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Sa'id Hawwa: The Making of a Radical Muslim Thinker in Modern Syria

ITZCHAK WEISMANN

Since 1963, when the Ba'ath Party seized power in Syria, the Muslim Brethren movement established itself as the core of its opposition. The Ba'ath power base consisted of a coalition of social forces which previously were under the thumb of the Sunni urban leadership, namely lower-class people of towns and villages and those of the Muslim heterodox communities: Alawites, Druse and Ismailis.¹ Its fundamental principles – particularly during the period of Salah Jadid (1966–70) – were socialism and secularism. Arab nationalism was pushed aside in favour of class struggle, and nationalisation of means of production was to replace private ownership.² Secularism was the natural outcome of radical socialist ideology, it served moreover as a counterbalance to the narrow communal base of the ruling system. Even the more pragmatic and permissive rule of Hafiz al-Asad since 1970 was insufficient compensation for his being Alawite. Indeed, he was the first non-Sunnite in modern Syrian history who assumed the office of president.

The nature and principles of the Ba'ath regime shaped the structure of the opposition against him: the urban middle and upper classes on the one hand, the *ulama* and the Muslim Brothers on the other. The latter supplied the leadership and gave expression to both religious and economic grievances.³ When Asad's difficulties seemed to accumulate in the second half of the 1970s they decided to fan the uprising against him in earnest. Its peak was reached in the Hamah disturbances of 1982, during which Asad was forced to bring in the army in order to suppress them.

Information about the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria since the 1960s is rather scant. As an underground movement it avoided exposing itself and its activities. Nor was the totalitarian government which they opposed ready to divulge any pertinent information. Yet members of the movement who lived in exile considered themselves less constrained to voice their opinion, and their writings were more revealing. The most outspoken among them was Sa'id Hawwa (1935–89), regarded as the fore-

most ideologue of the Muslim Brethren movement in Ba‘thist Syria. For almost 20 years he was a member of its leadership and the mouthpiece of its principles and aims. In this article it is intended to dwell on Hawwa’s personality and on the factors which helped in shaping it. A subsequent article will be devoted to the basic principles of his thought.

THE CITY OF HAMAH

No city in Syria would appear better suited as the birthplace of an Islamic radical thinker than was Hamah, which has always been regarded quite rightly as the stronghold of religious conservatism and zealotry in the entire country. Hamah had been one of the active centres of the Syrian national struggle against French mandatory rule, a struggle which in the eyes of many of its participants represented nothing other than the struggle of Islam against the invading Christian infidel.⁴ It was only here, as it turned out, that the Islamic struggle against the secular and sectarian government of the Neo-Ba‘th could assume the character of a revolt. This fanaticism can be explained as a product of the bipolarity existing between the city and its rural hinterland: the sectarian polarity and the class polarity.

As is the case with Syria as a whole, the communal structure of the district of Hamah is exceedingly complex but has also unique features of its own which are more extreme than those found in other regions of the country. Sunni Muslims make up about two-thirds of its population, as they do in the district of Homs, its neighbour to the south, but in distinction to the districts of Damascus and Aleppo where Sunnis constitute more than 80 per cent of the population. The largest minority community in the Hamah district are the Ismailis – about 13 per cent, and there is also a large concentration of Greek Orthodox Christians – about 11 per cent – and Alawites – about 9.5 per cent of the population in the area.⁵

In any case, the most important characteristic in this respect is that the city of Hamah proper was overwhelmingly inhabited by Sunnis, with only a small presence of Christians.⁶ The minorities were concentrated in the surrounding rural districts.⁷ As though to demonstrate its uniqueness and pre-eminence, the city preserved, in its unequalled zealotry among Syrian cities, its Islamic character. The central role of religion in the life of the city has been graphically described by Fedden, who visited Hamah in the mid-1940s:

Islam colours its temper, and there can be few places outside the

Holy Cities of Arabia where the Faith has remained so aggressive and fanatic. As in the eighteenth century, the Muslim is *ipso facto* the master and the Christian dog exists on sufferance. As for Jews, not one is allowed in the town. Faith prohibits the sale of alcoholic drinks in hotels and public places ... The women are veiled with the greatest strictness ... Even the Syrian Christians adopt a protective mimicry, veiling their women and assuming a Muslim pose whenever they can ... The mosques are always crowded at prayer time and the movement of the *suks* seems to overflow into them spontaneously. Faith intrudes even on merchandising ... There are times when the intensity of the town's belief seems to excuse all that it involves of intolerance and prejudice.⁸

Class polarization in Hamah was also sharper than in any of the other regions in Syria at large. There were four families whose rule in both the city and its villages was almost absolute: the Barazi, al-'Azm, Kilani and Tayfur. Ninety-two out of 114 villages of the district belonged to them.⁹ *Fellahin* who owned the land they farmed made up only an insignificant fraction of its population. Indeed, their numbers declined steadily during the Mandate.¹⁰ In the city of Hamah itself the class of artisans and small merchants was living in conditions of deepening poverty, owing to the inundation of the market with European goods with which they were unable to compete.¹¹ It was, therefore, the members of the large families who would represent Hamah in the nationalist movement and parliament.¹² The effects of the combination between communal and class polarities in Hamah are vividly expressed again by Fedden:

In such a setting of faith and feudalism it is not surprising that the population should be notoriously farouche, hostile not only to the European, but even to the neighbouring inhabitants of Homs, and indeed to all ideas and persons unfamiliar. Their mood is expressed in sudden violences and rash riots ... It is a place of fanatical certainties and uncertain passions which it is difficult for the western mind to comprehend.¹³

FAMILY BACKGROUND

It was in this city that Sa'id Hawwa was born in 1935. The 'Aliliyat quarter, where he lived, was the largest quarter in Hamah¹⁴ and apparently also the poorest. Most of its residents earned their living either by hiring themselves out as agricultural labourers on the fields or

by selling what they produced. Labourers and sellers alike had considerable experience of the burden imposed on them by the owners of the landed estates. Agriculture was also the source of living of the Hawwa family.¹⁵

The boy spent his early years as an orphan. His mother had died when he was one year old. His father Muhammad Dib, had become involved in a blood feud, in consequence of which he absented himself from the city for a period of four years. An additional year he spent in prison, after having obtained forgiveness from the family of the man he killed. The dominant figure in Sa'id's life during these five years was his grandmother, in whose home he lived. The grandmother was a forceful and decisive woman who had made the boy's education her principal concern. She sent him to school and, notwithstanding his reluctance, made certain he would attend school regularly. Her persistence was admirable, especially in view of the poverty in which they lived. There was little to eat at home and the boy was nearly thrown out of school because of his poor dress. His grandmother beat him as a matter of course, but he remembered her nevertheless with great affection.¹⁶

Sa'id visited his father once at his place of refuge in the Jazira, refusing then to remain with him, and once more in prison. The boy did not actually come to know his father until about the age of seven, when the father was finally released. Muhammad Dib removed his son from school as he needed his help in the new business he had established, as wholesaler of vegetables in the city market. It seemed that Sa'id's education had come to an end, as it had for many of the children of the poor 'Aliliyat quarter. Actually the opposite proved to be the case. It was Sa'id's father who was able to arouse in him that eagerness for learning, which was to last for the rest of his life. He learned to master the skills required of a merchant: reading and writing, arithmetic and calculation; and proved to be a talented pupil in all subjects, much to his family's pride. He was especially drawn to reading. His success aroused in him ambitions of greatness as well as a strong sense of self-confidence. With Muhammad Dib's return the economic circumstances of the family improved considerably, so that life in general became easier.¹⁷

The father's influence on his son was enormous and was not confined to mere practical learning. Among the values Hawwa attributes to this influence we find those of honour, in particular family honour, integrity and disregard of externals. Obviously, religion too played an important part in the education of a child of Hamah, the more so in the Hawwa family which was proud to regard itself as belonging to the descendants of the Prophet. Even before Sa'id entered school his grandmother had seen to it that he would learn to recite the Qur'an. He was glad to drop the

subject, until his father aroused his interest in religion. He recited the Qur'an with his son and together they would pray each morning before beginning their working day.¹⁸ Yet, the most important impact of the father upon his son was as a model of political activism.

EARLY POLITICAL EXPERIENCES

It was during these early years of Sa'id Hawwa's life that Hamah, the bastion of tradition and conservatism in Syria, began to shake. The source of the upheaval was class polarization. In the late 1930s and 1940s it seemed to thrust aside the old communal enmities, as the *fellahin* – Sunnis and members of other religious groupings alike – began to rise against their masters. The instigator of this awakening was a young lawyer named Akram al-Hourani.¹⁹

A marxist might regard the fact that the awakening of the *fellahin* occurred in Hamah as a proof of the validity of dialectical materialism. The economic concentration of power in the hands of the few was here more acute than in any other part of Syria. Therefore, it was here that opposition developed for the first time among the exploited class, namely the peasants. We are however inclined to ascribe the awakening to the political genius of Hourani. Doubtless he was a product of the time and the place of his activity. Born in 1914 in Hamah, Hourani was a son of a landowning family that had lost its property during his childhood. This was the source of his bitterness against estate owners. He grew into manhood during the years of struggle against the Mandate and played a key role in leading the uprising which led to the final withdrawal of the French from his city. Hourani was the first to grasp the potential power residing in the two then still dormant factors in Syrian society: the military and the *fellahin*. As a man of action and organization, he also knew well how to set them both into motion. The ramified network of connections he set up in the army enabled him to remain in the upper ranks during all of the political upsets which took place in Syria, from Za'im's *coup d'état* in 1949 to that of the Ba'ath in 1963. Hourani was no less effective in organizing the rural population against the landowners. His successes in Hamah led him to found the Arab Socialist Party in 1950, and one year later to organize an 'anti-feudal' convention lasting three days in Aleppo, in which thousands of peasants from the northern and western regions of Syria took part. In the 1949 elections the *fellahin* had obtained one parliamentary seat out of the seven which had been allotted to Hamah, the remainder being occupied by the landowners. By the 1954 elections the reverse had become the case. Hourani fell from power after 1963, when it became evident that in the Syrian realities class conflict neces-

sarily leads to intercommunal strife, and he, as a Sunni, found himself on the wrong side.

Muhammad Dib Hawwa was a political activist already in the 1930s, representing the residents of the 'Aliliyat quarter against the landowners and their agents, and was considered as one of the leaders of the younger generation. This had been the background of the blood feud in which he had become embroiled and which was to cause his imprisonment twice more. When the agitations of Hourani were beginning to infiltrate the quarter, he was among the first to accept his call and to spread its message. He was a member in a 'pressure group' which had set as its goal the defence of the oppressed (*al-Mustad 'afun*).²⁰ The success of Hourani's call in 'Aliliyat was indeed impressive. Sa'id Hawwa, however, was too young to be influenced by him directly. He was only eight years old when Hourani was first elected to parliament. The indirect influence of Hourani upon Hawwa was, none the less, considerable. It began at this early stage in his life by way of his father and continued into the 1950s, when he himself became politically active. Hawwa always acknowledged Hourani's impact on him, in spite of the contrary direction he chose. From him he learnt the importance of planning, organization and mass mobilization for political action. In his autobiography he wrote:

Through the membership of the father in the Arab Socialist Party at this stage [of my life] I became witness to dynamism and planning. The members of the party were highly active at all levels, and this gave them superiority by means of which they controlled Hamah . . . I was witness to the ways of planning how to obtain control of the street. The proverb says: 'He who rules the street is the ruler'. This is true, but when the whole street is being killed, how is control of the street to be obtained?²¹

Twenty years later the Ba'th would work systematically in order to realize Hourani's teachings. The lesson which was derived by Hawwa touched only on the form – on the means necessary to the achievement of success by a political movement. The content which he chose was altogether different.

The earliest political experience retained in Hawwa's memory was that of the French being driven out of Hamah in 1945, when Sa'id was ten years old. The evils of the French mandate were thus known to him only through books and stories and not from first-hand experience. His father took an active part in the struggle, as befitted an adherent of Hourani.²² Three years later passions were aroused again, when the war in Palestine broke out. Hawwa, more mature, began showing an active interest in the events. He listened to the impassioned speeches and witnessed the

enthusiasm awakened among the public for the idea of the conquest of Palestine and the expulsion of the Jews from it. He was drawn to this enthusiasm himself and would listen intently to the news from the front, as well as to the stories of the friends of his father who had come home on leave from the fighting.²³

In the course of these stormy years Hawwa had to choose his own personal way. Considering his abilities and success, on the one hand, and the family's relative prosperity on the other, it was only natural that he should find his way back to school. Following an interruption of three years in his studies he began attending night school – after finishing his working day with his father – in order to complete his elementary school education. The only available night school in Hamah was apparently *Dar al-Ansar*, an institution which was run by a *salafi* society, and Hawwa was compelled to attend an adult class. Despite all the difficulties he passed his examinations, and was able to continue as a regular pupil. He spent the next six years at the Ibn Rushd School, the largest secondary school in Hamah.²⁴ His principal leisure activity was always reading, both general and Islamic literature. Some of his readings were of a very high level: Aristotle's *Ethics* and al-Ghazali's *Ihya 'Ulum al-Din*.²⁵ He was interested in everything.

Hawwa was equally open in his attitude toward political parties, which were highly active at the school. He became acquainted with all of them. Three parties were competing for a position of primary at the Ibn Rushd School: the Communist Party, the Syrian Nationalist Party of Antun Sa'ada and the Arab Socialist Party of Akram al-Hourani. The last was the strongest and regarded Hawwa as its own because of his father's membership in the party. Hawwa, however, preferred to remain neutral. He had twice attended meetings of the Communist Party but was not impressed by its teachings.²⁶ Ultimately he was to reject all three parties because of their secular tendencies and chose the Muslim Brethren.

The man who shaped Hawwa's religious outlook and who exerted the most profound influence on his life was Shaykh Muhammad al-Hamid, his teacher at the Ibn-Rushd School. A deeper examination of his life and thought is therefore necessary for the understanding of Hawwa.

MUHAMMAD AL-HAMID AND THE NAQSHBANDI ORDER

Shaykh Muhammad al-Hamid was a prominent figure in the religious life of the city of Hamah. He was active in a broad range of spheres: educational, legal and spiritual. For his living he worked as a teacher of Islam (*al-tarbiya al-islamiyya*) at the Ibn-Rushd School and there Hawwa first met him, as a pupil.²⁷ In the evenings he used to give religious lessons to the public at the Sultan Mosque, which was the principal

mosque in Hamah. Hawwa soon joined his study circle and became close to him. Indeed, this was the time when he acquired his deeply religious attitude. Muhammad Al-Hamid was also the mosque's *khatib*. Another function of his was that of *mufti*. He gave legal opinions on questions which were referred to him not only from Hamah but from all parts of Syria and even from other Arab countries.²⁸ In addition, he published a series of books and epistles, principally on issues of religious practice and law.²⁹ Above all he was a *sufi Shaykh* of the Naqshbandi order.

Muhammad al-Hamid was born in 1910 into a family that saw religion as the essence of its existence. His father, Mahmud al-Hamid, was the head of the Naqshbandi order in Hamah and earned his living as a *kuttab* teacher. His mother came from the al-Jabi family, a family of *ulama* and men of letters which had considerable importance in the city.³⁰ At the age of six he had been successively orphaned by the deaths of his mother and father. Consequently, the following years, during the First World War and its attendant events, were years of great poverty.³¹ His elder brother, Badr al-Din, took upon himself the task of maintaining the family, and it was he who encouraged Muhammad to study.³² By the time he had finished primary school it was already plain that his inclination was for religion. He decided to take up sharia studies, initially at *Dar al-'Ulum al Shar'iyya* in Hamah and later, beginning in 1928, at *al-Madrasa al-Khusrawiyya al-Shar'iyya* in Aleppo, which was regarded as the best school in Syria for the subject. He returned to Hamah in 1935, where he spent the next three years. Then he set out for Egypt, where he completed his studies at the sharia faculty in al-Azhar University, the most prestigious institution for the study of Islam at the time. He specialized in Islamic jurisprudence and received his licence to practice as *qadi*. Back in Hamah, however, he preferred to become a teacher and to devote himself to learning and reading.³³

It was in fact the two periods spent away from his native city, and two factors that lay outside the scope of his formal studies, which played the decisive part in the formation of Muhammad al-Hamid's outlook. In Aleppo he became a *sufi*, and was initiated into the Naqshbandiyya *tariqa* under the inspiration of Shaykh Abu al-Nasr Khalaf, the chief guide (*murshid al-murshidin*) of the order in central Syria; in Cairo he became associated with the Muslim Brethren movement, being influenced by the personality of its founder and head, Hasan al-Banna. These two factors were to become the principal threads passed from al-Hamid to Hawwa and around them were to evolve all his teachings.

In his youth, before leaving for Aleppo, al-Hamid was under the influence of an uncle on his mother's side, Sa'id al-Jabi. The latter headed the *salafiyya* movement in Hamah. Its principal aim was to fight Sufism,

whom it regarded as having adopted innovations and extreme attitudes that were contrary to the Faith. Jabi's success was considerable and Muhammad, in contrast to his father followed him. However, in Aleppo, under the guidance of Khalaf, he underwent a change of heart, in consequence of which he became a practising *sufi* for the rest of his life.³⁴ On his return to Hamah he conducted a severe campaign against his uncle and his followers, in the course of which he made many enemies. Actually, this was one of the main reasons for his journey to Egypt three years later.³⁵

The Naqshbandiyya³⁶ was founded in the fourteenth century by Baha' al-Din Naqshband, a native of Bukhara in Central Asia. The initial chain (*silsila*) of the order, however, reaches back to Abu Bakr, as the first link after the Prophet. The Naqshbandiyya considers its doctrine to be that of the *sahaba* among whom Abu Bakr was the first and principal figure. The way of the first generation is interpreted by the order as an integration of intensive external activity, on the one hand, devotion and inner peace on the other. The first element was made manifest in the engagement of the order in Muslim political and social life. To work for the rule of Allah's word, as well as for the well-being of the community, is considered to be an important station (*maqam*) in the path to God. The second element is expressed in the ritual of the *dhikr*, which, in contrast to other orders, is conducted silently and inwardly. Music and dance are totally banned.

The Naqshbandiyya enjoyed considerable success throughout the Islamic world, mainly in India and the Ottoman Empire. Its prevalent branch in the Arab world is the Khalidiyya, which was founded in the beginning of the nineteenth century by Shaykh Khalid.³⁷ All Khalid did was to insist repeatedly on the principles of his predecessors: a return to the example of the Prophet and the Companions, a revival of the *sunna*, observing the sharia in its entirety and ensuring that the rulers should govern in accordance with it. In Istanbul his followers had an important role in the elimination of the Janissaries and the Bektashi order, thus clearing the way of the Empire to reform. A century later the Khalidiyya led the opposition to the secularization of the Turkish state by Atatürk. Other branches of the Naqshbandiyya were active in the organization of the resistance to the Russian conquests in Central Asia and to European rule in South-East Asia.

Shaykh Khalid spent only the last four years of his life in Damascus. It was enough to bring about a religious revival that quickly affected other parts of Syria. His admirers gave him the title of *mujaddid* of the century. Many of his supporters were *ulama*, including senior ones, and his order was called *tariqat al-ulama*. The basic requirement for being a *shaykh* in the order was, and still is, to be '*alim* '*amil*. It means to integrate '*ilm* and

dhikr or, in other words, to establish the link between Faith and activism.³⁸ This was the order to which Muhammad al-Hamid, and later on his disciple Sa'id Hawwa, belonged.

Nevertheless, changes did occur in the Naqshbandi order since the time of Khalid. It lost much of its ardour, principally in regard to political activity, which had so characterized it in the past. Muhammad Al-Hamid, therefore, had to seek inspiration somewhere else. He found it during his studies in Egypt, after he was introduced to Hasan al-Banna. He soon became his close associate and, as he was of the opinion that al-Banna was in error on many points of faith and practice, he served him as a sort of counsellor.³⁹ Yet, he venerated him to such a degree as to regard him as the *mujaddid* of the century, bringing him thus to the same level with his great master Shaykh Khalid. It was in Egypt, too, that he first met Mustafa al-Siba'i, the founder of the Syrian branch of the Muslim Brethren, who was his fellow student at al-Azhar.⁴⁰

In the light of his experiences in Egypt it was not surprising that on his return to Hamah in 1942 Muhammad al-Hamid devoted himself to political activity. He was among the founders of the Muslim Brethren branch in the city⁴¹ and took an active part in the national struggle, using the *minbar* of the Sultan Mosque to call for *jihad* against the French. After the victory, he hung with his own hands the flag of independence upon the barracks of the garrison which was stationed in Hamah. He wanted to join the *jihad* in Palestine as well, but at the urgings of the *ulama* he finally relented and remained in the city, where he was active in the committees assisting refugees. The problem of Palestine engaged him entirely and he devoted many of his sermons to the subject. He argued that it was only by force that the Jews could be ousted from that country.⁴²

Yet Muhammad al-Hamid was essentially an intellectual for whom politics was only one concern among others, and not a politician. His political activism gave way gradually to a spiritual leadership of the religious circles in Hamah. Already in the early 1950s, following Shishakli's order to disband the parties, he decided not to be an official member of the society of the Muslim Brethren. He preferred the role of father figure to its members, with whom they could always consult, and his impact upon them was remarkable.⁴³ His chief interest, however, was the education of the younger generation and it was for this reason that he chose teaching for his vocation. He set himself against the secularization trend which was spreading among the young at the time and the success of his endeavours was considerable.⁴⁴ His study circles at the Sultan Mosque enjoyed enormous popularity among young people in Hamah, and many of the leaders of the Islamic movement in the succeeding generation, including Sa'id Hawwa himself, as mentioned, came out of these study

groups.⁴⁵ His counsel and advice were not confined to the sphere of education alone. He was among the first to understand the threat inherent in Akram Hourani's obtaining control of the army and requested his students to enlist.⁴⁶ But even he could not overcome the traditional contemptuous attitude of the Syrian Sunnis toward the military career.

The Naqshbandi outlook of Muhammad al-Hamid was coloured by a number of features, deriving from the specific time and his personality. The Quran, he argued, is a book of conduct (*kitab hidaya wa-irshad*) and not a book of scientific views and mathematical calculations, as some Western-inspired Muslims were tempted to claim. The scientific explanations that do appear in it, he maintained, do not contradict the findings of modern science, but their purpose is to celebrate their Creator. He attached great importance to the oral study of the Qur'an, as well as to specialization (*takhassus*) in the various fields of religion. On the practical side, he stressed the importance of tolerance in matters of faith for the integrity of the Islamic *umma*. He himself was a Hanafi, but he honoured all the *madhahib* and respected their leaders. He rejected zealous adherence to a single school and counselled his students to learn from each *alim* what was particular to him. The means he advocated for the spread of Islam (*da'wa*) were all peaceful means: study circles, the preacher's pulpits and books written in simple and understandable language. He had no liking for those which only few were able to understand. He was also very active in the social life of his city.⁴⁷

Muhammad al-Hamid spent the last years of his life under the Ba'th regime. During the 1964 disturbances in Hamah he worked toward calming down passions. In their aftermath he interceded with the authorities to release those who had been arrested and to permit the return of those who had fled.⁴⁸ He appears to have maintained the same attitude until his death in 1969.

THE MUSLIM BRETHERN

It was Muhammad al-Hamid who had instructed (*afta*) Hawwa to join the Muslim Brethren.⁴⁹ This happened in 1953, when Hawwa was 18 years old, in the course of what he described as a decisive transformation (*inqilab*) in his life. It was no easy decision for him to make, but there he found the setting that suited him or, as he himself spoke of it, his 'social self'.⁵⁰ The Muslim Brethren movement was the milieu in which he would for the remainder of his life invest his political and intellectual energies for the sake of Islam.

The Muslim Brethren were Egyptian by origin. The charismatic

founder, Hasan al-Banna (1906–49), felt deeply offended by the degradation brought by the British rule and regarded westernization as the prime cause of Egypt's ills. In 1928 he was able to set up his own movement, with the aim of a return to Islam and the establishment of a state founded on the sharia. He showed himself to be a gifted organizer and in only a few years managed to turn his movement into a powerful mass organization, hierarchially structured and highly unified.⁵¹

The first off-shoots of the movement to come into existence outside Egypt were those established in Syria in the 1930s. These were local organizations, such as *Dar al-Arqam* in Aleppo, The Young Muslims in Damascus, *al-Rabita* in Homs and the Muslim Brethren in Hamah, which were based on the already existing urban religious societies (*jam'iyyat*). They were not branches of the Egyptian movement but they were willing to receive its inspiration and guidance.⁵² Indeed, many of the early members of these societies were students who had returned from Egypt and had been active there. The most prominent among them was Mustafa al-Siba'i, the man who succeeded in bringing about the unification of the societies in Syria under the general name of 'The Muslim Brethren' in 1945, and who headed the countrywide organization for the next 16 years in the capacity of 'General Supervisor' (*al-muraqib al'amm*).⁵³ The Egyptian background of Muhammad al-Hamid has already been discussed.

The political movement led by al-Siba'i had considerable success during its initial years, the first years of Syrian independence, during most of which a civilian government ruled the country. This was one of the few periods in which the Muslim Brethren were able to conduct their affairs openly and freely and to take part in the public life of Syria. In elections they were always able to secure themselves a number of seats in parliament, primarily in the humble traditional districts of Aleppo and Damascus.⁵⁴ The prestige of the movement was greatly enhanced during the Palestine war, as its regiment, under the command of al-Siba'i himself, took active part in the fighting.⁵⁵ The Brethren did not hesitate to criticize the government of Husni al-Za'im, leader of the first Syrian military coup, condemning his reforms as being secular and imported from the West.⁵⁶ During the drawing-up of Syria's first constitution under independence in 1950, al-Siba'i tirelessly demanded the inclusion of a paragraph that would make Islam the state religion and the sharia the principal source of legislation. His efforts led to a compromise, according to which the President of the Republic would be a Muslim and the sharia a principal source of legislation, while at the same time the rights of other religious groups would be reconfirmed.⁵⁷

Adib al-Shishakli's order to disband all parties in 1952 was the first

instance of a Syrian government taking action against the Muslim Brethren. Though the order remained in effect for only two years, the movement was not to recover from its effects for the next decade. The crisis demonstrated that it was remarkably weaker in its organization than the sister movement in Egypt. Even after Shishakli was deposed in 1954, when elections were restored, the Brethren felt too vulnerable to participate in them as a party.⁵⁸ Even so, beneath the surface and at the local level, this was in fact the period in which the new generation of the movement was being formed, the generation that was to lead the struggle against the Ba'th in the 1970s. Sa'id Hawwa's decision to join the Muslim Brethren was taken in this time of crisis, perhaps as a reaction to Shishakli's measures. He soon became one of the prominent representatives of the generation then emerging.

AN ISLAMIC DA'İYA

According to custom, initiation to the Muslim Brethren entailed joining a 'family' (*usra*), in which the new member was to receive ideological and practical guidance. The principal guide of Sa'id Hawwa was Mustafa al Sayrafi, an important leader of the movement in Hamah. Hawwa proved to be an enthusiastic and talented pupil, who in a short time came into his own. His gifts as a speaker and organizer, in conjunction with his being older than most of his contemporaries, enabled him to rise swiftly to the leadership of the younger generation of the Brethren in Hamah. He participated in the formation of an armed organization which was engaged in attacking dance halls and places of entertainment in the city, as well as in clashes with the adherents of Akram Hourani. The 'Aliliyat quarter was the stronghold of the latter and they were enraged at the Islamic incursion into their domain, conducted by a son of one of their most respected members. Hawwa was offered the opportunity of establishing a religious branch in Hourani's party in exchange for his withdrawal from the Brethren, but he immediately rejected the offer.⁵⁹

However, the principal challenge to the Islamic movement at that period came not from Hourani's party, then amalgamating with the Ba'th, but from the emerging force of Nasserism that swept the entire Middle East. International success, aggressive Arabism and Arab Socialism attracted members of the Syrian middle class which had traditionally supported the Muslim Brethren.⁶⁰ Even within the movement itself differences emerged between those who had not forgotten the suppression of the Egyptian Brethren in 1954 and those realists who were impressed by Nasser's success and by his struggle against the Communists.⁶¹ Siba'i himself was inclined to the latter position and his most celebrated book, *Ishtirakiyyat al-Islam* (The Socialism of Islam), was for

a long time recommended as the best expression of the congruence between Egyptian Socialism and Islam.⁶² In those years preceding the Syrian-Egyptian union, the Brethren continued to stay away from the political arena and when Nasser announced the dissolution of all parties after the union, the Muslim Brethren showed no resistance.⁶³

Hawwa dedicated most of his time in the second half of the 1950s to completing his studies and to Sufism. His decision to devote himself to the study of Islamic Law brought him to *kulliyyat al-shari'a*, the Faculty of Islamic Law at the University of Damascus. Here he had the opportunity to meet personally Mustafa al-Siba'i, who had been Dean from 1955. It was the first time Hawwa had to leave Hamah and the move to the capital was not easy for him. Materially, he had to be satisfied with poor lodgings; spiritually, he had to resist all the temptations that the big city had to offer. He managed to overcome all difficulties by devoting himself to his studies and by his visits to the various *sufi shaykhs* of the city. Here too he engaged in politics and soon became the head of the faculty cell of the Brethren, but in the face of the approaching union with Egypt and the resulting lull in the movement's activity this role lost much of its significance.⁶⁴

Among the many *shaykhs* Hawwa met during his stay in the capital the most impressive was Shaykh Abd al-Karim al-Rifai of the Zayd Ibn Thabit Mosque. Rifa'i headed a school in his mosque, with a varied programme of studies. He was urging his students to spread out into the country and to establish such schools wherever they settled. It was, in a sense, an extension of Muhammad al-Hamid's study circle in the Sultan Mosque. Hawwa brought the message to Hamah, and each member of his *sufi* group, *al-fuqara*, began to give instruction in one of the city mosques. The idea of a school in each mosque was to become a leading principle in his thought.⁶⁵

With the dissolution of the United Arab Republic in 1961 the Brethren appeared to be gathering new strength. Their new leader, 'Isam 'Attar, was the only important Syrian politician who refused to sign the 'Document of Secession'. None the less, his movement obtained ten seats in the new elections, the greatest electoral gain in its entire history.⁶⁶ The 'Secession Government' was sympathetic to the movement and 'Attar was several times offered senior posts in the area of Islamic affairs. He refused to participate in such a government. It was at this time that the largest Islamic congress in the Brethren's history took place and 'Attar was officially elected Siba'i's successor as 'Supreme Counselor'.⁶⁷ Yet, 'Isam al-'Attar appeared to be less able than his predecessor in conducting the movement. He rose to the leadership in consequence of his close relationship with Siba'i and by virtue of his oratorical skill, but he proved

to be a bad organizer. 'Attar tended to rely on his close circle in Damascus, at the expense of the members of other branches. In addition, he was a *salafi* in his faith, who did not hesitate to take a strong stand against the tradition of the *madhahib* and Sufism alike. These attitudes alienated him from the Syrian ulama, who were normally associated with both.⁶⁸ Among them we can count Sa'id Hawwa and his teacher, Muhammad al-Hamid.

Hawwa completed his studies in 1961. He was offered a post as a teacher of Islamic Culture in the remote Hasaka District, in north-eastern Syria, but a year later he was able to arrange his removal to al-Salamia, the Ismaili centre in the Hamah District. This post, which he kept for some years, enabled him to reside in the city of Hamah and to take an active part in its public life. However, at the beginning of 1963 Hawwa had to leave the city again, this time for his army duty. The 16 months he spent first at the reserve officers school in Aleppo and later at the military archives in Damascus.⁶⁹ It was during his military service that the Ba'th seized power in Syria. He returned to Hamah shortly before the city's first uprising against the new regime.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE BA'TH

After 1963 'Attar's task as the leader of the Muslim Brethren became much more difficult. In reaction to the Ba'th coup he launched a campaign from the pulpits of the mosques against its secular socialist government. Within a year he found himself in exile. He travelled widely in the Arab world for a number of years until, in 1968, he found a place for himself in Aachen, Germany, as director of the Islamic centre there. He continued to condemn the Ba'th in his writings during the 1960s and 1970s, but he was strongly opposed to armed struggle against it. Many of the Brethren in Syria did not share his views and regarded such a struggle as a inevitable.⁷⁰

Egypt was once again the source of inspiration. The long years spent under the repressive Free Officers' regime since 1954 had brought about a radical change in the outlook and opinions of the Egyptian Muslim Brethren.⁷¹ The most acute expression of the new circumstances in which they found themselves was Sayyid Qutb's book *Ma'alim fi al-Tariq* (Landmarks). In his book Qutb described Nasserist Egypt as a society living in *jahiliyya*, in a pre-Islamic condition. By converting the historical term into a political one he furnished Islamists both with a tool of analysis and with a direction for action. The attitude of the Prophet and his *umma* toward the Arabs of the *jahiliyya* was the attitude which the Brethren were required to adopt in regard to their society. Sayyid Qutb was

executed in 1966, on the charge of conspiring against the state, but his book became the key document of the movement, one which no one could disregard.⁷²

The man whose name is associated with bringing the new message to Syria was Marwan Hadid. A resident of Hamah, Hadid had also attended Muhammad al-Hamid's study circle at the Sultan Mosque and was a member of the Muslim Brethren as well. He left for Egypt to study agricultural engineering and there came under Qutb's influence. He returned to Syria in 1963 imbued with the spirit of *jihad* and called for immediate armed confrontation with the Ba'th regime, before it was too late. Many of the Brethren were drawn to his ideas, despite 'Attar's stand against such confrontation. Marwan Hadid became the leader of the militant wing of the Islamic movement in Syria and remained so until his death in a Ba'thist prison in 1976.⁷³

Needless to say, Hadid was the leading spirit of the Hamah disturbances in 1964, which represented the first challenge of the Islamic opposition to the Ba'th. The removal of Akram al-Hourani from power, on the one hand, and the anti-religious campaign of the government on the other created an unprecedented united front in the city against the regime. Stormy sermons of preachers in the mosques incited mass demonstrations and a general strike, which lasted for 29 days. The government's decision to involve the army soon led to armed clashes between demonstrators and security forces. Hadid and his supporters barricaded themselves inside the Sultan Mosque, apparently because they believed that the authorities would not dare to violate so holy a place. They were mistaken. The army blocked the city and shelled the mosque with artillery, killing scores inside and forcing the rest to surrender. It was more than a hint of what was to take place in Hamah 18 years later.⁷⁴

Sa'id Hawwa was active in the Hamah events as well, but he proved to be in disagreement with Hadid's militant way. He had a leading role in the organization of the strike, but he refrained from any involvement in the fighting at the mosque and even joined meetings of the notables of the city who were seeking a way to prevent mass confrontation. Nevertheless, when Radio Damascus reported the events, Hawwa's name was mentioned together with Hadid's and he was forced to flee to Iraq. He was condemned to death in absentia, but was able to return to Syria after 40 days, when the regime declared a general amnesty.⁷⁵ On his return he married Um Muhammad, who was to bear him three sons and a daughter. However, his amnesty was, as he was later to learn, of a limited kind. Of the 25 years which still remained of his life then, he was to spend only another four as a free man in Syria, the rest he spent in exile or jail.

Following the 1964 events the Muslim Brethren in Hamah had to reorganize themselves. Abd al-Karim Uthman, who had just completed his studies in Egypt, was elected as the branch head, but harassment by the authorities soon forced him to leave the country. He nominated Hawwa, then aged 30, to deal with the movement's affairs in his absence. Hawwa's principal strength resided, however, in the domain of ideology. The proposal of a platform and constitution of the movement that he had drawn up led to his invitation to a meeting of the movement's national leadership, to clarify his programme. He impressed his audience, which unanimously charged him with the task of formulating the movement's doctrine.⁷⁶ He undertook to carry out the work in 1966, when under the heavy hand of the regime he decided to leave the country for Saudi Arabia. There he spent the next five years working as a teacher and writing his first books, 'The Series of the Three Foundations' in three volumes: *Allah* (God), *Al-Rasul* (The Prophet) and *Al-Islam*, as well as *Jund Allah* (The Army of God). Their publication in 1968 and thereafter turned him into a prominent Islamic thinker.⁷⁷

During Hawwa's absence from Syria there was a split in the movement. Increasingly the leadership of 'Isam al-'Attar came under question by younger members, who called for direct and immediate confrontation with the regime. The radicalization of Ba'th policies under the rule of Salah Jadid and the defeat in the 1967 war against Israel, as well as the spread of Sayyid Qutb's teachings in Syria, especially through Marwan Hadid, led to a corresponding radicalization among the ranks of the Muslim Brethren. There was also a regional dimension to the conflict. 'Attar's supporters were the members of the Damascus branch, while the opposition was centred in Aleppo under the leadership of Shaykh Abd al-Fattah Abu-Ghudda, the founder of the local branch. Hamah and other cities in central Syria tended to support the northern branch. Until the mid-1970s the two factions existed side by side, each claiming the official leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria. It was then that the more radical faction won out, headed by Adnan Sa'd al-Din, who was to lead the movement in the escalating struggle against the Ba'th.⁷⁸

Hawwa was allowed to return to Hamah in 1971, following the establishment of the less rigid regime of Hafiz al-Asad. It was only natural that he would be elected at once to the leadership of the Brethren in the city. He engaged primarily in organizational work and was very active in local affairs, endeavouring to consolidate the movement's authority among the various Islamic groupings that were then active. Still more important was his work at the national level. He was much concerned with the countrywide split of the movement, regarding it a major threat to the Islamic cause in Syria. He participated regularly in conciliation

meetings, mostly organized by the Hamah branch, trying to draft a procedure for new elections that both parties would accept. These efforts were destined to fail.⁷⁹

Hawwa was more successful in 1973, during the constitutional crisis. Asad's proposal for a new constitution, in which he failed to mention that the faith of the president must be Islam, met with furious reactions among Muslims all over Syria. In Hamah, they turned into riots. Hawwa again rejected the use of violence. He was of the opinion that only a unified stand of the Syrian *ulama* could convince the regime to retreat. He succeeded in obtaining the signature of most of them, including the most respected Shaykh Hasan Habannaka of Damascus, on a common declaration against the proposed constitution. The combined efforts of the Muslim public and *ulama* compelled Asad to turn to a policy of appeasement and the demanded paragraph was added.⁸⁰ Hawwa himself, however, was imprisoned for his role in this crisis. He was interrogated for 40 days, partly under torture, before he joined the rest of the prisoners at the al-Maza military prison in Damascus. Here he was to spend the following five years, dedicating most of his time to teaching Islam to his fellow-prisoners and to writing. Among his works in this period were the eleven-volume exegesis of the Qur'an as well as a series of books on Sufism.⁸¹

The Islamic struggle in Syria took a violent turn in 1976, when Asad's popularity started to fade. Ever-growing economic difficulties, corruption in the bureaucracy and in the party, isolation of Syria in the Arab world and the invasion of Lebanon, which was interpreted as an anti-Sunni act, convinced the militant Brethren that the time was ripe for action. The capture of Marwan Hadid by the security forces and his torture to death supplied them with their first *shahid*.⁸² The Brethren launched a campaign of retaliation, attacking Ba'th functionaries and installations. An attempt was made to assassinate Asad himself. During 1979 the confrontation became more acute, as the Brethren managed to penetrate the Military Academy in Aleppo and slaughter more than 60 cadets, most of them Alawites. Undoubtedly, the source of inspiration was the Islamic Revolution in Iran, which the Brethren wished to repeat in Syria.⁸³ At the end of 1980 they extended the base of their operations by forming the Islamic Front, consisting of all groups in opposition to the regime. The Front stated openly in its manifesto that its aim was an 'Islamic Revolution' in Syria.⁸⁴

Hawwa had no part in the violent events of this confrontation. He was released in January 1978, more than a year after their eruption, on the occasion of the presidential elections. He left Syria two months later, never to return. After performing the *'umra* he settled in Jordan, where

he lived out the rest of his life. Nevertheless, Hawwa remained active even in exile. He was a member of the collective leadership of the Muslim Brethren in Syria, and later of the Islamic Front. He travelled extensively in the Muslim world as well as in the United States and Europe on behalf of the movement.⁸⁵ More important, he was described as its chief ideologue.⁸⁶ It appears that in Jordan, in addition to the books he wrote, Hawwa played a leading part in the publication, beginning in 1979, of the Islamic opposition's organ, *al-Nadhir* (The Warner), and that it was he who gave the paper its name.⁸⁷

Asad was not prepared to share the Shah's fate. As his efforts to appease the Islamic opposition failed he turned to force. The army was called in and the Aleppo uprising was ruthlessly crushed. Hundreds of civilians were killed during the fighting. In June 1981, following another attempt on Asad's life, the Brethren prisoners in the notorious Tadmur Prison were massacred. Membership of the Muslim Brethren organization was declared a capital offence and special intelligence units, under the command of Rif'at Asad, the president's brother, were engaged in their suppression.⁸⁸ The climax of the confrontation was again in Hamah. Here, the most severe challenge to Asad's regime took place in February 1982. The *mujahidun* attacked Ba'th headquarters and murdered government officials. In their excitement they declared the city to have been liberated. Asad's reaction was prompt. An army of twelve thousand troops encircled Hamah and bombarded it indiscriminately for three consecutive weeks. The old quarters of the city, where the rebels hoped to find shelter, were razed to the ground. The number of casualties was estimated in thousands. The Islamic Revolution in Syria was bloodily suppressed.⁸⁹

Hawwa's last years were of disappointment and illness. The failure of the 'Islamic Revolution' was his personal failure as well, and gradually he was eased out of any position in the leadership of his movement. The destruction of his hometown Hamah was no less painful. His diabetic condition, which had appeared a few years earlier, grew worse and increasingly compelled him to total inactivity. Hawwa died of the disease in March 1989, at the age of 54.⁹⁰

CONCLUSION

Sa'id Hawwa was the foremost ideologue of the Muslim Brethren movement in Syria under Ba'thist rule. His Islamic outlook, however, was shaped neither out of opposition to the rise of the Ba'th power nor as a reaction to the sectarian composition of the new regime's power base. Rather, it was an inner religious conviction, which developed in much

earlier stages of Hawwa's life, and which shaped, in its turn, his attitude toward the Ba'th regime. The principal factors which combined in shaping this conviction were the setting of conservatism and zealotry which dominated Hawwa's hometown of Hamah; the influence of his father, who was a political activist in the peasants' movement of Hourani, but nonetheless a deeply religious man; and above all, Hawwa's teacher and undoubtedly the most decisive source of influence in his life, the *sufi shaykh* Muhammad al-Hamid, who regarded the integration of Faith and activism, so prominent in the teachings of the Naqshbandiyya, as the two pillars of Islamic revivalism.

The framework of Hawwa's political activity was the movement of the Muslim Brethren, which he joined under the direction of Muhammad al-Hamid. His thought was shaped in the late 1940s and 1950s, at a time when the Brethren were participating openly and freely in the public life of Syria. Therefore, he could share many of the opinions of Hasan al-Banna, the founder of the movement, who acted under similar conditions in Egypt in the 1930s and 1940s. He rejected the teachings of Sayyid Qutb, the most eloquent representative of the more radical generation of the Egyptian Brethren, then emerging under the repressive regime of Nasser.

During the entire course of his activity under the Ba'th Hawwa tried to curb the influence of Marwan Hadid, the man who had brought Qutb's message to Syria, and who declared an unconditional war against its regime. Hawwa regarded this as a rash and irresponsible policy, suggesting instead a long and fundamental preparation before taking any action. The core of the dispute was not the struggle itself, as both believed in its necessity, but its timing. When the confrontation with the regime began to escalate, it appeared that Hadid's position was to prevail. Hawwa joined the struggle, perhaps because he believed that the time to start a rebellion had come and that the movement was ready for such a move. It is more likely, however, that he was drawn into it by the enthusiastic younger members of the movement, who were no longer willing to wait. The massacre at Hamah proved that it was Hawwa's analysis of Syrian political realities which was correct. It also proved his failure as a *da'iya* (herald) to lead the Muslim Brethren movement in the way of moderation that this analysis called for. Therefore, the defeat of the Islamic movement in Syria was also the personal defeat of Sa'id Hawwa.

NOTES

As MES does not use diacritical marks, the Editor decided to list the following with diacriticals either because they are less familiar names or words or because they could give rise to confusion due to possible alternative reading:

Sa'id Hawwa
Muhammad al-Hāmid
Tahmāz
dā'iyah
al-Nadhīr

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5. N. Van Damm, *The Struggle for Power in Syria: Sectarianism, Regionalism and Tribalism in Politics, 1961–1978* (New York, 1979), p. 21.
6. M. al-Kilani, *Muhafazat Hamah* (Damascus, 1964), p. 93.
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14. al-Kilani, p. 95.
15. S. Hawwa, *Hadhihi tajribati ... wa-hadhihi shahadati* (Cairo, 1987), pp. 7, 10. *Infra*: Hawwa, *Autobiography*.
16. *Ibid*, pp. 8–9.
17. *Ibid*, pp. 9–10.
18. *Ibid*, p. 11.
19. E. Be'eri, *Army Officers in Arab Politics and Society* (London, 1970), pp. 64–5; P. Seale, *The Struggle for Syria: A Study of Post-War Arab Politics 1945–1958* (Oxford, 1965), pp. 38–41; G. H. Torrey, *Syrian Politics and the Military 1945–1958* (Columbus Oh., 1964), p. 104.
20. Hawwa, *Autobiography*, pp. 10, 14.
21. *Ibid*, p. 17. Naturally, the last sentence alludes to the Hamah disturbances of 1982.
22. *Ibid*, p. 15.
23. *Ibid*, pp. 19–20.
24. al-Kilani, p. 203.
25. Hawwa, *Autobiography*, p. 22.
26. *Ibid*, p. 23.
27. *Ibid*.

28. Interview with Muhammad al-Hamid, published in *Hadarat al-Islam*, Vol.6, No.5 (Nov. 1965), p.43. Infra: al-Hamid, *Interview*.
29. Among the subjects that appear in his books: the *Madhahib*, poetry and women as well as a criticism of Mustafa al-Siba'i's *Ishdirakiyyat al-Islam*.
30. A. Tahmaz, *al-'Allama al-Mujahid al-Shaykh Muhammad al-Hamid* (Damascus and Beirut, 1971), pp.10-3.
31. A. al-Hamid, 'Akhi kama 'araftuhu', *Hadarat al-Islam*, Vol.10, No.3 (July-Aug. 1969), pp. 10-1. This issue of the periodical was dedicated to the memory of al-Hamid on the occasion of his death.
32. A. Haddad, 'al-Janib al-adabi fi shakhsiyyat al-'allama al-rahil Muhammad al-Hamid', *ibid*, p.97.
33. Al-Hamid, *Interview*, pp.35-8; Tahmaz, *al-'Allama* pp.17-35.
34. *Ibid*, p.195.
35. *Ibid*, pp.24-5.
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38. Tahmaz, *al-'Allama*, p.189.
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40. J. Rizq, *Al-Ikhwān al-Muslimun wal-Muamara 'ala Suriya* (Cairo, 1980), pp.116-7.
41. Hawwa, *Autobiography*, p.39.
42. Tahmaz, *al-'Allama*, pp.38-40; Rizq, pp.117-18.
43. Hawwa, *Autobiography*, *ibid*; U. F. Abdallah, *The Islamic Struggle in Syria* (Berkeley, 1983), p.104.
44. Al-Hamid, *Interview*, pp.42-3.
45. Abdallah, *ibid*; Hawwa, *Al-Ijabat*, p.98.
46. Rizq, p.127; Hawwa, *Autobiography*, p.28.
47. A. Tahmaz, 'al-Khutut al-Raisiyya lil-Minhaj al-'Ilmi 'inda Shaykhina al-Hamid Rahimahu Allah, *Hadrat al-Islam*, Vol.10, No.3 (1969), pp.16-30.
48. Tahmaz, *al-'Allama*, p.42; Rizq, pp.128-9.
49. Hawwa, *al-Ijabat*, p.86.
50. Hawwa, *Autobiography*, p.25.
51. For the Muslim Brethren in Egypt, see R. P. Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brethren* (London, 1969); I. M. Husaini, *The Muslim Brethren: The Greatest of Modern Islamic Movements* (Beirut, 1956).
52. J. Reissner, *Ideologie und Politik der Muslimbrüder Syriens von den Wahlen 1947 bis zum Verbot unter Adib ash-Shishakli 1952* (Freiburg, 1980), pp.97-8; Batatu, p.16.
53. For a detailed account of Siba'i see Reissner, pp.121-6; Abdallah, pp.96-101.
54. The exact numbers are: 1949: 3 seats out of 114 (2.6%), 1954: 5 seats out of 141 (3.5%) although officially they did not participate in the elections, 1961: 10 seats out of 173 (5.8%). Sources: Batatu, p.17; Seale, pp.79, 182.
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56. Reissner, pp.288-97; Seale, p.62.
57. A. L. Tibawi, *A Modern History of Syria including Lebanon and Palestine* (London, 1969), p.386; Reissner, pp.338-54. For Hawwa's analysis see his *Autobiography*, p.18.
58. Husaini, p.152; Seale, p.182.
59. Hawwa, *Aslam* (Damascus, 1960); *Īhda wa-didda al-Īnfisal*, *al-Ra'id*, 104 (Nov. 1987), pp.5-12.
60. Batatu, pp.17-18.
61. H. Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought* (London, 1986), p.144.
62. M. al-Siba'i, *Ishdirakiyyat al-Islam* (Damascus, 1960); *ibid*.
63. Batatu, *ibid*.
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65. *Ibid*., 53-5.

66. For 'Attar's position see his adapted speech 'Ma'a al-Wahda wa-dida al-Infisal', *al-Raid*, 104 (Nov. 1987), pp. 5-12.
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68. Batatu, p. 14; Abdallah, p. 101-3; Mayer, *ibid*.
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70. Mayer, pp. 591-2; A. al-Farisi and A. Sadiq, 'Al-Thawra al-Islamiyya fi Suriya', *al-Mukhtar al-Islami*, Vol.2 (1980), pp. 43-4; I. Rabinovich, *Syria under the Ba'th 1963-1966: The Army-Party Symbiosis* (Jerusalem, 1972), p. 101.
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73. For details on Hadid see: Abdallah, pp. 103-7; Rizq, pp. 137-47.
74. Rabinovich, pp. 111-6; Tibawi, pp. 415-7. For Hadid's share see *al-Nadhir*, 29 (12 Feb. 1981), pp. 36-42.
75. For Hawwa's description of the Hamah disturbances and his share in the events see his, *Autobiography*, pp. 69-78.
76. *Ibid*, pp. 80-3.
77. *Ibid*, p. 89.
78. Mayer, p. 596; al-Farisi and Sadiq, pp. 44-5; Abdallah, pp. 107-8. 'Attar acknowledged the radical wing of the movement for the first time in 1980, when the confrontation with the regime was at its height.
79. Hawwa, *Autobiography*, pp. 99-101.
80. *Ibid*, pp. 104-13; J.J. Donohue, 'The New Syrian Constitution and the Religious Opposition: A Chronology of Events January-April 1973', *Cemam Reports*, Vol.1 (1976), pp. 81-96; M. Maoz, 'The Background of the Struggle over the Role of Islam in Syria', *New Outlook*, (May, 1973), pp. 13-18.
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