

## Tuesday Address Muslim Brotherhood and Revolution



In his Tuesday address, Dr. Salah Abdel Haq, the acting Muslim Brotherhood General Guide tackled an issue that has long preoccupied public opinion, and a pivotal event that has long led to massive shifts in Egyptian and Arab affairs; and it has also affected the Muslim Brotherhood itself. This issue is the MB attitude towards “revolution”. In his speech, Dr. Abdel Haq explained his vision clearly and firmly, based on the position of the MB founder, Imam Hassan al-Banna, and the decisions he made in this regard.

He stated that the attitude of the founder Imam al-Banna was not properly understood, and that he used to disregard it. However, when he was asked about ‘revolution’, he explained that there are four elements that must be existing to ensure its success, namely, as follows:

First: The existence of leadership, because it saves effort and time, bearing in mind that a leadership is selected and may be criticized; if it gained confidence, it would be obeyed and supported. Rather, the leader is a person who has been prepared and well-educated, not a person who was imposed by emergency circumstances or brought about by necessities. Also, a leader is a person who is identified and made by the masses and peoples through several elements, most notably his life conditions, his competence, and his sincerity.

Second: The revolution should have a platform, i.e. a road map, in which the appropriate effort is devoted to overcoming every single obstacle, otherwise the efforts exerted would remain scattered and never lead to achievement of goals or be of any benefit.

Third: We are in a difficult era, as the local affair is connected to the regional one; and the regional issue is connected to the global one. If you are not known well to the local community, people will never support you; and the regional powers will not accept you because they basically fear you; and the international community is watching and stalking you. They will not overlook you, nor will they let you just pass. Therefore, the situation needs an appropriate discourse to be addressed to the world, through which we can draw their attention to us. This is what Imam al-Banna really enjoyed in terms of his refined discourse about civilization and revival, according to what Iviza Lubin, a German female writer, stated in her research paper on Imam al-Banna under the title 'Imam al-Banna - A Different Review', as she says: 'Because his discourse was a civilized reviving one, based on enlightenment, many generations he never saw listened to him.'

Fourth: We live in a country that is targeted by aspirations and greed. Therefore, when we talk about Egypt, the calculations are more careful and complicated, because what may be permitted to others is not permitted to it. Therefore, as we can see, the revolution have faltered in Egypt, as its enemies came out to abort it, not only the local community that helped them to do so; but also regional and global ones. Imam Al-Banna, the founder, spoke about this, explaining Egypt's position among other countries, saying: We live in the most fertile part of the world: it enjoys a central geographical location, with the most moderate weather, the most fresh water, the most affordable livelihood, and the most abundant goodness. It also possesses the most civil and urban monuments. Egypt is rich in its natural wealth; and it is the cradle of civilization and science. No foreigner has ever visited her without being cured of disease, turning rich after being poor, becoming dear respected after being humiliated, turning luxurious after having been living in misery and hardship. Also, Egypt is the leader nation among nations of the East. However, we feel pain when we see it in this condition; and Imam Banna really appreciated the position of Egypt, as he used to say: "It is a vigilant nation, it knows well its position and seeks undertaking its role. It is also well aware of the danger looming over it; therefore, a vigilant nation rarely dies!"

About January Revolution

In his speech, Dr. Abdel Haq pointed out to the Brotherhood's position on Egypt's 25 January Revolution, which he called the Youth Revolution, saying: "The group had complicated calculations. so they allowed the MB youth to advance and participate in the revolution from its outbreak; but at the same time, they gave the MB leaders time to review their complicated calculations. However, in some stages, 'Calls' need the heroism of soldiers and their spirit of 'daring, boldness, and initiative' before the adequacy of leaders. Because leaders, as they manage a massive struggle against an enemy whose attacks never end, need to manage and review calculations that are often complicated. Imam al-Banna founder has always said that 'In confrontations, the results are not guaranteed', and this is what kept him always cautious in confrontation.

Dr. Salah Abdel Haq went on, saying that among those who spoke about Imam al-Banna, the British Embassy in Cairo described him in a report, as a respectable teacher, very cautious, moving towards his goal that he had set for himself at a steady pace without drawing attention to him. This was the way of Imam al-Banna in critical circumstances and periods, where nations experience shift and change. If the calculations are not complicated and cautious, the results can be disastrous and have bitter consequences; which he didn't want at all.

Dr. Abdel Haq added that Imam al-Banna says: "There is a big difference between the dear sacrifice and the challenge whose time has not yet come; and the challenge - whose time has not yet come yet - is a gamble with efforts and a venture with the slogan, and I do not want to gamble with efforts or venture with the slogan." When they asked him: What is the dear sacrifice? He replied: "It is the sacrifice to which four criteria should apply, namely: choosing the appropriate circumstance, using the utmost wisdom in it, and implementing it in a way that is

less harmful, and in a way that would best manifest the intent.” Therefore, Imam al-Banna’s calculations were careful and complex, and every step he took led to the next, and there was no time to waste, as he used to say: “It is your life and there is no time for trials.”

This is what made the MB leadership in the January 2011 Revolution leave it to the youth to express the heroism of the soldier, which is audacity, boldness and initiative, taking into mind that they would not be blamed for that, but the leaders have high responsibilities and the level of caution to them is highly strict. Therefore, Imam al-Banna always said: “Victory is not through the nations’ generosity in sacrificing their bloods and time, but rather through high competencies that can manage those bloods and time well.”

Abdel Haq said: Generosity is always present, so when you call: Come on, you directly find response. However, he commented on some phrases chanted by some Brotherhood members, expressing their satisfaction and pride in entering prisons and sacrificing their blood as long as it was for the sake of Allah, where he said: “As a leader, I do not agree with this approach, especially when I lead major masses around me; otherwise I will be gambling with their efforts and risking their slogan of success; and then we keep going back to square number one every time, staying at a standstill.”

But through careful and complex calculations, you know the right step to take and the next step after that. When Imam al-Banna was asked whether he was with careful and complex calculations, and be confident that there wouldn’t be any defeat or failure, he replied: “Even if there is defeat, it will not be a defeat of loss; it would be estimated weakness that would be followed by an imminent victory. The occurrence of defeats is possible, and considered something natural; and miscalculation is also possible, but it must be only accidental, because the principle is to do the right thing. In some stages, during transformation and transition, nations need achievement of a large number of correct actions, provided that committing errors is only accidental. The Muslim nation had moved from the stage of the infallibility of the Prophet to the trustworthiness of the Caliph, through the multiplicity of correct actions with Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, may Allah be pleased with him. The author of the book “Al-Awasem Min al-Qawasem” (Saviors from Calamities) describes Abu Bakr Al-Siddiq, saying, “He was dignified, patient, and managed to transfer the nation from the stage of the infallibility of the Prophet to the trustworthiness of the Caliph, with his abundant righteousness. Abu Bakr, may Allah be pleased with him, was so careful when undertaking this great transition. Dr. Salah Abdel Haq then referred to Abu Bakr's speech, in which he asked for advice and correction from his subjects, due to the end of the stage of the infallibility of the Prophet, where the responsibility has become collective, and the decision-making is based on Shura. Using the terminology of the current times, this project is the project of all of us, and we must all strive for its success.

Dr. Abdel Haq said he heard Mr. Hamid Abul Nasr, the former MB General Guide say that when Imam al-Banna first visited Upper Egypt, he delivered the Tuesday Sermon in Qena Governorate; and when he finished, he asked about the heads of the church, ‘Where are the cardinals, bishops and pastors?’ He then stressed necessity of their attendance ‘to listen to the speech and learn about our vision for the country, and to know about their opinion on our project, in order to help make it successful, because they are our partners in the country, and we seek help from them because we are the children of one country, as it is our homeland all, and it accommodates all of us. On the Tuesday that followed, Imam al-Banna found the priests and cardinals sitting in the first row listening to his speech; which was confirmation of partnership with all sectors of the nation.

Dr. Abdel Haq added that while managing matters, leaders really need careful and complicated calculations, to prevent the bloodshed and save time from being wasted in the wrong place or for no reason; and this is what the Brotherhood did in the January Revolution. They did not abstain from participating; indeed, when Mr. Mohamed

Mahdi Akef was the MB General Guide, he paved the way for the (revolutionary) events that came after that, along with: the Kifaya Movement, the Revolutionary Socialists, the April 6 Movement and others. Then Dr. Mohamed Badie, the incumbent MB General Guide, assumed MB management, he has courageously bore responsibility. When Imam al-Banna addressed the circumstances of using practical force when nothing else works, he said: "First, I will warn; second, I will wait; third, I will act; fourth, I will bear the results with boldness, honor, and satisfaction, and contentment without blame or reproach, and this is what the Muslim Brotherhood has done.

He stressed that despite the pains that he is suffering, Dr. Badie – the incumbent MB General Guide – still tolerates the result of that boldness, honor, satisfaction, and contentment.

Dr. Abdel Haq concluded his speech, commenting on the great sacrifices that were offered during the January Revolution, citing the a verse from the holy Quran, as Allah Almighty says: "Is it that whenever a messenger comes –to you with anything your souls do not desire, you grew arrogant, calling some liars, and killing others?" (Surat al Baqarah: 87)

He added: It does not matter that we were defeated; it suffices us that we think we have fulfilled our duty towards Allah, and we are completely contented with our destiny. We also say these words about our martyr brothers and address them to their families. It does not matter if they were defeated, as long as they have fulfilled their duty towards Allah, and we are certain they are also contented with their destiny..." Then, Dr. Abdel Haq wept out of grief over them, and said: A person sometimes suffers an honorable failure: if matters were greater than him, everyone standing against him, with no equipment in hands; and if his affliction with supporters was more severe than his affliction with his enemies, and if his failure was not due to lack of perfection of his work, but due to how far he would contend himself with his destiny.