia has always announced its adherence to Islam and was in

vigorous fight with nationalism, secularism and communism. The main fight was the Egyptian and Ba' thi regimes through books, newspapers and radio stations. Saudi Arabia distributed pamphlets and books to Hajjis during the Haj season. Sayyed Qutb, and his brother Muhammad wrote some of these books. Some authors may have been commissioned to write certain books such as the book on the real position of the Communist block towards the Palestinian issue by Omar Helliq showing how this block was a stern supporter of the creation of Israel and supporting its existence.

However, at the same time Saudi Arabia was going through a long but certain process of westernization and modernisation. Such Westernization is called by some writers nowadays 'enlightenment' and one of these writers named few examples of this by the establishing of a department at King Saud University for Archeology, the showing of films at some university facilities and holding some parties with music and singing. He describes the introduction of courses in Islamic culture as part of the university requirement to be anti-enlightenment.<sup>1</sup>

During the reign of King Abdul Aziz many prominent Saudi families sent their children to study at Victoria College and the American College in Beirut and other foreign schools.<sup>2</sup> Then scholarships to Europe and the USA started in the early sixties of last century with great encouragement from ARAMCO in particular. The strict and rigidity of the social life was lessening. The Saudi radio station began to allow singing. And at certain point singing talents were encouraged by schools. When the small tape recorders were introduced in the Saudi market almost every household obtained one or more. Then the record players were introduced and you could find these in the taxies and countless number of singers appeared.

Soon after 1950, with the advent of the Egyptian overthrow of King Farouk and the establishment of the republic in Egypt, Arab countries became divided into two main categories: the so-called 'progressive' revolutionaries and 'regressive' reactionaries. The former were characterized by being open-minded, more civilized and honest, while the reactionaries were closed minded, backward, corrupt and decadent. For so many years, Arabs expected the first declaration of a new cope de' tat announcing the establishment of a new regime that will fight bribery, tyranny and dictatorship. In most cases the new regimes did not differ much from

the previous ones. These regimes began a strong campaign against Islamic movements, specifically the Muslim Brothers in Egypt, Syria and Iraq. Muslim activists were either jailed, executed or were able to flee to Europe or a neighboring royal regime.

Hostility developed between Saudi Arabia and the so called 'progressive' regimes such as the ones in Egypt in particular. Jamal Abdul Nasser had very strong media, which he used to launch a war of words against Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Iraq and Yemen (before both became republics). Saudi Arabia gave asylum to a number of leading intellectuals from the so-called 'progressive' countries, such as Syria, Egypt and Iraq; to name but a few: Mahmoud Assawwaf, Ali Tantawi Muhammad Qutb, Said Hawwa, Nasser Addin Al Albani and many others with less fame and capabilities. These intellectuals, alongside very few Saudis, launched a campaign against nationalism, Secularism, and Communism. And at the same time, the campaign tried to refute the accusations that Saudi Arabia and other countries adhering to Islam were pro-American. Bashmil wrote in one of his books questioning the allegation that Saudi Arabia was an American ally by saying: "Is it true that America and Britain care so much to revive and strengthen the Islamic movements, and also support and finance of those who call for Islamic unity with the Dollar and the Pound Sterling?"<sup>3</sup> Then, he answers by saying that those who put out these allegation are the first to know that they are void of any truth and that the Islamic movements are the furthest on the minds of the Americans or the British. If Bashmail was to write that book after the death of Abdul Nasser he would have probably mentioned that the western powers, especially America, supported the revolutionary movements because they were so bold in introducing modernization or westernization<sup>4</sup>.

Few years before 1967 and little after, there was only one university in Saudi Arabia and one or two colleges to train students to become teachers. When King Abdul Aziz University was established in 1969, it was only a private institute with limited sources. Therefore, there was a great surge to send Saudi young men overseas to European countries and the USA. These missions were sent by different ministries such as the ministry of Education, the ministry of defense and other government agencies. Aramco (Arab American Oil Company) had an outstanding record in the number of students sent to continue their higher education in the USA or Europe.

These efforts to send this large number of student (some with families, but most were bachelors) was obviously to have an effect on the Saudi society in the coming years.

## **Part II**

### **Some Eminent Scholars of the Resurgence**

#### **Sheikh Abdul Hamid Kishk<sup>5</sup>**

Many are the scholars who deserve to be mentioned to the Islamic resurgence in Saudi Arabia. However, due to the limited space and time, I shall mention the most prominent in my view, who had a real impact on the youth in the Hijaz region. In the early seventies, the cassette tapes of Sheikh Kishk were introduced to the Saudi public. Shops selling songs started to sell these tapes. A Yemeni businessman found out how popular these tapes; he rented an apartment in the trade center of Jeddah and began selling these tapes. Since the copies were not readily available, he took the names of the customers and the orders in order to deliver these tapes in a few days<sup>6</sup>.

Sheikh Kishk used to make his Jumaa (Friday) sermons in a series. He would begin like this: "This is Muhammad's (pbuh) school in which is said . . . . This is the lesson 123, or more or less." Then he would start his topic. Sheikh Kishk's sermons were different from most sermons at that time. Though he spoke on ordinary topics that every imam would talk about, he severely criticized the political system during the days of Jamal Abdul Nasser. He criticized the different rulers of the Arab and Muslim World. One example of this criticism is the call of Bourgaiba of Tunisia on all workers not to fast in Ramadan. He asked the mufti to support him in this. Bourgaiba started his speech by explaining the logic behind his call not to fast in Ramadan to the workers, namely that fasting in his opinion lowers the production level. He then said: "Here is the Mufti to support my views." The Mufti said: "Allah has said in the Quran 'O believers it is mandatory that you fast as it was mandatory for previous nations'. Allah is truthful and Bourgaiba has lied." Then Sheikh Kishk commented that the Mufti was still alive and not harmed.

Since sheikh Kishk came after the days of Abdul Nasser he criticized his reign severely, in part because he was jailed for so many years himself along with tens of thousands who were also jailed just because they were Islamists. Kishk also made a point to criticize the media and the men and

women of literature. He criticized the cinema and other forms of entertainment such as songs and plays. One of the main themes of Sheikh Kishk was to defend Islam and refute the allegations against the suitability of Islam for the present day. In one of his sermons, he focused on the allegations that Islam is not suitable for today. He mentioned those who cited the French revolution and the killing of all religious clerics. In this sermon, he cited the French scholar Denie who changed his name to Suleiman Nasser Al-Din and wrote *Islamic Rays*, who said in this book that he read all the verses of the Quraan and could not find one verse that contradicts the modern science.

In other sermons, Kishk was able to quote many European scholars and scientists who admitted that the scientific facts mentioned in the Quraan are never in contradiction with modern scientific findings, such as the verses that dealt with the embryo and the creation of human beings.

The sale of Kishk tapes moved from shops to sidewalks and mosque courtyards, especially after Friday prayers. Such places were often very crowded. And after some years the committee for Islamic awareness at King Abdul Aziz University launched a small kiosk to sell lectures and Qur'anic recitation; the place was flooded with visitors.

I think that the mood of enthusiasm and passion that surrounded Sheikh Kishk was so influential that other scholars and orators such as Sheikh Ahmad Al-Qattan from Kuwait became so enthusiastic and whose tapes became so popular in Saudi Arabia. Some of them were almost a carbon copy of Sheikh Kishk. Moreover, the themes he discussed were educating children, building a Muslim family, and severe criticism of the different types of media, including television, cinema and journalism. In a review of a book about Islamic cassette tapes I once wrote: "The Faculty of Sciences lecture hall at King Abdul Aziz University has a special place in the heart of many people who attended the lectures of Sharawi, Qutb, Said Hawwa, Naji Al-Tantawi, AbdAllah Rishwan and many others. When a famous lecturer comes, the occasion would turn into a festival."<sup>7</sup>

### **Muhammad Qutb**

This influential scholar was well known in Saudi Arabia long before he relocated to Makkah. Some of his and his brother's (Sayed Qutb) books were published by the government and distributed freely during the Haj

season. Their books were also a required reading for students at the university level Muhammad Qutb's book "*Al insane baina al Maddiah wal Islam*" (man between materlism and Islam) was a required reading for first year students at King Saud Univesity as a text book.

Immediately after Sharawi returned to Egypt to become minister of Islamic Affairs, his lectures had to stop. On Sunday January 16<sup>th</sup> 1977 Sheikh Muhammad Qutb started his series of lectures titled "The Methodology of Islamic Education". These lectures went on for so many years. Though Qutb's lectures were supposed to be on education, he covered almost all topics relating to Islamic resurgence. He gave examples from his life and the life of his brother Syyed Qutb when they were together in prison. The history of Islamic Brotherhood was always present in his mind as well as in the minds of those who came to lecture in the same lecture hall.

In his opening lecture, he spoke on the difference between Islam and the pre-Islamic era (*Jahilyah*) and how Islam converted the Arabs from a nation with no real weight and value to a nation that built a civilization and a nation considered the most righteous nation. So this lecture was focused on the responsibilities of the Islamic Umma towards humanities.<sup>8</sup>

Moreover Qutb's ideas were not strange to the Saudi intellectuals since some of his books were required reading in some university course. Of these books was his book "Humans between Materialism and Islam". Of course his famous book "The Twentieth Century Jahiliah" was also well known.

Qutb's influence went further than the lectures mentioned above. He taught at Om Al-Qura University and supervised scores of students some of Associate Professor Orientalistics- Department of Islamic Studies, Faculty of Education, King Saud University- Riyadh [www.madinacenter.com](http://www.madinacenter.com), e-mail. [Mazen\\_mutabagani@hotmail.com](mailto:Mazen_mutabagani@hotmail.com) became very famous like Safar Al-Hawali. At the same time Qutb was also publishing new books.<sup>9</sup> He also had a close circuit of friends and acquaintances who held important positions such as Sheikh Ahmad Salah Jamjoum who was the CEO of Al-Madinah Newspaper for many years.

These days witnessed the rise of many scholars who became well known in the field of lecturing and Friday sermons. Among those is Sheikh Abdul Majid Zindani of Yemen, who was almost residing in Saudi Arabia in the

1970s. When he was in Jeddah, he would tour the main mosques of the city giving lectures about different topics, especially on becoming a righteous Muslim and solving the social problems which came about from the economic boom which Saudi Arabia went through during the reign of King Khaled. Others included Dr. Kamal Eisa, professor of Islamic thought at King Abdul Aziz University, Dr. Muhammad Al-Hosary, Sheikh Hassan Ayyob who was giving the Friday sermon at the Mosque of King Abdul Aziz University. Amongst those who became well known is Sheikh Ibrahim Sarseeq who was also the editor of the Islamic page of *Al-Madinah* Newspaper. He wrote a daily column discussing different issues including local ones such as social problems to the Islamic issues involving the Muslim countries.

### **Sheikh Said Hawwa**

Sheikh Hawwa is a well-known Syrian scholar who was one of the leaders of the Muslim brotherhood.<sup>10</sup> He worked as a teacher in a number of Saudi secondary schools in the Madina area. Besides his official teaching, he held lessons in different places including homes or mosques. He also gave public lectures such as a lecture at King Abdul Aziz University in the late 1970s. His lectures normally attracted a large audience. Though my knowledge of his activities is limited, I am aware that some of his books were part of the education of a large portion of the resurgence in the Hijaz region. These books are:

*Jund Allah Thaqaafatan wa Akhlaqan (God's Soldiers: Education and Morals)*. In this book, Hawwa made a plan for the youth of Islamic movement to educate them in the fields of Quraan, Fiqh, hadith and so on. He focused on the basic education any young Muslim should possess. He also dealt with Islamic ethics.

· *Al-Rasool (The Prophet)*. This book illustrates the life of the Prophet (pbuh) in addition to discussing some of the miracles that the Prophet brought such as the hadith about the two wings of the fly.

· *Al-Islam*. This is a general reading in Islam which was also widely read among young Hijazis of the Islamic resurgence.

**Ahmad Muhammad Jamal**

One cannot ignore the role of Ahmad Jamal when dealing with the Islamic Resurgence in the Hijaz. He was a Scholar and university professor and Journalist. He wrote extensively on different topics, ranging from Quraanic exegesis to fiqh (Jurisprudence), Hadith, Women issues, and economy. He used to edit and wholly write a page in a Madina newspaper titled “From Friday to Friday”, then he wrote a weekly article every Monday and had radio programs and wrote for many magazines and newspapers.

Sheikh Jamal also lectured at King Abdul Aziz University in the field of Islamic culture. He was the author of the text book taught in this course for so many years. Many of the leaders of the Islamic resurgence were his students or had some kind of relation with him.

**Nasser al-Din al-Albani and Muhammad Abdul Wahab Al-Banna.**

Though al-Albani is Syrian while Al-Banna is Egyptian, they were both from the same school which is the school of Hadith. They taught their students to study Hadith and become well versed in this field to the degree that they can criticize the chain of narrators of Hadith. They also taught them to be able to extract the Islamic ruling regarding different situations. They called for the abolition of the famous four Islamic Jurisprudence (fiqh) schools, which obliged Muhammad Al-Bouti to write his book *The non alliance to fiqh schools is the most dangerous innovation*. The truth is that the followers of Al-Albani were too bold in criticizing the most eminent ulema. They claimed to have found weakness in Al-Bokhari and Muslim books. They thought that they are the real authority in all fields of Islam because they knew hadith. They claimed to have found certain correct hadith about prayers and claimed that only their prayer is the most perfect. Their Sheikh wrote a book titled *The Prophet's prayer as you see it*. There were many mosques in the Jeddah and Makkah areas where students of Al-Albani were teaching students these principals and ideology.

**The Islamic University of Al-Madinah**

Though not many people would agree that this institution had much effect on the Hijazi Society, the truth is that this university witnessed different types of administration and intellectual trends. It is true that originally the leadership was entrusted to some Scholars from the Central province of Saudi Arabia (Najd), many Hijazis studied at this university and had a

chance to continue their graduate studies to become teachers at the University. Also, at a certain period when professor Abdullah al-Zaidi became vice rector of the university, many Hijazis had chances to become deans of different departments of the university. The University opened up not only to the Madinah society, but also to the whole Muslim World. However, one can say with great certainty that this university in most of its history was extremely conservative and really engulfed in issues that do not really relate to the present day situation in Saudi Arabia or even in most Arab or Islamic countries. They were really discussing long dead issues. Some teachers were teaching narrow-mindedness and prejudice. One of the teachers would draw the World map and then point to the different Islamic countries and their deviation from the true faith and then he would point to the Arabian Peninsula and say very loudly: this is where the true faith can be found.

#### ***Al-Madinah Newspaper versus Okaz***

It was obvious that *Al-Madinah Newspaper* was supporting the Islamic resurgence by attracting a number of columnists who were advocating resurgent ideas. Some of those writers were academics while others were writers and publishers. I would like to give a special account of Muhammad Salahuddin who wrote a daily column under the title “al-falak yadour” (the orbit revolves). Though this column has been appearing for forty years, it was banned from appearing at different periods of times. Salahuddin wrote on all topics relating to resurgence and in different fields such as: politics, economics, and sociology. If a columnist deserves to be a syndicated writer in Saudi Arabia or even all over the Arab world I would believe that this writer should be one of the first, but Saudi newspapers would not allow any writer to write in more than one paper. The influence of Muhammad Salahuddin can be asserted by the wide popularity he had and still has till today. His influence and brevity caused him to be banned from writing many times.

One must mention ‘Asem Hamdan who started writing while attending Manchester University pursuing his post-graduate studies in Arabic literature. His weekly column was also an important voice of the Islamic resurgence in Saudi Arabia. One of his strongest points was his deep knowledge of the British foreign policy and knowledge of the key figures in the British government in the twentieth century probably from the days of Balfour

declaration in 1917. He joined the debate over the identity in literature which was one of the main issues for the Islamic resurgence.

Al-Madinah had three supplements: a literary supplement called “Al- Arabi’aa”, “Alwan mina Al-Turath” (varities from traditional legacy) and others. I would like to say few words about al-Turath (legacy) which was supervised by Dr. Muhammad Ya’agob Al-Turkistani, a professor of Linguistics at the Islamic University of Al-Madinah. This was a subtle supplement calling for preserving Muslim legacy in all fields of knowledge. Many people would only buy the newspaper on that day Turkistania’s column appears. And at times would buy the newspaper for this supplement and the column of Muhammad Salahuddin. This supplement was also very effective in training young writers who had their first writing appear here.

One shall mention the Islamic page that was edited by Ibrahim Sersiq who worked for some time as a teacher at the Islamic University of Al-Madinah. In addition to the strong support for the resurgence, Sersiq himself wrote a daily column discussing wide variety of issues even the most controversial topics of the hour. His writing was very eloquent and strong. He carried on many debates with issues raised pertaining to women, education and society.

As for *Okaz*, it took a different line allowing all voices calling for westernization and so-called women liberation. I took the side of so-called “modernity” in literature, which was a way of attacking the Arabic language and the Islamic identity. This trend called for what they termed exploding the language and destroying the inherited and the popular (ÊÏÏã ÇáÓÇÆÏ æÇáãæÑæË) (demolition of the prevalent and the inherited). They utilized the ambiguity in what they claimed to be poetry to advance many of their ideas which were not acceptable to the majority of the people. *Okaz* in short was echoing many of the themes that were popular in other so-called progressive countries such as Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, and other countries.

### **Part III**

#### **The Siege of Al-Haram and its Consequences**

Juhaiman’s significance lies not only in the ideas that he promulgated, but also the way the government dealt with these ideas after executing him and those who were with him at the Haram. Some writers

after the May 2003 explosions in Riyadh went back to the days of Juhaiman and blamed the government because they thought it had fought him, immediately after killing him and his followers it relinquished to his ideas and criticism.<sup>11</sup>

Juhaiman came when Saudi Arabia was witnessing an economic boom and the society was going through very deep changes because of the influx of the hundreds of thousands of foreign workers. With this also there was the spread of corruption. The number of flights to certain cities around the world increased tremendously or to a record unnatural by any standards.<sup>12</sup> These Islamists may have seen a deviation from Islamic values as Esposito put it: “for many, rapid modernization undermined Saudi Arabia’s Islamic way of life. In particular, questions of public morality became increasingly sensitive”.<sup>13</sup> some of these accusations were focused on the ruling class.<sup>14</sup>

With this heavy shaking to the foundation of the Saudi society there was an ample freedom for Islamic Daawa as well as the steady march of the country towards more liberalization at the social level and in the field of status of women and the media.

As for the loose security in the field of Islamic Daawa, one can say with great certainty that no period in the Saudi regime witnessed more freedom of speech in terms of the mosques and freedom of gathering than this period. In Jeddah alone, there were ten or so very outspoken orators who used to give the Friday sermon. Not only that no permission was necessary from the Ministry of Endowment and Hajj or any government agency but also even in the Madinah Mosque there were some speakers who would stand up after Friday prayer and speak criticizing the social conduct and even the government in a subtle way.

Dekmejian- who wrote his research for the U.S department of Defense- mentioned that Juhaiman’s followers were arrested for their views or for organizing and were released “upon the intercession of the respected Shaykh Abdul Aziz ben Baz”<sup>15</sup>

### **What did Juhaiman Strive for?**

It is believed that Juhaiman was not much different from the movement of Al-Ikhwan who objected to King Abdul Aziz’s modernization of Saudi Arabia. Though Abdul Aziz was tough with the first movement, the new

rule of King Khaled and the first years of King Fahad proved to be lenient with a lot of freedom that it really gained wide support among the Saudi young people. Juhaiman was not the only learned leader of this movement. There were many Ulema who helped shape this movement. First of all, Juhaiman himself was a student of the Islamic movement of Madinah, and then there are those who were specialized in Hadith (Traditions of The Prophet). They called themselves the school of Hadith, and often they insisted that they are the one saved sect (referring to Prophet's Hadith that Muslims will be divided into seventy three sects).

Though it is rather difficult to obtain the literature of Juhaiman,<sup>16</sup> it was not such a secret that people would not know. Juhaiman has issued seven messages (small booklets) in which he discussed certain topics of the Islamic political theory. One of these concerns the criteria by which Muslims should choose their leader. They also denounced corruptions in all its moods and types. There were few trivial things that were passed on about them such as objections to inscribing monarchs' pictures on the different monetary bills. They objected to women appearing in the Saudi TV and so on. They also named specific officials as corrupt. They also showed objections to the westernization of the country.<sup>17</sup>

Saudis lived dreadful days for many months to come after the government regained power. Strict control was imposed on the mosques and universities. Arrests of suspects and check points were everywhere. Scenes of detained persons moved by planes from one city to another were very normal. Anybody who had close relations with Juhaiman was under suspicion.

New laws were devised such as the separation of Islamic cassette tapes shops and those selling songs. Severe supervision over bookshops and printing became the rule. Only Saudis were allowed to give Friday sermons. Many non-Saudis who previously gave Friday sermons, and some of them were really bold in dealing with the internal affairs of Saudi Arabia, were stopped.<sup>18</sup> Stricter laws were derived to limit the activities of the Saudi Ulema. A circular dated August, 10th, 1985 was issued by Minister of Endowments and Hajj to all officials responsible to monitor the mosques containing the following points:

- 1- It is prohibited to distribute any advices or written instructions or stick any such things on the walls of the mosques.

2- No permission is to be given to anyone to give speeches only to the well known Shaykhs or Ulema and those who have written permission from the authorized government agency.<sup>19</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Resurgence in the Hijaz region started with the advent of the insurgence of Muslim Brothers who fled Egypt, Syria or Iraq in the 1960s. It Also gained momentum with the invitation of King Faisal in the 1960s and early 1970s to some prominent Scholars to come and work in Saudi Arabia. Just before the days of King Faisal the Hijaz region was going into fast steps towards easy living with concentration on entertainment and consumerism. This may have come about after the death of King Abdul Aziz towards the mid-1950s and the ascendance of King Saud in 1956 since the reign of Abdul Aziz was characterized by strict adherence to Islam and tough measures against disobedience or impurity.

Then the resurgence started with the big clash with nationalism and secularism. Just after the death of King Faisal in 1974 and the coming of King Khaled, which coincided with the rule of Sadat, the Islamic resurgence became active. Then, by the end of the seventies and the beginning of the fifteenth hijra century came Juhaiman and the Mahdi prophecy. Saudi Arabian government acted according to each situation with so much interest in keeping the security of the regime rather than giving the resurgence the due attention and study. There must have been outside pressures which affected the government actions.

### **Notes and References**

1. Hamza Al-Muzaini, "Inhasara Altaanweer Methlama Ikhtafat Albasma min Asir" in *Al-Watan* (24 June 2004)
2. Victoria College graduates are still in touch with each other on regular basis in Jeddah and maybe in other Saudi cities.  
*ááîÈ ÇãÕÑÇÍÉ íÍÑÞ ÇääÛÇáØÇÊ Laheeb Assaraha Yahriq al Mughalatat,*  
p. 12
3. After Nasser's death books came out to show how the Egyptian revolution was supported by the CIA and an example of these books is *The game of Nations* by Miles Copland. See also Bernard Lewis. *Islam and The West.*(Oxford: Oxford university Press,1993 ) p. 31
4. He was born in Egypt in 1933. After he memorized the whole Quraan at an

early age, continued his education at Al- Azhar and graduated with B.A in religious studies. He then became an Imam and orator at a mosque in Cairo. After the seventies of last century he became famous and his taped sermons reached more than two thousand in number. His sermons are now on CDs and in the internet. I just received an e-mail in May 2007 with links to some of his sermons which shows clearly that he is still popular. Muhammad Qutb once commented on Kishk methodology that he would not follow it but at the same time would not criticize it.

5. My brother and I visited this apartment-shop- and ordered some tapes but were reluctant to give out true names when asked by the shop keeper.
6. Mazin S. Motabagani, "Review of the book", *The Islamic Cassettes public and libraries*. By Ismael Al-Nizari in *Al-Madinah Newspaper*, no.8915. On 5 Rabie II 1412h (October 13, 1991).
7. Muhammad Qutb" Introductory lecture on Islamic Education" King Abdul Aziz University. First is a series of lectures, on January 16th, 1977. I recorded this lecture. I also attended most of these lectures or listened to them on tapes.
8. When a group of Salafiya became very influential the books of Qutb brothers were banned from Saudi Arabia. However, book shops were allowed to sell the stock they had but were not allowed to import the new books or the old ones. The Salafis went further and particularly at the Islamic University of Muhammad Ben Saud they put all the books which have the slight attachment to Ikwan or other Islamic movement in limited reading rooms.
9. He was one of the leaders in the battle of Hamah -1982 in Syria with the Baath Regime of Hafidh Al Asad
10. Suleiman Al-Hatlan, "Radicalism in Saudi Arabia," in *The Washington Post*, May 8th , 2002.
11. R. Hrair Dekmejian, *Islam in Revolution; Fundamentalism in the Arab World*. (Syracuse. N.Y.: Syracuse University Press 1985)p 140-141.
12. John Esposito, *Islam and Politics* (Syracuse, N.Y: Syracuse University Press, 1984.) p 112. See also John L. Esposito, *Islam The Straight Path*. ( Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991) p190.
13. Peter W. Wilson and Douglas F. Graham, *Saudi Arabia: The Coming Storm*. (New York. M.E. Sharpe , p.56.
14. *Ibid.*, p. 143 quoting Abu Dharr , *Al-Ikhwān*, pp 250-52,
15. *ألفاء الأئمة في بيان ما أوردته في كتابي "الأسس الفكرية والسياسية للإخوان المسلمين"* (Ö 390 - Ö 412.

[www.aqaed.com/shialib/books/05/salafia-8htm](http://www.aqaed.com/shialib/books/05/salafia-8htm)

The author says: "The Saudi Government and the semi- official press tried to distort the image of Juhaiman and his group, and they also tried to cover the news of this group and their views".

16. Wilson and Graham, op. cit., P. 59.
17. I remember an Egyptian University professor (Dr. Kamal (issa) giving Friday Oration criticized the Government annual budget. The mosque where this man was giving his speech was expanded twice to accommodate the crowds.
18. Muhammad Fouad, "Religion and State in Saudi Arabia" in the site *Gulf Issues 19*, [www.gulfissues.net./cont.contf.cgi](http://www.gulfissues.net./cont.contf.cgi)