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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 04 OF 09 CAIRO 05506

LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN, CENTCOM FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR

TAGS: KISL, KPRP, PINS, EG

SUBJECT: GUIDE TO THE GAMA'AT (IV): THE MILITANT

(A) RELATIONS WITH THE MB: AL-GAMA'A/JIHAD NOW CLAIM LEADERSHIP OF THE ISLAMIC POLITICAL MOVEMENT, REPLACING THE MB. THE MB'S EARLY LEADERS AND IDEOLOGISTS REMAIN THEIR INSPIRATION, AND THEY CONDEMN THE CURRENT MB FOR (ALLEGEDLY) ABANDONING THEIR FOUNDING PRINCIPLES AND COMPROMISING WITH THE STATE. FOR ITS PART, THE MB REGARDS THE JIHAD/GAMA'A ISLAMIYA AS VIOLENT DEVIANTS. YET, THE MB FIND THE MILITANTS USEFUL IN TWO WAYS: FIRST, THE MB PORTRAYS THEM AS THE "NATURAL RESULT" OF THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILURE TO GRANT FULL FREEDOM AND LEGITMACY TO THE MB; SECOND, THEIR VIOLENCE AND EXTREMISM MAKE THE MB'S COMPARATIVE MODERATION LOOK ALL THE MORE CONGENIAL TO THE GOVERNMENT AND MAINSTREAM MUSLIM SOCIETY. THUS, THE MB ENJOY THE LUXURY OF

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REJECTING VIOLENCE THEMSELVES WHILE EXPRESSING SYMPATHY FOR OTHERS DRIVEN TO IT BY GOVERNMENT REPRESSION OF THE MB.

(B) THE GAMA'A CADRES ARE ALMOST EXCLUSIVELY YOUNGER AND MOSTLY POORER PEOPLE. INDEED, WE KNOW OF AT LEAST THREE EX-EXTREMIST GAMA'A LEADERS WHO HAVE BEEN "TRANSFORMED" PERSONALLY AND POLITICALLY, BY INDEPENDENT ACCOUNTS, AND WHO HAVE JOINED THE MB IN THEIR LATER YEARS. ALSO, SEVERAL GOVERNORS CONTENTED THAT WHEN THE EXTREMISTS' PERSONAL ECONOMIC SITUATIONS ARE EASED, THEY QUICKLY FALL AWAY FROM MILITANCY. THE MILITANTS COME FROM BOTH RURAL AND URBAN BACKGROUNDS, AND THE LEADERS AMONG THEM USUALLY HAVE UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

(C) IT IS NOT AT ALL CLEAR THAT A SINGLE GROUP STILL EXISTS WHICH IDENTIFIES ITSELF BY THE NAME "JIHAD". IN ANY CASE, THE JIHAD/GAMA'A IS CHARACTERIZED BY INDEPENDENT, CELLULAR GROUPINGS EACH HEADED BY A "PRINCE" OR "COMMANDER" (AMIR). AS IN THE GROUP THAT ASSASSINATED SADAT, THESE APPEAR TO HAVE STRONG TIES TO ASSYUT. ONE JOURNALIST MET IN ASSYUT SEVERAL OF THE SAME INDIVIDUALS HE HAD MET AT THE ADAM MOSQUE IN AIN SHAMS, FOR EXAMPLE. OUR AWQAF SOURCE, HOWEVER, STATED THAT THE JIHAD IS ONLY ONE GROUP IN A KIND OF FEDERATION OF ISLAMIC GAMA'AT. THE FEDERATION EFFECTIVELY ADMINISTERS NATIONAL OPERATIONS FROM ITS "ADMINISTRATIVE BOARD" IN ASSYUT, A COUNCIL OF "PRINCES" WHO LEAD THE VARIOUS GROUPS. HE SAID THE MB, TAKFIR WAL-HIJRA, AL-NAGUN MIN AL NAR, "ETC." ARE OTHER CONSTITUENTS OF THE FEDERATION.

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(D) IN THEIR SERMONS, SEMINARS, AND LEAFLETS, THE JIHAD/GAMA'A OUTSPOKENLY CONDEMN NOT ONLY THE GOVERNMENT AND SYSTEM, BUT MUBARAK PERSONALLY. THUS, NOW THEY ARE ONLY PARTLY CLANDESTINE -- TYPICAL TACTICS FOR AGITATORS, BUT NOT EFFECTIVE FOR ASSASSINS.

(E) FOR ALL THEIR OVERT ACTIVITY (SUCH AS INTERVIEWS WITH JOURNALISTS, STREET DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST RISING PRICES, AND LARGE SEMINAR GATHERINGS AT MOSQUES AND

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EVEN THE LAWYERS' SYNDICATE LAST NOVEMBER), THEY REMAIN CONSPIRATORIAL IN OUTLOOK AND OPERATIONS -- AS IS ONLY PRUDENT, IN THE FACE OF THE RELENTLESS PRESSURE FROM THE INTERNAL SECURITY SERVICES. FOR EXAMPLE, THEY REFUSE TO DIVULGE THEIR NAMES AND THEIR NUMBERS TO THE JOURNALISTS THEY MEET, AND THEY HIDE. THE ALLEGED LEADER OF THE JIHAD/GAMA'A IN MINYA HAS BEEN IDENTIFIED IN RECENT PRESS REPORTS OR INTERVIEWS UNDER THREE DIFFERENT NAMES: ALI MUHAMMED ALI, MOHAMMED MUKHTAR MUSTAFA, AND ALI ABDEL FATAH. WE DO NOT KNOW WHETHER THESE ARE THREE ALIASES FOR A SINGLE PERSON, OR DIFFERENT PERSONS. WHOEVER MINYA'S PRINCE, FOR ALL HIS DEFIANT TALK ABOUT THE STATE, HE IS THE PARTY ON THE DEFENSIVE: SEVERAL SOURCES TELL US THAT HE SLEEPS EVERY NIGHT IN A DIFFERENT BED, "LIKE QADDHAFI," TO AVOID CAPTURE.

THE VIOLENCE ISSUE

11. EVIDENTLY, THE QUESTION OF THE UTILITY (NOT THE MORALITY) OF VIOLENCE IN THE NAME OF ISLAM HAS BECOME

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 05 OF 09 CAIRO 05506

LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN, CENTCOM FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR
TAGS: KISL, KPRP, PINS, EG
SUBJECT: GUIDE TO THE GAMA'AT (IV): THE MILITANT
AN ISSUE NOT ONLY BETWEEN THE JIHAD/GAMA'A ISLAMIYA AND
THE MB BUT ALSO WITHIN THE FORMER. THE MILITANTS
EVIDENTLY ARE WRESTLING WITH A POLICY DECISION THAT
GOES TO THE HEART OF THE TAKFIR ISSUE: SOME MEMBERS
ARE DELIBERATELY REACHING OUT TO JOURNALISTS,
NEIGHBORS, AND TO POTENTIALLY SYMPATHETIC GOVERNMENT
MEN OF RELIGION IN AN ATTEMPT TO PUT THEIR STORY ACROSS
TO THE LARGER, JAHILI SOCIETY. VARIOUS MILITANT GROUPS
ARE ANNOUNCING THE "CONDITIONS" UNDER WHICH THEY WILL
ENTER INTO DIALOGUE WITH RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS.
JOURNALISTS HAVE TOLD US OF PRIOR INVITATIONS TO SCENES
OF EXPECTATED CLASHES WITH POLICE AT AIN SHAMS, AS WELL
AS SUDDEN OPENNESS TO MORE ORDINARY INTERVIEWS
BEGINNING IN THE FALL OF 1988.

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12. IN ANY CASE, WE ARE AWARE OF NO ASSASSINATION
ATTEMPTS CLAIMED BY EITHER THE JIHAD OR GAMA'A ISLAMIYA
FOR SOME YEARS. (APOLOGISTS FOR THE MILITANTS CLAIM
THE MAN WHO SLIT THE THROAT OF A POLICEMAN IN AIN SHAMS
LAST DECEMBER WAS A DEVOUT GREENGROCER ON A PERSONAL
VENDETTA, NOT A MILITANT GROUP MEMBER.) THE
JIHAD/GAMA'A ISLAMIYA SEEM TO BE DEVELOPING INTO A
POLITICAL GROUPING THAT IS MILITANT IN IDEOLOGY AND
READY FOR STREET CLASHES WITH POLICE -- PREFERABLY WITH
WORLD NEWS COVERAGE -- BUT NOT READY TO ATTEMPT
ASSASSINATION OR ARMED TAKE-OVER OF THE STATE. ONE
INVESTIGATIVE JOURNALIST TOLD US THAT THIS ISSUE IS

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ONCE AGAIN LEADING TO SPLITS WITHIN THE JIHAD, AND THAT THOSE PLOTTING TERRORISM ARE BURROWING DEEPER UNDER COVER AS THE LARGER PART OF THE ORGANIZATION MOVES MORE FULLY ABOVE GROUND. THE ASSASSINATION ATTEMPTS OF AL-NAGUN MIN AL NAR IN 1987 MAY BE ONE MANIFESTATION OF SUCH A SPLIT OVER TACTICS. WE MUST ASSUME THAT OTHER VIOLENT CELLS EXIST BOTH IN CIVILIAN SOCIETY AND WITHIN THE MILITARY, AND WILL ONLY SURFACE AFTER THEY ATTEMPT FURTHER ACTS OF VIOLENCE AGAINST SYMBOLS OR LEADERS OF THE INFIDEL STATE.

CONCLUSION: VIOLENT TESTING CONTINUES

13. THE STATE VS. MILITANT ISLAM: BY MID-1987, THE STATE HAD ADOPTED A NICE COP/ TOUGH COP POLICY TOWARD THE MILITANT ISLAMIC GAMA'AT. WHILE THE POLICE KEPT UP CONFIDENTIAL

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PRESSURE (COMPARATIVELY MODEST, IN RETROSPECT) AGAINST RADICAL MOSQUES, LEADING RELIGIOUS OFFICIALS REACHED OUT IN CONTROVERSIAL AND UNPRECEDENTED FASHION TO MEET WITH THE EXTREMISTS IN THEIR MOSQUES -- AND THEIR PRISON CELLS. THIS PROCESS HAS CONTINUED THROUGH 1988 AND TO THE PRESENT. ON JANUARY 1, THE GOVERNMENT SCORED A POTENTIAL BREAKTHROUGH WHEN IT ENLISTED THE SUPPORT OF PROMINENT NON-OFFICIAL, OFTEN DISSENTING, RELIGIOUS FIGURES IN CONDEMNATION OF POLITICAL EXTREMISM IN THE NAME OF RELIGION. THESE DISSIDENT SHEIKHS PROMPTLY DECLINED TO JOIN IN THE DIALOGUE WITH THE MILITANTS UNTIL THE LATTER ARE RELEASED FROM PRISON. HOWEVER, ON MARCH 2, THEY AND THE MINISTER OF AUWQAF MET WITH A GROUP OF SOME 40 JUST-RELEASED ISLAMIC MILITANT YOUTHS, AND ONCE AGAIN URGED REJECTION OF VIOLENCE IN THE NAME OF ISLAM.

14. BY LATE 1988 IT BECAME CLEAR THAT THE POLICY OF DIALOGUE COMBINED WITH MODEST POLICE FORCE HAD NOT REDUCED THE DEFIANT INFLUENCE OF THESE GROUPS IN CERTAIN LOCALES. CAIRENES, FOR EXAMPLE, WERE SPEAKING WITH SOME SHOCK OF THE "REPUBLIC OF 'AIN SHAMS," IN REFERENCE TO THAT DISTRICT OF TOWN WHERE, BY OUR OWN OBSERVATION AND NUMEROUS OTHER ACCOUNTS, MILITANT

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ISLAMIC BULLIES HELD SWAY AND THE POLICE ALLEGEDLY DID NOT DARE SET FOOT. IN DECEMBER, THE GOVERNMENT MADE CLEAR IT HAD HAD ENOUGH, AND THAT IT WOULD STEP UP VIOLENT CONFRONTATION WITH THE MILITANTS. THE RESULT WAS A SERIES OF POLICE SWEEPS IN NORTHERN CAIRO AND IN UPPER EGYPT THAT HAVE PROVOKED WHAT MAY BE THE BLOODIEST POLICE-POPULAR CLASHES YET. THE OPPOSITION PRESS HAS CHARGED THAT SOME 28 YOUTHS WERE KILLED IN SUCH CLASHES OVER THE PAST FEW MONTHS, AND MORE

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 06 OF 09 CAIRO 05506

LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN, CENTCOM FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECLASS:OADR
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SUBJECT: GUIDE TO THE GAMA'AT (IV): THE MILITANT CREDIBLE SOURCES HAVE CONFIRMED THAT THE POLICE HAVE ORDERS TO SHOOT TO KILL WANTED ISLAMIC MILITANTS. THE INTERIOR MINISTER VEHEMENTLY AND PUBLICLY DENIES THAT HE IS EXCEEDING THE LAW IN CONFRONTING THE "TERRORISTS" WITH LETHAL FORCE.

15. REMARKABLY, THE POLICE-"JIHAD" CLASHES HAVE REMAINED SPORADIC AND LOCALIZED, AND HAVE SHOWN NO SIGNS YET OF SPREADING OR DEVELOPING INTO MASS VIOLENCE. PERHAPS EMBOLDENED BY THIS FACT AND PLEASED BY THE LOSSES OF THE MILITANTS, INTERIOR MINISTER ZAKI BADR OUTDID EVEN HIS OWN OUTSPOKEN STANDARDS IN A VIRTUAL DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST ALL "EXTREMISTS".

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SPECIFICALLY INCLUDING MB, NASERITES, AND COMMUNISTS. AFTER CALLING THEM "DOGS," HE QUICKLY APOLOGIZED TO THE CANINE RACE FOR THE INSULT, AND CHANGED HIS CHARACTERIZATION OF THE MILITANTS TO "PIGS." BADR HAS REPEATEDLY PRONOUNCED THE FAILURE OF THE POLICY OF DIALOGUE WITH THE ISLAMIC MILITANTS, AND STATED THAT "KILLING AND AMPUTATION" ARE THE ONLY WAY TO DEAL WITH THEM. MOST RECENTLY, HE WENT TO THE DOWNTOWN SCENE OF THE LATEST SLAYING TO CONGRATULATE THE OFFICER WHO HAD SHOT WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A POSITIVELY IDENTIFIED JIHADIST. TO EMPHASIZE HIS CONTEMPTUOUS DEFIANCE OF THE MILITANTS, THE MINISTER WENT "TO PRAY" AT THE ADAM MOSQUE THAT HAD BEEN THEIR COMMAND POST IN 'AIN SHAMS BEFORE THE POLICE FORCIBLY ROUTED THEM.

16. FOR THE MOMENT, THE MILITANTS SEEM IN RETREAT, BUT IT IS FAR FROM CLEAR THAT THEY ARE YET, OR CAN BE, DEFEATED BY POLICE FORCE ALONE. THE EXPERIENCE OF 1981 INDICATES THAT SEVERE REPRESSION CAN DISRUPT THE MORE VISIBLE ACTIVITIES AND ORGANIZATIONS OF THE MILITANTS, BUT CAN ALSO TRIGGER THE DECISION OF INDIVIDUAL FANATICS TO REALIZE LONG-NURTURED DREAMS OF ASSASSINATION IN THE NAME OF GOD. BADR'S BROAD DEFINITION OF "TERRORIST" NOTWITHSTANDING, IT IS SAFE TO BET THAT MUBARAK AND MOST OF HIS REGIME WILL CONTINUE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "TERRORISTS" AND SUCH NON-MILITANT ISLAMIC POLITICAL ACTIVISTS AS THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD. THE AWQAF MINISTER'S ENGINEERING OF THE

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MARCH 2 MEETING BETWEEN THE GREAT SHEIKHS AND THE MILITANTS JUST RELEASED FROM PRISON CONFIRMS THAT THE LEADERS OF THE OFFICIAL RELIGIOUS ESTABLISHMENT INTEND TO MAINTAIN THEIR EFFORTS AT REACHING THOSE AMONG OR CONFIDENTIAL

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AROUND THE MILITANTS REACHABLE THROUGH DIALOGUE. BUT BADR'S OUTBURSTS, HOWEVER CRUDE, REFLECT MUBARAK'S OWN DETERMINATION TO CONFRONT THE THREAT OF ISLAMIC MILITANCY. THUS WE EXPECT THAT THE GOVERNMENT WILL CONTINUE TO DEAL WITH THE MILITANTS AS OFTEN WITH FORCE AS WITH DIALOGUE, AND THAT THE MILITANTS WILL CONTINUE TO ATTEMPT TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR DEFIANT EXISTENCE THROUGH COUNTER-VIOLENCE. EGYPT'S ISLAMIC MILITANTS MAY NEVER POSE A THREAT OF ISLAMIC REVOLUTIONARY "ALTERNATIVE", BUT THERE CAN BE NO GUARANTEE AGAINST THEIR ABILITY TO SHAKE THE SECULAR STATE TO ITS FOUNDATIONS THROUGH ASSASSINATION OF ITS LEADERS.

THE EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC AWAKENING AND THE U.S.

17. THE PHENOMENON OF ISLAMIC GROUPING IS A MANIFESTATION OF THE LARGER ISLAMIC REAWAKENING IN EGYPT, WHICH HAS PRESENTED BOTH OPPORTUNITIES AND CHALLENGES TO THE SECULAR STATE, AND THUS TO THE U.S. INTERESTS THAT PRACTICALLY DEPEND UPON THAT STATE'S STABILITY AND EFFECTIVENESS. THE STATE HAS SHOWN AN ABILITY TO WORK WITH THE MAINSTREAM, SOCIAL REFORM GAMA'AT AND EVEN WITH THE MODERATE POLITICALS, BUT AT THE PRICE OF SOME RETREAT FROM THE ESPOUSAL AND PROTECTION OF SECULARIST POLITICAL PRINCIPLES (WOMEN'S EQUALITY, FREEDOM OF T.V. PROGRAMMING AND PRIVATE PUBLISHING, OBJECTIVITY OF EDUCATIONAL MATERIALS, AVAILABILITY OF ALCOHOLIC BEVERAGES EVEN FOR NON-MUSLIMS, ETC.) IT HAS HAD FAIR SUCCESS SO FAR IN CONFRONTING THE MORE OBVIOUS THREAT OF ISLAMIC MILITANCY THROUGH A MIX OF REPRESSION, DIALOGUE, AND A

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 NEW PRIORITY OF CONCENTRATION OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT
 PROJECTS IN SOME PROBLEM AREAS. IN ALL, THIS IS AN
 EGYPTIAN PROBLEM ABOUT WHICH THE U.S. CAN DO LITTLE: WE
 SURELY CAN NOT SUPPORT THE REPRESSION; WE ARE
 UNQUALIFIED AND UNWELCOME TO JOIN THE DOMESTIC ISLAMIC
 POLITICAL DIALOGUE; AND WE CAN NOT SOLVE EGYPT'S
 ECONOMIC PROBLEMS, WHICH APPEAR THE FUNDAMENTAL FUEL OF
 THE ISLAMIC REAWAKENING, PARTICULARLY ITS MILITANT
 ASPECTS. OUR SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, HOWEVER,
 DOES HELP THE GOVERNMENT REDUCE THE THREAT OF ISLAMIC
 MILITANCY, AND IS PROBABLY THE ONLY IMPORTANT WAY
 OUTSIDERS CAN HELP.

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18. MORE BROADLY, HOWEVER, WE HAVE A REAL INTEREST IN ACCURATE POPULAR UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. "OFFICIAL POLICY TOWARD ISLAM", AND THIS INTEREST IS ENDANGERED. EGYPTIANS ACROSS THE RELIGIOUS AND POLITICAL SPECTRA -- FROM THE FEW PARLOUR LEFTIST AGNOSTICS, TO THE CHRISTIAN MINORITY, TO OFFICIAL MEN OF ISLAM, TO THE OBSERVANT TAXI DRIVER, TO ISLAMIC INTELLECTUALS AND POLITICIANS, TO THE MILITANTS -- PRESUME SUCH A U.S. "POLICY" EXISTS, AND CONCOCT THEIR OWN BIZARRE NOTIONS ABOUT WHAT IT MUST BE AND HOW WE IMPLEMENT IT. MOST PRESUME THAT WE CLANDESTINELY ARE CRUSADING AGAINST ANY FORM OF ISLAMIC RE-AWAKENING: THE COPTS FERVENTLY HOPE WE ARE DOING SO. THE LEFTISTS AND MODERATE SECULAR ELITE, ON THE OTHER HAND, SUSPECT WE ARE CYNICALLY PROMOTING POLITICAL ISLAM TO BURY SECULAR ARABISM OR TO CONFRONT SOVIET INFLUENCE.

19. MORE BROADLY, EGYPTIANS PRESUME THAT THE TYPICAL POPULAR AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD RELIGION AND MORAL ISSUES ARE THOSE CONVINCINGLY PORTRAYED IN "DALLAS." ALL SUCH PERCEPTIONS EAT AWAY AT POPULAR UNDERSTANDING AND SUPPORT FOR THE GOVERNMENT'S CLOSE COOPERATION WITH THE U.S. ON SUCH VITAL INTERESTS AS THE ARAB-ISRAELI PEACE PROCESS OR MILITARY COOPERATION. WE WERE THUS GRATIFIED AT THE FAVORABLE EGYPTIAN INTEREST IN THE SINGLE U.S. POLICY PRONOUNCEMENT ON ISLAM IN RECENT YEARS, FORMER NEA A/S MURPHY'S SPEECH AT SYRACUSE U. LAST NOVEMBER 7 (REF D). A SUSTAINED INFORMATION EFFORT TO PRESENT THE RESPECTFUL NEUTRALITY (OR EVEN THE INDIFFERENCE) OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE TOWARD ISLAM AS A RELIGION AND A MORAL WAY OF LIFE, THROUGH SUCH LOW KEY STATEMENTS OR OTHER FORMS OF

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CULTURAL AND INFORMATION EXCHANGE ON THIS "ISSUE," COULD HELP COUNTER THE PREVALENT MIS- AND DIS-INFORMATION. THE GOVERNMENT OF EGYPT COULD ONLY WELCOME CAREFUL AND TACTFUL COMMUNICATION TO EGYPTIANS OF THE FACT THAT FOR AMERICANS AND THE USG, ISLAM --

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AS A FAITH -- IS SIMPLY NOT AN "ISSUE," AND THAT THE
USG DISTINGUISHES BETWEEN RELIGIONS ON THE ONE HAND AND
POLITICAL FANATICISM AND TERRORISM ON THE OTHER.

ANNOTATED LIST OF EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC GAMA'AT

FOLLOWING IS A SUMMARY BREAKDOWN OF THE ISLAMIC GAMA'AT
OF WHICH WE HAVE SOME IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE RECORD,
USING THE CATEGORIES POSITED IN THESE TWO MESSAGES.
SEVERAL OTHER CATEGORIZATIONS, MORE ARTIFICIAL AND
DETAILED AND LESS USEFUL IN OUR JUDGEMENT, CAN BE FOUND
IN OPEN, SCHOLARLY SOURCES. EVEN THIS LISTING IS MUCH
TOO NEAT AND ARTIFICIAL. IT IS ILLUSTRATIVE RATHER
THAN COMPREHENSIVE, AND SHOULD BE CONSIDERED
TENTATIVE. MANY SMALL RELIGIOUS GAMA'AT EXIST AROUND
THE COUNTRY, WHOSE DEGREE OF IDEOLOGICAL EXTREMISM,
POLITICAL ORIENTATION, AND MILITANCY, CAN ONLY BE
JUDGED ON A CASE-BY-CASE BASIS.

-I. THE APOLITICALS

(INCLUDES ONLY NATIONALLY-KNOWN GROUPS, IN ESTIMATED
RANK ORDER BY QUANTITY OF ADHERENTS)

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 -- THE FEDERATION OF SUFI ORDERS:
 MYSTICAL/TRANSCENDENTAL, LARGE FOLK RELIGIOUS ELEMENT,
 DEBATED THEOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS, ESTABLISHMENTARIAN,
 VARIOUS DEVOTIONAL AND DA'WA ACTIVITIES FROM EDUCATION
 TO FOLK FESTIVALS TO CHARITY.

-- AL-GAMAI'YA AL-SHARI'AIYA:
 LITERALIST/FUNDAMENTALIST INTERPRETATION OF THE SOURCES
 OF ISLAM; DEDICATED TO SPREADING ITS CONSERVATIVE
 RELIGIOUS MESSAGE IN SOCIETY THROUGH PREACHING AND GOOD
 WORKS; AT LEAST SOME ARTIFICIAL CONNECTIONS WITH
 POLITICAL GROUPS, INCLUDING MILITANTS.

-- GAMA'AT ANSAR AL-SUNNA AL-MUHAMMADIYA:
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FUNDAMENTALIST MESSAGE, AS ABOVE, BUT STRICTLY DA'WA
 WITHOUT CHARITY OPERATIONS.

-- THE YMMA:
 AN OFFICIALLY-BACKED AND ESTABLISHMENT YOUTH
 ORGANIZATION, AFFILIATED WITH THE WORLD YMMA.

-- AL-'ASHIRA AL-MUHAMMADIYA:
 SUFI-LIKE, HEAVILY ENGAGED IN CHARITY WORKS, NATIONALLY

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II. THE NON-MILITANT POLITICALS

-- THE MUSLIM BROTHERHOOD:
THE ONLY NON-MILITANT ISLAMIC GROUP WITH BOTH A
NATIONAL FOLLOWING AND A CLEAR-CUT POLITICAL PURPOSE.
WELL-KNOWN, ABOVE GROUND LEADERSHIP AND PUBLICATIONS.

-- AL-SALIFIYYIN:
ARGUABLY APOLITICALS, BUT POLITICAL PURPOSES AND
CONNECTIONS ARE APPARENT OR SUSPECTED AT LEAST IN SOME
LOCALES. APPARENTLY A MORE AMORPHOUS MOVEMENT, LESS
FORMALLY ESTABLISHED THAN THE ABOVE LISTED APOLITICALS
OR MB. LEADERSHIP AND ORGANIZATION -- IF ANY --
UNKNOWN. ALLEGED FINANCIAL AND PERSONAL AS WELL AS
INSPIRATIONAL TIES TO SAUDI ARABIA AND WAHABISM; SEEM
MAINLY AN INWARD-LOOKING GROUP.

III. THE MILITANT POLITICALS

-- AL-JIHAD (HOLY STRUGGLE):
A GROUP OR COLLECTION OF LOCAL GROUPS LINKED TO THE
ORGANIZATION RESPONSIBLE FOR SADAT'S ASSASSINATION.
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FOCI IN ASSYUT, OTHER PARTS OF UPPER EGYPT, AND
NORTHERN FRINGES OF CAIRO. MAY HAVE MERGED OR MAY BE
IDENTICAL WITH:

-- AL-GAMA'AT AL-ISLAMIYA (THE ISLAMIC GROUPS --
PLURAL -- SOMETIMES REFERRED TO AS AL-GAMA'A
AL-ISLAMIYA, SINGULAR):
BOTH JIHAD AND AL-GAMA'AT DRAW AT LEAST THEIR
THEOLOGICAL INSPIRATION FROM SHEIKH 'OMAR ABDEL RAHMAN,
UNDER NEAR-HOUSE ARREST (DESPITE OCCASIONAL REPORTS OF
TRAVEL ABROAD) SINCE HIS ISSUANCE OF THE RELIGIOUS
JUSTIFICATION TO SADAT'S ASSASSINS.

-- TAKFIR WAL HIJRA (IDENTIFICATION OF INFIDELITY AND
HOLY FLIGHT):
FORERUNNER TO THE JIHADISTS; INVOLVED IN 1977
ASSASSINATION OF A MINISTER OF AWQAF. KNOWN LEADERS
DEAD OR IN PRISON. NOW POSSIBLY DEFUNCT OR SUBSUMED BY
JIHAD/GAMA'A; NO EVIDENCE IT EXISTS AS AN ACTIVE
NATIONAL ORGANIZATION.

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-- AL-TAHRIR AL-ISLAMI (ISLAMIC LIBERATION, AKA THE MILITARY TECHNICAL ACADEMY GROUP): ANOTHER ANCESTOR OR JIHAD AND TAKFIR FOUNDED BY MILITANT IDEOLOGUE SALAH SIRRIYA.

-- AL-NAJUN MIN AL-NAR (REDEEMED FROM HELL): POSSIBLY AN OFFSHOOT OF THE JIHAD/GAMA'A: NOW MOSTLY IN PRISON WHILE ON TRIAL FOR ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATIONS OF TWO EX-MINISTERS OF INTERIOR AND AN EDITOR IN THE SUMMER OF 1987.

-- "RE-ORGANIZATION OF THE JIHAD" OR "THE 'AIN SHAMS

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ACTION NEA-11

INFO	LOG-00	ADS-00	INR-07	SS-00	OIC-02	SCL-01	CIAE-00
	EB-00	H-01	IO 19	NSCE-00	NSAE-00	COME-00	HA-09
	L-03	TRSE-00	PM-10	PA-01	OMB-01	SIL-01	INM-07
	INRE-00	RF-10	OES-09	USIE-00	SP-02	MMP-01	SNP-01
	C-01	PRS-01	DS 01	P-02	T-01	/102 W	
-----307674 090558Z /23							

R 081241Z MAR 89
FM AMEMBASSY CAIRO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7106
INFO AMCONSUL ALEXANDRIA
ARAB ISRAELI COLLECTIVE
USCENTCOM MACDILL AFB FL
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 09 OF 09 CAIRO 05506

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LONDON FOR MILLIKEN, PARIS FOR WINN, CENTCOM FOR POLAD

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: KISL, KPRP, PINS, EG

SUBJECT: GUIDE TO THE GAMA'AT (IV): THE MILITANT GROUP":

POSSIBLY ONE AND THE SAME GROUP. A GOVERNMENT STATEMENT HAS PROMISED FUTURE ANNOUNCEMENT OF DETAILS REGARDING THE FORMER, WHILE AN OPPOSITION PRESS REPORT REFERRED TO ONGOING INVESTIGATION OF THE LATTER. REFERENCES PROBABLY ARE TO A GROUP OR GROUPS ASSOCIATED WITH THE JIHAD THAT HELD SWAY IN ABOUT A DOZEN MOSQUES IN LOWER CLASS NEIGHBORHOODS OF NORTHERN CAIRO. THESE GROUPS REPORTEDLY INTIMIDATED THE LOCAL CITIZENRY, AND WERE INVOLVED IN SEVERAL VIOLENT CLASHES WITH POLICE FROM AUGUST THROUGH DECEMBER, 1988.

IV. INACTIVE OR ONLY LOCALLY ACTIVE MILITANTS:
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MORE OBSCURE, CELLULAR GROUPS HAVE BEEN CITED IN SCHOLARLY STUDIES OR GOVERNMENT STATEMENTS AS EGYPTIAN ISLAMIC MILITANT GROUPS, ACTIVE ONLY LOCALLY OR IN THE PAST. SOME PROBABLY CONSIDER OR PORTRAY THEMSELVES AS PART OF A LARGER MILITANT MOVEMENT, SUCH AS "JIHAD" OR "THE GAMA'A", IN ORDER TO GAIN OR EXAGGERATE THEIR IMPORTANCE. WE JUDGE THEM OF LITTLE NATIONAL IMPORTANCE AS DISTINCT GROUPS. WE HAVE SEEN REFERENCES TO SUCH GROUPS AS: HIZBALLAH (PARTY OF GOD, A JIHAD-LINKED GROUP IN ALEXANDRIA), THE JUNDALLAH (SOLDIERS OF GOD), SHARRAB MUHAMMED (YOUTH OF MOHAMMED), AL-TALIA'A AL-ISLAMIA (THE ISLAMIC VANGUARD), AL-TABLIGH (THE FULLFILLMENT, OR DENUNCIATION), AL-'UZLA WAL-SHU'URIYA (ISOLATION AND CONSCIOUSNESS), MUNKARI AL-SUNNA (POSSIBLY INTENDED AS "THOSE WHO REBUKE IN THE TRADITION OF THE PROPHET.")

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