

River of Memories

Doctrinal (Fikh) Revision of al-Gemaah al-Islamyia

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Chapter One

Words From Lectures

Between the Words

Our expressions and words for nearly ten months- which we took with us to prisons from the south to the north of Egypt- were not only words pronounced by our tongues and captured by the ears of thousands of members of al-Gamaah al-Islamiya (GI), but it was a unique experience in building, giving and serving the religion. We fully knew before going into this experience that we were not going into picnic. Or that we will go to chat and spend nice time with people we know and others whom we do not know. This was far from our minds and our thinking. It was a difficult thing, but we had to contest it; it was a bitter thing, but we had to drink it. It is not easy or simple to go to a person, any person, and say to him: you have erred in this matter, and you were right in that matter, and we must all do this. Especially if this PERSON was battling the horrors of the scourge and tribulations of prisons and have been away from his family and the loved ones for many years.

There was no choice. Truth should have been conveyed no matter how bitter it was. As the buses took us away from Liman Tora Prison, these ideas dominated our mind. However, we went, proceeded and departed first with our trust in God that he would not let us down while we are seeking to save Muslim blood and boost the status of the nation, and then the confidence that the things carried by our brothers were done for the sake of God and that they will not hesitate to obey the truths when it appeared to them.

Our words and expressions intermingled with looks of sorrow and words of satisfaction of what we were saying.

Perhaps you have realized my dear brother why our words and expressions were not just words that were pronounced by our tongues. You might share my astonishment if I told you about the wonderful response that we received from our loved ones in different prisons that we went to. This will remain etched in our minds for the rest of our life. The warmth of these meetings will continue to be a pulse in our veins. Our brothers were up to the task; their hearts shouted when they heard the truth (we heard and we obeyed), what great thing they have done; God provided them with the understanding. My dear brothers, I can see in your eyes eagerness and longing to hear these words.

We have written our words for you. It emerged from our hearts and landed in the hearts of our brothers, and I am confident it will settle down in your heart too, God willing.

Here are our words written to you after we toured Egypt's prisons from the south to the north. Our aim was only stop the bloodshed and end the clash status between those virtuous youngsters and their State. We only wanted to maximize sanctities and end the series of crying and wailing for the dead and wounded. We only wanted the truths. Truths were our aim and objective. This life no longer meant anything for us; we have spent twenty two years of our lives in prison and are still behind the walls and it hasn't meant anything for us in the past, thank God. We know that the prison is fate and we must accept the fate of Allah. (Whoever is satisfied will have satisfaction and whoever is discontented will have

discontent¹. Be Tender with us my brother, because by these words we only mean to mend fences and unite the Muslims...

My soul yearns for the day when the proceedings of these forums are broadcast for everyone, and then all will discover the greatness of human soul if it was well guided and cultured. It were great memories, which will not be erased from our minds; we toured with our brothers and had with us the wealthy meanings for the moderate Islam and urge for respecting the covenants and rise above pain and sorrow, and overcome the desire to hate and revenge.

Finally, I know some people believes that our task was easy and simple, however, Allah knows how much we used to suffer and tolerate to the point where we used to pray for Allah, in the vehicles that were transporting us, to help us for goodness and that our Muslim brothers would accept us. We used to revise and memorize the lectures despite the fact that we had presented it many times. As a result- and with Allah's grace- the lectures came out strong in performance, rich in content and full of Sharia meanings, accurate rulings and deep human views, which since long time were needed for the brothers inside and outside prison.

The lectures were scheduled as follows:

1. **Introductory Lecture:** It always speaks about the Initiative; its meaning, its initiation, its causes, the hurdles that stood in its way, its history and history of previous attempts, and the statements that were issued after it came out, and its Sharia bases.
2. **The Second Lecture:** It covers two main topics:
 - The Initiative: Realistic View
 - The Initiative: Sharia View
3. **The Third Lecture:** It discusses excessiveness in religion and excommunication of the Muslims. It includes two important parts: Excessiveness in religion: its prohibition, causes, manifestations, and Islam between excessiveness and dereliction. Prohibition of excommunicating Muslims: It covers: prohibition of excommunicating disobedient Muslims, the heresy of excommunicating ignorant Muslims, response to those who claim that public servants are infidels, response to excommunicating by apparent loyalty to infidels, the difference between prohibited loyalty and the legitimate dissent.
4. **The Fourth Lecture:** It speaks about the correct *Hisbah* [commanding rights and forbidding wrong (Religious Police)], mistakes that marred it, Sharia rulings control it. It includes: Beware of suspicion; do not spy, no harm then no harm doer, whoever prohibits kindness himself will be prohibited all good; caring for parents, inability falls commissioning; not to police by hand for fear of a worse damage occurs; Sharia overview, controls and impediments. Examples of *Hisbah* excesses in real life.

¹ Part of Hadith al-Tirmidhi N. 2396; Ibn Majah N. 4031 from Anas Ibn Malik and referred to by al-Albani as good

5. **The Fifth Lecture:** Treatment of People of the Book in Islam: Realistic view of People of the Book in Egypt; history is a witness to fairness and generosity of Islam to People of the Book in Egypt and others; what is allowed and not allowed when dealing with them legitimately; righteousness and benevolence to them do not mean they can be in charge; what do we have to do in dealing with them; prohibition of injustice to the People of the Book and to every person; response to claims made by diaspora Copts; diaspora Copts exploiting individual's incidents to cause trouble to Egypt's government and people; treachery of diaspora Copts to their homeland and their original people; who can collect the *Jizya* [tax].
6. **The Sixth Lecture:** Focusing on mistakes that occurred in Jihad. It includes: Legitimacy of change in Islamic legal opinions (*ijtihad*); Guidance is the purpose and goal; correcting the concept of Jihad; prohibition of throwing a soul into doom; prohibition of killing non-combat; prohibition of killing the protected, the tourism issue; views from the history of rebellion against the rulers; reconciliation is good; the necessity of fulfilling the covenant; September 11 in the balance of Sharia.

Sometimes, the lectures are divided into two parts in two different days due to the breadth of the topics we present.

Words from the Lectures

Now, dear reader, we present to you in brief the most important meanings that have been said in the lectures:

- o We have launched our Initiative to save your blood and blood in general in Egypt.
- o We have launched it in order to preserve the souls so that they do not perish in the wrong field, or to be killed without legitimate interest, or be lost without a legitimate target.
- o We launched the Initiative in the service of Islam, Muslims and the nation and not for personal aims or self-interest. We have been in jail for twenty years, and even if we stayed for another 20 years- ask Allah for mercy - we will be committed to this Initiative.
- o We launched the Initiative in order to preserve the sanctity of homes so that it would not be violated. And to protect Muslim homes and families from destruction and to stop children being orphaned and women to be widowed and divorced; the Initiative came for the sake of hundreds of orphans of the two sides; and for the sake of hundreds of widows of the two sides and for hundreds of bereaved of the two sides.
- o We launched the Initiative because we saw it the closest to the truth and it is the most guiding way. And that the continued fighting was not good, and was not the most guiding way.

- o We launched it because we lived with the saying of the Prophet (Peace be upon him): (“By the Name of Him in Whose Hands my soul is, if they (i.e. the Quraysh infidels) ask me anything which will respect the Ordinances of Allah, I will grant it to them.” We said: If anyone asks us a method or a way or a mechanism to save blood and prevent people of the one country to fight each other, and by which we prevent the great evils that engulfed Islam and its people in Egypt we would have responded positively without any restriction or condition.
- o We are the ones who have launched this Initiative unilaterally without any restriction or condition. We have tried many times but were unsuccessful, but thanks to Allah who made this Initiative to succeed.
- o The Initiative decision is a strategic decision based on Sharia and with correct Sharia evidence that would not confuse any rational mind. It is also a result of our insight to the reality around us. This is a pledge we made and to which we committed ourselves before anyone committing us to it. We all live with the saying of the Almighty: (And fulfil the covenants; indeed all covenants are accountable. (Al-Isra; 17: 34). God did not require from his slaves to be loyal momentary or temporary but to be loyal fully and permanently.
- o We launched the Initiative in order to stop and prevent violence that led to hatred and conflicts and feuds generated and developed between us and our people and our compatriots, and almost made the two sides forget that they are from one community, one religion and they pray towards the same *Qibla* (Mecca) and worship the same Lord.
- o The Initiative that we have launched is not a swap between religion and a brief worldly offer but to stop and prevent fighting that the esteemed Sharia prohibited for its great evils. Because this is a legitimate duty we stood up with all due courage.
- o Observer of the conflict’s events between Islamic groups and the police finds that the Muslims of this country including police and Islamic groups are the most affected by this conflict while others are the beneficiaries. This blood, energies and money pour its usefulness in the closet of enemies of the religion and the country.
- o The Initiative was born in 1997, but immediately after it was born it received a violent blow and a severe trauma that sent her into a coma for four years. Meanwhile, we were giving the Initiative oxygen and fluids, nurturing it with the honourable sons of the nation until it finally woke and grew up rapidly. It is now in the youthful stage and defies death and destruction, and -God willing- it will not be affected after that by anything. However, the Luxor incident constituted a violent blow to the Initiative while it was newly born; this incident almost killed her and the hope to stop the bloodshed. Therefore no one asks about the results of the Initiative only after it was

activated with the beginning of our visits to the prisons from October 2001; since that time, the real results of the Initiative began to emerge.

The events began with an incident with the Christians in Sanbo, a village of Dirout District in Assiut. That incident was a purely revenge incident, and then events began to follow from action to reaction, killing and avenging until the events reached to what it had reached, and it became very difficult to stop it. Any person can start the war and fighting, but thousands of wise and sensible men may be unable to stop the fighting. This is the wisdom of life that we have lived and learned and we knew from the lessons of ancient and modern history.

- o Fortunately, the initiative came five full years before the events of 11 September. Had the Initiative been delayed until 11 September we would have had the lowest credibility? Thankfully, the Initiative was a good anticipation for the future. After the events of eleventh of September 2001, Islamic movements were besieged everywhere, hit everywhere, and imprisoned everywhere. But here in Egypt there were the heralds the relief and wellness; visits [to prisons] were resumed and gradually people began to come out of prisons.
- o Thank God that the initiative and stopping and preventing fighting came before the events in Palestine and before the invasion of Sharon to the Palestinian territories. Had the Initiative been delayed until these massacres of Muslims in Palestine occurred all the people in Egypt and other countries would have said: Is it of Sharia to for the Muslim to kill his brother in Egypt, and leaves Jews kill Palestinians everywhere?! .. Had it not been for the initiative people would have accused us either of not understanding the texts and spirit of the Sharia or not understanding the ABCs of politics in the region, or both together.
- o Muslim youths have heard a lot about urging jihad, but did not hear a lot in return about its controls. They did not hear as well as much about its prohibitions, and did not hear as well as when to stop and prohibit fighting. And did not hear as well as how to refrain from fighting is dearer to Allah and closer to the religion and better for the Muslims. And when to refrain from fighting is in agreement with the Sharia's text and spirit, and is in accordance with the true religion.
- o There are many books that talk about urging jihad, and there are many preachers who speak to urge jihad, however, few of publications and preachers who talk about jihad controls, conditions and prohibitions. The reason for some may be that talking about Jihad prohibitions conditions and controls repel or deter people from jihad. Their reason may be that the Mujahedeen do not make mistakes and this is incompatible with the first axioms of Islam, namely (all humans err) and the infallible alone is the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him.

- o Jihad for the sake of Allah was legitimized to repel the external aggression on the Nation of Islam and its state and to break down obstinacy of warriors who fight the Nation of Islam and state. *Hisbah* [calculation, enjoining the good and forbidding the evil] was legitimized to protect the community from an internal enemy, which is the devil who wants to spoil the Muslim by exiting him from obedience to sin. The call to God was legitimized to spread the true religion, extend its territory and salvage people from the yoke of misguidance and polytheism to the spaciousness of Islam.

- o The Initiative is the realization of the doctrine and not a neglect to it, and it is the realization of the Koran and Sunnah and not deserting them. It is to ward off the sedition and not to fall into it. It is return to the true religion and its pure call. And it is a return to our basic message life, which is to guide people.

- o The Initiative does not mean a waste of the grace of righteous members of al-Gamaah al-Islamiyyah but it is rather to preserve this grace and to maintain their giving. It is not meant to offend any one of our sons, because we have for all our brothers, alive or dead, every love and affection and every prayer for their wellness. We did not come her hurt anyone but to start a new white and pure page with everyone.

- o Mere fighting does not call for pride because beasts fight in the wilderness and shed their blood, but it is a cause for pride to fight for Allah's sake for support of religion and service to Islam and for pre-eminence of Muslims and for service and elevation of the homelands of Islam.

- o The fighting that occurred in the nineties was to eliminate some grievances that occurred; for the release of detainees from the al-Gamaah al-Islamiyyah (GI), to stop some violent practices in prisons and detention centres and to launch the freedom to preach. What was the result?! The number of detainees increased from two thousand to twenty thousand, dozens were sentenced to death and executed, and hundreds were sentenced to various terms while the courts turned from Civil to Military and the GI's preaching goal was lost and almost the call to Allah was lost altogether. Meanwhile, the communists attacked anyone who preaches; they started with Sheikh Shaarawy then Sheikh Al-Azhar and up to Dr Zaghoul El-Naggar. Even they described the Ministry of Awqaf [endowments] itself as extremist and demanded the arrest of all peaceful Islamic movements starting with the Salafists, Al-Tabligh and Muslim Brotherhood. The Muslim's reputation was lost and every young man feared from frequenting mosques while the enemies of Islam everywhere achieved the greatest gains at the time Muslims losses were the greatest. The scourge in and outside prisons increased and the whole Islamic movement suffered hardship and horrors. After the absence of the Islamic Dawa [call] in the community there appeared

bullying, banjo, devil's worshippers and gay's organisation. Who would imagine that in the conservative Egyptian Muslim society the gay can pronounce their homosexuality and have an organisation that calls for membership and urge others to join them including some of the elite of society?

- o Some of the predecessors said: [Allah blesses the man who knew his time and straightened his way]. With this blessed Initiative we have known of our time and what it requires from us; our way was straightened with this Initiative and we stopped and prevented this fight, which have only achieved the interests of the enemies of Islam and Muslims.
- o There is a difference between persistence and stubbornness. Persistence on the truth is spinning with the truth wherever it spins, but stubbornness is to stick to something even if its fault becomes evident.
- o The real jihad is lost between those who revoking it and those who are erring and making mistakes in it. This happens by omission of its conditions, lack of attention to its prohibitions and not measuring the pros and cons of it. Both sides offend the message of Islam and do not follow the path of the prophets.
- o The Initiative was in response to an insight that saw the reality around us in Egypt and the world. As we finished studying this reality carefully, we found we were about to face various challenges; the decision to initiate an end to combat operations and prevention of violence represented the correct response to these challenges of which the most dangerous are these:
 - o The risk arising from attempts of making Western civilization dominant at the expense of the Islamic identity as emanating from notions regarding the End of history and clash of civilizations. The combat operations in Egypt were going in favour of strengthening of the values of Western civilization at the expense of Islamic values.
 - o The danger posed by the emergence of the policy of blockade and then removal of the manifestations of Islamic phenomenon either state or movement or a minority, at the level of the international forces' strategies against Islam. The continuing combat operations made the climate ripe for the complete eradication and tightening of the blockade
 - o The relentless Israeli pursuit: either to lead the region or to achieve a Greater Israel in light of Israeli incitement to the world to face fundamentalism in the Muslim world. The continuation of combat operations in Egypt would have achieved to Israel two goals:
 - To get rid of an Islamic movement troubling her.

- To drain capabilities of the Egyptian state that has a central role in any future confrontation with Israel, as well as the continuation of this attrition would marginalize the Egyptian role in the region.
- o The danger posed by the attempts of some of Copts in the Diaspora to recruit international pressure against Egypt to achieve an undue or illegal gains on the grounds that the Copts are subjected to operations against them by Islamist groups and that the Egyptian government covers up these operations. The continuation of operations some of which were targeting Copts represented a pretext for them to continue pressure and blackmail especially that this group of Copts sensed the emergence of international policy supporting the Copts and inciting them against the governments under which they live. The matter reached a point where some Diaspora Copts requested the United Nations intervention to protect the Copts in Egypt. While others called the U.S. government to apply the law of liberation from religious persecution on Egypt with the same excuse.
- o The risk arising from the conflict between the advocates of the Islamic idea and advocates of the secularism idea. It became clear that there is some – we say some, but not all - opponents of the Islamic idea uses the combat operations in Egypt to incite the authorities against all what is Islamic to achieve a decisive victory against the advocates of the Islamic idea. It was our obligation to deny them this opportunity.
- o The danger posed by the growing turmoil in the social scene in Egypt and by the emergence of a serious societal phenomena affecting the cohesion of the fabric of society, such as:
 1. Community violence, such as bullying and calls for immorality in all its forms.
 2. The emergence of the phenomenon of devil worshipers.
 3. The spread of drugs in various circles.
 4. Illegal marriage.
 5. The big disparity in income, and the provocative recreational spending.
 6. The continuation of combat operations represented, in our view, a continuation of the aggravation of these phenomena because everyone was so busy in that conflict and the absence of preachers who could have represented a balancing factor of values and morals in the conscience of society. This is our vision for the most important challenges of reality and its dangers that have led us to decide to adopt the Initiative as a valid response to it.
- o Reconciliation (*Soulh*) needs courageous men - such as al-Hasan ibn Ali - and those endowed are the ones who bear the blame of blamers and the bidding of bidders. Some Shiite said Hassan bin Ali when he made peace with Muawiya: O, you are humiliating the faithful. His response was: I'm not humiliating the believers, but Arabs' skulls were in my hand and I hated to kill you for ruling. They used to say to him: O, shame of believers, but he would say to them: (shame is better than fire).

Thus reconciliation needs strong honest men from both parties that can bear responsibility and are not afraid of being blamed of anyone because they fear Allah and do not have narrow personal interest.

- o Reconciliation is the greatest mechanism prescribed by Islam to heal the rift and reunion, and it is the greatest mechanism to end the conflict between Muslims, and is the greatest way to prevent the continuation of any fighting among Muslims. In the absence of this great mechanism any armed conflict between two Muslim communities would continue to no end, or it would continue until one of the parties obliterates the other or it would continue until there are seas of blood unforeseen but for Allah.
- o Reconciliation is a great door of goodness legitimated by Allah to save blood and lives. This historical initiative and national reconciliation is a must imposed on us by the Sharia, demanded by reality, obligated by wisdom and guided to us by rational mind. We are ready to bear the consequences of this great initiative and this blessed reconciliation and bear it with beautiful patience and great dream. Every reconciliation does not allow the *haram* [the forbidden] and does not prohibit *halal* [what is allowed] but rather it saves blood, protect our country from disintegration and it is a legitimate duty we need to commit to and work for.
- o This national reconciliation that occurred with this initiative is not only a prize but a duty. It unites Muslims and end the tragedy of being hard on each other, and this reconciliation is the one that makes our sturdiness on the real enemy, Israel, which lies in wait for us across the border and wants to have military control of the region, as envisaged by the Likud, or economic and political control, as seen by the Israeli Labour Party; both are rejected by every Muslim who feels for his religion and homeland.
- o Every reconciliation that happened on earth, even in the family, must have a party that lost and ceded some rights; without this no reconciliation would happen on earth. We find this clear in the reconciliation of Hassan bin Ali with Muawiya ibn Abi Sufyan, may Allah be pleased with them both. Al-Hassan waived most of his rights, and he even lost the rights which he did not concede. But despite all of this the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, praised this great reconciliation [Solh] and said about Hassan bin Ali, quoted by Abi Bakra, Allah be pleased with him: “This son is a master and may Allah makes reconcile two groups of Muslims” He made him master and raised his esteem. Any reconciliation made by Allah through him has luck and a share of the mastery of Hassan bin Ali.

- o We say to everyone that bears the responsibility of reconciliation and reconciling Muslims: You must be far-sighted and look out for the future, tolerate the difficulties and be patient and you have to wait before and after for the awards that Allah will award you for your patience and forbearance.
- o The Jihad was legitimized in Islam {so that there's no sedition} [Al-Baqarah: 193]. This is the ultimate goal of Jihad, if fighting itself becomes a cause of sedition in religion and prohibits people from worshipping Allah, and blocks people from advocating the right, and scares the youth from the fruit of pure call [to Allah]. If it also becomes like this then it becomes forbidden (Haram) by Sharia and became a duty to prevent and stop it. Preventing and stopping it was considered one of the greatest acts of worship to Allah.
- o The tolerant Law of Islam is impeccable in regard not spilling the blood of its sons especially and blood in general without a legitimate target or true legitimate interest not presumptive, overt and not hidden, and higher than her evil consequences of spilling the blood
- o If the fighting has no fruit except bloodshed and planting hatred and breaking up the Muslim Nation and weaken it against her real enemies, and instilling fear in the hearts of the nation and its youth and instilling fear in all that is Islamic, and disable the call to Allah, and threw Muslims in prisons and jails. If fighting is like this image then it is regarded as sedition fighting.
- o One of the greatest Sharia rules is what stipulated by Sultan al-'ulama' al-'Izz ibn 'Abd al-Salam: Each command shortening the achievement of its requirement is false, "let alone if the fighting that took place did not achieve the objective for which it was launched, but has many clear evil consequences for all to see.
- o The insisting on fighting, whether in Egypt or in other countries, as long as it brought great evil consequences on religion and the world and did not achieve any significant interest in religion nor in the world: This fighting is forbidden and prohibited legitimately and reasonably
- o The guidance of creatures to the right is the scared goal of preachers for Allah, and it is the greatest purpose. Preachers' mission is to endear people in their Allah and Creator to the straight path of Allah in the easiest way. The guidance of creatures and people worshipping their God is the origin while the Jihad is the branch; if the origin is contrary to the branch, we set forth the origin upon the branch. The guidance of creatures is a purpose and Jihad is a mean, and if the purpose interferes with the mean we set forth the purpose. Let those who work for Islam knows that purposes, reviewing and caring for them indicate understanding of Islam which is a feature of imams in every age.

- o Everyone must know that the guidance of creatures is an interest in itself. To get people out of darkness to the light and from the sin to worship is a goal in itself even if it did not achieve a visible benefit for Muslims, Islamic movements or countries. Don't you know that the Messenger of Allah may Allah bless him called [to Islam] a Jewish boy on his deathbed? Don't you know that the Messenger of Allah may Allah bless him called his uncle Abu Talib on his deathbed? What Islam and his fledgling group would have benefit from their conversion to Islam while they were going to die after few moments of their conversion? It's a remarkable wisdom in the life of everyone who calls to Allah since goodness for people, guiding them and their return to Allah is a goal in itself, regardless whether these people joined or not the Islamist movement or their virtual statement or their dependence on it.
- o We cannot live twice or live to ages: in one age we try and commit errors and in another we learn from our mistakes. What is the solution for this dilemma? The solution is that we have to borrow the experiences and lessons of others' lives. Anyone who lives with history's lessons will live longer and his experiences would be increased. But whoever didn't make use of history's years he wouldn't benefit anything, because such person would have had to resort to theory of trial and error and would have had to resort to daily experience; however, this is an exhausting and damaging theory for individuals, groups and states. But do we have such long life?! Do we have the material and human resources that perish from time to time, and which we can compensate after losing it?! We have to add the ages of the experienced to our ages and experiences and work according to the saying of our great Prophet "The believer is not bitten from the same hole twice," and then to be measured against it. Do not repeat others' mistakes so you would not be measured against it. "Start from where others ended and do not start from where they started."
- o This idea, which is one of GI's principles, was not given its due care and attention, and "previous experiences were not utilized." We failed our obligation to work according to this great idea. Failing in this obligation could be due to:
 1. Lack of openness to other Islamic movements in the context of fair competition on the work for religion.
 2. Or daily preoccupation in assiduous work which prohibits those who in charge of it from mental comfort and careful thought.
 3. Or those armed and unarmed confrontations that had been raging in varying degrees. If workers for Islam did not take enough time to think carefully, their steps will not be without error. The best thing is to think while you are far from the conflict and look at its full map from afar while meditating and thinking; this is what you have been deprived from. However, this is what Allah facilitated to us and helped us to take this courageous decision, the Initiative resolution and the intellectual reviews that followed it.

- o The greatest among preachers is the one who can combine between duty and reality, and doesn't waste the Sharia duty under the pressures of reality, and do not ignore the reality in which he will work the texts of Sharia while he is doing his Sharia duty.
- o The real meaning of simplifying is to do what Messenger of Allah has done, who whenever he had to choose between two things he opted for the simpler of them, as long as it was not unrighteousness, but if it was so he would be the farther person to it. Despite the fact that the Messenger of Allah always chose the simpler between two allowed matters he was the most among people to declare and announce right and call for Allah. Simplifying cannot include what Allah forbid at all.
- o Islam and its Sharia is a milieu between those who take the Western civilization its goodness and evil, and imports its intellect, ethics and behaviours regardless of how it is contrary to Islam, and between those who totally reject the Western civilization, even what is good and beneficial in it for Muslims. But Muslims cannot progress without these sciences such as chemistry, medicine and engineering. The right thing is that we have to take what complies with the Islamic Sharia and benefits Muslims, and to leave the ideas, principles and characters of the West that are contrary to Islam.
- o The Prophet, Peace be upon him, in the Battle of the Parties adopted the idea of the trench, which is a Farsi idea and the product of the ancient Farsi empire. That idea was the reason to defend Islam, his Prophet and the new Islamic state.
- o Islam is the only religion that is characterized by two properties, seemingly contradictory, but in reality they are integrated; they are flexibility and steadiness: steadiness is in the basic Islamic principles and its great objectives, while flexibility is in the means, equipment such as computer, internet, and sky channels and so on. Both properties complement each other and make Islam an international religion that can be fit for every place; a vital, renewable, youthful fit for every age, and enables Islam renewed giving all the time.
- o We are guides, not governors; we are preachers not judges or oppressors.
- o It's not Islamic or manhood to excommunicate largest number of Muslims; it is better to err in Islamisation than to err in excommunication, like it is better to err in amnesty than to err in punishment.
- o Of the steady things of what we believe firmly in religion are the following:
 1. We do not excommunicate a ruler or ruled Muslim for a guilt or grievance unless he makes it permissible.
 2. We do not excommunicate police or the army for a guilt or grievance unless they make it permissible.
 3. We do not excommunicate State Security or Intelligence for a guilt or grievance unless they make it permissible.

4. We excuse ordinary Muslims who unwittingly commit an excommunication or polytheism act until those who did it have to show evidence of polytheism and with conditions stipulated and agreed upon by preceding scholars.
 5. There's nothing called the polytheist ruling regime, because the regime or ruling institutions are legal institutions to which we cannot attribute description of polytheism or belief. However, this description can be attached to the person who is legally commissioned, and it is the real rational chosen adult "not the impelled," the aware of what he is doing legally and who has received the call to Islam before. But the regime and institutions cannot have judgements such as being Muslim, polytheism, obedience or disobedience.
- o But we say this act of that institution complies with the Sharia in this and that or contravenes the Sharia in this and that. The terms "polytheist or believing regime" are new terms that appeared approximately in mid twentieth century only. It didn't appear in the books of ancestors and do not have origin in the know monotheism books, however it spread by tongues and pens until it became like a fact that cannot be debated.
 - o Our task is not to exit people from religion by charging them with polytheism but rather our takes is make people enter the religion of Allah and guide them to the road of right.
 - o Our task is to guide creatures and assist them to go to paradise, which has a width of heavens and earth. Our mission is to heal the wounds of our nation by returning the disobedient Muslims into the fold of the faith; our job is not to judge people and it has never been. It is not our job to know what's in peoples' hearts or delve into their secrets. We deal with the apparent and Allah deals with the secrets. The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him has entrusted secrets of people to the Lord of the people and treated them with what is apparent in them; he refused to kill Abdullah Bin Abi Salool despite his belief that he was a disbeliever, and he said his great saying: "I don't want people to say that Muhammad kills his companions".
 - o The origin in Egypt's Muslims is Islam and religion, and this origin would not go away unless the opposite is proven definitively beyond any doubt and interpretation; after committing to the argument, the one who abandons it is a disbeliever given the absence of inhibitions. Not everyone is qualified to judge any Muslim as being an infidel even if he was a member of a Muslim group. The qualified for this purpose is the assiduous scholar who gathered strips of diligence.

Conclusion:

- o The excommunication of a Muslim is not a game entertained by some or distracted by some. Issues of polytheism and faith are one of the most serious issues that the Islamic movement must take all necessary precautions in regard to it.
- o The biggest problem in polytheism is not to differentiate between faith shortcomings and faith nullifiers; some made faith shortcomings as nullifiers but the pun on the two [shortcoming and nullifier look similar in Arabic writing except for a dot] words have very dangerous practical and theoretical yield.
- o The most important thing in Islam is to maximize the right and compassion with creatures.
- o Islam is a strong religion open to the forces of others and does not fear anything regarding humanitarian and moral dealings and live with other religions and be open to them. The Muslim gives them what is useful of his religion and world and takes from them the worldly good and useful. Islam approaches them without fear because he is the stronger. Islam will be good to them and disagree with them the best of disagreement.
- o Islam is a dynamic religion that interacts with others, takes from them and gives them; it interacts with life and with a positive reaction as well as the Islamic religion has been soft and easy religion throughout the ages and eras, because it is characterized by two things: consistency and flexibility: Consistency in doctrines, basis,, targets and preemptory rulings, and flexibility in the means and mechanisms that change from time to time and from place to place, and change in the fatwa's that rely on custom and interest if that custom or interest changed.
- o There is a big difference between being loyal to the infidels and the legitimate ethical dealing with them. Loyalty means loving the infidels or loving their religion or supporting their religion and their beliefs or to spy on the Muslim lands or aiding infidels to defeat Muslims. But ethical dealing means treating them charitably and virtuously. This includes giving presents to infidels and accepting their gifts, visiting them when sick, learning at their hands to gain beneficial knowledge, educating them the beneficial knowledge, congratulating them after they return from travel or recovering from illness or marriage or birth of offspring, as well as participating with them in the permissible work and so on.
- o The excellent preacher is the one who combines pronouncing the right, the tongue's chastity and adherence to religion and charity to the people, and between taking into account the right and courtesy manners.
- o Good ethics cannot be divided; a Muslim cannot behave well with some people and behave badly with others.

- o Wise preacher is the one prompts people to take the road to Allah because it is difficult and long; like an intelligent who prompts his flock to walk diligently.
- o The following three things are of the greatest things that should not be forgotten by those who work for Islam:
 1. Whoever lost the origins did not reach [his goal].
 2. Whoever is distracted from the objective is conceited.
 3. Whoever is busy with the duty is excused.
- o The great preacher is the one who works according to great wisdom saying: "I collect the honey but not break the hive" His mission is to guide people and not destroying or abolishing them. The failed preacher is like the failed beekeepers that breaks the hive and kills bees or expel them and pour the honey on the ground.
- o The greatest *Hadith* that describes the preacher in particular and Muslims in general is what the Prophet, peace be upon him, said: "the faithful is like the bee, only eats scent, and only puts scent, and if it falls on a rod it does not break it". If you fall on a rod smell it's fragrant.
- o Live out your hearts and feelings with the saying of the Prophet, peace be upon him, the comrade and patient: "Kindness adorns everything." So, decorate your preaching with kindness because it is the beautiful frame through which you carry your preaching to people.
- o The Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, said: "Whoever forbids kindness he shall be denied goodness." Do you want to deprive your preaching from goodness, and your life from goodness? Whoever forbids kindness would be deprived of goodness in this world because people would refuse his call, desert him and will be deprived of the goodness of afterlife; he will be punished for his mistake and chill.
- o Right is bitter, so, don't add to it more bitterness. Do not make it bitterer by your chillness, fault, high voice and bad attitude. Advice is bitter so don't compound it's bitterness by swearing, insults or reprimand.
- o But we have to put to the truth some sugar that makes it sweet and palatable, and acceptable, same the doctor does with his patient when he puts sugar in the syrup medicine so it can be palatable and liked. All the preachers should know that this sugar does not change the nature of truth and doesn't make it void. This sugar is gentleness and forbearance and it is to market your preaching to people in the guise of upscale politeness and noble manners.
- o Among Islamist movement problems is the failure to win friends but its bigger problem is that some people marvel in transforming friends to enemies. The Koran is the first to develop practical mechanism to win friends in the verse: "Repel [evil] by

that [deed] which is better; and thereupon the one whom between you and him is enmity [will become] as though he was a devoted friend.” (Surat Fuṣṣilat: 34), and that was before the world knew the book of Dale Carnegie. Try this Koranic recipe; the enemy will not turn into a guardian only but to a close guardian.

- o Everyone that works for Islam should be careful not to make a fuss in order to resolve sub-issues, which former and successor scholars differed about. They would not agree on these matters because they are discretionary sub-issues with different understanding and conflicting evidences while the dispute about them are palatable.

- o Of Allah’s mercy for us is that the five pillars of Islam and its great goals and objectives is a major subject of agreement between all the former and successor leaders of the Muslims, Disputes are about the jurisprudential branches and this we can expand like what the good ancestors expanded about it.

- o As I said, the importance of the matter exists whenever there is a doctrinal row surrounding it.

- o We find that some people give the word: "thought" great sanctity, but this is wrong, since the thought is the product of human mental process which is not infallible. There’s no infallibility except for the prophets, Allah’s peace be upon them. A virtuous Muslim can err in understanding the evidence, can err in applying this evidence to reality, can err in calculating the pros and cons, but divinity is for the book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, and for the peremptory provisions of Islam and fundamental pillars emanating from them.

- o Guiding the creatures and inviting them to Allah is the origin and basis, while *Hisbah* is the branch. If the branch is in contradiction with the original we put the origin in front. *Dawaa* [preaching] is better than *Hisbah* [calculating], broader and more complete in its message. *Dawaa* treats all abrasions, such as heart, mind and feeling abrasions, but *Hisbah* is only the change in the position of sin.

- o To taunt the sinner with his sin is a greater guilt than his sin, and more sin than his disobedience, because the taunting of the preacher to the sinner has endorsement for himself, and thanking her and call of acquittal of guilt and a lot of arrogance, wonder and spoiling of Allah by obedience, and has contempt for others. We tell each preacher who taunts a sinner with his sin to remember that the crumb of your sinner brother in his guilt, shame and subjugation after he repented of his sins is better for him and more effective before Allah than the charge of your obedience and your pride in your worship. This repentant sinner is closer to the mercy of Allah while this humiliating preacher is nearest to the wrath of Allah! A humiliating guilt has goodness better than humiliating obedience. If you sleep repentant and woke up

feeling remorseful is better than you sleep standing and wake up admiring, because the admirer's action is not up to task.

- o If we adhere to the proper controls in the *Hisbah* we wouldn't have been absent from reality and evil, and immorality wouldn't have spread.
- o The role of *Hisbah* in maintaining community cohesion and protecting it from corrosion at the level of science and work is great. As much the society is open to *Hisbah* and calculators and as much it will encourage the positive role for them in resisting deviation and crimes in collaboration with institutions of society, the society will equally enjoy calmness, stability and security. And in as much the society is not open to them and deny then the assistance of social institutions in standing up to delinquency, as much the society suffer the negativity of the spread of corruption, delinquency and crime.
- o The Prophet, peace be upon him, established adultery on Maez after he came to him and confessing beyond doubt. But peace be upon him was not just a judge who says his word or judgment and goes away, but he was preacher and teacher, actually the master of preachers, so did not leave this incident without giving us its lesson over the generations. He turned to Hazal who brought Maez to confess before him and said: O Hazal if you concealed him with your dress it would have been better for you. He [the Prophet] denied him detecting this crime and passing it to the judiciary to issue its punishment [against the offender], but preferred to conceal and not expose him because perhaps he may repent.

Some may ask why this Review? We tell them:

To review things misunderstood that must be corrected, and for things misapplied in reality, and for issues that were vague and needed to be clarified. It is also for other issues that were incomplete and needed complementing and completion, and in order to propose new issues that we have not dealt with before and which we desperately need.

- o The fruitful review have key features including:
 1. Impartiality before Allah when doing the review, because faithfulness to Allah and honesty in speech and action are the basis of all goodness.
 2. The review should be supported with the proper Sharia [Islamic Law] and should not be wasteful of the proper Sharia.
 3. The review should correct the person at fault and not to destroy him but to treat him like a doctor deals with their patient.
 4. The review should not be an opportunity to justify actions such as we do not say we will not revise ourselves until others revise themselves.

5. The review should be fair, not looking for a scapegoat or looking for a peg on which it attaches the errors, and at the same time it does not accuse the innocent or exonerate the perpetrator.
- o The non-correction of judgments [*ijtihad*] that led to many evils will lead to the recurrence of such an evil and its spread everywhere. This may lead to make it a followed approach and constant behaviour, and then it would be difficult to treat and cure those ills and then the hernia would expand on the darner.
 - o We have reviewed the march of Islamic action for a quarter-century and we have found really a lot of good but we also found errors that need to be corrected. It is good to invite the brothers for good and salvage youth from sin and educate them how to fast, pray and teach them the comprehensive message of Islam for the goodness of people. Among the good that happened before we note things like orphan care and charity to the poor, teaching people goodness and teaching them the Koran and Sunnah, to be youths that rise up at night, fast during the day and keep away from the forbidden. Youths that are compassionate towards their parents, who keep in touch with their relatives, who have mercy on the poor and help in times of disasters; that stand next to the compelled person and serve the needs of the people; that hate vice and love virtue. All this and other forms of good that you have presented before and spent all your life in sacrifice for it with your wealth and youths.
 - o This goodness is in the balance of your good deeds before Allah and no Muslim or sane person can say that it is evil. The homeland needs the washed hands [for prayers] and kneeling to Allah, pure hearts and hands devoid of *Haram* [forbidden]. Egypt cannot dispense with you nor can you dispense with Egypt.
 - o In fact the country is in desperate need for you now more than ever as it faces overwhelming stream of financial and moral corruption and decline. If we do not all join together to face it: the country and the people will be flooded, and everything and everybody will be lost in this beloved homeland.
 - o We are sticking to each right and good it, however, in return and with the same determination and more, every error contrary to the Koran or violates the Sunnah or collides with true religion or wastes supreme interests of religion and the homeland we will be the first to repudiate and abandon; we will not be reluctant to state this all people.
 - o In conclusion, we have to say that we should not forget or waste what is right in the midst of talking about errors.

- o One may say: mentioning errors may tempt us with other groups and people. We tell them: No, correcting errors raise our standing before Allah, and this is the most crucial, as well it will raise our status with people, because what is for Allah will remain and continue but what is not for Allah will be severed and ripped off. Hearts, however, are in the hands of Allah who makes it love what He loves and hates what He hates.

- o Also we say to them: Has the standing of Hussein Bin Ali, master of martyrs, dropped when jurists said he erred in his judgment in going out against Yazid..? Has the status of Khalid ibn al-Walid dropped when the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, censured him for killing the women and then [Messenger of Allah] paid her blood money? And when the Messenger of Allah, peace be upon him, when he renounced his action with Khuzaymah clan and erred in judgment with them..? Has the status of Osama bin Zaid dropped when the Prophet, peace be upon him, ruled that he was at fault when killed the infidel after pronouncement the two testimonies [became a Muslim]..? Has the status of bin Al-Ashaath and Saeed Bin Jubair and with them the virtuous martyrs of the Nation dropped when jurists erred in ruling that they were wrong in coming out against Abdul Malik bin Marwan ..?

- o Finally, those who make mistakes are the ones who are working and are highly motivated. The only infallible is the Prophet, peace be upon him and the prophets, but other than the prophets people are exposed to errors as long as they work for the religion of Allah. The lazy and poorly motivated do not work and not make mistakes.

- o A review is not adulation, because the review is looking for the true religion and leaves everything else, but adulation is leaving true religion for the sake of others or for the world.

- o In this review, we testify before Allah for ourselves, and not for anyone else. The patience of the patients, worship of people and preaching of preachers to Allah will not be wasted if we said the brothers had erred in the recent events. Everyone knows that the mistake of these brothers is a judgment error and not a fault out of whim or obstinacy.

- o The building mechanism of self-criticism, which Sharia calls self blaming, puts the Muslim community and the Muslim individual on the right track to correct and walk without stopping in the right way. But the person should exercise this function on himself, and each one exercise it with others, and we thank Allah we exercised it on ourselves.

- o The story of Adam, peace be upon him, has a beautiful lesson; Satan had transcendence for his self and thought that his standing is proper hundred per cent. But Adam had the

following principle (Lord wronged ourselves); his real principle is the recognition of error and by this his problem can go to the scope of the solution.

- o There is a difference between reviewing and retreat. Reviewing is controlled by the Book of Allah and the Sunnah of the Messenger God's peace be upon him, it corrects the error, fill the gaps and decide the right thing and be held accountable at fault. However, retreat is a waste of virtue and goodness and good preaching.
- o Allah has enjoined justice with each one: "O my servants, I have forbidden oppression for Myself and have made it forbidden amongst you, so do not wrong one another"¹ Do not do injustice to an infidel or a Muslim or a remote or close person and nor to people of the Book or sinner. By Justice, Heavens and Earth were made, and by justice and for justice messengers were sent and books were revealed. Islam did not come only to prohibit mistreatment of Muslims only but it also forbade doing to everyone and ordered to be just with everyone.
- o The universal punishment is considered injustice religiously and it is forbidden. Islam preceded in hundreds of years laws that came with the principle of punishment, as Allah have said: [That no bearer of burdens will bear the burden of another and that there is not for man except that [good] for which he strives] (Surat An-Najm).
- o It is not religiously right and wise to insist on deleting the duty of *Hisbah* from the mind of the average citizen; because this will lead to the prevalence of negative phenomenon in front of the deviations that occur in the society, and it also deprives society of an effective mechanism to address the imbalance and vices that befalls it and which makes it lose its strength and vitality. The duty which we see here is that the community should agree on a true framework to exercise this duty in as much not to cause chaos or assault on the freedoms and the sanctity of citizen unjustly.
- o Beatings before evil is deterrence and beating after evil is booster, but both deterrence and boosters are not for the person who does *Hisbah* and it is forbidden that he performs both acts, which should be done by the judge. Any *Hisbah* volunteers who do these things would have exceeded and abused the limits of Allah.

The term: "the security of churches is of the security of mosques" is a wrong principle religiously because Allah said in His Holy Book [That no bearer of burdens will bear the burden of another and that there is not for man except that [good] for which he strives]. He also says: [And do not let the hatred of a people prevent you from being just. Be just; that is nearer to righteousness.] (Surat Al-Mā'idah).

- What do the Christians of Egypt want after all these great privileges they received:
- There is no one Christian detainee, but thousands of Muslims are
- Emergency Law was not applied to any Christian.

- Christian theological Faculties completely independent from the State.
 - There are several Christian ministers in any government. Recently the minister for economy in Egypt is Christian.
 - Christians have all the rights of citizenship and higher than the others.
 - The ratio of the number of churches to the Christian populations is much greater than the ratio of the number of mosques to Muslims in Egypt
 - Churches are completely independent from the State but Mosques are subjected to the State's scrutiny in all matters big or small
 - Church's endowments [properties] returned to Churches while the endowments of mosques remained under the supervision and authority of the State.
 - Coptic history is now in curriculum in all educational levels, although most fair-minded historians say: "The Coptic history is devoid of important historical events."
 - Government appoints and dismisses all Imams and preachers at mosques but cannot appoint or remove even a chaplain.
 - 60% of pharmacies, 20% of construction companies, 45% of the private clinics, 22.5% of the companies' shares, 70% of the gold trade, 90% of egg trade, 60% of the timber trade, 25% of excellent trades and 50% of the auto parts industry in Egypt owned by Copts, this is despite that their number does not exceed 6% of the population.
- o Although we do not support the idea of what Muslims own in Egypt and what others have, because that would consolidate sectarianism and make each party lie in wait for the other, we are enumerating these statistics to respond to the allegations of Diaspora Copts who claim everywhere and scream in every valley that Egypt's Copts are persecuted. They [Diaspora Copts] go into alliance with the Jewish lobby in America and pitting the whole world against the Egyptian government and people. They mobilize the American administration to pressure the Government and people of Egypt; even they encourage America to use the religious Persecution Act, which authorises the U.S. administration unilateral to intervene military to protect oppressed religious and ethnic minorities anywhere in the world. This law puts Egypt among countries that persecute Coptic minority.
- o The Diaspora Copts betray their homeland, in which they grew up, learned in and lived in and where their families still live in. They stab their homeland Egypt in the back by urging America to cut off aid to Egypt or to apply economic and technological sanctions by claiming that the Government and people of Egypt persecute the Copts.

For the first time in the history of Egypt, the Diaspora Copts and the Jewish lobby in America go into alliance, where their interests converged towards weakening Egypt and her pivotal role in the Middle-East and which is able to rein in Israel, which runs wild in the region. Without the Jewish lobby the Diaspora Copts would have been able to have easy access to the U.S. Congress and U.S. Administration and to influence them in such serious manner.

- o Mustafa Sadiq Rafii once said: "Swords of Muslim have morals. "Yes, by Allah, swords of our nation have morals and great ethics? Among our nation's swords morality is that it hit the tyrannical oppressor and aggressor to stop his wrongdoing and aggression. Often these vulnerable people are not from our religion but they are from of the disbelievers in our Prophet and biased against his religion.

Christians of Egypt were among the vulnerable who were saved by our nation led by conqueror Amr ibn al-Aas, Allah be pleased with him, "from religions injustice to the justice of Islam." All know the size of the terrible persecution that was practiced by the Romans on the Orthodox Christians of Egypt to force them to change their church beliefs.

- o Morality of our nations' swords includes protecting mosques where the name of Allah is mentioned a lot and protect as well as churches and temples of People of the Book, not because their doctrines and prayers recited in them are agreeable to us, but because they have become the people of the pledge, they share us with responsibilities and rights and we have to protect and defend them.
- o History never mentioned that there were systematic persecutions against the People of the Book by Muslims in any Islamic era. Although history recorded some incidents in the form of grievances suffered by some People of the Book by some Muslims it also recorded several grievances perpetrated by Muslims against Muslims or by a person from the People of the Book against another of his people or by a person from the People of the Book against a Muslim. In contrast pages of history are blackened with many mentions of massacres and slaughters suffered by some People of the Book at the hands of another party of their own who differ with them in terms of denomination, race or nationality. History also recorded massacres suffered by Muslims at the hands of the People of the book.
- o In our religion it is not allowed to do injustice to a person from the People of the book or deny him his right because he is an infidel and non-believer. All wise men including Muslims and others confirm even without searching or inspecting commandments and ordinances of this religion that it didn't do injustice or persecute the People of the book. If it was otherwise, there would be no one person from the People of the Book left in the lands of the Muslims.

- o If, inter alia, Allah allowed the persecution of People of the Book there would be nothing to deter the deadly destruction of the People of the book so that they would not arise again. At some time the State of Islam stretched from Wall of China eastward to the shores of the Atlantic westward and from central Europe, where there are Turkey and Andalusia in the north to the middle of Africa in the south. In those days that would have been able to prevent Muslims from committing complete genocide against People of the Book genocide given that they were helpless *dhimmis* [Christians and Jews under the protection of the Islamic state] *amid* a sea of very powerful and strong Muslims.
- o Islam has permitted for Muslims buying and selling of the People of the Book, to accept their gifts and give them gifts, leasing to them and Muslims renting from them, participating with them in the permissible work and competing with them over it, eating their meat, marrying the chaste and virtuous women among them, visiting their patients and learn from them the beneficial knowledge and educating them beneficial knowledge, and medicating the Muslim by them and them to be medicated by the Muslim. Also to congratulate them when marrying, having offspring, returning safely from travel and recovering from illness, and so on. There is tens of Sharia evidence regarding all these things, which is known to all interested in Islam.
- o Killing a person from the People of the Book without fighting or unduly killed except because he is from the People of the Book is not legally valid and we did not hear about one of the previous and current imams of Islam who have allowed such killing.
- o The care of Islam for the sanctity of funds and property of the People of the Book have reached a point where it prevents from damaging what they consider by their religion as money, such as alcohol, pork, even if it was not considered money for Muslims. Any Muslim who destroys alcohol or pork for a Muslim has nothing against him, but if he damages them for a Christian and sees it as permissible for him in his religion he would then have to be fined its value, according to Hanafi jurists. If this is what scholars say Islam regarding their alcohol and pork then how about their money and possessions that held in respect by us?! It is not allowed to destroy something of this as well it is not allowed to take it by falsehood!!
- o There are verses and provisions that address individuals and there are others that do not address individuals but address the Muslim state represented by the political power, in other words the ruler. Among these are the judgments of punishments. No one can apply the punishment of theft or adultery or retribution extent even if the ruler didn't execute it for one reason or another. The verse [And there is for you in legal retribution [saving of] life, O you [people] of understanding, that you may become righteous.] [Surat

Al-Baqarah: 179] and verse: [[As for] the thief, the male and the female, amputate their hands.] [Surat Al-Mā'idah:38] verse: [The [unmarried] woman or [unmarried] man found guilty of sexual intercourse - lash each one of them with a hundred lashes,] [Surat An-Nūr:2] as well as the verses that order to take the *Jizyah* [tax] from the People of the Book and verses that order conciliation and war between the countries. All these provisions do not address the individuals and groups, but address the Muslim state. If this state cannot apply these provisions, it is not permissible for individuals or groups to apply them. However, the provisions that address all members of the nation, rulers and non-rulers alike are the provisions that they are able to enforce. There are dozens of examples like ordering prayer, almsgiving, marriage, divorce and sales, pilgrimage and fasting.

- o If individuals and groups, for example, tried to apply the rulers' provisions because of the rulers failure to apply them it would be a hoopla and chaos and spread of corruption. Can an individual or group apply the punishment of theft on any one who steals? This needs many abilities to control the perpetrators unchallenged or unopposed and then send them to the judge who has the proper *Ijtihad* qualifications, then to bring the witnesses and followed by the implementation of the judgment. The ability to enforce does not mean your ability of cutting off the hands of thief and then flee from his relatives and the police and everyone. This is not the ability entrusted with the implementation of the sharia provisions, which the jurists talked about in their books. However, the intended meaning is in such provisions and those similar to them are that the empowered person must have the undisputed ability either of someone similar to him or higher than him. This ability that scholars talked about in their books does not exist these days except in the rulers and their deputies. If some individuals or groups implemented these provisions in good faith, the impact would be that of the turmoil, fighting, stampede and chaos unless things are done properly according to sharia. In addition, such thing would create sedition that increases evils above in multiple times of the intended.
- o The former meaning applies to the rule of the *Jizyah*, as its judgment in the Koran directs the speech to the enabled rulers and not to the individuals, or groups or Islamic movements. The *Jizyah* is not a financial right for some individual Muslims to be taken from some People of the Book and try obtain it haphazardly; taking it is a legitimate assign addressed by the Muslim state represented in its political power. If the State did not carry it then it is not permissible for the individual or for groups to do it.
- o The Muslim ruler is allowed to take from the People of the Book the *Jizyah* under the name of *Zakat* like the Muslims and in the same amount like the *zakat*, or its double, as Omar ibn al-Khattab, may Allah be pleased with him, did with the Christians of the tribe Taghleb who refused to pay the *Jizyah* because they dislike the *Jizyah's* name. Omar made an agreement with them about this matter.

Ibn Al-Qayem reported many things about this from the Imams and said: "What Omar did, Allah be pleased with him, was agreed upon by all the companions and jurists after them."

Al-Shirazi says in Al-Mouhazab: "If some people declined paying the *Jizyah* under the name of *Jizyah* and said: we pay it under the name of *Zakat*, and the Imam saw that it can be taken under the name of charity, then it is accepted," here, charity means *Zakat*.

They Said about the Initiatives

Al-Azhar's Report Concerning the Four Initiative Books.

o **Book 1: *The Initiative to Stop Violence: Doctrinal Vision and Realistic Look***

Al-Azhar report says: "This book relies on scientific and religious ideas substantiated by strong evidences from the Book, Sunnah and evidence of Jurisprudence, which confirm that the cessation of hostilities deters the damage, because the fighting causes a great damage to the nation, and cannot achieve good results, and that prevent corruption has precedence over bringing benefit." "The conclusion that the book comes to is good and desirable, which is to prevent fighting between police and Islamist groups. It has a service and legitimate interest for the Islamic Call, achieves security and peace among Muslims, unites the nation against its real enemies and also this conclusion leads to reconciliation between Muslims notwithstanding that reconciliation is good".

o **Book 2: *Advice and Discerning In Correcting the Concepts of Sacrificers*** (Muhtasibs): "This research is valuable and shows ethics of the Muhtasib [A person who does the *Hisbah*]], his behaviour and the way he follows in the Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice. All the evidences the research is correct and they are from the Koran and the Sunnah. I see that it has to be allowed because it does not affect the faith and is consistent with the constants."

o **Book 3: *Prohibition of Excessiveness in Religion and Excommunication of Muslims***

"Nothing in this research is contrary to religion and science, and there's nothing to prevent its publication and circulation since books like this is needed ..."

o **Book 4: *Shedding Light on What Happened of Errors in the Jihad.***

"I do not see anything that prevents the circulation of this research as it did not include a violation of creed or Sharia, as well it also includes a correction of erroneous concepts among some of the young people in understanding the jurisprudence of jihad in Islam, and Allah is the facilitator."

Quotes from Muslim Scholars and Thinkers about the Initiative

- o **Dr Mohamad Kamal Imam**, Professor of Sharia at College of Law in Alexandria:
"We need to unite the nation to face external threats." (al-Liwaa newspaper)*²
- o **Dr Abdul Al-Azim Al-Mat'ani**, Professor at Al-Azhar University:
"What they wrote in their statement indicates positive shift in thought with strong Sharia evidences." (al-Liwaa newspaper)*
- o **Dr Abdel Sabour Shahin**, Professor at Dar al-U'lum
"I believe in the sincerity of their intentions and I am confident of the ability of security people to keep monitoring them." (al-Liwaa newspaper)*
- o **Dr Abdul Al-Azim Al-Mat'ani:**
"I have read what has been written by the historic leaders of GI, and truth be told that the ideas they have given to correct their previous concepts' convictions have been characterized with reliability, accuracy and insight; it symbolizes a conscious stage in which the thought of these young people shifted to what indicates goodness and stability ..". (al-Liwaa newspaper)*
- o **Thinker, Dr Abdel Sabour Shahin:**
"I do not see anything wrong, despite everything that has happened from accepting this review and deal with it objectively and good expectations by all segments of society..."
"There are those who do not want to settle this dispute between these youths and their community because they earn from the atmosphere of tension that we used to live in. (al-Liwaa newspaper)*
- o **Dr Mohammad Kamal Imam:**
"The submission to the right and the commitment to evidence is an honour those who do it ... The introspection and return to the correct thought is a good thing for those doing it ... If we as Muslims affirm that our religion accept reconciliation with the non-Muslims, how do we not accept the return of a Muslim to the citizens' ranks ... Those who do not want the good of this nation are those who excess in their mistrust and do not want to settle intellectual or non-intellectual disputes among members of the same society ..."

² * The Islamic al-Liwa, No 1051, March 14, 2002

“There are moments in the history of nations where the society is in great need to unite.”
(al-Liwaa newspaper)*

- o **Dr Muhammad Moro**, writer in Islamic Mukhtar magazine.

"The important developments at both the intellectual and political levels witnessed by the GI in Egypt worth a pause and analyse." (Islamic al-Mukhtar)³

- o **Dr Essam El-Erian**, one of the leaders of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood: "The review by al-Gamaah al-Islamiyyah is a self-review and the government has nothing to do with it."
" As Muslims, Egyptians and interested in the affairs of this country we should welcome any attempt to stop file of political detention and any attempt to empty prisons of detainees and political prisoners, and any attempt to combat and stop violence; all of this have the consensus and appreciation of every lover of this country .. (Afaq Arabia newspaper)⁴

- o **General Fouad Allam**: A well known security expert."

"It is advised that there's a need to mitigate the punishment for members of the GI inside the prison and to embrace the leaders because they are the ones who better understand the strengths and weaknesses within their ranks ...” "The current dialogue confirms their sincerity hundred per cent of what they legitimise. The state should take advantage of their potentials in various fields and work to remove the obstacles they face." (Al-hram Al-Arabi magazine)⁵

- o **Dr. Rifaat Sayed Ahmed**: Renowned author:

"The prolonged and serious dialogue, conducted by Professor Makram Mohamed Ahmed on the fifth anniversary of the declaration of the initiative came to feed a stone the secular team and with them the Israeli team within the Egyptian government who are angry from the peaceful transitions of the GI.”

"The correct interpretation of the initiative lies in the fact that a key structural shift in the nature of the group has occurred and that there is real full review by the GI regarding all the past proposals of violence and that it was a serious and conscientious of the new global risks, especially after the events of [11] September and the Israeli danger emerging on all the region .." (Al-Midan newspaper)⁶

³ ** The Islamic al-Mukhtar, No. 238, August 10, 2002

⁴ Afaq Arabia newspaper July 18, 2002

⁵ Al-hram Al-Arabi magazine, No. 276, July 6, 2002, pp. 14-17

⁶ Al-Midan newspaper, N0 466, August 20, 2002

- o **Mr Makram Mohammad Ahmed:** author and writer. Described the rest of his meetings with the leaders of GI as follows: "I could not actually believe that the initiative came As a result of a comprehensive review of the GI's thought carried out by this leadership while it were inside prisons and yielded new thinking based on the vision of true sharia, and a new understanding of the meaning of Jihad, which is much closer to the true springs Islam."

In response to the voices that questioned the sincerity of the initiative and honesty of those who made it, he said: I do not have a surgeon's scalpel to search for the hearts and intentions, but what had happened before my eyes over five full hours or more definitely was not a very carefully planned scenario or a drama that was carefully directed as some believe. .. "

He warned wasting the humanity of detainees: "But the right thing to say is that wasting the humanity of those detainees inside prisons can help to create a new generation more dangerous and more violent. Regretfully, this is what happened with during the period of Nasser [Gamal Abdul Nasser]."

Encouraging the State to help the initiative and those who made it, he said: "It is my duty that obliges me to say that it is the responsibility of the state and society to extend a helping hand to this initiative, and that all party and executive agencies must cooperate to ensure its success party. Some of these agencies should not look at it from the sidelines or be sceptical about it, because the success of the initiative means confirming the stability of Egypt and its security."

Confirming the good stance and the movement, he said: "There are assurances from security officials at a high level that until now nothing happened to indicate that any of those who were released may have retreated from his promise or tried to revive the underground action or announced publicly an opinion that violates the initiative's call to stop the violence. On the contrary most of them became very busy in promoting this initiative, and this is an encouraging thing that shows the need to reconsider the issue of detainees because maintaining such a large number of detainees behind fences will not change anything especially that everybody is supporting the initiative. "

He warned of the continued closure of prisons' gates, and he said: "It could be a duty that makes security be on the side of caution, but caution does not mean closing the doors of prisons with dead-lock on the detainees killing their hope of relief."

He encouraged the sequential release of these young people: "I do not doubt that the sequential release of these young people when it is proven that they have changed their thinking will enhance the chances of success of liquidation of the thought of violence. This is a great win worth a try, even if the matter has some gambling in it ..." (Al-Musawar magazine)

- o **Dr Daa Rashwan:** Managing Editor of the Religious Status Report, issued by Al-Ahram Centre for Political and Strategic Studies. Under the title: "Al-Gemaah al-

Islamiyyah and the End of Violence, Why Now?!" He said: "The new things in regard to the media and political coverage of the initiative to halt the violence during the last two weeks is that it included a clear public stance by the Egyptian official authorities and the semi-official and a number of the leading activists among the elite and the Egyptian media who thought of the honesty of the initiative and the seriousness and the consequent radical transformation of al-Gamaah al-Islamiyyah in stopping completely all practices of violence .. " "Although the positive coverage and that supporting position to the initiative has been delayed – according to our assessment - at least three years; it was clear since its launch five years ago that it represents a wide gateway for a radical shift in the nature of the GI from a closed religious violent group to a peaceful, political and social group that has an Islamic program .. "

He responds to those who say that the State is seeking the release of the GI to hit the Brotherhood: "The truth is that there are great difficulties facing the acceptance of the credibility of that motivation. In the forefront of these difficulties the understanding of the state of the seriousness of this gamble in light of her historical experience with the same Islamist group since the mid-seventies to early eighties when it supported it in various Egyptian universities to face the tide of the leftist and Nasserites, and it then turned against it after that period and has become the first and most dangerous elements threatening both the stability and the state in Egypt during the eighties and most of the nineties. As well that proposition does not stand up to the fact that the shift in GI means that it exited from the camp of violent Islamic groups to the camp of Islamic political movements where the Brotherhood exists at its centre since its inception, which makes sharing between them in many visions and issues, especially on medium and long term, a likely thing supported by the long Brotherhood experience in political and mass action. This so despite the continued disagreement between them both on many other issues and visions. There is no doubt that the security and political experience of the state makes it realises deeply that truth, which prevents it from doing that gamble. "

He responds to the erroneous of the U.S. position: "Because of this U.S. position that was founded only on general impressions and some misinformation and insinuations, a wide American media, security and political campaign began to promote that there is a serious risk of GI resuming its violent operations inside and outside Egypt out of its alleged alliance with bin Laden network..."

He Referred to the sharp contrast in the U.S. and Egyptian assessments: "The Egyptian state has ascertained, to the point of conviction, the sincerity, seriousness and stability of the full and final transformation of that group from the road of religious violence to the path of peaceful action ...” Accordingly there was no way except to: "Give wide space for the stakeholders themselves to declare the fact of their transformation and its dimensions on the domestic and global public opinion including their public and stringent condemnation of 11 September attacks, which Washington accuses bin Laden of being behind it. Bin Laden’s personality and his clashing strategy

earned vast area of criticism and condemnation by the leaders of GI in their talk with editor of the Al-Musawar magazine." (Al-Ahram newspaper)⁷

- o **In a dialogue entitled "Is there an attempt to thwart the dialogue between the GI and the government," Dr Daa Rashwan also says:** "The state's position since the start of the talk about this initiative is only a security position. The dialogues conducted by Al-Musawar with the leaders of the al-Gamaah al-Islamyia in prisons, is a sign of the blessing of the government to initiative and that the state has absorbed the truth of the GI's position of ending the violence and granted the group's leaders a historic opportunity to explain their new concepts. In regard to the issue of the government giving its confidence to the group this is a security question that will come only after the government confirms that the violence has stopped completely" Rashwan believes that the initiative will remain constant because the GI considered it a radical change in its strategy...".⁸

- o **Khaled al-Dakhil:** Author and writer.
 "Who then wants to restore matters to its tragic and bloody past: America who is not relaxed for the reconciliation between nations and groups in the season of mowing various terrorists groups or the writers who are interested only in writing the weekly articles in which they warn of the Islamic movement factions, or some of the names, which the newspapers made of as prominent leaders although they are not and will not be so"⁹ These and those know before anyone else that the climate has changed and that the courage of those who have written the review, the understanding and cooperative position of the State have closed the way for the professional arsonists...

- o Mr **Ahmed Maslamani** in his article published in Al-Ahram, entitled: "the Left and Reviews of political Islam, " says: "... The revisions of the GI came at the correct time for that group, as a state of intellectual laziness hangs on the right and a state of deep lethargy hangs on the left, and a state of stagnation covers everyone And at this point and at the right moment for her, the GI's initiative came for the cessation of violence, but the moment is wrong for our country. Had the Egyptian left that owns material and people begun these revisions in earlier times he would have saved itself from being marginal on board of the GI? Major reviews are extremely challenging; when Gorbachev tried the review the idea and the State collapsed, however, the GI swallowed the poison and she did it" The GI did it before the collapse of the global political Islam movement on 9/11. However, the Egyptian Left did not do it years after the collapse of socialism. "It would have been better for Al-Tajamu Party and Al-Ahaly newspaper to

⁷ Al-Ahram newspaper, July15, 2002

⁸ Al-Ussbu' Newspaper, , July 29, 2002

⁹ Al-Ussbu' Newspaper, , July 29, 2002

initiate the production of great reviews in the thought and practices of the Left in Egypt instead of just clinging to a news item here and an opinion there."

- o **Had the skirmishes** being carried out now by the left in regard to the initiative of GI for the cessation of violence was part of a broad framework and a comprehensive view of the state of knowledge and culture, or of the reality of politics, economy or the nature of society and power, it would have been a commendable thing, and these skirmishes would have had a role in legitimate war between ideas and a fine conflict between the ideologies".
- o **This talk comes** when Egypt's GI has shown a significant progress in asserting its initiative to stop the violence and in the formulation of a distinct conceptual framework it now represents one of the best theoretical revisions in modern Arab thought... " "Would the renewal movement in the thought of GI lead to a significant increase in the rate of growth similar to what happened to the Muslim Brotherhood in the post-violence, and would prevail or would the political street becomes a pawn in the conflict of political Islam groups alone, including Muslim Brotherhood and Groups under the drought situation existing in Egypt?! In a last phrase... Would the GI gain in politics what it didn't win by fighting? "
- o **GI has** surprised including four studies released in a series of correct concepts all circles it has done all that and more. The GI's studies and corrections were definitive and final cannot afford interpretation or alteration or misunderstanding. All of this came in a surprising way. "The GI in her new ideology have done what governments of some Islamic countries did not dare do including criticizing Osama bin Laden and al-Qaida, and have declared its willingness to apologize and provide compensation to those who were harmed by her. This is an unequivocal and decisive stance without "but" that cripples what comes before it. The GI with its review approaches the status of groups who were there before the arrival of political Islam; it is the status in which Hassan al-Banna was in for few years, and in which now Al-Tabligh and Al-Dawaa groups; it is the return from political Islam to devotional Islam or from power to the community"¹⁰
- o **Dr Abdel Sabour Shahin:** He says his opinion on the initiative and his mediation before, and says: ".. The mediation did not take place for reasons related to the state. There was a complete silent regarding this idea until it was announced in 1997 in the form of a statement read by one of the accused in one of the sessions of his trial. Now there are dialogues and discussions between the group, and the state and it seems it will reach positive results especially that the last period was enough to give a lesson to the GI, which discovered that they have come to a dead end. Despite the fact that the state now have started from the same point in 1997, and despite the fact that I did not discuss the reason for the return of the negotiations at this timing, I still see the need for the state to accommodate these in a thoughtful way. I also believe there must be a comprehensive release of all detainees, especially if the state has bona fide intentions in this initiative.

¹⁰ Al-Ahram newspaper, October, 21, 2002

This will be in the form a high political will of the state to rejuvenate and rebuild the domestic front."¹¹

- **Fahmi Howeidi:** Renowned Islamic thinker and writer. He talks about his own experience in the mediation of 1993, and about the current initiative and says: "... Although the goals of mediation focused on stopping the violence, save the country from its evils, not harm the image of Islam, emphasize the importance of compliance with the law and the Constitution and respect for authority, nevertheless, doubts in certain parties were quick to try to thwart this endeavour in various ways, namely:

Secular extremism Circles and professionals of the Left whose shares rose in the atmosphere of engagement between the Authority and the Islamists. Accordingly, they resorted to inflame that engagement and deepen it, and then they have had a real interest in the continuation of the situation, which they derive from an attendance, a role and legitimacy, hence the disengagement threatens all of this.

Those who have stakes in functional positions and are interested in saving chairs before saving the nation. They may think that because of their positions they are alone who have the right to talk on the topic and with the logic of "either I am in it or I hide it", in other words the mediation if it does not go through them it should be stopped or fail.

Foreign entities interested in the continuation of instability in Egypt, whether to drain the homeland or weaken it or to divert attention from practices and plans of these authorities.

In addition to these attempts, the media has played a major role in preventing the completion of the mediation. Some newspapers knitted stories and tales with the effect that the mediation has failed because of the conditions put by the GI. This is so despite the fact that the Committee before embarking on mediation knew the GI's demands through a letter sent by one of its members, "Safwat Abdel-Ghani," which centred primarily on stopping police excesses against them and their families, and the release of those acquitted by the courts and the security services. The police also used several methods to renew their long-term detention. However, these are the same demands of the Arab Organization for Human Rights, which means that the issue of mediation was essentially focused on the defence of the rule of law and human rights. The state considered the mediation as an attempt to twist her arm, but when she wanted to complete the negotiations such as the current initiative, the media adopted it and the government agencies were keen to see it succeed. This is a very important idea. But the question here is what is the state going to do with the GI? What are the formulas carried by the state to deal with them in a peaceful manner? What is happening now is considered the halfway expected to reach, but the other half is related to answering these two questions, if the state closed the door of violence it must open the non-violence door

¹¹ Al-Ahram al-Arabi Saturday, July 6, 2002, pp. 15-16

so that another generation does not rebel against the initiative. He asks: What he did with the initiative, especially that the state wants to take only.”¹²

- o **Mr Jamal Sultan:** Secretary General of Al-Manar Al-Jadid magazine. He speaks about his opinion on the initiative and things related to it, under the title: "The GI reviews and other reviews expected": He said: "The fact is that it would be unfair to just limit the four books on a doctrinal base for the initiative. Because it exceeded the initiative to lay a basis for a new phase in the Islamic speech and preaching that brings back the Islamic Dawaa (preaching) to its correct location in the heart of the national supreme interests of the nation; as a shield to her in the current and future challenges and a safety valve for its national security instead of slipping into the swirling of reprisal conflict with the authority, which will lead to the waste of national interests and will pose a serious threat to the national security of Egypt in a very critical stage”.

“**Although** the four books were published by leaders who are still in prison, giving suspicion that there were direct or indirect pressures on them regarding what they offered, a good reader of its drafting, style, and psychological, scientific and humanitarian balance that characterized will ascertain that such pressures were not "seriously" effective in this new transformation. As well, the leaders who wrote it already spent their entire duration of their imprisonment, and it is inconceivable that they provide substantial and decisive concessions at this late date without humanitarian, moral and doctrinal conviction”.

He adds: "Undoubtedly, the books and its contents represented a courageous and responsible stand by the leaders of the al-Gamaah al-Islamiyya, despite the bitterness of the experience, its psychological burdens and exposing themselves to the tear of the predators from inside and outside the movement; and this is its most positive aspects. It also retained the future role of GI as a preaching and peaceful movement involved in establishment of renaissance in its Arab-Muslim community in Egypt; and this another positive aspect”.

Also, the significant highlighting of the calculations of the pros and cons in the systematic correction premises as the most important pros, because the awareness of this issue will be the judge of the movement’s future march. Also, the awareness of this issue and absorbing it is proof of wisdom and psychological recovery for any preaching or political movement, and is a proof that it has bypassed stages of intellectual adolescence that ignore reality and its accurate calculations and balances and based on enthusiasm rush without awareness of the calculations of pros and cons. Finally, the repeated alert in the books of minding the "national interests" of Egypt comes to crystallize this awareness and it is an announcement that the Islamist movement have entered – its new stage – to be at the heart of future renaissance project in Egypt as a movement for advancement and movement for national liberation as well."

¹² Al-Ahram al-Arabi Saturday, July 6, 2002, p. 15

He also speaks about the responsibility of the State towards the initiative, and says: "The GI's revisions that were characterized by courage in facing the self and the movement's members and the community cannot be completed and be successful unless there will be emergence of other reviews by the political system, which needs a certain amount of courage to admit mistakes that have occurred in this ordeal, which took place in Egypt." He explains his opinion on the GI's return to its core mission which is the guidance of creatures and says: "It can be reasoned from the GI's revisions the tendency of the movement to return to" its first intellectual cradle "as a missionary movement.

Then he attacks some leftists who refused the initiative, saying: "As on the secular and leftist side, in particular, the " national interest " of Egypt necessitates to work to isolate these extreme leftist and corrupt symbols, which trades everything possible at the expense of Egypt's national security and interests starting from antagonizing Copts of Egypt and its people and ending at alienating the political system and its security services against young Muslims. They deliberately "insinuate" and ignite the flames of discord between the two sides for the continuation of violence, chaos and frustration because these extremists live only in this ruins." But when the nation restores its consciousness and senses, and the security and safety prevail, these corrupt and extremist symbols would not exist and would have no value. They're more like graves diggers; their feast day is when there is lot of dead people. I am confident that the wider sector of the Egyptian Left abhors the opportunism of these symbols and knows their intentions; however, in the end they have the most monopoly of party and media channels, which give them more than their size." Then he concludes his opinion by saying: "In conclusion, it is necessary and a must for the GI to welcome and praise the rational and lucid attitude by the Security Apparatus in dealing with this developments within GI...

A particular mention is the circumstances surrounding the publications of the four books and the statements by security leaders, which were characterized by great awareness to the sensitivities of the issue. It was also characterized by being balanced and far from insult propaganda, which was a sign of previous efforts that ended in corrupting and revoking its worth. No doubt that this positive attitude will be encouraging for sectors of the Islamic movement to open all the old files so as to reevaluate and correct the march. If the GI had confirmed that its initiative is not barter or based on demands and conditions, and this is absolutely true, nevertheless, this moral position requires urgent positive attitudes from the other side. At the forefront will be the need to the immediate release of leaders who spent their full sentence; it is not justified - legally at least - for their continued incarceration after they spent the maximum period of penalty [life sentence] stipulated by the Egyptian law. There is no doubt that the release of these leaders will create an atmosphere of hope and optimism among the young Muslims and it will discharge the tensions and calms those who are worried. As well, the pace of clearing the of positions of thousands of detainees who have filled the prisons should be accelerate now, because the continuation of their imprisonment, given that some of them has spent more than ten years without trial is a legal, moral and political burden that cannot continue. Also, processing their positions will encourage the

escapees and those who are outside the country to consider the processing of their legal and security positions.”¹³

- o **Mr. Mahmoud Mahdi:** Religious Page Manager at Al-Ahram Under the title "al-Gamaah Islamiyyah and the return to the truth"... He said: "This good return to the truth will, Allah willing, put an end to violence and killings and extremism in the thought that terrorized the community for some time and killed innocent souls. This return has made millions of people who care for their religion and keen to show its truth happy... It a religion of love and peace, as told by Prophet of Islam (peace be upon him) when he said: "The Muslim is the one that Muslims are spared his tongue and his hand." This as well made happy all the Egyptians who Allah wanted for their homeland to be a place of safety and security for its people and to all who are coming to visit it. Our talk today is about this good return to the truth on the part of the GI. We believe that this return is sincere and genuine. It is a tribute talk to those returning to the truth; they have entered the circle of faith contained in the adage "the faithful always returns [to the truth]," meaning he always returns to the truth whenever he finds out about it. It is also a tribute talk to Mr Makram Mohamed Ahmed, who highlighted this return by publishing it in Al-Mousawar magazine, which he heads as its editor. Greetings as well are directed to those who encouraged and agreed to complete this blessed step; they first and foremost the sons of our beloved Egypt and our dear Islamic nation.

He adds: "There is no doubt that all who are ardent for their religion and love their homeland are happy to see the return of GI back to the truth by declaring its initiative to halt violence and correct the concepts it espoused by mistake; when it found out the correct thing and the truth appeared she returned to it. This is a good return and we ask Allah Almighty to consolidate her position and grant her members the acceptance, support and encouragement from all concerned. The GI has disbanded its military wing as announced by its president Karam Zuhdi. He added in his interview with Mr Makram that was published in Al-Mousawar magazine: "the initiative to stop the violence is a strategic initiative and permanent reconciliation and not a temporarily reconciliation with the State." "The good thinking of al-Gamaah al-Islamiyyah and to encourage her for this initiative and its positive acceptance by the State will bring to the religion and the nation goodness, stability and security."

- o **Dr Essam El-Erian:** In his interview with the Homeland magazine, he was asked by the interviewer the following question: Practically, it is possible for the al-Gamaah al-Islamiyyah to play this role, and can you deny that there were those who were planning for this behind the scenes? Dr El-Erian said in response: "First, we as Muslims, Egyptians and interested the affairs of this country we must welcome any attempt to stop the violence; any attempt to halt political arrests; any attempt to empty prisons of political detainees and prisoners and any attempt to review the violence and abandoning

¹³ Al-Manar al-Jadid, No. 18, April 2002

it. All this has the consensus and appreciations of every lover of this country, and after that allow them to be active, because the community needs any effort and any addition.”¹⁴

¹⁴ Al-Watan magazine, July 18, 2002