

II. The Muslim Brotherhood in the Middle East

by Robert Dreyfuss



The rise to power of Ayatollah Khomeini and the Muslim Brotherhood in Iran, backed by the Anglo-American intelligence services, has posed the gravest threat in centuries to the national security of nearly every Muslim nation. Under Khomeini, an entire nation is now ruled by what—until very recently—was an underground terrorist clique committed to violence and subversion. The Iranian regime is committed to use any and all political methods to succeed in what, at least among some of Khomeini's circle, is considered to be a sacred task: the establishment of the *nizam al-islami* (the Islamic order).

Throughout the Mideast, the Muslim Brotherhood is drawing new strength from the Khomeini regime—including, according to sources in the Iranian community, massive financial assistance.

But if the Muslim Brotherhood were simply a problem of small, poorly organized terrorist bands, it would hardly be a problem of major political significance. For any Muslim nation, fundamentalist student mobs, fanatic sects and cults, and extremist cells of medieval kooks would be nothing more than a police problem.

However, the Muslim Brotherhood poses its threat on a far higher level. It is no exaggeration to state that *in every Arab government, Turkey, and many Asian nations, the Muslim Brotherhood enjoys the active protection of ministers, intelligence officials, military officers, and others at the very highest levels.*

Investigators who seek to track down the leadership of the Muslim Brotherhood find their investigation mysteriously killed on orders "from the top." Security officials and law-enforcement agents pursuing Ikhwan terrorists are suddenly assassinated. Top politicians hesitate before opening up the question of the Ikhwan because of direct knowledge or innuendo and rumor that some Mr. Big does not want his toes stepped on. According to Arab sources, the Muslim Brotherhood is greatly assisted by simple corruption. The huge quantities of cash that flow into the coffers of various Persian Gulf rulers have created an entire strata of venal officials. The current

Special Envoy of the Arab League to the United States, Dr. Clovis Maksoud, is the quintessential Arab example of this sort of character. But more typical of the leading Muslim Brotherhood sponsors and controllers in the Middle East is the sort of individual whose family background, probably for generations, places him in the category of the *comprador* elite, with business or intelligence links to the European black nobility and, especially, the British oligarchy.

There is one common misconception concerning the Muslim Brotherhood. It is often asserted that the Muslim Brotherhood is a "Sunni" organization—that is, adhering to the majority, orthodox Muslim tradition—while Ayatollah Khomeini and his movement is "Shi'ite," referring to the faction which emerged as an independent force some years after the death of the Prophet Mohammed. In fact, no such distinction is valid. The members of the Muslim Brotherhood are selected on the basis of an ideological commitment that transcends the otherwise traditional Sunni-Shiite divisions. The Iranian branch of the Muslim Brotherhood, called the Fedayeen-e-Islam headed by Ayatollah Khalkhali, has for years cooperated closely with the official Ikhwan al-Muslimun.

1. Syria: citizens above suspicion

Within the next few weeks and months, the world may witness Syria's surrender to the Anglo-American regional design in committing its national purpose to back Ayatollah Khomeini. Should that occur, the fall of the regime of President Hafez Assad is a near certainty, as Egypt's President Sadat—himself a confirmed ex-terrorist of the Muslim Brotherhood—stated this week.

Historically, as Syrian politicians well know, the Muslim Brotherhood has for decades been one of the tools of British imperialism in combating the influence of France and especially Charles de Gaulle in Syria and Lebanon. As the French had primarily established their allies in the Christian Arab community of Syria and Lebanon, the British used the Sunni Muslim commu-

nity—usually funded from the Gulf states, Jordan, and (in earlier times) Iraq—as a battering ram against France. That British-Saudi influence was based primarily around the triangle of the Syrian cities of Homs, Hama, and Aleppo.

In 1944, when the British began their final push at the close of World War II to oust French influence in the Levant, the so-called Youth of Mohammed was established as a branch of the then-powerful Egyptian Ikhwan al-Muslimun. From that time on, the Syrian Muslim Brotherhood has acted, more or less continuously, as a British intelligence asset. In 1973, for instance, when Assad was assembling the Syrian state constitution, riots and demonstrations by Saudi-funded Muslim Brotherhood networks in Homs and Hama forced the government to compromise by declaring Syria to be a religious state.

During the 1950s, the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria was led by Maruf Dawalibi, Mustafa Sibai, and Muhammad Mubarak. The Muslim Brotherhood controlled the People's Party of Syria, whose strongholds were Homs and Aleppo. Though nominally a strongly anticommunist organization, the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria during this period adopted a forthright position in support of establishing close political-military cooperation with the Soviet Union. Dawalibi, a leader of the People's Party and for a time the Syrian prime minister, declared that Syria ought to sign a nonaggression pact with the Soviet Union, while Mustafa Sibai—of the "Islamic Socialist Front"—declared, "We are resolved to turn to the eastern camp if the Democracies do not give us justice."

Dawalibi was forced into exile from Syria in 1963-64, and he took up residence in Saudi Arabia. At the same time, the current head of the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria, Issam al-Attar, who was then a member of the Syrian parliament, was also forced to leave Syria, first for Beirut and then West Germany, where he presently resides. To this day, Attar and Dawalibi maintain close contact. Dawalibi is a leading political adviser to King Khaled of Saudi Arabia. He also sits on the board of the newly formed organization, Islam and the West.

According to the Syrian press, certain official circles in both Saudi Arabia and Jordan provide logistical and military assistance to the Muslim Brotherhood terrorists in Syria, and there are many reports of paramilitary training camps in Jordan where the Ikhwan thugs are trained. In at least one instance, Syria also charged that the Palestine Liberation Organization—which has close ties with the Muslim Brotherhood—was, in Lebanon, responsible for training Ikhwan terrorists who then assassinated a top Syrian official.

For the past 12 months, the Muslim Brotherhood in Syria has been responsible for dozens, perhaps hundreds of murders of major and minor Syrian officials, including

especially military and intelligence personnel. The most gruesome was the massacre of over 60 Syrian military cadets in Aleppo by the Muslim Brotherhood, on the same day that President Assad left for a crucially important state visit to Iraq, in August 1979. Despite some relatively minor arrests, not a single Muslim Brotherhood leader has been arrested. Among the organizations reported to be behind the wave of assassinations are the *Kataeb al-Haq* (Falangists of the Right), whose leader Sheikh Al Wani has mysteriously escaped arrest for two years; and the *Al Jihad al-Mugadess* (the soldiers of the Holy War).

The reason for the lack of arrests of Syrian Muslim Brotherhood terrorists, according to Syrian sources, is that they enjoy the protection of leading Syrian circles. Syrian sources say that within the leadership of the Syrian Baath Party there are many sympathizers of the Brotherhood, especially among former supporters of the deposed President Salah Jadid. Two important figures stand out as traitors to the Syrian government: Col. Rifaat Assad, the President's brother, who commands a special military brigade; and Deputy Prime Minister Mohammed Haider, the economic czar.

Both Rifaat Assad and Haider are Alawites, a minority sect in Syria that dominates the present regime. Many of the recent assassinations were directed against the Alawite minority, ostensibly by the "pro-Sunni" (orthodox) Muslim Brotherhood. However, Haider and Col. Assad are secretly encouraging the anti-Alawite assassinations in order to strengthen the case for Alawite separatism and to weaken the central government, and thus Col. Assad and Haider—who reportedly has ties to Rumanian intelligence—collaborate with the Ikhwan!

President Assad, who is reportedly at least partially informed of these facts, is unable to act because he depends to a great extent on Col. Rifaat Assad's security forces to protect his regime, and on the Saudi backers of the Ikhwan for financial assistance.

Furthermore, the Muslim Brotherhood is supported from across the Syrian border with Lebanon. Both elements in the fascist Christian Falangist community and among Lebanon's Shiite Al-Amal organization give weapons and financial help to the Muslim Brotherhood. The Al-Amal group, in southern Lebanon, has close ties with the new Khomeini regime. The Muslim Brotherhood is based on the northern Lebanese city of Tripoli.

Through Lebanon, Israeli intelligence lends direct backing to the Muslim Brotherhood.

2. Egypt and North Africa

The alert reader will have already noted the mention of Rumania in the above discussion of the Ikhwan in Syria. The Muslim Brotherhood is involved in close

Arafat: Khomeini is our leader

The following is an extract of a speech delivered on Dec. 7, 1979, in Beirut, Lebanon, by Palestine Liberation Organization Chairman Yasser Arafat. The speech is evidence of the extent to which the Khomeini psychosis has infected the PLO. It is known that Arafat himself was formerly a member of the Muslim Brotherhood in the 1950s.

We and the Iranian revolution are not just in one trench. No. We are one revolution led by one man—Imam Khomeini.

Therefore, tell Imam Khomeini that these Lebanese-Palestinian forces await his military order. He

can move them as he desires. If he wants to move them from this area in southern Lebanon in defense of Arabism in Lebanon in order to fight there alongside these Iranian revolutionaries who are coming tomorrow, we welcome that. If he wants to move them to any place in the world, we are ready....

Tell our imam, the leader of the march, that the soldiers—we are all soldiers—are ready to receive the order and to move, sacrifice, and die. We welcome martyrdom....

Tell Imam Khomeini to give the order, and we will obey and move to strike U.S. imperialism and U.S. imperialist interests at any time and in any place and I mean any place.

The day will come when we will say: Join the *jihad* for Palestine! ... Join the *jihad* to liberate Jerusalem; join the *jihad* to liberate Jerusalem; join the *jihad* to liberate Jerusalem, and make it a revolution until victory!

coordination with the local communist movement, often with the sanction—and even support of certain countries of the Warsaw Pact.

It would be a mistake, however, to consider the Muslim Brotherhood a Soviet “puppet.” The Ikhwan maintains contact with a particular faction of the communist movement: that associated with the British triple agent and now KGB General, Kim Philby. That faction, strongest in Rumania and Yugoslavia as well as within the Communist Party apparatus of Western Europe, is also powerful within the Arab communist movement.

In Iran Khomeini is supported by the Tudeh (Communist) party there; the Iraqi Communist Party is also pro-Khomeini.

In Sudan, which once had a strong communist movement, the Muslim Brotherhood is now a dominant force. According to Israeli scholars, at one time the Central Committee of the Sudan Communist Party was composed primarily of mullahs, or priests, associated with the Muslim Brotherhood! Now, the government of Sudan is itself the Muslim Brotherhood, since the appointment to the cabinet of Sheikh Turabi, the chief of the Ikhwan in the Sudan. Under Turabi's influence, Sudan has backed away from the relationship it had been developing with neighboring Ethiopia, instead renewing its assistance to the Eritrean Liberation Front, a manipulated guerrilla movement seeking independence for the Ethiopian province of Eritrea.

In addition, in Sudan there has been recently a rapid growth of cultlike movements of dervishes and fanatical preachers in the country's more backward areas. Many

of these cults worship goddesses whose origin goes back to pre-Islamic times to Isis and Osiris.

It is in Egypt, the original home of the Ikhwan, that we find the strongest and best organized Muslim Brotherhood outside of Iran and Pakistan.

The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood is the center of a network that stretches across the entire Arab world. The presence of the Ikhwan in Egypt during the period until the mid-1950s, when it was suppressed by Gamal Abdel Nasser, has provided it with a strong base in the country's major institutions, despite years of repression. With the coming to power of Anwar Sadat—formerly a member of the Muslim Brotherhood—the position of the Ikhwan was reinforced in the country, and gradually Sadat allowed it to surface publicly and to engage in political activities. Thus, recently, the head of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, Sheikh Elmessari of *Al-Dawa* magazine, met President Sadat at a public banquet, where Sadat declared that he has nothing against the Ikhwan and that it should be considered a loyal, nationalistic force.

As during the period of the 1930s and 1940s, when the Muslim Brotherhood collaborated closely with the Egyptian royal palace and its secret police as well as with the British Embassy in Cairo, today Egypt's Ikhwan acts as a de facto arm of the secret police. It is generally believed that control of the Muslim Brotherhood falls under the authority of Hassan al-Tuhami, the president's special adviser, who maintains close contacts with Israeli, British, and American intelligence. Tuhami, for instance, declared last year that Egypt might act to “mobilize 1

million Muslims for a march on Jerusalem.”

A proliferation of Muslim Brotherhood organizations has been in evidence in Egypt over the past several years. Many of the more radical cults have been expelled from the mainstream of the Muslim Brotherhood network in Egypt, led by *Al-Dawa*. But, just as the earlier Ikhwan established its “Secret Apparatus” to carry out terrorism and violence, it should be assumed that the establishment Muslims of *Al-Dawa* serve as the control agents for deploying the mob and the terror. One of these organizations is *Al-Tafkir al-Hijra* (Repentance and Retreat). Derived directly from Hasan al-Banna and Sayyed Qotb of the early Ikhwan, this terrorist underground movement was reportedly involved in supporting the recent attack on the Grand Mosque in Mecca.

Among other groups is the *Al-Gamaa al-Islamiyya* (The Islamic Group), which originated at Cairo’s Al Azhar university and quickly spread throughout the country. Reportedly, the group has amassed a huge quantity of weapons and has received paramilitary training. Within the last several years, the Egyptian police has carried out several arrest sweeps against this group. Thousands of automatic weapons—many of them Uzi submachine guns made in Israel—were confiscated in Upper Egypt near Assiout by police, and according to some reports parts of Egypt are now almost autonomous, in the countryside, led by feudal lords using organizations like *Al-Gamaa*. During Ramadhan, the group undertook to have public displays of its military force, and *Le Monde* of Paris commented that the movement rivals the Egyptian army as a structured and organized force!

Still other organizations include *Al-Itissam*, which means the Refuge, a group claiming to support “Islamic socialism,” led by Abdel-Moneim Abdel-Raouf; and the *Mekafaratiyya* (The Excommunicators), a terrorist band.

3. Khomeini of the Maghreb

In Egypt operates Sheikh Abdel-Hamid Kishk, the blind imam of the most important Cairo mosque after Al Azhar. For years, Sheikh Kishk has been preaching along fundamentalist lines, especially to attack the “Westernization” of Egypt and the corruption of political life. Also, as is standard for the Muslim Brotherhood, Kishk attacks the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty. But Sadat has not placed him under arrest; he is reported to be the “most popular man throughout Egypt.”

Kishk’s influence extends throughout North Africa from Egypt, especially into Algeria and Tunisia. He has been called “the Khomeini of North Africa.”

Under his leadership, the Egyptian parliament has now passed a series of laws which have begun to Islamize public life, banning alcohol, gambling, and imple-

menting regulations drawn from the *shari’a*, or Muslim law. On university campuses, upwards of 25 percent of the youth have been persuaded to associate with such fundamentalist reform, agitating for special religious law on campus, under the guidance of Sheikh Kishk. And, now, his influence has begun to grow outside of Egypt.

In January 1979, in the Medea region of Algeria south of the capital of Algiers, near the village of Blida, a strange phenomenon was reported: a letter began circulating purporting to be the dreams of an imam in Mecca, announcing the imminent End of the World. The letter asked anyone who received it to make a copy and transmit it to another person. By doing so, the letter stated, the copier would go to heaven when he died; otherwise, if he failed to copy the letter, he would be condemned. The circulation of the letter caused a great panic among the backward peasants of southern Algeria, according to the Algerian *El-Moudjahid*.

According to Algerian sources, the very same letter was circulating in the 1930s. The center of the operation was and is a network in Kasr el-Boukhari in the Medea region. Further, according to *El-Moudjahid*, “foreign teachers” are spreading such nonsense, in conjunction with certain circles at Algiers University and the Mosque of Châteauneuf in Blida. Among the reports concerning these incidents, it was said that the fundamentalists were telling the peasants that to pray on land that is nationalized is a sin!

It was further revealed that circulating among the peasants in that area were thousands of cassette tapes of speeches by Sheikh Kishk. That was precisely the tactic used by Khomeini during his exile in France. In Tunisia, Sheikh Kishk is very popular; in that country the cassettes do not circulate clandestinely but openly.

The center of the Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia is the Arraya Library, which specializes in selling the works of Hasan el-Banna, Sayyed Qotb, Pakistan’s Mohammed Iqbal, and the tapes of Sheikh Kishk. Their newspaper in Tunisia is *El-Maarifa* (The Knowledge), whose circulation has shot up from 1500 to 5000 since 1977, according to Tunisian sources. Last September, they organized large-scale demonstrations and, in Tunis, riots against the efforts of the government to secularize a religious holiday.

During the 1960s, the movement there was led by Sheikh Mohammed Salah Neifer, who eventually was forced into exile in Algeria. Later, the organization led by people who call themselves *Khouanjias* emerged around the Arraya Library, led by Sheikh Abdel Fateh Moro. Moro is a 30-year-old lawyer, with close ties to Saudi Arabia, who regularly visits that country. Together with Rashed al-Ghanouchi of the Islamic Renaissance Movement and Hussein Ghodbani, Moro cooperates with the Tunisian opposition movement, especially with its radical “human rights” and labor constituency.

Ghodbani, also a lawyer and radical who works with a former justice minister of Tunisia, has connections to Ramsey Clark, the former U.S. attorney general, who led demonstrations for Khomeini in Iran in February 1979.

The Muslim Brotherhood in Tunisia and Algeria acts as a single entity. In Algeria, for years the Brotherhood has demanded "Arabization" of the educational system and the language of the government, where French is heavily used. During the recent national debate over the National Charter, the fundamentalists used their influence to swing the Charter toward a more religious orientation and away from its original secular bent. The base of the Muslim Brotherhood—especially strong among students—is the host of Sufi sects and movements that can be found all over North Africa. Reportedly, the movement in Algeria gets support from the Tunisian branch, and vice versa.

Recently, Tunisia has begun a crackdown on the Muslim Brotherhood. The weekly publication *Al-Moujtamaa* put out by Ghanouchi—which had endorsed Khomeini and the seizure of the U.S. embassy in Teheran—was closed down by the police, and Ghanouchi was briefly arrested. Although the ruling Destour Party has mobilized its forces against what it calls "the new obscurantism," the movement has continued to grow. Reportedly it draws its support partly from the opposition "Marxist" elements around former Tunisia leader Ben Salah, whose base is largely in France. According to some European reports, Mohammed Masmoudi—once Tunisia's foreign minister—is working closely with the Ikhwan in Tunisia, using his extensive contacts in the Persian Gulf.

Finally, we come to the secretive Senussi Brotherhood of Libya. This is an old Sufi movement, which was utilized by the British for at least 100 years in eastern Libya, in Cyrenaica. During the monarchy, King Idris and the old Senussi family were simply representatives of the Senussi Brotherhood in power, and following Col. Qaddafi's 1969 coup, they still managed to retain much of their former power and influence, though more secretly. In July 1979 the Senussi Brotherhood was responsible for the formation of an Islamic Legion comprised of Egyptian, Libyan, and Tunisian cadre to fight in Uganda in support of Idi Amin.

The Senussi Brotherhood is extremely secretive, and inquiring journalists are told firmly that it no longer is in existence and that no one "has never heard of it." But in July 1977, a Lebanese newspaper reported that Anwar Sadat was making a plan to strike a deal with the Senussi Brothers, based at a spiritual center called Kufra in the middle of Libya's eastern desert, which for years served as a military base. In conjunction with the Egyptian invasion of Libya at that time, Sadat wanted to annex eastern Libya to Egypt by winning the support of the

Senussi Brotherhood. Many of the leading families in Cyrenaica are still members of the Senussi.

4. Saudi Arabia and the Gulf

In Wahhabi-fundamentalist Saudi Arabia, the Muslim Brotherhood takes a different form than in other countries of the Arab world. In Saudi Arabia, the main supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood are clustered around Prince Abdullah ibn Abdel Aziz, the No. 3 man in Saudi Arabia and the commander of the National Guard. Throughout the Arab world, Abdullah is known to be very close to British intelligence.

Abdullah—who exercises great influence over King Khaled—draws his strength in the Royal Family from the Guard itself, and from dissident tribal members of the Saudi elite. The National Guard was formed out of the remnants of the old Saudi Ikhwan, or "Brotherhood," that served as the paramilitary force behind the takeover of Arabia by King Abdel Aziz. During this period, the Saudi elite was guided and advised by Harry St. John Bridger Philby, the father of Kim Philby. To this day, the various tribes of Saudi Arabia—though no longer wielding their former influence—operate as a set of mafias, and dissidents tend to cluster around Prince Abdullah.

Thus protected by a powerful faction of the family of Saud, the Muslim Brotherhood flourishes in Arabia. Many military and intelligence personnel, especially those with British connections, also serve as protectors of the Muslim Brotherhood. An important nexus in that regard is that around Kamal Adham, former head of Saudi intelligence, and the family of royal adviser Rashid Pharaon and Ghaith Pharaon, his businessman son, who has a partnership with Adham. It is this group that reportedly had some responsibility for the bloody incidents in Mecca at the Grand Mosque last month. Adham in particular has strong Egyptian connections.

Also important in this regard is Prince Muhammad bin Faisal, formerly Saudi Minister of Mineral Resources and Water. Prince Muhammad, in New York last month, issued a ringing endorsement of Ayatollah Khomeini and the mullahs of Iran, especially stressing the role they are playing to bring about an "Islamic renaissance." Prince Muhammad is at the center of a mini-empire he has built, consisting of the Union of Islamic Banks in Jidda, with branches in at least six other Muslim countries. He has sponsored, in conjunction with European aristocrats, talks on founding a "New Muslim World Order," based on the so-called Islamic dinar currency.

Prince Muhammad is also the chairman of the Islamic Environmental Research Council, established in August 1979. Among other things, the Council is heavily involved in researching the uses of solar energy.

South Asia

Jamaat-e-Islami

When the U.S. Embassy in Islamabad, Pakistan, burned to the ground at the end of November, leaving two Americans dead, a surprising silence followed from the State Department. A gesture of sorrow from Pakistani President General Ziaul Haq was magnanimously accepted. Initial expressions of outrage from embassy officials over the inexplicable delay in the dispatch of Pakistan army forces to the scene, and clear signs of the pre-organized character of the "mobs" who stormed the embassy were quietly swept under the carpet.

What was the State Department so anxious to hide? Why were they protecting General Zia's regime so obviously? The answer is simple—the burning of the embassy was organized in advance by the conspiratorial and tightly run militia of the Muslim Brotherhood's arm in Pakistan and throughout South Asia, the Jamaat-e-Islami. The Jamaat-e-Islami is the power behind General Zia's regime, the force behind the murder of Ali Bhutto, the authors of Pakistan's anti-Afghan policy of aid to Muslim tribal rebels, and the organization most likely responsible for the "Islamic Bomb."

When the U.S. embassy burned in Pakistan, Muslims also rioted against the United States in India and in Bangladesh. In both places again it was the Jamaat-e-Islami which organized and led the demonstrations. In neither country though does the Jamaat-e-Islami hold the power it does in Pakistan, which after independence became the stronghold of this little known organization. The current head of the Jamaat is Mian Tufail Mohammed, who succeeded only a couple of months ago to the leadership following the death of the founder, Sayid Abdul A'la Maududi. Mian Tufail, among his other qualifications, is the uncle of General Zia.

The Jamaat was founded in August 1941 by Maududi, who had earlier established himself as a reactionary Islamic theologian specializing in "The Political Theory of Islam," the title of a paper he delivered to the "Inter-Collegiate Muslim Brotherhood" in October 1939. A follower of Al-Ghazali, Maududi's writings are well known through the Brotherhood's circles and are reported to be the basis in part of Khomeini's conception of the Islamic state.

Maududi counterposed the Islamic state to Western republics and Communism both. The sovereignty of the Islamic state, he said, could not be "popular sovereignty" of the republic because that interposed the state, and "the dominion of man over man," between man and God. Instead he had a concept of the permanent sovereignty of Allah, as embodied in the unchanging adherence to the Islamic law, the *shariat*, with the state ruled by an Amir who only carried out the rule of Islam.

The hatred of the nation state is Maududi's constant theme right into the current period. Although he opposed the creation of Pakistan, he later reversed that stand when it made the Jamaat extremely unpopular. The Jamaat then organized a tight, semi-underground militia within Pakistan and what is now Bangladesh (formerly East Pakistan), with another wing maintained in India. The Jamaat also spread its operations into places like Malaysia where the Muslim population is in the majority. Within Pakistan, however, the Jamaat, which organized itself as a political party, never received more than a few percentage points of any free election.

With Zia, now in control

The rise of the Jamaat came with General Zia's coup when it joined the government as part of the anti-Bhutto Pakistan National Alliance. The Jamaat today, despite a formal ban on all parties, enjoys complete freedom of organization and has spread its strength particularly in the universities, where it only is free to operate of all groups. It was out of one such college, the Quaid-i-Azam university, that the youth wing of the Jamaat loaded the "students" onto trucks and buses this past Nov. 21, drove them to the isolated U.S. embassy, and attacked it, while army bases only 20 minutes drive from the site were unable to send troops until five hours after the attack began.

The highly secretive Jamaat is well-known in the region. When Bhutto was hanged by the military junta, pro-Bhutto Muslims in India attacked the offices of the Jamaat throughout the country. In India the Jamaat works closely with its alleged enemy, the rabid Hindu chauvinist Rastriyo Sevak Singh (RSS), and the two organizations have been responsible for a vast upsurge in communal tension and violence over the past two years.

Maududi and the Jamaat have had close ties with Khomeini in Iran, despite the alleged differences between the Sunni Jamaat and the Shias of Iran. After coming to power, Khomeini's first delegation abroad went to Pakistan to pay respects to Maududi, while Mian Tufail Mohammed returned the visit to see Khomeini. The Jamaat supports the Khomeini revolution and sees its own efforts, through Zia, to place Pakistan solely on the basis of the *shariat* as part of the same process.