Ikhwanul Muslimin and the Future of Islamic Movement

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Abstract: *Ikhwanul Muslimin is one of the Islamic movements which is up and down since its inception in 1928 to the 21st century today. The appearance of Muhammad Moursi as the first Egyptian president from the civilian through direct elections, recalled the observer's memory of one of the Islamic movements, Ikhwanul Muslimin, thus viewed as the glory era of the Islamic movement. Not through this movement, with the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP) branch was able to outperform the Egyptian election with 52% votes, despite the extortion attempts by military rulers. Unfortunately, his power lasted only a year or so, as he was dropped by the powerful Egyptian military force there. Even the Egyptian court sentenced the president to death and executed on May 14, 2015. This condition led to the emergence of pessimism towards the Islamic movement. What will happen to the future of the Islamic movement, by taking the case of Ikhwanul Muslimin is certainly very interesting to study, and that is the purpose of this paper.*

I.   INTRODUCTION

The emergence of Muhammad Moursi as the president of Egypt through direct elections in a democratic and inaugurated as the president of Egypt on 30 June 2012 raised awe, both from Muslims, and outside. This success was then linked to the organization that raised it, Ikhwanul Muslimin. The party that was founded in 1928 by the founder Hasan al-Banna in the span of nearly a hundred years through the ups and downs with a series of heartbreaking events. Beginning with the assassination of the founder on February 12, 1949, [1] the death is a diary of the founder and the figure of Ikhwanul Muslimin in various countries. The allegations put forward are quite simple, because the party is a forbidden party and its movement can harm the state, but this fact does not dampen this movement to exist. [2]

Various attempts were made, including by renaming the same content. One of the new names is the movement in the form of a new party, the Freedom and Justice Party (FJP). The party which was founded by Muhammad Moursi was greeted by Egyptian society, and was proved by his achievement earned the most votes in Egypt's first post-reform elections. Various attempts have indeed been made by the authorities to thwart this figure to hold the reins of Egypt, including by re-election. But the result remains the same, and finally Muhammad Moursi was sworn in as the president of Egypt on 30 June 2012.

This success seemed to be dislike with his political opponents, so that various attempts were made, and since the denial movement was systematically and supported by the West, it was only a year before Muhammad Moursi came to power by military force. After the fall, Moursi was imprisoned and his followers, especially the figures were on trial and always ended in the gallows. Take a look at the Indonesian TV running television, there are "500 Brotherhood Muslim Brotherhoods executed," "Followers of the Muslim Brotherhood are executed," 200 senior Brotherhood leaders executed ", and other horrific running texts. Lastly all the drama is completed with the death exclusion against Muhammad Moursi on May 14, 2015 ago. Finally the praise of Moursi and his party changed with a scolding.

Then what's this. Is this an Egyptian Islamic state that promises democracy, but when democracy is achieved then on the ground is scorched? Another problem arises. If the Moursi movement is linked to the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement, and this movement serves as a representation of the 21st century Islamic movement, then the next question, "what is the fate of other Islamic movements"? This is the focus of this paper.

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[1] He was killed by the Egyptian secret police Muhammad Said dan Ahmad Husaini with the police number 9979 on gteh way to the office of Ikhwanul Muslimin in Cairo, egypt.
[2] This murder was started with thye dismissing of Ikhwanul Muslimin on 08 December 1948. See: Al-Husaini Musa, *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Jakarta: Grafiti Press, cet. I, 1983), p. 134-136.

The description is divided into ten parts, namely introduction, understanding of Ikhwanul Muslimin, background of founding, the purpose, the character and the principles, the organization, the activities Muslim Brotherhood today, the future of the Islamic movement, and the conclusion.

II. REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.1 Understanding of Ikhwanul Muslimin

Ikhwanul Mulimin is a *da'wah* organization and later developed into an economic, social, and political organization, founded by Hasan al-Banna and with his six friends in Ismailiyah, Egypt in 1928. All of Hasan al-Banna's thoughts, activities and accomplishments are closely related and cannot be released of this organization.

The terms of Ikhwanul Muslimin are composed of two syllables, the *Ikhwan* and *Muslims. Ikhwan* means brotherhood and *muslimin* means Muslims or Muslims. Linguistically, it is more aptly called the Ikhwanul Mulimin but in its use it is called Muslimin. In English called the Muslim Bratherhood. All were meant to be a social, political, economic, educational and religious organization born and developed in Egypt, founded by Hasan al-Banna along with six of his friends in 1928 in Ismailiyah, Egypt.

2.2 The Background of Ikhwanul Muslimin Founding

The founding of the Ikhwanul Muslimin organization is concerned with the complex issues facing Egyptian society, the social, political, economic, morals (*akhlaq*), educational and religious conditions that flourished in Egypt. These six factors are very dominant in the birth of this organization.

1. *Social*, that is sharp contrast between the rich and the poor, on the one hand, and between the owners of capital and workers called *fallahin* on the other. The owners of capital, thanks to its proximity to the axis of power, freely exploit the workers. They are given a hard job with a small wages, so they live in poverty. So severely poverty, so al-Banna illustrates that animal life is better than the life of the workers. This illustration is based on the fact that the pets of kings, British officials and the rich are well off to feed their pets regularly in the caress of affection. While the workers live in limitations, eat irregularly and neglected, whether by Egyptian rulers, politicians, ulema, let alone landlords and British officials.

2. *Politics*. The condition of Egyptian politics when the Ikhwanul Muslimin was born can be seen in two ways. First, Egypt is a British colony, as a state protectorate. Although there are Egyptian kings, but eventually they also cooperate with British officials, to make the people comfortable. Second, the politicians as the pioneers of political struggle to fight for influence so that attention to efforts to improve the fate of the Egyptians become neglected. This condition caused Egyptians to live in intimidation (political pressure). They have no freedom to express opinions, even if the realities faced in society are very much against humanity and religious values.

3. *Economics*. The economic condition is the control of economic assets carried out by the UK and its capitalists. As a result Egyptians became marginalized groups. The *fallahin* title which is given to the poor is a picture of how poverty is part of Egyptian life.

4. *Morals*. The condition of morals is the occurrence of moral damage among Egyptian society. In accordance with the hadith "poverty can lead to disbelief", poverty causes damage to morals. As a result, there is a legal prostitution, free liquor, and the rise of Western culture in an uncontrolled manner, resulting in a lot of people experiencing westernizing processes (westernizer).

5. *Education*. The condition of education is the dualism of the education system, namely general education and religious education. Both of these systems experience differences between one another, like the East and the West are very far apart. The general education system provides the teaching of general materials alone does not include religious material as part of the syllabus. In contrast, the religious education system provides religious material only and does not provide general material. The policy of this system then leads to a sharp gap between religion and the public, which ultimately spawned the secularization of thought among the people, including the intellectuals.

6. *Religion*. The condition of religious occurs in three forms. First, internally there is a great battle between schools, between sects and between the patterns of understanding of religion among Muslims. This contradiction often leads to mutual disbelief. Second, the pattern of Islamic understanding developed is fatalist and partial. Fatalists, is Muslims must accept what they are, like the British colonized, without any improvement. While parsialis is Islam only concern one side only from life, that is side of ritual and the day after while other side not need, like economy and politics. This is the result of a secularist education system. Third, externally, as with other colonials, like the Netherlands and France, the acceleration of the Christian movement was so vibrant, in line with the colonialist movement, that there was a massive apostasy among Egyptian society. This is exacerbated by the value conditions as mentioned above.

In this chaotic condition Hasan al-Banna appeared. As an individual who is aware of his duties and functions, with his burning and tireless spirit, he continues to provide Islamic understanding to all levels of society; the workers, peasants, politicians, clergy, students and the younger generation. Besides that Hasan al-Banna also advocates to the people who really need it. The result of this effort is the emergence of some

workers' consciousness to change life. Their consciousness and firmness conveyed, which Hasan al-Banna immortalized in his memoir, *Muzakkirat al-Da'wah wa al-Da'iyah*. There was a small but sincere expression:

"We are fed up with the life of the humble and limited. Look, we see that Arabs and Muslims have no status and dignity. They are nothing more than a mere lease of foreigners. We have nothing but this blood ... and this soul ... and this little treasure we put away from our wife's shopping. We are unable to see the way to action as you see it, or to the path of dharma devotion for the homeland, religion and nation as you know it. What we want now is to give all of our possessions to you to be freed by God from responsibility, and that you are responsible before Him for us and what we must do, so that we will live and die in His path"[3]

Therefore, the above factors are functionally dependent on the birth, development and determination of the Muslim Brotherhood.

2.3 The Purpose of Ikhwanul Muslimin

In line with the background of the founding of Ikhwanul Muslimin, the movement attempted to show a more complete Islamic face, a religion not just a ritual, but a whole-life view. Then on the basis of this understanding is created society and a new generation with a holistic understanding of Islam (*kaffah*) and make it a "blueprint" in practical life. [4] This goal can be accomplished by making the following efforts:

1. Saving faith and *jihad* to obey Allah by adhering to the Qur'an and al-hadith
2. Loving Allah and always maintain the unity of Muslims
3. Implementing the *hanif* Islamic morals
4. Improving the quality of oneself to achieve the level of recognition (*ma'rifat*) to Allah, still caring for the world
5. Being stronger on the principle and commitment to religion, as the ultimate principle
6. Doing *Jihad* in developing the propaganda of *Islamiyah* among the humanity by hoping for the pleasure of Allah, and
7. Loving the truth and kindness more than anything else. This is in line with the value of Islam which makes truth as the beginning and the end. [5]

Some of the above goals are at the same time as "the manifestation of *Ikhwan*", so this organization can be called a whole organization, namely *da'wah*, social, economic, educational, political and military organizations.

2.4 The Characters and the Principles of Ikhwanul Muslimin

The holistic Ikhwanul Muslimin movement is a manifestation of its holistic character. In general there are eight characters of Ikhwanul Muslimin, namely:

1. The *da'wah salafi* movement which always have a commitment to the Qur'an and hadith. This is actualized by the role of the Qur'an and hadith which always and remain a reference.
2. The Sunni movement, which always moves on the holy needle of holy history in all its activities. This is as a continuation of the first character, but with a broader meaning. Sunni is intended not only in the sense of the hadith of the Prophet but also the sunnah in the sense of the traditions of friends and *khulafa al-rashidin*.
3. The Sufi movement, which always strives to cleanse, moral cleansing and commitment to goodness and Allah. Sufis here are forced as a group that keeps the sanctity of the soul and closeness with Allah.
4. The political movement that always strives to improve the society and activate national and international relations, so that it can co-exist with other countries. Politics here is meant as a movement that continually strives to improve the structure of society.
5. The Health movement, which strives to remain in top condition. Health becomes another character because the practice of religion requires good health, both physical and spiritual, both physical and non physical (mental).
6. An intellectual movement that seeks to develop science and culture. This is in line with the Islamic character that is in line with the development of science.
7. Economic movement, because the economy is the pulse of activity, both related to humans (*hablum minannas*) and related to Allah (*hablum min Allah*). The developed economy is of course in line with the *sharia* economy. This system animates the entire economic system, both with regard to money management and distribution, and
8. Social movements that attempt to make social improvements, so free from social pathology. This is important because a movement of results leads to a result as the fruit of the struggle. [6]

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[3] Cf. Edward Mortimer, *Faith and Power,* terj. Enna Hadi Rahmani Astuti, *Islam dan kekuasaan,* (Bandung: Mizan, cet.I, 1405/1984), p 236.

[4] Hasan al-Banna, *Majmu'ah Rasail,* (Mesir: Dar al-Syihab, tt.), hlm. 33 (next in *Majmu'ah*); dan HAR. Gibb, *Muhammadanism*, terj. Abu Salamah, *Islam Dalam Lintasan Sejarah* (Jakarta: Bharata Karya Aksara, 1983), p. 1018.

[5] Rauf Syalabi, *Hasan al-Banna wa Madrastuhu Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Mesir: Dar asy-Sihab, tt.)*,* p. 202-203.

Based on the eight principles above, the principle of Ikhwanul Muslimin is the firmness of Allah and his teachings that should be practiced in everyday life, as the jargon is stipulated:

غايتنا الله

قدوتنا والرسول

دستورنا والقران

امانينا اسمى الله سبيل فى ⁷والموت

(Allah is our ultimate destination, the Prophet is our leader, Al-Qur'an is our law, and die in the path of Allah is our great ideals).

III. DISCUSSION

3.1 The Organization of Ikhwanul Muslimin

The movement of Ikhwanul Muslimin is organized by applying modern management. Therefore, the organization defines clear membership and organizational structure. Each member has duties and obligations in accordance with his position in the organization and tailored to the level. The membership is divided into three levels, namely:

1. *Nashir* (supporters), as a beginner member (base). In order to reach, the beginner membership is actively conducted recruitment of participants through da'wah continue to be done.

2. *Munafizd* (executive), as a member of the follow-up also called the *mujahid* (ready to *jihad*). Beginning members who are constantly cast through recitation will increase their status to full members who are called as executors and of course after having certain conditions.

3. *Naqib* (leader), a member who has passed the two previous levels and has taken his loyal oath[8]

While the structure is arranged neatly, starting from the top level (*al-mursyid al-am*) to the lowest level (members). [9]

3.2 The Activities of Ikhwanul Muslimin

As a holistic organization, the activities of Ikhwanul Muslimin cover all the following aspects of life:

1. Da'wah

First and foremost activity is developing da'wah, that is an activity of enjoin the good (*amar ma'ruf*) and forbid from munkar (*nahi munkar*). This activity is done orally (*da'wah bi al-lisân*), writing (*da'wah bi al-kitâbah*) and in direct practice (*da'wah bi al-hâl*). *Dakwah bi al-lisan* is performed routinely and continuously, both individually and institutionally. Individually, each person is active in da'wah activities. Meanwhile the institutional is done on behalf of the organization. That is why in the organizational structure of the Ikhwanul Mulimin there is one area that specializes in continuous *da'wah*. In addition to preaching verbally also conducted da'wah bil-kitabah, namely through writing, done through lieflet/brochure, daily newspapers, weekly and monthly.

2. Social

The second activity of Ikhwanul Muslimin is in the social field as an effort to take sides and responsibilities towards the Egyptian population whose majority is the weak, as a *fallahin* and laborer. Their living conditions, as al-Banna himself says, are no better than pets of British businessmen who monopolize the needs of the people. [10] As a result, poverty and ignorance are common trends, and low levels of health. Facing the condition of this society Ikhwanul Muslimin held social activities, among others:

a. Establishing health clinics and hospitals in each city coincided with the opening of pharmacies. No less than 20 pharmacies are opened. The hospital and clinic serve the whole community. In Tanta for example, within a year it is able to serve 3774 people fasien, both Muslim and non Muslim. [11]

b. Feeding the poor. In various branches through al-Banna's suggestion, they organize a banquet for the poor. There are entertaining 600 people for a month, there are branches of 200 people every week for three months and others. [12]

c. Recording the number of Muslim population in search of work and others. [13]

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[6] Hasan al-Banna, *Majmu'ah*, p. 156-157.

[7] Hasan al-Banna, *Majmu'ah*, p. 84 and 281; and Hasan al-Banna, *Konsep,* p. 209 and 286.

[8] Each level has qualification (requirements). This can be seen in Husein bin Muhsin bin Ali Jabir, *Membentuk Jama'atul Muslimin* (Jakarta: Gema Insani Press, 1991), p. 324-330.

[9] Quotewd from: Husein bin Muhsin bin Ali Jabir, *Membentuk Jama'atul Muslimin*, p. 283.

[10] Hasan al-Banna, *Majmu'ah,* p. 134. It means that animal is never lack of food like poor pepople uin Egypt.

[11] Al-Husaini, *Ikhwanul Muslimin*, p. 65, G.H. Jansen, *Militant Islam*, terj. Ahmahedi Mahzar, *Islam Militan* (Bandung : Perpustakaan Salman ITB, 1983), p. 214.

[12] Al-Husaini, *Ikhwanul Muslimin,* hlm. 63; G.H. Jansen, *Islam Militan,* p. 214.

[13] Al-Banna was active in making a peace for all conflicts among the people and villages.

d. Another social activity is advocacy and dispute resolution. Brotherhood figures, other than Hasan al-Banna, always make peace between disputing citizens and between husbands and wives.

2. Economics

The other activities of the Muslim Brotherhood are in the economic field. This is done in response to the economic conditions of poor communities, both as farmers and as laborers. This is understandable, because as farmers, agricultural land in this region is very narrow in accordance with the geographical conditions of Egypt. Most of the land is barren, while the fertile land is no more than five percent. This amount is dominated by landlords and England and so in the field of labor. The existing company is controlled by the British or the bourgeoisie in cooperation with the UK. Although the work they do is quite heavy, but they earn a small salary (wages). The result can be ascertained, they are in poverty. The economic activities carried out with various forms of activities, including:

a. Giving the company shares to the workers by establishing "Syarikat al-Mu'amalat al-Islamiyah" in several cities. In Alexandria this company has 3500 shares with a capital of 14 thousand pounds. In the field of printing they have a capital of 70 thousand pounds and in newspapers with a capital of 50 thousand pounds.[14]

b. Establishing cooperative for the workers. For example is the cooperatives in the field of press, industry and services.

c. Especially for farmers, providing agricultural capital began to cultivate the land until seedling. This includes the help of developing the ideal farming model in a few villages.[15]

With these activities al-Banna seeks to uphold the economic and social dignity of the people and at the same time can reduce and if possible-eliminate the domination of certain groups. Some efforts in this direction are to remove the *ribawi* system, as a pillar of capitalists.[16]

3. Education

The activities of Ikhwanul Muslimin are also in the field of education as a response to the problems of the *Ummah* at that time. According to Hasan al-Banna as the founder of Ikhwanul Muslimin, there are two issues of the most prominent people, namely ignorance and the emptiness of religious practice. Religion is seen only from the aspect of ritual and *aqidah*, unrelated to the reality of life, consequently the society is increasingly alienated from its religion. Facing this issue will be answered through education. For that the Ikhwanul Muslimin established schools, namely *Madrasah Harra*' for men, and *Madrasah Ummahat al-Muslmin* for women with an exclusive curriculum. The curriculum includes reading al-Qur'an and *tajwid*, memorizing al-Qur'an and Hadith, continuing *aqidah* and fostering worship and understanding the weaknesses that exist in Islamic *shari'ah*, studying noble character, studying Islamic history and life history of figures, *salafi* leaders and giving speech practice among themselves and then among the public.[17]

This curriculum is a great leap from the previous curriculum that provides only general education or religion only in a dichotomous way. Then this curriculum was developed in every region of Egypt.

4. Politics

Ikhwanul Muslimin is also engaged in politics, especially since 1936.[18] Political activity is conducted in three ways; first, send a letter to the Prime Minister of Egypt, King Faruq and the leaders of the Islamic world, to make Islam a *nizam* (order of life) in the packages of *Nahwan Nur* (towards light).[19] Secondly, along with the Egyptian conditions colonized by Britain and other Islamic countries,[20] Palestine annexed by Israel and its teachers, Britain and the United States and the internal disputes of Egypt, the Muslim Brotherhood called for the British to leave Egypt and the liberation of Palestine. Thirdly, the Muslim Brotherhood called for the dissolution of all political parties in Egypt, because the existing parties only resulted in the split of Muslims and no one was interested in improving the condition of Islamic *ummah*.[21]

Through the above various activities Ikhwanul Mulimin greeted people inside and outside Egypt, as will be explained next.

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[14] Al-Husaini, *Ikhwanul Muslimin,* p. 65-66.

[15] *Al-Husaini, Ikhwanul Muslimin,* p. 63.

[16] Benard Lewis, *The Encyclopedia of Islam,* vol.III, (London: Leszac & Co, 1960), p. 1068.

[17] Rauf Syalabi, *Op.Cit.,* hlm. 140; G.H. Jansen, *Islam Militan,* p. 45.

[18] Cf. Hamid Enayat, *Modern Islamic Political Thought, (London:* Macmillan Press, 1982), p. 84 and Michael Yusse, *Revolt Against Modernity,* (Leiden: EIJ. Brill, Leiden, 1985), p. 60-61.

[19] Al-Husaini, *Iikhwanul Muslimin,* p. 21 and 35; Al-Jabari, *Op.Cit.,* p. 72-73.

[20] Egypt was occupied by Britain and so did India. Next, Lybia was occupied by Italy, North Africa by France and Indonesia by Netherland. Meanwhile Turkey was in its secular. *Majmu'ah,* p. 134-135.

[21] Al-Husaini, *Ikhwanul Muslimin,* hlm. 21; Departemen Agama RI, *Ensiklopedi Islam,* (Jakarta, 1992), p. 353.

3.3 Ikhwanul Muslimin Today

As explained above, due to various factors, Ikhwanul Muslimin has received tremendous greetings to develop. In Egypt, as a center for the development of t Ikhwanul Muslimin developed so rapidly. In 1932, five years after the founding of the new organization had five branches, but in 1940 it developed into 500 branches and 2000 branches in 1949 with the number of active members of five hundred thousand more members. [22] This development also occurs in other Islamic countries, both Arab and non Arabic such as Sudan, [23] Syria, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, Algeria, Morocco, Iran and including Indonesia. But the success of the 40-year-old movement is certainly not favored by parties outside the Ikhwanul Muslimin, especially the rulers directly opposed to this movement. Being feared that extraordinary influence, King Faruq, the Egyptian ruler on the recommendation of Britain dismissed the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement in 1948. [24] In Egypt since the founding in 1928 until now there have been 7 leaders of Ikhwanul Muslimin:

1. Hasan al-Banna (1928-1949).
2. Hasan al-Hudhaibi (1949-1972)
3. Umar Tilmisani (1972-1986)
4. Muhammad Hamid Abu Nasr (1986-1996)
5. Mustafa Masykur (1996-2002)
6. Ma'mun al-Hudhaibi (2002-2010), and
7. Muhammad Badie (2010 until now).

The figure and the founder of Ikhwanul Muslimin, Hasan al-Banna was killed by the secret police of King Faruq, while Hasan al-Hudhaibi was hanged by the Naseer regime but his position was replaced by Umar Thilmisani. The last figure was also killed by the Anwar Sadat regime simultaneously with the dissolution of the Third Day Brotherhood. In the state of the diaspora because the Ikhwanul Muslimin was forbidden to appear in new clothes, such as At-Tahrir al-Islam (Liberation of Islam) who was responsible for the invasion of the Egyptian Military Academy in 1974, *At-Takfir wa al-Hijrah* (making *kafeer* and *hijrah*) the murder of the Egyptian *waqaf* minister in 1977, *Tanzim al-Jihad* (Jihad organization) who was responsible for the murder of Anwar Sadat in 1981. According to Zainab al-Gazali, the veteran of the Ikhwanul Muslimin, has now formed the international Ikhwan organization, without specifying its existence. [25]

These are some of the later cases that raise the view that Ikhwanul Muslimin movement is a radical organization. In recent developments, Ikhwanul Muslimin of Egypt also opened a new party which is called the Justice and Freedom Party (FJP), with the chairman. Mohammed Moursi. In the first Egyptian Election of 2012 following the fall of Hosni Mubarak, the party earned the most votes, thus qualifying for the second round of

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[22] Edward Mortimer, *Islam dan Kekuasaan,* hlm. 254-255.

[23] Sudan was teh second country as the centre of Ikhwanul Muslimin develpment after Egypt. In Sudan Ikhwanul Muslimin hasd 50 branches wigth the main figure was Hasan Thurabi and was actively arranged teh constituion of Islam in 1973. Several figures of Ikhwanul Muslimin Sudan are: Ali Thalibullah (1945 – 1954). At that time the *jamaah* did not use the name of Ikhwanul Muslimin. Muhammad Al Kheir Abdul Qadir (1954 – 1955). He was the first Muraqib Am after jamaah decieded to use the name of Ikhwanul Muslimin formally. Ar-Rasyid Ath-Thahir Bakar (1955 – 1962). His collectrive leadership was from 1962 – 1964. His colletive leadership was done after Ar-Rasyid Ath-Thahir Bakar was capturesd. Dr. Hasan At Thurabi (General Secretary of Front Mistaq Islami) and Asy Syahid Muhammad Sholih Umar (Leader of Maktab Tanfidz jamaah Ikhwanul Muslimin) the dualism of leadership happende in 1964 – 1967. Prof. Malik Badri during 1967- , for two months. Dr. Abdullah Hasan Ahmad (1967 – 1969). Dr. Hasan At-Turabi, he was chosen again for the second time in 1969 until 1979. He played a big role in spreading Islam in Sudan as teh councellor of the president in *syariah*. Dr. Al-Hibr Yusuf Nur Dayim (1979 – 1991). Asy Syaikh Shodiq Abdullah Abdul Majid (1991-2008). Dr. Al Hibr Yusuf Nur Dayim (2008-2012) after being elected for the second time. Syeikh Ali Ganesh, after mukhtamar of Ikhwanul Muslimin on 25-26 May2012in Dakwah Ikhwanul Muslimin building for 4 the following years. His vice was a doctor Dr. Ishan Yusuf Badr. The good relationship among ethe figures of Ikhwanul Muslimin with the ruler made this organizatuion ran well in Sudan not like in other countries including Egypt.

[24] Besides Britain, America and France took part in the dismissing of this organization. On 10 November 1948 the ambassador of America, France and Britain met in Fayed which decided that Ikhwan should be dismissed. The meeting results then were delivered by Mayor G.W. Obrian, general secretary of politics of Britain Army to An-Naqrasi, the prime minister of Egypt. Next, on 20, the ehad of representative of A under the command of Britain Army gave the same ultimatum, and saome other ultimatum until this organization was dismissed. See: Al-Husaini, Musa, *Ikhwanul Muslimin* (Jakarta: Grafiti Press, cet.I, 1983), p. 134-136.[24]

[25] Edward Mortimer, *Islam dan Kekuasaan,* p. 254-255.

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elections. His rival is another candidate from the presidential squad who toppled Hosni Mubaraq, former Prime Minister, Ahmad Shafiq.

In the second round, Mohammed Moursi received the most votes of 13,230,131 (51.73%), appearing as the first Egyptian president from civilian. It is certainly not just accepted by other candidates, much less supported by the old and military regimes, including foreign support which does not want Ikhwanul Muslimin to rule in Egypt, trying to influence the election committee (a type of KPU in Indonesia). Therefore, the announcement of the election winner was delayed for three days. But because of the massive victory that Muhammad Moursi was forced to win despite a slight difference of 51, 73%. So on June 30, 2012 he was appointed as the first president of Egypt from civilian since the previous four former military came from Muhammad Najib (1953-1954), Jamal Abdul Naseer (1956-1970), Anwar Sadat (1970-1981), and Hosni Mubarah (1971-2012). This is the new chapter of the Ikhwanul Muslimin in Egypt.

The appointment of Muhammad Moursi as the Egyptian president apparently was not immediate as a victory of the Islamic movement, because his power was coupled by Egyptian military rulers under the generals of Al-Sisi. After being dropped and imprisoned and filed with various charges. As witnessed in various media, on May 14, 2015 he was sentenced to death with unclear reasons. Among the reasons are as noted by The Guardian, the dominance of Ikhwanul Muslimin in the House of Representatives, the deteriorating economy, the release of presidential decree on November 22, 2012 which replaced the attorney general, and allegations of human rights violations. Four reasons that are completely out of the reach of common sense and this were certainly not strong enough to kill someone.

3.4 The Future of Islamic Movement

By reading the latest news above, then the future issue of the Islamic movement becomes a big question mark. How is the future? The study of it is simplified in the following three ways.

1. Challenge

The emergence of the Islamic movement today seems to be getting a very strong challenge, not least because of two factors. First, the era of globalization that necessitates the increasingly interdependence between countries becomes the first challenge. This interdependence makes what happens in a country will quickly spread to other countries. If the countries linked to the development of the Islamic movement seek the help of other countries, the sooner and stronger the challenge will be to the Islamic movement. Second, the world trend that tends to minus the religion. If there is any movement in the name of religion, let alone Islam, it will quickly get reaction from other countries, especially America and Europe. Without any doubt these two countries will quickly provide his help. The sooner the help arrives, the faster the Islamic movement will be.

The third challenge is the condition of the Islamic world today that is already in control of America and Europe. As a country under the control of other countries, when they face the challenges from within the country, like from Islamic movements, it is certainly that they will soon seek help from their controlling countries (such as America). The grant is certainly not unconditional, there will be other purposes in it, such as political, economic, cultural, religious, and so on. [26] Another challenge is from the internal circle of Muslims, which not all Muslims are comfortable with the application of Islam in life. What is known as the term Islamphobia, is certainly not an illusion. This term is present in all walks of life and in all Islamic countries, regardless of its strength or weakness. Looking at Muhammad Moursi's movement, the strongest challenge of rejection is that of the phobic Islamists who justify all means, because they are from the youth and have military support.

Based on the four challenges above, the emergence of the Islamic movement today seems to be getting a big and powerful challenge. The strong and the big challenge make the attitude of pessimism in various circles. Therefore, if the hoists of Islam want to succeed, the push must be super maximal, so it can be various challenges.

2. Opportunities.

However, the challenge faces ahead, but the Islamic movement has a chance of appearing on the front, at least that is how the SWOT analysis views. The principle is if there is a challenge there must be an opportunity, or as big as any challenge definitely it is in there as a chance even though it is small. The opportunities appear cannot be separated from three factors as well as the supporting factors. First, the era of globalization that carries the development of human rights and democratization certainly provides an opportunity for the emergence of new movements that carry the democratization and human rights, not only in the field of politics, but also in terms of Islamic movements. But this opportunity does not go smoothly in the

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[26] The meaning of politic here is becoming an Islamic country as the power block, so that the objects should obey to the poetical order. The meaning of economy here is having all the states treasure including all the products.. The meaning of culture here is the state culture was helped by Western culture because of the change that to be easy to controlled. Meanwhile the meaning of religion here is the spreading of the religion which were helped by Christians.

context of Egypt and other Muslim countries, because of the involvement of foreign countries that are not willing to accept Islam as the host in their own country. That is why if an Islamic movement emerges, America and some European countries to be invited or not, will quickly come to the fore, under the pretext of rebellion against a legitimate ruler. The second factor which is also an opportunity for the presence of the Islamic movement is the support of the society towards the pursuit of Islamic values in life. This support is important, because society is not only an object of change but also as a subject. The more people serve as the subjects, the faster the execution of change. In other words, the intelligent people will have a much faster chance of making change than the less intelligent people. The third factor which is no less important for the presence of the Islamic movement is the saturation of Muslims against the ruling authorities today. The saturation occurs, because it is considered not able to meet the expectations and needs of society. What the problem of the society is such as poverty and ignorance are still prevalent in the society. Various programs and policies have been implemented, but because foreign control is so strong it does not get adequate results. In this condition the community's frustration is inevitable, and in this condition the society will surely welcome if there is a new movement that is expected to change the fate of society.

3. What to do?

From the description above it seems that the arrival and the chance of the Islamic movement birth is almost balanced, so which one outperforms depends on which field is the most ready and the most excited. If the effort to showcase the Islamic movement has the opportunity to be able to control the challenges, it seems that there are three steps that must be done, as follows:

a. Developing an evolutionist and non-revolutionary movement

As the general theory in politics, the revolution will take many victims and requires full support from all sides, such as human resources, funds, strategies, and so on. This happens in various revolutionary movements, thus avoiding the tendency of the developed movement should be gradual. Moreover, the movement to be developed is present in the existing countries.

b. Developing a movement that touches the problems of *ummah*

The second step is for the movement to touch or solve the problems of *ummah*, such as what Ikhwanul Muslimin is doing so it is often seen as the largest organization today. Husein bin Muhsin bin Ali Jabir, MA, a researcher of the Islamic movement placed this organization at the beginning of the Islamic movement in the Islamic world for four reasons: [27]

1. Ikhwanul Muslimin has a strong Islamic foundation because it clearly makes the Alqur'an and sunnah references to the organization.
2. The Movement of Ikhwanul Muslimin has a clear vision and mission: how to make Islam appear worldwide, as Hasan al-Banna, the founder remarks: "Lead the world by spreading the *da'wah* of Islam all over the country so that no slander and religion belongs to Allah ".
3. The activity of Ikhwanul Muslimin movement moves holistically and totality, as its movement encompasses all aspects of life; da'wah, economic, social, political, etc. education, not sectoral or partial, propagation, or education only.
4. The Movement of Ikhwanul Muslimin is as a flexible movement, so that the response to a better direction without having to leave the good.

Along with the era of all-materialist globalization, economic issues occupy the priorities of the society, the Islamic movement must put forward this. That Islam is an ideology, but the issue of economic improvement must be a priority. If you look at the Egyptian case, as the views of many, the fall of Muhammad Moursi's government is due to the decline of public support. The decline in community support is certainly caused by many factors. In the context of society the economic factor becomes the main problem, because the presence of the new ruler has not been able to raise the economic problem, more ideology. Failure is certainly because the existing rulers do not want to be tied with foreign assistance is always difficult, so that Moursi chose how to strengthen the economy with their own strength. Unfortunately people are less aware or cannot wait anymore with the existing conditions

c. Improving the cooperation

The next step is cooperation between Islamic movements. In accordance with the words of Ali bin Abi Talib that "the truth which is not raised by cooperation will be defeated by the crime of cooperation" (*al-haqq bila nizham yaghlibu al-bathil binizham*) cooperation will determine the success of an Islamic movement. This step is indeed the harder of the two previous steps, although all layers of the society and Islamic leaders recognize that cooperation is important and decisive. The difficulties that cannot be separated from the egoism of the movement, where each movement claims superiority that tends to close themselves to cooperate. Ideally it is the sharing of development fields; there is in the economic field, there is in the field of education, there is in politics, and so on. Indeed, it should be like that if the Islamic movement is still hopeful in the future.

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[27] Husein bin Muhsin, *Op.Cit.*, p. 345-355.

IV.   CONCLUSION

From the above description can be taken some conclusions:

a. The Islamic movement has experienced ups and downs, along with the progress of Islam as a whole. Similarly, experienced by the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement, it was born and developed, and then fell and rose again, and the end is falling by the Egyptian military rulers.

b. The progress of the Ikhwanul Muslimin movement cannot be separated from several factors, namely internal factors and external factors. The deep factor is the overall movement which touches on the aspects of practical community life which are driven by the visionary and the *istiqamah* leaders who are capable of facing various challenges, including the risk of imprisonment and death. The external factors are the condition of the society that has been saturated with existing systems and rulers, so that internally is very eager to change, both system and ruler.

c. If we view the case of Ikhwanul Muslimin, then the upcoming Islamic movement is faced with various challenges, both from within and from outside. The challenge from within is the presence of groups who reject "political Islam", because for them Islam is only a purely ritual. The outside challenge is a foreign power that does not want Islam to be a social and political value order.

d. In order to keep the Islamic movement in the future, it takes three interlinked steps: developing an evolutionist and non-revolutionary movement, developing a movement that touches the problems of *ummah*, and improving the cooperation.

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