The Study of Emergence and Expansion of Jihadist Groups in Egypt from 1948 to 1979

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ABSTRACT

Jihadism is a type of Islamists movements that in addition to belief in following the principles of Islam, has especial emphasis on Jihad (sacred war) as one of the basis of Islam. The origin of this movement in general, is Egypt, andin particular, Muslim Brotherhood organization (Ikhvan ul-Muslemin). In second half of twentieth century due to factors like torture and prison, identity crisis, 1967 defeat from Israel and intense class differences and closed political space, groups with extremist attitudes and equipped with ideas of extremist theorists like Sayyed Qotb, have been separated from the Muslim Brotherhood and by accepting members from youth, students and others, they have created organizations that their main purpose is armed struggle with government and overthrowing it in order to establish an Islamic government. These organizations that their most popular ones are Al-Takfir Va Al-Hejreh, Army Technical Academy and Al-Jihad, soon began armed struggles with Egypt government.

Introduction

Emergence of Jihadist groups was an event which its disastrous consequences in the early 21th century has surprised the world. In the second half of twentieth century, under the influence of different factors, a special type of Islamism has developed in Egypt that because of its emphasis on the Jihad has been called Jihadist movement. This study aims to seek the emergence and expansion of this kind of Islamism and its effective factors. The reason for selecting this period is that 1948 is the year of first Palestine war and 1979 is the year of Soviet Union invasion to Afghanistan which both events are important points in the Islamists activities especially Jihadists. Research questions are informed as following:

a. Where is the first origin of this movement?

b. What are the main ideas of Jihadist movement?

c. What arethe most important groups of this movement?

d. What are effective factors on emergence and expansion of Jihadist groups?

Research hypotheses are:

a. This movement is typically derived from MuslimBrotherhood.

b. Main ideas of Jihadist movement is considering Muslim society as ignorant and necessity of Jihad.

c. The most important groups of this movement are three groups: Al-Takfir & Al-Hejre, army technical academy and Al-Jihad.

d. The most important factors of emergence and expansion of Jihadist groups are identity crisis, Arabs' 1967 defeat from Israel, class differences, prison and closed political space.

It should be mentioned that library method was used in this research and first-hand resources have been used in it.

ABrief Look at General Condition in Egypt from 1948 To 1979

In Egypt, Khedive royal dynasty was changed to constitution government in 1923. This government which was managed under influence of Britain has gained some independence in internal affairs based on treaty of friendship of 1936 but it failed to form a stable and powerful government. While Egypt government was struggling for complete independence from Britain, Palestine war occurred in 1948 which resulted in defeating of Egyptian army. In 1952, the court did not respect the constitution and courtiers have captured most Egypt lands from their owners. Bribery was alarming and society was divided into two poor and rich classes. Army, in intense weakness and dissatisfaction by military defeat in 1948 has committed coup d'état in 1952 and forced Malik Farooqh, king of Egypt, to leave the country and declared republic in 1953. In 1954, government could sign a new treaty with Britain that according to it English troops should leave Egypt in 2 years and as such, one of the great problems of Egyptian politic in that time was solved. In 1958, Jamal Abd-Al-Nasir has declared the Suez Canal as national canal that after it, France and England and Israel attacked Egypt and occupied the canal but they were forced to leave it under great international society pressure, especially by U.S.A and Soviet Union and this was the second great victory for new government[1].

Nasir tried to expand Arab nationalism but instead of achieving some success, he could not preserve mass support along with controlling revolution and its direction. In Nasir' regime, the power was highly centralized and there were pessimism about pluralism. In the first decade, military government led by Nasir, land reforms and nationalization take away the ownership from the dominant economic class and has created an indefinite class structure and simultaneously, independent political parties were dissolved[2]. In 1967 in another war, Egypt, Syria and Jordan was defeated by Israel and Egypt has lost Sinai desert. This defeat has widespread consequences in Egypt including questioning the legitimacy of Nasir's regime and Arabic nationalism theory and Egypt encounter with economic crisis because of losing incomes of Suez Canal caused by the losing Sinai desert (East coast of Suez Canal). Jamal Abdul-Nasir passed away in 1970 and his deputy, Anwar Sadat, was replaced him. In 1973, Anwar Sadat along with Syria has attacked Israel in which the Egyptians first gained some victories but they failed to continue them and even exposed to another defeat.

In this condition, Egyptian negotiated with Israel due to their early victories which led to the peace with Israel[3]. This has surprised the Arab world and resulting in existing deep gap between Arab countries. It also led to the hatred of Islamist forces from Sadat and his government.

MuslimBrotherhood, the First Origin of Jihadist Groups

In early years of this period, leadership of Muslim Brotherhood was in the hands of its founder i.e. Hassan Al-Banna. Because of violent struggles between Muslim Brotherhood and advocates of other parties and also insistence for cancelling 1936 treaty, the government has dissolved this group in 1946. Muslim Brotherhood continued their way and committed violence against foreign citizens and at that year has assassinated Naqhrashi Pashai, the Prime Minister.[4]This event ledto widespread opposition of government with this group which resulted in the murder of Hassan Al-Banna in 1949. After army coup d'état in 1952, first the relation of MuslimBrotherhood and army was good and even Nasir has used their help for assassinating English agents and attacks to their centers to force English out of Egypt. But in 1954, these relations became hostile.[5] Regarding Nasir ideas and policies, this hostility was inevitable. But obstinacy of military branch of Muslim Brotherhood which did not follow other leaders after Hassan-Al-Banna has intensified this hostility. In 1954, Muslim Brotherhood attempted to assassinate Nasir which led to widespread opposition of government with them and more than 4000 members were jailed[6].

In 1965, Egypt government put more than 30 thousand members of Muslim Brotherhood in prison and severely tortured them[7]. This had disastrous consequences because from 1958 Takfirist circles were formed around Sayyed Qotb and reached to its peak in 1965[8]. Prison and torture were effective in emergence of violent thoughts. In reaction to the violence and bullying of Nasir to MuslimBrotherhood which was unprecedented, these extremists' thoughts were expanded and undoubtedly, tortures in the prisons transformed them to explosive bombs which would one day explode against the society that annoyed them or became silence against tortures[9]. According to these thoughts, first Nasir was accused of blasphemy. This idea was continued until it accused all society to balsphemy[10]. Of course, this was not verified by the leadership of MuslimBrotherhood and their mentor, Hassan Al-Hodhaibi, was forced to write a rejection for Takfirist view. This rejection letter was known as "Doat La Qozat" (inviters not judges) and after that, the border between two views MuslimBrotherhood and Jihadist-Takfirist was determined.

From another view, it can be imagined that during 1965, there was a gap and distance between old and young generations of MuslimBrotherhood. Most of old members took conservative direction and until 1977 that Sadat visited Israel, they compromised with his regime while most young radical members issued the blasphemy verdict of ignorant society[11]. In fact, terroristic actions of MuslimBrotherhood was distinct from other Jihadist groups in Egypt because their victims were non-Muslim and generally, MuslimBrotherhood has never accepted the murder of Muslims and it seems that most of these terrors were done by various and unrelated individuals. MuslimBrotherhood, who always was interested to keep its widespread political party healthy and ongoing, tried to activate in present borders. It can be said that this policy was the reason of diverging some Islamists from them because they think that MuslimBrotherhood is not capable of understanding this fact that internal apostates (rulers) were more dangerous than foreign enemies[12].

Main Ideas ofJihadist Groups

Jihadist groups were forced to challenge proven traditional Islamic criteria to prove their ideas and it was not possible except with new conception of real meanings in religious sources[13]. They used sacred text to put away teachings of official clergy and common readings of Islam to present a more revolutionary, robust and innovative reading[14]. Therefore, it was not by accident that most their leaders were typically non-clergy[15]. Religious and revolutionary Jihadist readings are quite clear in the Sayyed Qotb books and ideas and other Jihadist leaders. Sayyed Qotb's thoughts had the most effect on the Jihadist movements in the second half of 20th century. Sayyed Qotb was born in a village of Asiot city in Egypt in 1906. He lived agriculture life until 15 years old[16]. His primary education was there. Then, he went to Cairo and continued his education. In 1929 he became a teacher and after a while, he was sent by Theology ministry to U.S to continue his educations. He returned in 1951. After return, he resigned and began to write and research. At the late years of 1940s, he entered in the Islamic activities. He joined to Muslim Brotherhood and continued his writings. After worsening the relation of Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt revolution leaders in 1954, they put him in prison and after freedom; he published more extremist views which were led to his execution in 1966[17].

The life of Sayyed Qotb can be divided in three steps: first step, tutor and literature critic; second step, Islamic invitation which includes the description of Islamic idea and its system for life and social justice in world and resolving cruelty and observing the right of poor; and third step, revolutionary Islam which considered Muslims in that time asnon-Muslims and ignorants and it is said that this thought was shaped in him when he was in prison[18]. He believed that Islamic ideology cannot be evolved and changed but this is humanity which should pave the evolution way in its framework and increases his understanding and continues his way in the rich framework because the one who has founded this ideology is the creator of man and he is aware of man's nature and needs which changes over time and he has put characteristics in this ideology that can be accountable for all different and varied needs[19]. However, Sayyed Qotb considered Ijtehad was necessary for conforming Islam verdicts to new requirements of the modern society. From his view, from the beginning of Islam to today, jurisconsults (Faqihs) had made many attempts to conform and establish its principles to conform the Islam verdicts to requirements of new society and time but this attempt and ijtehad was stopped and as a result, development of Islamic jurisprudence was stopped[20].

According to Sayyed Qotb, all people have the right to exploit reading and understanding Qur'an by their ability[21]. He says about Qur'an that those who interpreted the whole Qur'an texts as final rules of religion and did not understand its phased nature are wrong[22].It means that he had an idea that by considering historical realities, could open the way for interpretation of those interpretive problems because he believed that Qur'an texts had phased nature and each of their phases had revealed about certain conditions and events; therefore, Muslims should consider that in which conditions they were and to which conditions of early Islam they were more similar and based on this, they decided to follow which verses and orders of Qur'an.

Sayyed Qotb did not speak so much about the proving truth of the Islam but he always emphasizes on the comprehensive and superiority of Islamic laws and rules such that it seems that he only talked with the believers of Islam and he tried to prevent the deviation of these believers toward eastern and western ideologies and give them confidence to become proud of Islam and be not humiliated against western culture.

Sayyed Qotb has particular emphasis on the Jihad. He thought that there was no idea compulsion in Islam but Jihad was for eliminating the rebels and governments who made the human servant of non-God and Muslims should resist against them to reach the message of Islam to its servants. In his view, only preaching was not enough for expansion of Islam but Muslims should resist against non-Islamic ideas and fought with material tools with governments because combat with preaching could not defeat holders of material power[23].

Qotb believed that The West had led Muslims to ignorance and therefore, it should be fought[24]. But his most controversial ideas related to the ignorance and blasphemy. Under the influence of Modoodi Pakistan's thoughts, he considered Islamic communities as ignorant because of not enforcing the Islamic laws. He even went further and using Ibn-Taimiyah's ideas expanded the struggle with ignorance. By following Ibn-Taimiyah(most important thought of salafi movement), he divides societies to two groups that in one group good forces were located and in other group, bad (evil) forces and there was no middle line. He interpreted the reasoning of Ibn-Taimiyah against blasphemous rulers such that they could be generalized into Islam problems in the modern world[25] and as a result, issued the Jihad verdict with Muslim governments to overthrow them and establish Islamic government.

Although Sayyed Qotb considered those societies which did not enforce Islamic laws as ignorant societies and believed that their people are not Muslim[26], but there has been dispute on this problem that he has excommunicated Muslims and issued Jihad verdict against them. In one of his books titled"Lemaza Aademooni" (why did they execuse me) in response to a question about excommunication of people he said what he had said related to the Islamic ideas and movement and system not judgment about people[27]. In verifying this idea that he considered people blasphemous or not, we should consider two points:

1. We should consider that Sayyed Qotb was a man of letter not Jurist; therefore, his idea about blasphemy and faith had not jurisprudence origin[28].

2. Although from his words we can infer with logical reasons that he did not excommunicate people but issuing Jihad verdict against them is far from his words' nature. He never says such thing. While if he believe this idea, he should expressly referred to it regarding its importance and because he always said right, we can conclude that by these words he has two meaning:

a. By calling people non-Muslims he wanted to excite them and awakes their conscience.

b. He wanted to eliminate the cooperation of Islam and retardation of Muslims. Because in this case, all his theories indicating the completeness of Islam for all times questions by retardation of modern Muslims; Despite these cases, there is no doubt that his theories provide an essential basis for those who have excommunicated all Muslim and consider Jihad with them necessary.

Jihadi Organizations

As a result of expanding excommunicating and Jihadist thoughts, organizations were formed in the Egypt that some groups of them were not important like Jamat-al-Harkatiah, Alozlat Al-Sho'oriah and Jamat-Al-Takfir[29]. But the most important of them were three organizations:

Jamat-Al-Muslmin or Al-Takfir Va Al-Hejrah

Even without any explanations and only by considering their name, we can find the most basic thoughts of this group. Jamat-al-Muslims means that they limit Muslims to their group and did not consider others as Muslims and al-Takfir va al-Hijreh means that they believe in the blasphemy of other

Muslims and they should take distance from them. This thought was because of that they like Qotb believed in steps nature of Qur'an and they followed the orders of Qur'an that ordered the prophet to migrate from Mecca to Medina when he and his followers were weak in Mecca. This organization was diverged from MuslimBrotherhood in 1970 which was founded by Shokri Mostafa. Because this organization has excommunicated the Sadat regime and considered migration(Hijrah) as one of combat methods and necessities, it was called al-Takfir VA al-Hijreh.As it was said they thought that they lived in the weakness era of Muslims like Mecca era of primary Muslims so in the beginning they tried to avoid fighting government until they became powerful in the same manner that primary Muslimbehave, But in 1978, some of its members and its leader were arrested and executed by the government for murdering of a minister. After that, this organization became an underground militant organization which believed in armed struggle. Armed struggle between this group and government continued until last years of 1970s[30]. In 1976, its members were at least 500[31] and maximum 2000[32] and then reached to more than 4000 people. This organizations accepted members among students and graduates, middle members' age was 25 years old and about two third of them were immigrants of villages and towns to large cities and belong to middle class[33].

They tried to provide the way for overthrowing the ignorant regime and establishing Islamic government by accurate implementation of Qotb's advices. For this purpose, with accurate organizing and training isolation from Egypt society to their members and living in team homes around the cities and using guns, they gradually began the encountering with the regime. This group forced their members to live in team homes and inter-group marriages[34].

It is quite clear that this group took the idea of excommunication and migration from the book Ma'alem fi al-Traiq by Sayyed Qotb and writings of Indian Islamists like Modoodi. A considerable point was that isolation and distinctive and discrete discourse of Indian Islamists was copied by Egyptian Islamists without considering the context of producing such discourse which was a community of Muslims and other religions' followers[35]. This group, in contrary with othersemi-Salafi groups, did not accept Ijtehad and considered all clergy and jurisconsult of past centuries as those whose blood may be shed with immunity and they considered following the text and Sunnah(the prophet's speech and behavior) necessary[36].

They severely attacked the clergy and called them bureaucrats advocating regime and even advised their members did not say prayer with them in the mosques. They excommunicated government and society and claimed that Muslims will not release from blasphemy except they join this group. Their leader, Shokri Mostafa, was a dictator who took final decisions. His followers considered him as Mahdi(Muslim's emancipator who will advent in the last era). He believed that his long term strategy for building a new core of believers modeled the program of the prophet at the time of Mecca[37].

It is known that Muslims believe all sciences are belong to God. But Shokri believed that this hah another meaning and it was this that Muslims should search their knowledge from God and this modern knowledge wasnot real knowledge because it was not founded by relying on God. According to him, what had come after Qur'an and prophet is out of legitimate knowledge and science. Four jurisprudence schools especially were void. He said to the court that Islam declined since Muslims had stopped direct education from Qur'an and Sunnah and instead, they followed those who called themselves Imams. He claimed

that works of four Imams were unnecessary because a good dictionary is enough to understand the Qur'an. He said that four Imams closed the door of Ijtehad such that people admire them and their writings and they became like worshiped idols of gods; therefore, they exit from the Islam[38].

Islamic Liberator Organization (Al-Thrir-Al-Eslamiyah) or Army Technical Academy orShabab-E- Mohammad

This organization was established by Saleh Sarieh in 1971. Saleh Sarieh had developed this organization by imitation of Jordan Islamic Liberator Party which he had been its member[39]. Saleh Sarieh was Palestinian and he was born in Haifa and in 1971 he graduated in psychology from Cairo University and he was in prison for Islamic activities[40]. It is said that he had powerful personality with knowledge, courage and piety. His followers liked him. He managed his organization as a council. Organization head was a council consisted of 12-members council and decisions were made by votes. Sometimes these decisions were against his decisions like the attempt to occupy army technical academy. Saleh was executed in 1976[41].

This group selected his members from students and graduates and immigrants from villages and small cities to large cities which were representatives of middle class and low class. Al-Tahrir political strategy was different from MuslimBrotherhood and al-Takfir Va al-Hejreh's strategies. It means that both groups advocated a stepwise strategy for forming an Islamic system while the main purpose of al-Tahrir was the establishment of Islamic government and based on this, they planned to gain power and they penetrated in army to commit a coup d'état. This group, after suppression and by using the model of Iran revolution, began underground activities to create public movements in universities and streets[42].

Al-Tahrir al-Eslamiyah was a branch of MuslimBrotherhood that accepted radical interpretations of Hassan –Al-Banna and sayyed Qotb. This group attacked government but did not excommunicate society[43]. The effect of Sayyed Qotb thoughts was evident in this group. This group disagreed with clergy but showed lower hostility toward them[44]. Saleh Sareih, in the introduction of Resalt-al-Eiman, considered the application of intellectual and philosophical methods in understanding Qur'an and Sunnah and expansion of cults and political religions after caliphates are a result of deviating from the righteous path in understanding Qur'an and Sunnah and differences between clergy in beliefs; differences which occurred about the traits of God and their interpretation. He advises that there should be no barrier between man and Qur'an; but simplicity of Qur'an negates all interpretations. He did not accept interpretations of jurisprudence and Sufism(mystics) because he believed that they expressed secrets and mysteries for Qur'an verses which were not correspondent with their appearance and accepted the interpretation which in simple Arabic and based on prophet Hadith(speech) or understanding of first generations of Muslims(salaf)[45].

Al-JihadOrganization

This organization was formed by combination of some organizations like al-Jihad and Jamiyat-al-Islamiyah organization and smaller groups and later, they all called al-Jihad. Al-Jamaat al-Islamiyah was formed in early 1970s in the universities and at first; it cannot be distinguishable from MuslimBrotherhood. Its first founder was Salah Hashim and their thoughts were influenced by Inb Taimiyah. In that decade, they involved in political tensions and actions and struggled with government forces[46]. This group which was known as Etejah al-Sa'ed until 1978, was separated from MuslimBrotherhood and other Semi-Salafies because of objection to their policies and called themselves Jamaat-al-Islamieh[47]. They introduce

themselves as this: our way is the way of Mohammd, Abu-Bakr, Omar, Osman and Ali.our way is the way of clergy and Imams like Abu-Hanifeh, Malik, Shafei, Ahmad, Kajari,Moslem, Ibn-Taimiayh, Inb-Qayem. Our way is ordering to good and negating the bad and Jihad in the way of God by a disciplined group…while there is a painful reality that there is no caliphate in the east and west that acts based on Islam[48].

A look in this brief introduction and the Clergy they name shows the effect of hadith and Salafi scholars on them. When they decide to prepare a textbook for members, this duty was given to the Abdul-Salam Faraj while in this group there is at least one official clergy who could do this. The lack of idea for resisting against ruler among Sunni(the most important part of Muslims)clergy causes Faraj to use Salafi scholars and Ibn-Taimiyah thoughts to find reliance for legitimacy of resistance. His textbook was called "al-Jihad, al-Fariza al-Qalebah"[49](Jihad, absent duty).This textbook had great effect in the expansion of Jihadist thoughts.

Al-Jihad organization was established by a 22 years old man named Nabil al-Bar'ee in 1985. He had studied the Ibn-Taimiyah' book aboutfatwas (orders) of Jihad and concluded that the correct way to reform the path of Islam world is Jihad and lack of Jihad is the cause of undesired condition of Islam world. At that time, the prisons of Nasir were full of MuslimBrotherhood's members and there was a horror atmosphere for prosecuting believers and Islamic movements that led him to this conclusion that the only way to change is secret armed action. In 1965, the second hostile encounter between government and MuslimBrotherhood has happened and the execution verdicts of Sayyed Qotb and others were issued which has great effect on youth and they sought way for revolution and they joined to al-Jihad in 1966[50]. In 1977, Abdul-Salam Faraj has joined this group. This organization was identified in 1978 for the involvement in anti-Qotb activities. When its members were arrested, their relation with Abdul-Salam Faraj was cut and he acted independently and led the al-Jihad[46]. Al-Jihad, in contrary with al-Takfir was ready to penetrate in public institutions, army and security forces instead of isolating from the society. Ideological framework which was considered by Faraj in the book Jihad can be explained briefly in 11 points:

1. Since the laws of Muslim countries are blasphemous laws, true Muslims should declare Jihad against their leaders who are trained in west by Christians, Communists and Zionists.
2. Muslim leaders who reject Islam laws are apostate although they claim Islam.
3. Cooperation with a blasphemous ruler who claims Islam is sin. True Muslims should avoid public jobs and under flag service.
4. Permanent Jihad against a blasphemous government is the most excellent obligation and the only way of true Muslims who wish to destroy ignorant society and revive Islam.
5. Armed force is the only acceptable form of Jihad.
6. Jihad through peaceful ways of slogans, forming Islamic parties and migration is the sign of fear and silliness. Islam wins only by armed forces. As in the past, a little group of true believers were able to preach by victory. Therefore, true Muslims should use Jihad although they were low.
7. At first, the Jihad should be with internal blasphemy (Egypt government) and then, with external blasphemy.
8. Avoiding Jihad is the main reason of disastrous condition of Muslims.

His book is written explicitly and armed Jihad is considered based on Qur'an interpretations and historical background and writings of Ibn-Hazm, Ibn-Taimiyah, Qazi Ayaz, Ibn-Kathir,

Noovi, Sayyed Qotb and others. Al-Jihad, in contrary with other organizations, had not a leader like Shokri Mostafa who ruled all his followers and advocates. Therefore, Jihad ideology like al-Takfir ideology had not a Mahdism aspect although they never denied the final emergence of Mahdi but they were not led by a Mahdi. They did not distance themselves from the society and did not delay Jihad with the excuse of better opportunity. Instead, they presented a new doctrine about Islam which only by Jihad it can be reached. According to Al-Jihad thoughts, Failure and inability of Muslims and their leaders in implementing Islam obligations will make them blasphemous and eliminate their legitimacy and destroys them[51].

One of the other ideas of this group was that after the decline of Osman (the third successor of the prophet), clergy became wage-takers and the society had deviated completely from the Islam[52].

Both organizations Al-Jihad and Jamaat al-Islamiyah, which were known as Al-Jihad, considered caliphate rule as the way of prophet was a necessary reality. They believed that whether Islam enemies like or not, caliphate would occur in the future. Because God had promised to help his servants in the case of acting based on conditions and they were acting based on consitions[53].

Factors of Formation and Expansion ofJihadMovement

Five essential factors were effective in forming and expanding the Jihadist thoughts and ideas in Egypt in the studied era: 1. Prison and torture; 2. Identity crisis; 3. 1967 defeat; 4. Intense class differences; 5. Closed political space.

Prisonand Torture

Earlier, the role of prison and torture in the expansion of Jihadist thoughts and in its supplement was mentioned, it couldbe said throughout the history, prisons were considered as a place for creating extremist thoughts and Jihadists were not the first group. Prisoners were always good volunteers for extremist thoughts because anti-social attitudes, violent tendencies, social isolation, hatred and cultural imaginations were seen among them. These prisoners continue joining these groups after freedom because released prisoners have little material and spiritual support after freedom; while these groups provide this support for prisoners[54].

Identity Crisis

It is clear that Muslim societies, especially in the 20th century, were severely targeted by western thoughts and ideas and by expanding these thoughts, they saw their identity in danger. Their identity was declined under the influence of western concepts while Islam like Christianity and Judaism distinguishes believers and pagans. In these religions, there is a struggle between right and wrong and there should be we and they. This struggle and bordering is necessary to determine the individual identity[51].

Probably, among Islamist groups, Jihadists were more successful to give identity to their members because of two reasons. First,Jihadist groups were not usually widespread and this small size of group caused they believed that they were among those which were selected by God for Jihad. As a result, members of these groups considered themselves separated and even superior to other Muslims and this gave them a pride with joy. The second reason for the success of these groups in giving identity to their members was that they asked their members difficult and risky tasks like armed operations. It was natural that the importance of these operations gave importance to their actors.

1967 Defeat

In the post-colonial era and forming national governments, return and relative gap in the Salafi and Islamic movement against nationalistic, left and liberal ideologies occurred but after 1967 defeat of Arabs from Israel, new Salafi movements were emerged[55]. After 1967 defeat, deep legitimacy crisis of Arab leaders and institutions was raised and shocked all Arabic society. It was concluded that past ideological solutions were not sufficient for treating the old diseases of Arabs and after that, vast groups of Egyptian-Arabic population, by avoiding pan-Arabism and socialism (which was preached by Nasir), turned to Islamism and Arab leaders tried by accepting the Islam, increase their public support and repair the stroke on their legitimacy[56].

This defeat has great influence in Egypt and this feeling was grown among the middle class and youth that distance from God and the weakness of faith was the main cause of this defeat. Therefore, some groups of youth who were leftists or Marxists or Nasirists turned to Islamism and especially violent Islamic groups[57]. In the 1970s, even in Egypt universities, Jihad concept has its advocates[58]. This aspect should be considered that these youths were first advocates of left or Naseri ideologies and they considered the revolutionary characteristics in selecting Islamists groups and helped them in their extremisms. Their solutions were based on the traditional simple beliefs of societies and it has relative support and due to the easy west invasion and Jihadi groups, they did not need complex solution but they only presented a simple solution that justifies their Jihad against westerners[59].

Intense Class Differences

Wrong distribution of income as one of the economy liberalizing policies by Anwar Sadat is often considered as one of the first causes of Islamic struggles. In fact, evidences indicate increasing difference between rich and poor. The most significant evolution was essential decrease in the incomes of middle class. It is not accidental that these classed were the first sources of providing active Jihadist groups[60]. By examining the leaders and members of Takfirist and Jihadist groups' leaders and members, it can be concluded that their life place was small villages and around large cities like Cairo. These areas had many limitations due to poverty and lack of facilities[61].

Closed Political Space

Open political space has always been a solution which guarantees people participation in policies and led oppositions to harmless canals. In opposite point, by closing political space and eliminating political participation, opposition was forced to find other canals to express their opposition and using violence is one of these methods. When there is no possibility for religious fundamental groups for peaceful opposition, they turn to violence[62]. It is evident that Egypt political system in the discussed era was a closed military system which never gave the permission of political activity to opposition like Islamists.[63] When Islamic groups like MuslimBrotherhood find no way for political participation, as a natural reaction, most members turn to violence and provide a hot market for Jihadist thoughts.

Conclusion

As seen, Jihadist movement thoughts were first formed among MuslimBrotherhood prisoners who were under intense tortures and in fact, spread from insides prisons to out. The most important theorist of this movement was Sayyed Qotb which was a Brotherhood prisoner. Main points of Jihadist thought were about Jihad for forming Islamic government and ignorance of the society and excommunication. After the Arabs defeat in 6-day war in 1967, suppression of most people and active youths from pan-Arabism thoughts enhanced the Jihadist forces. This trend was intensified with the beginning of open economic doors by Anwar Sadat which deepened the class gap. Closed political space was also another reason and increased the motivations of turning to the violence. By forming fighter groups, extremists'

thoughts entered in action phase. The most important of these groups were al-Takfir va al-Hijreh, Army Technical Academy and Al-Jihad.

These three organization had common ideas which mostly were influenced by Sayyed Qotb's thoughts. They all considered the Muslim governments and rulers as non-Muslims that fighting against them was legal and even a duty. They also strongly believed in necessity of establishing of a government that ruled in accordance with Islamic laws. So it could be concluded that this three organizations had the same strategy but they were different in tactics. Al jihad and Army Technical Academy were interested in fighting to government openly and immediately while Al Takfir had a long-termtactic for gaining enough power to fight effectively. In spite of this differences in tactics they three almost had the same fate. They faced strong react of government and became underground.

Endnotes

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