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# A Linguistic Study of Persuasion in Egyptian Constitutional Campaigns (2012-2014)

Submitted by

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## Summary

This study explores the use of persuasive tools in the last two Egyptian constitutional campaigns used to persuade the audience to vote. This study shows how each constitutional campaign presents itself to the audience. Moreover, it investigates how verbal linguistic techniques are used to intentionally map voters' minds by explaining the hidden ideologies beyond each campaign.

In order to achieve these aims, this study seeks to address the following questions:

1. How does each constitutional campaign present itself to voters?
2. How does each constitutional campaign manipulate voters' minds?
3. How is religion used by Muslim Brotherhood in order to persuade people to vote for MB's sake?
4. How is patriotism used by Pro-Military Council in order to persuade people to vote for Military Council's sake?

The researcher chooses three speeches by MB and Salafia's supporters since speeches have strong influence in those who heard or watch them especially when those speeches are said by religious men through some religious channels. In addition, three speeches are uttered by three representatives of various protagonists of Military council's sake. The analysis of data contains Textual level which investigates how texts are analyzed and functioned by speakers. According to this level, topoi and persuasive strategies are applied.

In conclusion, this study finds the answer of the questions which illustrates how persuasion is a linguistically wide process which has many different purposes are hidden and many ways can be achieved through it. Through the use of applied tools, each party finds linguistically the best way for their audiences whether through religion, patriotism or stability to directly connect concepts together and persuade their audience of those connections. So, they can easily reach their minds and to intentionally change indirectly their thoughts and actions towards each party's sake.

**Keywords:** Critical Discourse Analysis, Persuasion, Rhetoric, Discourse Historical Approach strategies

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ملخص البحث

تهدف هذه الدراسة إلى معرفة و تحليل أساليب الإقناع التي تضمنتها حملتى الدستور المصرى بعد كل من ثورة ٢٥ يناير ٢٠١١ و ثورة ٣٠ يونيه ٢٠١٣ و تكشف الدراسة طريقة عرض كل حملة للعامة بالإضافة إلى معرفة أهداف و إيدولوجيات كل حملة و لمعرفة هذه النقاط طرقت الرسالة الأسئلة الآتية :

كيف عرضت كل حملة أهدافها للناس؟

ما الأساليب التي استخدمتها كل حملة لإقناع الناس بالتصويت لصالحها؟  
كيف استخدمت الحملة الأولى والتي تتمثل فى جماعة الإخوان المسلمين مصطلح الدين لإقناع الناس بالتصويت على الدستور؟  
كيف استخدمت الحملة الثانية و التي تتمثل فى المناهضين لمجلس العسكرى مصطلح الوطنية لإقناع الناس بالتصويت على الدستور؟

قام الباحث بإختيار ثلاث خطابات لبعض من رجال الدين المؤيدين لجماعة الإخوان المسلمين و الذين تم عرضهم عبر قنوات دينية مما يقوى من تأثير تلك الخطابات على المتلقين و كذلك ثلاث خطابات لممثلين عن لجنة الخمسين و الذين يمثلون الحملة الثانية

قام الباحث بتحليل المادة المختارة و تطبيق نظرية الجدل و أظهرت نتائج البحث إختلاف أساليب الإقناع و كذلك إختلاف فى إختيار الأفعال و نظرية الجدل فى كل حملة  
كلمات مفتاحية: تحليل الخطاب النقدي الإقناع نظرية تحليل الجدل

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## 1 Introduction

### 1.1 Context of the study

According to Abd El-Gafar (2012), pro-constitution organizations and parties held campaigns to urge people to vote saying yes to the 2012 Constitution as they believe it is a vital step towards stability and getting rid of the previous regime. These campaigns relied on videos, songs, billboards, interviews, and speeches by religious men from various Islamic groups including Muslim Brotherhood and from the members of the committee of writing the constitution. According to the BBC (2012), 63.8% of Egyptian voters inside and outside Egypt went to say yes for the first constitution through a referendum that consisted of two stages: December, 15<sup>th</sup> 2012 for Egyptians living inside Egypt and December 22<sup>th</sup> 2012 for Egyptians living abroad. According to Kirkpatrick (2014), after June 30<sup>th</sup> Revolution, Egyptians inside and outside Egypt voted for a new draft of the constitution. Another yes vote campaign takes place, which is also based on speeches, by the Committee of Fifty and public icons that support it. A constitutional referendum was held on January 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> 2014 for Egyptians inside the country and from 8<sup>th</sup> to 12<sup>th</sup> January 2014 for Egyptians outside.

The study focuses on the last two Egyptian constitutional campaigns presented by two different parties, the first one is The Muslim Brotherhood campaign on the 15<sup>th</sup> of December 2012, and the second one is The Military council campaign on the 15<sup>th</sup> of January 2014. It shows how language is used by two opposing parties in order to manipulate people and lead them to believe in certain political perspectives.

## **1.2 Objectives of the study**

This study aims at:

- 1- Exploring the use of persuasive tools in the last two Egyptian constitutional campaigns used to persuade the audience to vote.
- 2- Showing how each constitutional campaign presents itself to the audience.
- 3- Investigating how verbal linguistic techniques are used to intentionally control voters' minds by explaining the hidden ideologies beyond each campaign.

*4-Modify Wodak's list of Topos.*

## **1.3 Research Questions**

In order to achieve these aims, the study seeks to address the following questions:

1. How does each constitutional campaign present itself to voters?
2. How does each constitutional campaign manipulate voters' minds?
3. How is religion used by Muslim brotherhood in order to persuade people to vote for MB's sake?
4. How is patriotism used by Pro-Military service in order to persuade people to vote for Military service's sake?

## **1.4 Significance of the Study**

This study shows how language was used in the last two Egyptian constitutional campaigns, by finding how each campaign addresses the audience. This study explains how the language is used during the campaigns to manipulate people to get more votes. Moreover, the study shows the campaigns' hidden ideologies and how this affected the Egyptian society. Since there are not much linguistic studies on Egyptian constitutional campaigns, most of those studies focus only on

different political speeches uttered by different presidents. This study investigates, through a linguistic approach, how Muslim Brotherhood and Military council followers use the language as a persuasive tool in order to get more votes, in two different campaigns, in the last two Egyptian constitutional referendums. This study shows how the use of language by these two parties can influence the Egyptians' political thoughts and opinions. In other words, the study shows how each constitutional campaign uses language related to religion and patriotism to achieve its personal aims by controlling Egyptians' thoughts.

### **1.5 Scope and limitations of the study**

This qualitative study focuses only on the spoken discourse used in the last two Egyptian constitutional campaigns. Although nonverbal language is necessary, this study highlights the importance of verbal language of two different campaigns, in addition to its effect on manipulating people's minds.

## **2 Methodology**

### **2.1 Data**

Since the audience highly trusts what they receive through the various media channels, the researcher chooses some examples of the following types of data.

#### **2.1.1 Speeches**

According to Oxford Dictionary, a speech has various meanings. It can be defined as the ability to represent some thoughts and feelings or a kind of discourse or a group of sentences written for someone to say it to audiences. According to Ianmckenzie (2012), there are four main types of speeches: informative, demonstrative, persuasive, and entertaining. The informative speech is a source of giving information as when a teacher informs her students about volcanoes, when a student speaks about a research, or when a tour guide informs tourists about ancient monuments. The second type is

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demonstrative which is somehow similar to the informative. The difference is that the demonstrative includes instructions about some activities like baking a cake, writing an essay, or driving a car. The third type is the persuasive whose function is to convince people to change their actions or thoughts. An example is an expert who tries to convince a person to take care of his/her health. The last type is the entertaining speech which occurs on some occasions like birthday parties and graduation ceremonies. Examples of the persuasive speeches used in this study are as follows:

• **First Constitutional Campaign**

**Table (1) Speeches of first constitutional campaign**

No.	Title	Translation	Speaker
1	بماذا يتم التصويت على الدستور بنعم أم لا؟	What should your vote for the constitution be: Yes or No?	Sheikh Abd El-Mon'm Abd El-Mobdaa (A1)
2	تعليق الشيخ حسين يعقوب على الدستور و قول نعم	Speech by Hussin Yacoub about constitution and saying yes for it.	Sheikh Hussin Yacoub (A2)
3	نعم للدستور برغم ما فيه من عيوب	Yes for the constitution despite its disadvantages	Sheikh Waghdy Ghoniem (A3)

• **Second Constitutional Campaign**

**Table (2) Speeches of second constitutional campaign**

No.	Title	Translation	Speaker
1	نعم للدستور	Yes for the Constitution	Farouk Al-Baz (B1)
2	كلمة سامح عاشور في ندوة الإتحاد المصرى للثقافة الرياضية نعم للدستور	Speech by Sameh Ashour in the Egyptian reunion seminar of cultural sport yes for constitution	Sameh Ashour (B2)
3	قول نعم يزيد النعم	Saying Yes increases the bless	Pope Towadros (B3)

## 2.2 Procedures

### 2.2.1 Data collection

Firstly, the researcher listens to speeches of each constitutional campaign. Secondly, the researcher downloads the data from the YouTube. Then speeches are translated into English. The data is arranged alphabetically for the analysis. The study refers to the first campaign as A, and the second one is B. The data of the first constitutional campaign is arranged as such: (A1, A2, and A3) according to the alphabetical order of the speakers, and the same goes to the data of the second campaign (B1, B2 and B3).

### 2.3 Tools

#### 2.3.1 Van Dijk's ideological square:

van Dijk (2006) defines ideology as “primarily some kind of ‘ideas’, that is, belief systems” (p. 116). It involves the theory of ideology that contains cognitive components which explain the notions of belief and belief system through contemporary cognitive science. van Dijk (2000a) presents four principles of the analysis of ideology which he names “ideological square”:

- 1- [e]mphasize positive things about Us
- 2- Emphasize negative things about Them
- 3- De-emphasize negative things about Us
- 4- De-emphasize positive things about Them (p. 44).

van Dijk's ideological square provides polarization of in-groups versus out-groups to favorably present Us but Them unfavorably. van Dijk (2000a) suggests categories of ideological analysis as follows:

Actor description: It is related to how actors are described depending on our ideologies as in describing in-group as positive and out-group as negative.

- Authority: referring to authorities in order to support one's argument.
- Categorization: dividing people to different groups and attributing them positive or negative characteristics.

- Lexicalization: choosing specific lexical items for creating an overall ideological strategy for negative other presentation.
- Polarization: categorizing people in in-group and out-group and assigning good attributes to Us and bad attributes to Them.
- Vagueness: applying vague expressions which do not have definite referents.
- Victimization: highlighting the bad nature of out-group by telling horrible stories about them.

### **2.3.1.1 Positive-Self and Negative-Other Presentation**

van Dijk (1993) articulates that positive-self and negative-other presentation are two correlative strategies which focus on participants as social groups. He (1995) further assumes that these two strategies appear across the levels of discourse. He believes that

“[i]n group-outgroup distinction, differentiation and polarization, which by our definition of ideologies as basic self-group schemata of social cognition, are the central characteristic of all ideologies”. (van Dijk, 1995, p. 150)

This in-group-out-group polarization is usually marked in discourse by the possessive pronouns: we, us, them, our, and their, and the deixis: here and there. Nevertheless, van Dijk (1995) adds that

“[i]n group-outgroup polarization is of course not limited to pronominal references or their full non-phrase variants. Typical of such polarization is ingroup favouring and outgroup derogation, positive self-presentation and the association of 'our' group with all good things and 'their' group with all bad things.” (p. 151). On the other extreme of the scale, there is negative other-presentation which describes the other (out-groups) using negative traits (van Dijk, 1992).

### **2.3.2 Topoi**

According to Zagar (2010), Topos is considered to be a long-established method which is anciently rooted to Aristotle's classical



argumentation theory. It is not only applied to philosophy, however, it is employed through other fields, like linguistics, sociology and everyday conversation. Literally, as stated in Oxford dictionary (2017), topos is defined as classical argument in literature.

Recently, Wodak (2001) introduces a list of topoi which is elaborated in the table below:

**Table (3)** a list of topoi adapted from (Wodak, 2001, p.74-77)

No.	Type of Topoi	Formula of Condition	Example
1	Advantage/ Usefulness includes (Advantage of all, us, and them)	If an action under a specific relevant point of view will be useful, then one should do it.	The usefulness of guest workers for a national economy
2	Disadvantage/ Uselessness	If one expects the consequences of a decision will not happen, the decision should be refused. So, the existing rulings should be changed when they cannot assist in reaching the desired aims	If some rules are announced in a place but they do not lead to specific goals, those rules should be changed.
3	Definition/Name -interpretation	If an action or a person holds specific features which define a concept.	In Australia the term “guest workers” is referred to those who immigrate to only work there.
4	Danger/ Threat	If a political action carries dangerous consequences, one should not perform it.	This topos has several sub-types; one of them is topos of racism. For instance, if large numbers of immigrants go to a country, this country would impose some restrictions towards those refugees.
5	Humanitarianism	If a political action or decision conforms to human rights, one should perform it, if it doesn't conform, one should not perform it.	This topos is applied when arguments against discrimination or unequal treatment take place (whether those arguments relate to group, person, actions)

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No.	Type of Topoi	Formula of Condition	Example
6	Justice	It is about “equal rights of all”; it occurs when persons, actions, are corresponding, they behave in specific ways.	Workers should be treated equally regardless of their different nationalities.
7	Responsibility	This topos means if a person is responsible for some problems. She/he is the ones who should find a solution of it.	It maintains problems like: discrimination, or compensation.
8	Burdening	If a person is weighing down, one should react to reduce those problems.	Metaphorical phrase “the boat is full” is referred to legal restrictions of immigration.
9	Finances	It means if a particular action requires large amount of money, one should act to reduce this cost.	When Former Governor of Australia attacks the accommodation of refugees for the sake of tourism’s loss and economic consequences which are the result of that accommodation.
10	Reality	There are some actions should be done according to occurrence of some realities.	The law should be changed to adapt the progress of social, political, and economic realities.
11	Numbers	A specific action should be performed according to particular topos to numbers.	When a specific party ask for the rights to vote for foreigners who have possessions in a city.
12	Law/right	When a law classifies a particular politico-administrative action, this action should be done.	For example, elimination of some residents according to particular political rights.
13	History	It means one should act in a specific way as a result of particular consequences in the past.	When two leaders’ actions are compared to each other according to their past actions.
14	Culture	It means appearance of specific problems due to a particular culture of some people.	For instance, this topos is applied by the leader of the Freedom Party with another topos which is danger since he wants to maintain Asturlians’

No.	Type of Topoi	Formula of Condition	Example
15	Abuse	It expresses the misuse of specific right or offer. So, this right should be exchanged.	right of their land. For example, the politicians use this kind of topos to argue about a specific topic (e.g. asylum policy)

Wodak (2001) applies topoi as argumentation strategy while van Dijk (2000) uses topoi to represent ideology. The researcher applies Wodak's classification of topoi and modifies its model in order to show how the representatives of each campaign address their audience.

### 2.3.3 Van Dijk's argumentative moves

According to van Dijk (2000), there are many tools that reflect ideology as below:

#### Examples and illustration

Examples are considered as an effective tool for proving an argument. Arguers use examples and illustration to strengthen their viewpoints. Stories, authority names and institutions are used by arguers to illustrate evidence for their viewpoints.

#### Evidentiality

The speakers usually use proofs or evidences to illustrate their beliefs. There are various types of evidences use in different sciences like social sciences, natural sciences or humanities.

#### Comparison

Comparison occurs when in-groups and out-groups are compared together. It happens when one group is positively characterized and another group is negatively compared.

#### Categorization

People like categorizing others.

### **Generalization**

According to some debates, it occurs when actions are generalized.

#### **2.3.2 Fallacy**

Van Emeren et al. (2002) state that there are ten rules of discussion which occur difference of opinion. When violation of these discussion moves is occurred, fallacies take place.

**Rule 1: “Parties Must Not Prevent Each Other From Putting Forward Standpoints or Casting Doubt on Standpoints”** (van Emeren et al., 2002, p.110)

This rule means that parties should make space for some standpoints and arguments. This rule can be violated through putting limits on the arguments or standpoints. This is achieved through stating that some standpoints are unquestionable. Putting party’s freedom under pressure is one way of preventing its standpoint. Any attempt of threatening other party’s freedom of presenting his standpoint is called fallacy of stick. It could be directly or indirectly expressed. (van Emeren et al., 2002)

Another way of putting pressure on other party’s freedom is playing on other party’s emotions. This is called appeal to pity. Moreover, there is fallacy of the abusive variant. It happens when a direct personal attack occurs to the other party. However, when it is indirect personal attack, it is called circumstantial variant. Finally, when there is a contradiction between what people say and what they do. A fallacy called you also variant takes place. (van Emeren et al., 2002)

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**Rule 2: “A Party Who Puts Forward a Standpoint Is Obligated to Defend It if Asked to Do So” ( van Emeren et al.,2002, p.113)**

In other words, the speaker who has a standpoint should express it and act as an antagonist for this standpoint. This rule is violated when the speaker escapes the obligation to defend his standpoint. This is achieved by the fallacy of shifting the burden of proof. One party has the right to defend the standpoint. Those who criticize a standpoint couldn't stand any burden of proof.

**Rule 3: “A Party’s Attack on a Standpoint Must Relate to the Standpoint That Has Indeed Been Advanced by the Other Party” ( van Emeren et al.,2002, p.116)**

This rule is violated by changing the standpoint which is different from the addressed one by the protagonist through

- 1) Fallacy of strawman: It occurs when parties misrepresent other parties' standpoint either by attacking it easily or by referring to a group which is linked to a factious standpoint.
- 2) Oversimplifications or exaggerations: when a standpoint is oversimplified or exaggerated, it is easily attacked.

**Rule 4: “A Party May Defend His or Her Standpoint Only by Advancing Argumentation Related to That Standpoint.” (van Emeren et al., 2002, p. 119)**

This rule is violated by:

- 1 Pathetic fallacy: The speaker plays on the emotions of his audience.
- 2 Ethical fallacy of abuse authority: when the speaker falsely pretends having expertise.

**Rule 5: “A Party May Not Falsely Present Something as a Premise That Has Been Left Unexpressed by the Other Party or Deny a Premise That He or She Has Left Implicit” (van Emeren et al., 2002, p. 121)**

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This rule is violated by:

1. Fallacy of magnifying an unexpressed: It happens when the speaker adds unexpressed premise.
2. Denying an unexpressed premise: It occurs when the speaker neglects an unexpressed premise.

**Rule 6: “No Party May Falsely Present a Premise as an Accepted Starting Point, or Deny a Premise Representing an Accepted Starting Point” (van Emeren et al., 2002, p. 128)**

This rule is violated by:

1. Fallacy of many questions: the speaker presents a premise in the form of questions.
2. Circular reasoning: when the speaker does not express a premise which looks like the standpoint.

**Rule 7: “A Standpoint May Not Be Regarded as Conclusively Defended if the Defense Does Not Take Place by Means of an Appropriate Argument Scheme That Is Correctly Applied” ( van Emeren et al., 2002, p.130).**

It means an argument is acceptable by both parties, when it is applied for protagonist’s defense. This rule is violated by

1 The populist fallacy: This fallacy is similar to van Dijk’s argumentative move “populism”. It means a standpoint is accepted because many people agree with it.

2. A fallacy of abuse of authority: when someone or a written source says a proposition is accepted, it should be so since they are presented as authority.

3. A fallacy of hasty generalization: The argument is based on the evidence of few observations. This fallacy is similar to van Dijk’s argumentative move “generalization”.

4. A fallacy of false analogy: when two things can't be compared together, fallacy of false analogy occurs. Two things should have some requirements like being comparable.

5. A fallacy of the slippery slope: This argument happens when things go from bad to worse.

**Rule 8: “The Reasoning in the Argumentation Must Be Logically Valid or Must Be Capable of Being Made Valid by Making Explicit One or More Unexpressed Premises” ( van Emeren et al., 2002, p.132).**

This is violated by

1. Fallacy of division: The speaker connects the whole argument to the component parts.
2. Fallacy of composition: The speaker connects the components part to the whole argument.

**Rule 9: “A Failed Defense of a Standpoint Must Result in the Protagonist Retracting the Standpoint, and a Successful Defense of a Standpoint Must Result in the Antagonist Retracting His or Her Doubts” ( van Emeren et al., 2002, p.134)**

This fallacy is violated by the fallacy of refusing to retract a standpoint that has not been successfully defended. This fallacy occurs when the speaker does not manage to fend his standpoint and give up on it.

**Rule 10: “Parties Must Not Use Any Formulations That Are Insufficiently Clear or Confusingly Ambiguous, and They Must Interpret the Formulations of the Other Party as Carefully and Accurately as Possible.” ( van Emeren et al., 2002, p. 136)**

This fallacy is violated by the fallacy of ambiguity: it occurs when the speaker uses unclear language to improve his argument.

### **3 Literature review**

#### **3.1 Critical Discourse Analysis: Overview and definition**

The term CDA is broadly defined by various linguists. Kress (1990) points out that CDA as a field of study no longer focuses on the linguistic perspective in study to include the broader political and social spheres. This transformation is achieved by uncovering inequality structures. Thus, CDA not only aims at producing an analysis, to uncover domination structures, but it also sheds light on the changing effect of the composed power in social and political organizations. In other words, according to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA highlights “the substantively linguistic and discursive nature of social relations of power” (p.272) and how these relations are used and explained in discourse. Moreover, van Dijk (2001) believes that CDA is a form of discourse which mainly investigates how social power, dominance and inequality are produced and maintained in the social and political context. With such investigation, analysts need to perceive and bring light to how social inequality is formed and eventually resisted.

CDA’s roots go back to the term Critical Linguistics (CL). According to Fowler et al. (1979), CL is recognized as one of the most crucial approaches which carry linguistic directions to discourse analysis. Kress (1990) describes CL as “quite self-consciously adapted” (p. 88) and a symbol that emerged by a group of scholars at the University of East Anglia in the 1970’s. Fowler (1991) clarifies that CL is a kind of analysis in which signs, meanings, and the social and historical conditions are connected together in order to carry out the semiotic structure of the discourse.

#### **3.2 Rhetoric and Persuasion in Language**

According to Rapp (2010), rhetoric is described as the talent of what is regarded as persuasive in every situation. A rhetorician’s situation looks like a physician’s; the latter can be successful in



curing his patient unless he ignores nothing which helps him to do so. The same applies to rhetoricians who cannot persuade people in all situations. Thus, if he has total knowledge of his way, he would be able to convince his audience by knowing the appropriate mean of persuasion.

Similarly, Charteris-Black (2011) characterizes rhetoric into various means of persuasion to others. This term is applied when people are interested in targeting how persuasion is tackled. It is related to the means the speaker employs in order to convince his audience. The art of rhetoric, in modern times, has its origin in Greece although it has some characteristics in common with rhetoric in non-Western society.

Persuasion is defined as the “act of conversion ... convincing others, changing their views, shifting their ideal points along the imagined line” (Diamond & Cobb, 1999, p. 225). Poggi (2005) finds that persuasion aims at controlling people’s minds and directing them to accept certain beliefs for the sake of the persuader’s maximum benefit. Moreover, Charteris-Black (2011) states that persuasion occurs when one group of people uses language to convince another group to agree on a specific point of view. He declares that persuasion embraces the presence of an earlier intention of one participant before this participant influences other participants which is considered as audiences.

### 3.3 Approach

#### 3.3.1 Discourse Historical approach (Wodak’s approach)

According to Reisigl and Wodak (2001), discourse historical approach (DHA) has at least two different types. The first revolves around the application of discourse analysis to the history of language. It refers to how forms, functions, and structures of discourse are studied through earlier periods of a language. Although the discourse analyst concentrates on historical stages of language, attention is directed to the discourse structure. The second approach focuses on applying discourse analysis to historical

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linguistics. It is concerned with the study of discourse-pragmatic factors in change of language. Here, the historical analyst stresses discourse matters, yet the focus remains on language change. Thus, this approach highlights specific changes and understanding of the diachronic processes of those changes (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001).

Wodak (2001) declares that DHA's analytical approach has three components: content, discursive strategies, and linguistic means of realization. According to Reisigl & Wodak (2001), content is the first component which relates specific topics of certain discourse (i.e. political discourse). The discursive strategies are the second components. Reisigl & Wodak (2001) state that the term strategy refers to "a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (p. 59). Thus, discursive strategies are interested in systemic ways of language use which can be determined through different levels of linguistic complexity (Reisigl & Wodak, 2001). Linguistic means of realization are the third component. They are related to specific lexical terms and specific topics (Wodak, 2001).

According to Reisigl & Wodak (2001), the first strategy is referential; it is used to represent the social actors (in-groups or out-groups). This is linguistically realized in the use of some tools like metaphors, metonymies, deixis, and terms of reference. The second strategy is called predication which shows how social actors are either positively or negatively represented. It is linguistically achieved by using negative or positive predicates. The third one is argumentation strategy which the study focuses on. Argumentation strategies are applied to reflect how positive and negative attributions are legitimized. For example, they can advocate that social and political inclusion of policies and persons is justifiable. This is achieved by "Topoi" that are defined by Richardson (2004) "as reservoirs of generalised key ideas from which specific

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statements or arguments can be generated.” (p. 230). They are also defined by Kienpointner (1992) cited in ( Zagar 2010) as

“[P]arts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. They are the content-related warrants or ‘conclusion rules’ which connect the argument or arguments with the conclusion, the claim. As such, they justify the transition from the argument or arguments to the conclusion”. (p.194)

Topoi are large amount of argumentations which relate the arguments in a specific way in order to produce a result. According to Zagar (2010), topos is known as one of the widely applied concepts whose roots originate from argumentation theory. Rubinelli (2009) declares that the progress of the formal logic is one of the most lasting subjective legacies of the ancient world. Aristotle’ system of logic forms a technique which properly determines whether arguments, which have an influence on the intellectual field till 19<sup>th</sup> century, are genuine or not. Currently, its restraints are acknowledged, as well as, additional systems, of formal logical analysis, are established. Thus, according to (Oxford Uni. Press, 2003), Aristotle emphasizes that topos is about doing things; generally, topos is related to exploring, examining, rejecting, presenting, contributing, and producing as well. However, Aristotle misses the role of the answerer. For example, the statement “what is being investigated is what he has given” .This statement illustrates an action of examining the opponent’s reply for a point of weakness. If this point is observed, the topos will produce direction where an attack is increased on it. Hence, a topos is a point where the answerer’s view point is tested for attack.

Furthermore, an argument form exists at the basis of topos, which follows either an abstract or a simplified statement of a conclusion form. Nevertheless, this form does not represent the topos, but, its use is inserted through processes, which is considered

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as an item of the dialectical method, which Aristotle creates. (Oxford Uni. Press, 2003)

Moreover, according to Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca (1971), Aristotle investigates every type of *topoi* (i.e. *loci*) which presents hypothesis for either rhetorical or dialectical arguments. According to his own perspective which is demonstrated through his philosophy, Aristotle divides *topoi* (i.e. *loci*) into five categories: definition, sameness, property, species and accident.

Perelman separately neglects Aristotle's classification distinguishing *topoi* according to those arguments, which have general nature, that are applied as rules for values. This type of *loci* is considered, according to Aristotle's classification, as *topoi* of accident. Consequently, Perelman and Olbrechts-Tyteca declare that all types of audiences should take *loci* into their consideration. So, they classify *loci* into familiar headings: *loci* of quantity, quality, order, the existing essence, and the person. (Perelman & Olbrechts-Tyteca, 1971).

The fourth type of discursive strategies is perspectivation and framing. Resigil & Wodak (2001) state they show how speakers express their viewpoint in the discourse by describing, mentioning, and narrating events or utterances. The fifth type is mitigation and intensification strategies which are concerned with speakers' degree of certainty and hearers' persuasive impact.

### **4. Analysis**

#### **4.1 First Constitutional campaign**

##### **4.1.1 Positive-self presentation**

Various types of *topoi*, like *topos* of stability, *topos* of advantages, *topos* of religion and *topos* of definition are used by the representatives of the first constitutional campaign as below. The most used *topos* is the *topos* of advantages in order to attract audience's minds to vote for the constitution. The examples are underlined.

Topos stability of	Topos advantages of	Topos religion of	Topos definition of
4	5	1	4

• **Topos of stability**

The following examples represent the topoi of stability (not found in Wodek's model) as the following:

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A1	الإستقرار اللي هو نعم ودفع الفوضى	Stability is in the Yes which drives mess away and allows no more mess
2	A1	نعم بت في الموضوع واستقرار... استعجال الإستقرار	Yes! The dice is cast for stability. Hurry up for stability!
3	A1	الرجل يرجح التصويت بنعم عملاً لإستعجال الإستقرار	he will vote for Yes for the sake of stability
4	A2	نعم للإستقرار	Yes for stability

In the above examples, the speakers (A1 & A2) believe that agreeing on the constitution achieves stability which Egypt needs during that critical time after 25<sup>th</sup> revolution. Thus, the speakers address the folk telling them that they should vote for that constitution in order to put an end for chaos in all the country's sectors. The announcement of constitution is still needed. It is an essential step for creating Egypt's stability (examples from 1 to 5).

• **Topos of advantages**

As it is defined in the previous chapter, topos of advantages is related to the concept of doing actions, when they are useful or have some advantages. The following examples show how voting for the constitution would be useful for Egypt.

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No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	أما نعم فهي إنطلاق للأمام فهي موافقة على مجموعة مكاسب كسبها الشعب المصرى فى هذا الدستور الجديد	As for yes, <u>it is going forward</u> ; it brings benefits to the Egyptian people in this new constitution.
2	A2	كلمة نعم مكاسبها مكاسب كبيرة جدا	<u>If we voted Yes, we will have many benefits</u>
3	A3	نعم لبداية الإنطلاق لبناء مؤسسات الدولة	<u>Vote yes for building the state's institutions</u>
4	A3	نعم لضبط الصلاحيات لكل مؤسسات الدولة	<u>Vote Yes for putting all the state's institutions in order</u>
5	A3	نعم للإستمرار إلى الأمام	<u>Vote Yes for advancement</u>

The speakers mention the advantages of the constitution for their audience. The speakers (A2& A3) clarify that saying yes is a starting point for a bright future through having some benefits which are the result of this constitution. Voting for this constitution means building state's institutions. It is a good start for releasing and reconstructing various sectors of the country (examples 1, 2 & 3).

The speaker (A3) believes that saying yes for the constitution means saying yes for the rules which control competence in country's institutions, and prevent each one of them from running over limits of the other. And, saying yes for advancement of the country (examples 4& 5).

• **Topos of religion**

The following examples illustrate how topos of religion is used as below:

## Doaa Mohamed Abd El-Kader

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	اللى هيقول نعم هياخد أجر و ثواب و الاجر و الثواب بنخش بيه الجنة	Those who would say yes will be rewarded, which enables us to go to Paradise.

The speaker (A5) uses topoi of religion( not found in Wodek's model) to positively link between the idea of voting yes and religious opinion through highlighting the idea of rewards and sins; by claiming that for saying yes one would be rewarded, enabling them to enter paradise (example 1).

### Topoi of definition

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A1	ترى القائمين عليه يغلب عليهم وصف الدين	the people who worked on it can be mostly described as religious.
2	A1	وترى عدداً وفيراً من الملتزمين بالسنن وتراهم يقطعون ما هو فيه لينزلوا للصلاة ويعظموا أمر الله	You will see a large number of those who are committed to ordinances that they would interrupt wherever they are doing to pray and worship Allah.
3	A2	أما نحن أهل الديانة أهل الدين العباد عباد الله الموحدون	we -people of religion who believe in Allah-
4	A3	كلمة نعم للدستور دى فتوى مش حكم	Saying Yes for the constitution is a religious opinion not a personal opinion.

In the previous examples, topos of definition is applied. In examples (1&2), the speaker uses the topos to positively present those who write the constitution as religious people who are committed to ordinances. People who always pray and worship Allah. In example (3), the speaker positively defines himself and his audience as people of religion. Those who believe in Allah. Finally, in example (4), the speaker defines voting yes for constitution as a religious opinion which people should follow.

In conclusion, various types of topoi are used by the representatives of the first constitutional campaign in order to

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persuade their audience to their point of views. This point of view would lead to a specific result, the progress of Egypt. Topoi are applied here as a kind of argumentation strategies.

**Van Dijk's argumentative moves:**

As the table below, examples and illustrations, and conclusion are the most used.

Examples and Illustrations	Comparison	Conclusion
2	1	2

**Examples and Illustrations**

Here are some examples which illustrate how the speakers use examples and illustrations as below:

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	<u>دفع شر الشرين</u> : فى شر هيحصل لو يعنى أنا بقول مثلا لو أنا روحت وقلت للدستور ده لأ مثلا مقابل إنه هيطبق شرع الله وإن وإن وإن .. والله العظيم أروح لكن البديل لأن فى شر أكثر شر أكثر هنقعد شهور تانى عقبال ما يجيبوا يا ترى بقى اللى هيعدوا هعكونوا زى اللى فاتوا ولا لأ وست شهور دول مفيش أى تقدم فى البلد مصيبة يا ناس	First: Protection from the Worst Evil: Will an evil deed occur if I voted No on this constitution? Will we follow the Islamic jurisprudence if we voted No? I swear by God I would have voted No, but what is the alternative? There is more evil than voting Yes on the constitution. We will spend more months till we find an alternative. Will the new members be better than the current ones? We spent 6 months without witnessing any progress in this country.
2		أنا قرئته كويس الحقيقة يعنى	I read it carefully. We can



No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
		المادة الثانية والمادة ٢١٩ جميلة والأجمل منها ٢١٧ إن إحنا نقدر نغير فيه بعد كده	make amendments to articles #2, 217, and 219 later on.

In example 1, the speaker uses examples and illustration to strengthen his argument about voting for the constitution. He warns his audience of the negative consequences of voting against the revolution. He claims that the alternative is no progress will take place in the country for six months till a new constitution is fully prepared and written. In example 2, the speaker illustrates that some amendments could be made for the constitution after applying it. He mentions some examples like articles 2, 217 and 219.

### Comparison

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	إنت هتقول لأ عقيدة؟! التانيين بيقولوا لأ ليه؟ بيقولوا لأ ليه إنت بتقول لأ و تيجى لجنة تأسيسية ثانية و تحط دستور تانى هما بيقولوا لأ برضه نفس الشيء يقولوا لجنة تأسيسية ثانية ثانية أسوأ من اللى فانت و تضع دستور أسوء من اللى أنت شايفه دة ، دة أملهم هو اعتراضهم عشان كده بيقولوا لأ عايزين لجنة تمثل كل طوائف الشعب و لجنة تضع حرية المرأة	You should wonder why you are voting No like the rest. Is it because it is against your faith? Why are other people going to vote No? Are you going to vote No so that we form another committee and draft another constitution? Those will vote No would call for another constitutional committee and constitution which would be worse than what we have now. This is the only option we have.

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No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
			They object because they want a committee which represents all the sects of people and a committee which guarantees freedom of women.

The speaker compares between saying no by one of his audience and saying yes by others. He illustrates that if one of his audience rejects the constitution, it would be out of religion and faith. However, if others say no for the constitution, this would be because they reject the members of writing constitution committee.

**Conclusion**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A2	هنقول نعم وهيبقى عندنا دستور الحمد لله وهنعدله وبعد كده مجلس شعب ومؤسسات	People would vote Yes, and we will have our constitution. And we will amend it and have our Parliament and institutions.
2	A3	لو كان عندنا دستور أيوه هنعمل مجلس شعب بعده على طول الله بعد كده عندنا مجلس الشورى طب خلاص عندنا رئيس منتخب ومجلس شعب ومجلس الشورى ودستور	We will have a constitution followed by a Parliament and Advisory Council then a president. So, we have all these things.

In examples (1 &2), the speakers mention the conclusions of voting for the constitution. When there was a constitution, there would be a parliament, institutions, advisory council and finally a president.

### Fallacy

The fallacy of abuse variant and pathetic fallacy are frequently used as the table below shows:

Fallacy of false analogy	Fallacy of abuse variant	Fallacy of you also variant	Pathetic fallacy	Fallacy of composition
1	3	2	3	1

### 1 Fallacy of false analogy

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	أنا هافرض باكل طبق رز وأطلع شوية دنابه كده برميهم وخلص	Imagine yourself eating rice, and every now and then you find rice hay. What would you do? You would put the hay aside.

The speaker, in example (1), uses the fallacy of false analogy to present the constitution. He imagined the constitution as a rice plat, and constitution flaws like the hay inside it. So, the hay only should be put aside and rice should be eaten. The same goes to voting for the constitution, if audience should vote for the constitution even if it contains some flaws.

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**2 Fallacy of abusive variant**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
١	A2	لأنكوا هتساعدوا الكفار هتساعدوا المجرمين اللي عايزين خراب مصر هتساعدوهم بإنكوا متروحوش متجمعين كلهم الكنيسة والعلمانيين والليبراليين والمأجورين والأمتنيلين كله متجمع على أنهم عايزين يسقطوا الدستور ده علشان يعطلوا مصر ويوقعوا مصر	You are going to allow the unbelievers and criminals who want to destroy Egypt to achieve their target when you do not vote. The Church, the secularists, the liberalists, the mercenries, and the like are all gathered now to make this constitution fail so that they impede the progress of Egypt.
٢	A1	لو أن الناس صاروا فريقين وصار أحد الفريقين إتباع القسيس الجديد الذين هم عباد الصليب وصار في صفهم الملحدون والفاسقون وأهل المعاصي أجمعون ،فليس يتصور أن يختار أحد صف أولاء الكفار والفاسقين والماجنين	If people were divided into two teams, one of them would follow the new minister who worships the cross. This team includes atheists, and wicked and disobedient people, so it is not expected that a person would pick the team of atheists, and wicked and disobedient people
٣	A1	قولوا ما تقولون ، أصنعوا دستوراً وغيروه في أى وقت شئتم، إفعلوا ما تقدرن عليه ،أننا في قبضه الله ،لا في قبضتكم ،إننا بشرع الله لا بقوانينكم لا ولا دساتيركم	Say whatever you want to say! Make a constitution or change it any time whenever you want! Do whatever you can do! We are in the hands of Allah not people. We are in Allah's legitimacy not your constitution nor your laws

In the previous examples, speakers use fallacy of abusive variant to directly attack the other party those who has different opinion. In example (1), the speaker warns his audience not to be with those who want to ruin Egypt by achieving their target through rejecting the constitution. In example (2), the speaker describes the status of voters. If people are divided into two teams, one of them who worship the cross (describing the Christians) so he warns his audience not to be with them. Here, the speaker uses the religion to directly attack the other party who vote against the constitution. In example (3), the speaker declares that he and his audience are protected through Allah's hand, not through other's laws or constitution since they are religious people.

### 3-Fallacy of you also variant

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A1	ما اشتمل عليه هذا الدستور من المنكرات فأنت مُنكر لها بقلبك وأنت غير موافق عليها	What is included in this constitution is very far from wrongdoings which are what your heart rejects
٢	A2	عباد الله الموحدون فلا يحكمهم دستور فيه شرك و فيه كفر بل يعد طاغوت هذا هو حاله و دة حكم غير حكم نعم و لا ، نعم و لا بقى نحن نقول أن هذا الدستور على رغم ما فيه من كفر و إلحاد و مخالفة للشرع فى كل مواده بلا استثناء لا أرضى منه مادة واحدة و لكن أقول نعم أنا بقول نعم و بقولوكوا قولوا نعم	We -people of religion who believe in Allah-cannot be ruled by a constitution of disbelief and injustice. As for the vote with Yes or No, it is important to say that all the articles alike of this constitution are full of disbelief and atheism. I do not approve it at all; I do not accept one single article in it. However, I vote Yes. I even urge you to vote Yes

In the previous examples, fallacy of you also variant takes place. In example (1), the speaker declares that the constitution has some wrongdoings which his audience should neglect while voting for the

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constitution. In example (2), the speaker states that he could not accept any article of this constitution since all of articles are full of disbelief. However, he advises his audience to vote for the constitution. Here, in the previous examples, there is contradiction between what is said and what is done.

**4- Pathetic fallacy**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A2	بقول لا تتوروا على الدين لا تتوروا على الأخلاق لا تتوروا على المبادئ لا تتوروا على الأصول	I said it out loud; do not revolt against religion, ethics, values, and traditions.
2	A1	فنحن نحى في الدنيا لا حاجة لنا إلا ذلك أن نقوم وأن نصلى وأن نبكى لله تعالى وليس هناك شئ آخر	We live our life to pray and worship Allah nothing else.
3	A3	إنك بتساعد الفلول إنك ضد الثورة إنك مع العلمانيين إنك مع الصليبيين إنك مع بس إنك مش كافر لأ وخلي بالك من دى خلى بالك	If you are helping the remnants, you are against the Revolution and with the secularists, crusaders, and disbelievers. You are not a disbeliever, but you are siding with disbelievers. Watch out!

Pathetic fallacy occurs in the previous examples. In example (1), the speaker warns his audience not to revolt against religion, ethics or values. In example (2), the speaker states that he and his audience need nothing in their life but praying and worshiping Allah. In example (3), the speaker warns his audience that when they reject the constitution, they might be with disbelievers and crusaders but they themselves are not disbelievers. So, they should vote for the constitution.

### 5-Fallacy of composition

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1		التأسيسيين اللي أسسوا الدستور اللجنة التأسيسية ترى الموجودات ليس منهن واحدة كاشفة شعرها ليس فيهن واحدة كاشفة شعرها وترى عدداً وفيراً من الملتزمين بالسنن وتراهم يقطعون ما هو فيه لينزلوا للصلاة	The constitutionalists who founded the constitutional committee. All the women here are veiled. You will see a large number of those who are committed to ordinances that they would interrupt whatever they are doing to pray and worship Allah.

The speaker uses this fallacy to describe the forming committee of writing the constitution. He states that all women, who are part of this forming committee, are veiled. There are many members who are committed to religious rules.

#### 4.1.2 Negative other presentation

##### Topoi

Topos of threat is frequently used through the table below

Topos of threat	Topos of religion
8	1

Topos of threat is frequently used. Topoi of threat and religion are represented through the below underlined examples:

##### • Topoi of threat

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	<u>لو قلنا لا ومتعلمش دستور يبقى البلد خراب يا ناس والبلد وقفة البلد وقفة في بلد تمشي من غير دستور</u>	<u>When we say no, and there will be no constitution. So, the country will be destroyed. It will be paralyzed. No country can progress without constitution!</u>
2	A3	<u>لو قلت لا للأسف والله العظيم هتبقى البديل صعب جدا جدا</u>	<u>If you say no, unfortunately, the alternative is very difficult</u>
3	A3	<u>لو أنا روحت وقلت للدستور ده لا مثلاً مقابل إنه هيطبق شرع الله وإن وإن .. والله العظيم أروح لكن البديل لأن في</u>	<u>Will an evil deed occur if I voted No on this constitution? Will we follow the Islamic jurisprudence if</u>

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No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
		<u>شر أكثر شر أكثر هنقعد شهر تانى</u> <u>عقبال ما يجيبوا يا ترى بقى اللي هيعدوا</u> <u>هيكونوا زى اللي فاتوا ولا لأ والست</u> <u>شهور دول مفيش أى تقدم فى البلد مصيبة</u> يا ناس	we voted No? I swear by God I would have voted No, but The alternative is more evil than voting Yes on the constitution. We will spend more months till we find an alternative. Will the new members be better than the current ones? We spent 6 months without witnessing any progress in this country. This is a disaster, people.
4	A3	<u>أعتبرت الدستور ده ضرر بأنك مقتولش</u> <u>عليه نعم ، لأ ، ده أنت تقول عليه نعم ليه</u> <u>! عشان الضرر اللي هيجى أكثر منه</u> <u>ميجيش</u>	<u>If we considered the constitution an evil, would a vote with No end it? No, you should ask me why I should vote by Yes. You should vote Yes because the evil resulting from saying No is more than what is expected.</u>
5	A3	<u>ممكن يجي دستور تانى نصلح به و ممكن</u> <u>يجي دستور أفسد منه</u>	We can draft another constitution to amend this one, there might be another bad constitution.
6	A3	<u>وخلى البلد من غير مؤسسات الناس</u> <u>هتهيج بقى عابزين ناكل . هتطلع ثورة</u> <u>الجياع</u>	Hunger will make people revolt if the state remains without institutions. The coming revolution is that of the hunger
7	A1	<u>لو لم يتم الموافقة ع الدستور سيتم عمل</u> <u>لجنة تأسيسية أخرى وبعدين اللجنة تحتمل</u> <u>معارضة آخرين وإلى أن تنتهى هذه</u> <u>اللجنة من عملها تظل أمور الأمن غير</u> <u>مكتملة</u>	<u>One result is that if the constitution was not approved, another constitutional committee will be formed which be rejected by others. Up till this committee completes its task, security issues will not be resolved</u>
8	A1	<u>فالتصويت بلا سيطيل المدة من جديد</u> <u>وينشئ تأسيسية جديدة وبعض الناس</u> <u>يختلفون عليها</u>	<u>Voting No will lengthen the instability period and make us choose a new constitutionalist group. Some people will disagree on the new group</u>

The speakers use the topoi of threat to warn his audience about the consequences of rejecting the constitution. In example 1 and 2, the speaker threatens the audience and points out that



dissolving various institutions in the country; revolution of hungry people, and paralyzing the whole country would take place. In addition, the instability period would be extended and a whole status of disturbance would spread all over the country. All of those consequences finally cause exhaustion of the Egyptian society.

In examples (3, 4 and 5), the speaker states no progress or stability would take place in Egypt. Through a positive way, the speaker believes that voting for this constitution would prevent more harm that could happen during those days. He adds that voting against the constitution may lead to bringing another constitution which would be worse than the current one as well as having a revolution of hungry people since it affects people's income so, they would not find money to buy their daily needs of food and drink.

In example 6, the speakers mention that voting against the constitution would cause a status of chaos and instability in the country's institutions, which can be considered as a hidden agenda of those who want to destroy Egypt. In examples 7 &8, a horrible result would happen which is the absence of security and safety in Egypt. In example 9, saying no means offering the country to people who have unknown directions, that would destroy it .

• **Topoi of religion**

The speaker uses the topoi of religion which are related to religious rules ( not found in Wodek's model) as the table below:

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	A3	بقول للمسلمين بلاش تبقوا مع أعداء الدين فى خندق واحد	Muslims don't be with the enemies of the religion in a single trench

In example 1, the speaker (A3) warns the Muslims not to be in the same trench with the enemies of Islam. To sum up, the representatives of first constitutional campaigns use topoi of threat and religion to negatively present the bad consequences of rejecting the constitution. Topoi of threat are presented to relate the idea of rejecting constitution to the bad consequences which can happen in

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Egypt. Topoi of religion are presented to illustrate how rejecting the constitution can negatively affect the audience.

## 4.2 Second Constitutional Campaign

### 4.2.1 Positive-self presentation

#### 4.2.1.1 Argumentation strategies (topoi)

Topos of Advantages	Topos of patriotism
4	3

According to the previous table, topos of advantages is frequently used.

- **Topoi of advantages**

As defined in the previous chapter, topos of advantages is related to the usefulness of specific actions. They should be carried by people because of its benefits. So, the following examples clarify how voting for constitution would be useful for Egyptians.

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	B3	نعم للدستور تعطى بركات و نعم كثيرة	“Yes” to the constitution gives many blessings and benefits
2	B1	صوت نعم يؤهل التقدم العلمى والتكنولوجى فى مصر	Vote by saying “yes” to generate technological and scientific progress in Egypt.
3	B1	صوت نعم يؤهل عزة مصر ورفعتها	Vote by saying “yes” to ensure Egypt’s glory and progress
4	B1	صوت نعم يؤهل الأمن والإستقرار فى مصر	Vote by saying “yes” to bring safety and stability in Egypt

The speakers deliver their viewpoint in order to persuade their audiences through the use of topoi of advantages. It increases the blessings and brings more mercies from Allah (example 1). Voting yes is considered as a heroic chance for achieving technological and scientific progress in Egypt which is an essential step for Egypt’s whole development (example 2). Agreement on constitution provides Egypt’s glory as it brings all the mentioned advantages for all Egyptians (example 3). Voting yes brings safety and stability (example 4).

• **Topos of patriotism**

This type of topos is not found in Wodek's model

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	B2	هذا الدستور يحمل برنامجاً وطنياً هو البرنامج الوطني القادم لن يكون لأى مرشح للرئاسة أو للبرلمان أو الحكومة برنامجاً بخلاف الدستور	This constitution is, in fact, a patriotic programme, our forthcoming patriotic programme. It is not specific for any presidential, parliamentary, or governmental candidate. It is a national programme where all the leaders will be committed to in the coming period
2	B2	الدستور هو البرنامج الوطني الذى سوف يلتزم به كل القادة	Constitution is the <u>patriotic programme</u> which all leaders will be committed to.
3	B2	عندما نصوت على الدستور إنما نصوت على البرنامج الوطني للمرحلة القادمة	When we vote for the constitution, we vote for <u>the patriotic program</u> for the next stage

The speaker (B2) uses the topos of patriotism in order to define the constitution (examples 1&2). He affirms that when the audience votes for the constitution, they agree on a patriotic program which is essential for the next stage of country's progress (example 3). To sum up; the representatives of the second constitutional campaign use the topoi of advantages and patriotism in order to highlight their viewpoint.

**Van Dijk's argumentative moves:**

Generalization	Comparison
2	1

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**Generalization:**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	B3	أنا أدعو جموع المصريين مسلمين ومسيحيين للمشاركة في هذا الاستفتاء	I am calling all the Egyptians - Muslims and Christians - to participate in this referendum
2	B3	أنا أشجع الجميع على المشاركة وممارسة هذا الحق الوطني وهذا الإلتزام الوطني بمشاركة إيجابي	I encourage everyone to participate and practice this patriotic right. This patriotic commitment is a positive participation.

The speaker, in examples (1&2), uses this argumentative move to generally invite all Egyptians to go and vote for the constitution

**Comparison**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	B3	الدستور دة عندما تقارنه بدساتير أخرى كثيرة صدرت على أرض مصر خلال ١٠٠ سنة الماضية نجده يتمتع بسمات كثيرة أكثرها حضورا مساحات الحرية التي يقدمها هذا الدستور	When this constitution is compared to many other constitutions which were released on the land of Egypt in the past one hundred years, we find that it is characterized by many features. The most significant ones are the freedom this constitution presents

The speaker, in example (1), compares between this constitution and the rest of constitutions which are formed during the ancient years.

**Fallacies:**

Appeal to authority	Appeal to wisdom	Fallacy of abusive variant
1	1	2

According to the previous table, fallacy of abusive variant is frequently used.

**1 Appeal to authority:**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	B3	وبعد مناقشات طويلة ومناقشات كلها مسنولة عن سلامة الوطن خرج إلينا دستور أو مشروع دستوري وقدمه السيد رئيس الجمهورية إلى الشعب لكي يستفتى عليه في أيام عملوه ١ يناير ٢٠١٤	And after deliberations to ensure the safety of the homeland resulted in the constitution or the constitution draft. Mr. President introduced it to the people to vote on its referendum on the days of 14 <sup>th</sup> and 15 <sup>th</sup> of January, 2014

The speaker, in example (1), declares that the president presents the constitution to the people. Mentioning the president, as kind of authority, makes the audience easily persuaded by the speaker's viewpoint.

**2. Appeal to wisdom**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
1	B3	في أمثال العرب عبارة جميلة بتقول كده "قول نعم بيزيد النعم"	The old sayings of Arabs include a beautiful statement: "Saying yes increases the bless"

The speaker uses this fallacy to attract people's attention. He uses the proverb which meaning saying yes for constitution will increase the bless. So, he directly orders his audience to vote for the constitution in order to have many blessings.

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**3.Fallacy of abusive variant**

No.	No. of data	Example	Translation
	B2	<p>أنا نريد أن نرد على أعداء الوطن الذين يهددون الوطن في الداخل و يُروعون المواطنين و يُهددونهم و يقومون بعمليات إرهابية هذا التنظيم الذي تخلفنا منه في ٣٠ يونيو لا بد أن نؤكد أننا قد خُلفنا إلى الأبد في ٥١ يناير الحالي بالتصويت بنعم سوف ينحصر هذا التنظيم و لن يعود مرة أخرى</p>	<p>There is also another perspective to consider when we vote. We want to answer back to the enemies who are threatening the nation from the inside and frightening the citizens by making terrorist operations. We got rid of this outfit on June 30<sup>th</sup>. We must stress that we got rid of them forever. We should vote by Yes in order to restrict this outfit so that it will not come again, no matter what the reasons are.</p>
	B2	<p>أيضاً سيكون في ردكم و استفتاءكم ٤١ و ٥١ يناير رداً على كل أعداء الوطن أعداء الوطن امريكا و إسرائيل و تركيا و قطر) سوف كون تصويتكم رداً على هؤلاء الأقزام الذين يريدون أن ينالوا من الأمة</p>	<p>Your vote on the referendum is a response to all the enemies of the nation: America, Israel, Turkey, and Qattar . Your vote is a response for those dwarfs who want to take advantage of this nation. We want to stress that Egypt is a national state that will not change because of America, Turkey, Israel, or Qattar.</p>

The speaker, in examples (1&2), directly attacks the last regime. He declares that saying yes for the constitution means rejecting

the last regime. Voting for the constitution is considered a strong response for those enemies who want to ruin Egypt.

### 5. Conclusion

In conclusion, in response to the first question, the representatives of the first constitutional campaign present themselves positively through the use of fallacies like fallacy of you also variant and fallacy of composition. They show themselves as religious people. The representatives of the second campaign present themselves through the use of van Dijk argumentative move generalization.

In response to the second question, the representatives of the first constitutional campaign successfully persuade their audience through the use of van Dijk's argumentation moves like Examples and illustrations to clarify the consequences of voting for the constitution. The use of comparison highlights the difference between those who would say yes for the constitution and those who reject it. The speakers use pathetic fallacy to strengthen audience's emotions by mentioning that the speakers' purpose is praying. They use the topos of threat to warn the audience about the consequences of saying no for the constitution. The representative of the second constitutional campaign use the fallacy of wisdom, appeal to authority, and the topos of advantages to persuade the audience to vote for the constitution. Topoi of advantages and stability are used to attract audience's attention. They know how to address various audiences through tackling many concepts like stability and attaching it to agreeing on the constitution. At that time, they were proved to be strong persuaders who combine all those essential concepts together in order to intentionally map their audience's minds. And, that mind mapping leads to changing of audience's thoughts and beliefs. So, they do specific political actions like voting of the constitution in a specific way according to that change of their beliefs based on speakers' intensions. Topos of stability is modified by the researcher.

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In response to the third question, the representatives of the first constitutional campaign use topoi in order to positively present the constitution. This achieved through connecting between the concept of voting for the constitution and other ones like the concept of religion. And, they use concepts of religion and threat in order to negatively present others. The researcher finds new types of topoi like topoi of religion.

In response to the fourth question, the representatives of the second constitutional campaign present the concept of patriotism through the use of topoi. Before 30<sup>th</sup> June revolution has happened, Egyptians start to suffer economically. In addition, some sectors like tourism, real estate and construction industries are negatively affected by that kind of instability which took place during that time. So, Egyptians returned back protesting at Tahrir square and many other squares to ask the previous president Mohamed Morsi to step down. They were supported by the Military council. The representatives of second constitutional campaign, like the rest of Egyptians dream of a better state of living. And, an improvement of country's various sectors is clearly observed which leads to Egypt's development. Thus, the topoi of advantages and patriotism are applied to illustrate the reasons of saying yes for the constitution. The researcher finds topoi of patriotism which is not included in Wodek's model.



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## Appendix

### الشيخ عبدالمنعم عبد المبدئ (A1)

نسأل الله تبارك وتعالى أن يحفظ مصر وأهلها من كل مكروه وسوء وأن يديم علينا نعمة الإيمان ونعمة الأمن ونعمة سعة الرزق) وأن يكفينا شرور المفسدين اللهم إن تجرأ بك في نحرهم أجمعين ونعوذ بك من شرورهم يارب العالمين.

وصلى الله على محمد وعلى آله وصحبه أجمعين وقرأ عليكم فتوى الشيخ أسامه عبدالعظيم أستاذ الأصول بجامعة الأزهر سئل ما حكم الذهاب إلى الإستفتاء على الدستور وبماذا يتم التصويت بنعم أم لا ؟ الجواب هذا السؤال مهم والله المستعان الكلام الآن على ما أسماه الدستور الذى هو فعل البشر وهنا يعنى جملة لو يعنى حمله لخصائصهم وخصائص البشر يعنى ما دام هو من فعل البشر، يبقى يأخذ خصائص البشر، يعنى مش هيكون فيه الكمال هيكون فيه النقص لأنه عمل بشرى قال وخصائص البشر الضعف والجهل والعجز) فلا بد أنك سوف ترى هذه الخصائص الضعف والجهل والعجز فى الدستور أو فى أى عمل بشرى وإشتماله على العيوب أمر مسلم. أما طريقة الحساب فالنظر إلى المآل، لو أن الناس صاروا فريقين وصار أحد الفريقين إتباع القسيس الجديدالذين هم عباد الصليب وصار فى صفهم الملحدون والفاسقون وأهل المعاصى أجمعون، فليس يتصور أن يختار أحد صف أولاء الكفار والفاسقين والماجنين.... هذا أمر لابد من حسابه.

والأمر الثانى من النظر فى المآل أن هذا الدستور الذى وإن كان فيه من العيوب ما فيه، ترى القائمين عليه يغلب عليهم وصف الدين ،يعنى التأسيسيين اللى أسسوا الدستور اللجنة التأسيسية ترى الموجودات ليس منهن واحدة كاشفة شعرها ليس فيهن واحدة كاشفة شعرها وترى عدداً وثيراً من الملتزمين بالسنن وتراهم يقطعون ما هو فيه لينزلوا للصلاة ويعظموا أمر الله وهذه ظواهر لم تحصل فى تاريخ بلادنا ولو قلت فى تاريخ البلاد الأخرى لما بعدُ كلامك، يعنى الكلام يبقى فيه إنصاف اللجنة التأسيسية، كان لما يؤذن الصلاة كانت تقطع الشغل بتاعها وتصلى الكلام ده مشفتهوش فى طول تاريخ حياة مصر ، يؤذن الظهر تبقى الجلسات منعقدة ، يؤذن العصر والجلسات منعقدة ولاحد يكبر ويعظم شعائر الله وكذلك لو أن بحكمة الله تعالى لم يجهل إقرار ذلك الذى إصطلحه عليه أو إختاره فظنك أن يكون ذلك سبيل إستقرار أو ظن أنه يترتب على فوت هذا الأمر من العوض أو الفساد بما لا يُعلم قدره فيظن أن تُسلم فى هذه الفوضى والفساد والأرواح ، أو تظن أو تُسلم الأعراض تظن لو قدر الأمر لو قدر الأمر الآخر يكون فى ذلك الإستقرار اللى هو نعم ،ودفع الفوضى) أو يكون ذلك مزيداً من الفوضى ، إذا لا مزيداً من الفوضى) ، نعم بت فى الموضوع واستقرار... استعجال الإستقرار ا

النتيجة لو لم يتم الموافقة ع الدستور سيتم عمل لجنة تأسيسية أخرى وبعدين اللجنة تحتمل معارضة الآخرين وإلى أن تنتهى هذه اللجنة من عملها تظل أمور الأمن غير مكتملة ويظل

الناس فى التناحر والتنازل، ف لو غلبوا على ظنك أن فوت إقرار هذا الذى إصطلحوا عليه؛ سيؤدى إلى هذه الفوضى فقد علمت حكم دفع هذه الفوضى وأن ذلك مُتعيّن لازم، يعكر على الكلام أن تقول ما اشتمل عليه الدستور من المخالفات أو ربما الألفاظ الشركيات، الجواب أن ذلك فيما يخصنا نحن لا ضرر منه .

قولوا ما تقولون ، أصنعوا دستوراً وغيروه فى أى وقت شئتم، إفعلوا ما تقدرون عليه ،أننا فى قبضه الله ،لا فى قبضتكم ،إننا بشرع الله لا بقوانينكم لا ولا دساتيركم ما تصنعه لا يمس أهل الدين فى شئ ولم يمنع أحداً أن يصلى أو يصوم أو يبكى لله تعالى وهذا ما يخصنا، فنحن نحى فى الدنيا لا حاجة لنا إلا ذلك أن نقوم وأن نصلى وأن نبكى لله تعالى وليس هناك شئ آخر، ما اشتمل عليه هذا الدستور من المُنكرات فأنت مُنكر لها بقلبك)وأنت غير موافق عليها، فترى ذلك صنع البشر وتعتبر عن ما صنع هؤلاء ولكن أن تكون فى صف عُباد الصليب وإتباع القسيس الكافر الجديد وأن تكون فى صف عمرو موسى والبرادعى والخونة عملاء إسرائيل، هذا ما لا أظنك تختاره كان هذه المسألة فبذلك استغنت عن الإفاضة والله اعلم والحمد لله رب العالمين هذه فتوى فضيلة الشيخ الأستاذ الدكتور أسامه عبدالعظيم استاذ ورئيس قسم أصول الفقه بجامعة الأزهر الشريف.

يبقى إذاً الرجل يرجح التصويت بنعم عملاً لإستقبال الإستقرار) فالتصويت بلا سيطيل المدة من جديد وينشئ تأسيسية جديدة وبعض الناس يختلفون عليها) ونفضل فى حيص ببص خذلك سنه كمان ولا سنه ونص .

نسأل الله تبارك وتعالى أن يمتع مصر بالأمن والأمان وأن يمتعها بالإستقرار وأن يكفيها شرور الحاقدين والفلول وأتباعهم وأذنبهم وصلى الله على محمد وصلى الله على أهله وسلم والسلام عليه ورحمه الله وبركاته

## ( 2A) الشيخ حسين يعقوب

فى قضية الدستور و اللغظ الكبير الذى حصل أقول كلام واضح و محدد و صريح نحن ليس لنا دستورا إلا الكتاب و السنة لفهم سالف الامة هذا الدستور دستورهم و القوانين قوانينهم و ما يفعلونه يخصهم أما نحن أهل الديانة أهل الدين العباد عباد الله الموحدون فلا يحكمهم دستور فيه شرك و فيه كفر بل يعد طاغوت هذا هو حاله و دة حكم غير حكم نعم و لا ، نعم و لا بقى نحن نقول أن هذا الدستور على رغم ما فيه من كفر و إلحاد و مخالفة للشرع فى كل مواده بلا استثناء لا أرضى منه مادة واحدة و لكن أقول نعم أنا بقول نعم و بقولوكوا قولوا نعم نعم لتمشية الحال ازاي يا عم الشيخ! ينفع كدة الكلام دة؟! اة ينفع الكلام دة ينفع ازاي نعملها ازاي !منتهى البساطة أن تتكر بقلبك هذا الدستور و أن تشهد ربك بقلبك إن الدستور دة مش دستورى و لا اتحكم إليه و إنما يا رب فقط لتمر هذه الايام ليمر هذا الوضع لنسير الى الاستقرار و هدوء الأمور (٥) لكن لا أوافق من يكرهون الدين

أنت لما تقول لأ مع اللي بيقولوا لأ التانيين اللي بيقولوا لأ بيقولوا لأ ليه؟ أوقف مع نفسك كدة واسأل نفسك إنت هتقول لأ عقيدة؟! التانيين بيقولوا لأ ليه؟ بيقولوا لأ ليه إنت بتقول لأ و تيجي لجنة تأسيسية تانية و تحط دستور تاني هما بيقولوا لأ برضه نفس الشيء يقولوا لجنة تأسيسية تانية أسوأ من اللي فاتت و تضع دستور أسوء من اللي أنت شايفه دة ، دة أملهم هو اعتراضهم عشان كده بيقولوا لأ عايزين لجنة تمثل كل طوائف الشعب و لجنة تضع حرية المرأة و حرية الشهوة و ال .... مش هو دة اللي هما عايزينه إنت توافقهم و تمشي معاهم عشان يجيبوا لجنة أسوء من لجنة و دستور أسوء من دستور قولى ما احنا هنقول لأ طب لأ برضه و بعدين! خليك فطن قولى طب ينفع شرعا أقول نعم؟ أبوة ينفع شرعا إنك تقول نعم سيدنا النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فى صلح الحديبية و الحال شببيه الحال

خلينا واقعيين اللي بيقولوا الدستور فيه و فيه و فيه أنا معاهم إن الدستور فيه و فيه و فيه بس إنتوا بصتوا للجانب دة الحكم الشرعى على مواد الدستور طب بصوا للواقع بقى عشان تكتمل الفتوى بص لى و دى إحنا بنقول دايمًا إن انا عشان احكم على السائل اللي موجود فى الكوباية دة لازم اعرف حاجتين إن السائل اللي موجود دة و هو واقع إن فيه مايه و حكم الشرع فى المايه إذا كنت اعرف إن ديه مايه و الشرع بيقول إن المايه مباحة اشرب طلعت الفتوى أنا اعلم إن الشرع بيقول إن الخمر حرام اقدر اقول إن اللي هنا دة حرام ( يشير إلى كوب الماء الذى أمامه) لأ ليه؟ لأن أنا عارف إن دى مايه يبقى لازم ابقى عارف إن ديه خمر و ابقى عارف إن الخمر حرام عشان اقول دة حرام ببقى عشان اقول نعم تنفع لازم ابقى عارف الدستور و ابقى عارف الواقع ابقى فاهم الواقع شكله إيه أنا بقول الواقع دة شبه أيام صلح الحديبية بالظبط شبه كده إن البلد مش بلدنا ، مش عايشين فينا لوحدينا و لا إحنا ممكنين و أصحاب الرأى و الكلمة فيها، دة واقع اللي يقول غير كدة قولى لأ دة احنا ممكنين متقدرش اسأل التامنية و لا السبعة من المشايخ اللي كانوا فى اللجنة التأسيسية المعاناه اللي عانوها قد أيه عشان يجيبوا معروفش يجيبوا أحسن من كدة و لا عمرهم هيعرفوا يجيبوا و لا غيرهم أحسن من كده انتهينا ببقى تعرف الواقع سيدنا النبي صلى الله عليه و سلم فى صلح الحديبية زى ما بقولك كدة إن البلد مش بلدنا مش عايشين فيها لوحدينا و الأمر مش بأيدينا و نحن ممكنين عايزين حاجة زى صلح الحديبية كده يمشى الحال نأخذ بيه هدنة يجى بعدها الفتح هدنة نشغل فيها للدعوة و نعرف نفهم حشود المسلمين اللي طالعة النهاردة تقول كلام أى كلام فى كل مكان الناس يفهموا الدين و يفهموا مراد ربنا ) الناس اللي من شدة كراهيتهم للاخوان، الناس كرههم فى الاخوان كرههم فى الاخوان لحد ما كرهوا الدين امتدت الكراهية للدين اثوا على الثوار ثوار ثوار لحد ما ثاروا على الدين هو دة اللي حصل انا من اول لحظة بقول لا تثوروا على الدين لا تثوروا على الأخلاق لا تثوروا على المبادئ لا تثوروا على الأصول، دى أخلاق و لا مبادئ! و لا أصول اللي عملوا فى

الشيخ المحلاوى ينتنط فوفيهها و يكسرها دى أخلاق! ثورة إية بقى! دة تائر إيه بقى تائر إية اللى بيولع فى فلوس الناس و حلال الناس شيخ كبير اكتر من ٨٥ سنة الشيخ دة اللى وقف يوم مكنش حد يقدر يقول للسادات كلمة وقف و قاله :اتقى الله و حكم شريعة الله كنتوا فين انتوا يا ثوار الكلام دة سنة ٧٩ و ٨٠ يمكن كنت لسه متولدتش اللى رايعين يحصروا الشيخ

المهم صلح الحديبية الرسول صلى الله عليه و سلم قاله: اكتب بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم قاله له: لا ندرى ما الرحمن الرحيم اكتب :بسمك اللهم هل معنى كده إن الرسول (ص) كفر بالرحمن الرحيم قاله اكتب: هذا ما عهد عليه محمد رسول الله قالوا: لا ندرى أنك رسول الله و لو علمنا أنك رسول الله ما قتلناك قال اكتب: محمد بن عبد الله معنى كدة إن سيدنا النبي باع دينه و باع نبوته ..... دى حاجة اسمها من باب تمشية الحال ماشى الحال ماشى الحال فى الوقت دة و قول نعم خلينا نخلص و نعدى مرحله و تيجى مرحلة اللى بعديها و المرحلة اللى بعديها و لنا وقفة لنا وقفة مش هتعدى و خلاص لأ دة تمشية الحال فى الوقت الحالى و بعد كدة لنا وقفة

بقول للمسلمين بلاش تبقوا مع أعداء الدين فى خندق واحد بلاش نجر إلى تكرار الحال اللى عايشين فيه شايفين و كلنا بنعانى منه و بقول للأخرين الذين يريدون جر المسلمين إلى مواجهة ستخسرون لا تضطرونا إلى مواجهة فى النهاية إنتوا بس اللى هتخسروا و السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

### **الدكتور وجدى غنيم : هذا تسجيل لنعم للدستور برغم ما فيه من عيوب (A3 - )**

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم والحمد لله رب العالمين والصلاه والسلام على سيدى الأولين والأخرين وعلى اله وصحبه ومن تبعهم بإحسان إلى يوم الدين وأرضى اللهم عنا معهم أجمعين اللهم أمين.

أرجو من جميع إخوانى وأخواتى الذهاب يوم السبت للجان وقول نعم للدستور مش كده وبس أرجو أنكوا تبلغوا الناس اللى مش هيروحوا قولوا لهم كده بالنص (حرام عليكم) لأنكوا هتساعدوا الكفار هتساعدوا المجرمين اللى عايزين خراب مصر هتساعدوهم بإنكوا متروحوش متجمعين كلهم الكنيسة والعلمانيين والليبراليين والمأجورين والأمتنيلين كله متجمع على أنهم عايزين يسقطوا الدستور ده علشان يعطلوا مصر ويوقعوا مصر ف (حرام على اللى مش هيروح) أه بقول حرام وهيطلعوا يقولوا اللى مش عارف إيه يخش الجنه ، إيه الهبل والعباطه دى – إحنا بنقول اللى هيقول نعم هياخذ أجر وثواب ، والأجر والثواب يخش بيه الجنه واللى بيعمل غلط يأخذ سيئات بيخش بها جهنم ، أو مال يعنى إيه الوضع عندنا المسلمين كدة ا شوفوا أنتوا عندكوا الوضع ايه؟! عشان كده بقول كلنا نروح ونقول نعم بقول كلمة نعم للدستور دى فتوى مش حكم الفرق بين الفتوى والحكم إيه الفتوى الشرعية تتبنى على العلال من حيث التأسيس لما تيجى تأسسها يبقى العلة وعلى المصالح من حيث المقاصد ، إيه المقصد بتاعها ، زى ما هنتشوف دلوقتى يبقى دى فتوى مش حكم الفتوى تتغير بتغير الزمان والمكان والحال ، أما الحكم فهو ثابت والنقطة اللى

عائزه أكدها إن الدستور مهواش كفر كله ، أنا أعترض على مواد فيه أه ونزلت إعتراضى ومازلت معترض معترض على إخوانا اللى حطوا كلام ميتحطش نتيجة إن الناس كانوا موجودين الكفار اللى كانوا موجودين من الصليبيين ومن العلمانيين الكارهين للشريعة طب مشبوا وغاروا فى سنتين داهية حط أنت الكلام بتاعنا يعنى تراعيهم حتى وهما مش موجودين مثلا يعنى لكن مش كله كفر يا ناس حرام أنا قريته كويس الحقيقة يعنى المادة الثانية والمادة ٢١٩ جميلة والأجمل منها ٢١٧ إن إحنا نقدر نغير فيه بعد كده ، لكن مي جيش واحد يقولك هذا الدستور الكفرى حرام يا أخى حرام زائد إن أخوانك كانوا موجودين وإخوانك ملتحين من السلفيه أه بعثب عليهم بعض مواقف أيوه لكن لازم نقول الحق يا ناس ، ناس قعدوا سته شهر ونصف سنة يحطوا فيه حرام حرام الواحد يمسحهم كده مرة واحدة ويمسح الموجود فيه كله مرة واحدة لا والله فيه حاجات جميلة جدا جدا وفى حاجات بقى الله هى بسيطة دى الوحشه ، يعنى أنا هافرض باكل طبق رز وأطلع شوية دنابه كده برميههم وخلص هنعمل ايه إن فى قاعدة كمان بتقول ما لا يترك كله لا يترك جله ، أنا مش عارف أجيب كل اللى أنا عائزه مسيبوش كله ، لا أخذ منه اللى أقدر عليه لأن البديل صعب جدا جدا البديل أنا هقولك بمنتهى الصراحة خراب يا ناس يا ناس البلد وقفة ، فى ناس مش لاقية تاكل فى مصر دلوقتى وهما عايزين يضغطوا على كدا على الحته دى عند الناس والمجرم العلمانى الكافر ده قالها قالك هفضل كده - وخلي البلد من غير مؤسسات الناس هتهيج بقى عايزين ناكل . هنتطلع ثورة الجياح بص الكلام والبطن لما بتبقى فاضيه سامحنى بقى شوف الناس هتعمل إيه فالبديل صعب جدا جدا أخذنا بعيب على بعض إخوانى اللى مزالوا مصرين إلى الآن على الرفض وبيقولوا نقول لأ يا إخوة اتقوا الله إخوانكم جميعا الحمد لله ما عدا انتوا يمكن إثنين أو ثلاثة بالكثير ليه كده ليه يا إخوانا خليكو مع الإخوة كلهم ونبقى كلنا يد واحدة) وفى بحث جميل جدا للأخ محمد نظمى الذى الله يكرمه من السعودية نزل الحكم الشرعى للتصويت على الدستور المصرى وطبعاً جاى فيه الأدلة جميلة جميلة الخفيفة والله اللى يحب يرجعه جزاه الله كل خير أما بقى الكلام اللى أنا بقوله فى الأدلة إن إحنا نروح برغم كل الحاجات الموجودة فى الدستور

**أولاً :** دفع شر الشرين : فى شر هيحصل لو يعنى أنا بقول مثلا لو أنا روحت وقلت للدستور ده لأ مثلا مقابل إنه هيطبق شرع الله وإن وإن وإن .. والله العظيم أروح لكن البديل لأن فى شر أكثر شر أكثر هنقعد شهر تانى عقبال ما يجيبوا يا ترى بقى اللى هيعدوا هيعكونوا زى اللى فاتوا ولا لأ وست شهر دول مفيش أى تقدم فى البلد مصيبة يا ناس (٣)يبقى دفع شر الشرين.

**ثانياً :** ارتكاب أخف الضررين : أه ده ضرر لو اعتبرناه ضرر لكن فيه ضرر أصعب منه هيوقع يبقى بعمل الضرر الخفيف وأضرى به الضرر الكبير فى قاعدة شرعية بتقول الضرر يزال لو واحد يقولى ده ضرر أيوه الضرر يزال بأيه لو أعتبرت الدستور ده



ضرر تزيله بأنك مقتولش عليه نعم ، لأ ، ده أنت تقول عليه نعم ليه ! عشان الضرر اللي هيجى أكثر منه ميحيش ونقدر بعد كده نغير فى المواد اللي إحنا عايزينها لأن هى مش كلها كفر ومش كلها غلط ، يغنى كم مادة فيه كده ممكن نغيرها، يبقى الضرر يزال ، ممكن يجيب دستور تانى نصلح به وإلا ممكن يجى دستور أفسد منه هنعلم إيه ساعتها بقى ، فى قاعدة شرعية بتقول درء المفسد مقدم على جلب المصالح فى مفسده كبيرة هتحصل بالمجرمين دول الكنيسة والعلمانيين والليبريين وأعداء الثورة والمأجورين كلهم مجتمعين دلوقتى واتحدوا وإنمشوا واصروا على التهكم إن هذا لشيء يراد فلأزم كلنا نقف قجامهم يا ناس ، الإمام ابن تيميه ياريب ترجعوا فى الجزء الـ ١٥ من الفتاوى الكبرى بتقول كلام جميل جدا جدا بعضه بين بسيط أوى أوى إذا ازحم واجبان لا يمكن الجمع بينهما بين الواجبين يعنى قدم أوكدهما ولم يكن الثانى فى هذه الحالة واجباً وإقرأ بقى كلامه فى الجزء ١٥ جميل جدا جدا وكمان جايب كلام أروع على قصة سيدنا يوسف لما قال إجعلنى على خزائن الأرض إنى حفيظ عليم قل وهو يعلم إن للملك إن فاقد على نفسه وزوجته وحاشيته لكن ميقدرش .

سيدنا يوسف يغير على طول ما لم يستطع أن يفعل ما يراه فإن القوم لم يستجيبوا له لو عمل كده ولكنه فعل الممكن من العدل والإحسان وده إعتباره الإمام بن تيميه قول الله تبارك وتعالى صورة التخابر "فأتقوا الله ما استطعتم واسمعوا واطيعوا" وعندنا قصة سيدنا عمار بن ياسر ، لما أكرهوه على الكفر فنطق بالكفر أنا مش بقول مضطر أنا بقول مكروه فى إكراه هنا فى إكراه وإكراه على الكفر ممكن هعمل إيه لإن الأيه فى سورة النحل : " إن من إكراهه وقلبه مطمئن بالإيمان قاله يا رسول الله كفرت عملت إيه قاله نطقت الكفر قال : وكيف تجرأ قلبك يا عمار ؟ قال : مطمئن بالإيمان يا رسول الله .

قال : فإن عادوا فعدو هنا ينزل القرآن ، إلا من أكرر وقلبه مطمئن بالإيمان ولكن من شرح بالكفر صدرا فعليهم غضب من الله ولهم عذاب عظيم . ماذا يعتبر إكراه بالنسبة لينا وبعدين يا إخوانا الأمور بالمقاصد ، يعنى لما بنبص كده الدستور برغم الكم مادة اللي فيه المتنبيلين دول ها يعنى المقصد إيه إن إحنا إن شاء الله لو كان عندنا دستور أبوه هنعلم مجلس شعب بعده على طول الله بعد كده عندنا مجلس الشورى طب خلاص عندنا رئيس منتخب ومجلس شعب ومجلس الشورى ودستور الله أكبر الله أكبر يالا بقى نتقدم ونيجى على الدستور اللي فيه المادة ٢١٧ عايزين نغير المادة دى والمادة دى والمادى دى أوكيه أوكيه مفيش مشاكل خالص بس يبقى المأل كويس .

تعالى نبص للمأل لو قلنا لأ ومتعلمش دستور يبقى البلد خراب يا ناس والبلد موقفة البلد موقفة فى بلد تمشى من غير دستور مش ممكن فينشوف المقال بيه زى مثلا إيه سيدنا بن عباس دخل عليه واحد فى منظره كده عايز يعمل حاجة غلط قال : يا إمام اسألك فى سؤال هل لقاتل النفس من توبة ؟ بصله كده وقاله لأن . مع إن ربنا بيقول فى سورة الزمر "إن الله يغفر الذنوب جميعاً" قال : لا . فلما طلع من عنده إيه يا إمام ربنا بيغفر الذنوب جميعاً قال خلوا بالكوا بس بصوا المأل هيحصل إيه بصوا الكلام لو أنا قلت له أيوه التوبة وربنا

ببيد السيئات حسنات " سورة الفرقان ، الرجل طالع يموت يبقى أنا لما أقول له فتوى زى دى كأنى بعينه على الباطل اللي هو رايح يعمله فخلي بالك من المقصد المقصد اللي أنت بتقوله إيه : طب ما ابن تيميه لما التتار دخلوا واحتلوا البلد ويخبط على الباب ويكسر الباب ويخش يزنى فى أمك ومراتى وبنتك قالهم : شربهم الخمر لما يسكروا ابقى وديه فى ستين داهيه يالا من هنا غور يعنى هل معنى لما أقول لواحد اشرب الخمر بقول الخمر حلال ؟ لأن أنا بشوف الأمر ده وبعدين يا إخوانا الكلمة خطيرة جداً المحافظة على القدر الموجود هو أولى من طلب المفقود ، أنا عايز احافظ ع اللي فى إيدى أنا معرفش اللي هيجى بعد كده هيبقى إيه ولا مين دول ولا يعملوا إيه نرجع نندم والله فخلينا ماسكين عصفور فى اليد أحسن من ميه على الشجرة (مضمنش فياريت ياريت ناخذ بالننا من الأمر ده والقاعدة الشرعية بتقول ما لا يتم الواجب به فهو واجب إحنا عايزين استقرار البلد) وعايزين البلد تمشى) وعايزين بقى نغير هنغير إزاي عايزين مجلس شعب يجى يستجوب يستجوب المجرمين دول الخابنين الخونة اللي بياخدوا مرتبات حار ونار فى جنتهم ومبيشغلوش مش كل الشرطة ومش كل الجيش مقصدش كده بقصد اللي مبيأدوش واجبهم الذى لا يؤدى واجبه ويأخذ مكافأة ويأخذ مرتب حار ونار فى جنته لما يكون فى مجلس شعب هيسندعهم وهيعمل طلب إحاطة وهيجوا هيجى إمتى مجلس الشعب لما يتحط دستور إن شاء الله كان منبيل بستين نيلة معلى دلوقتى وهكذا إذن لا بد من التصويت بنعم وبقولها وبكره اللي يقول لأنا لا أقول نعم ولا أقول أه إنت بتساعد الفلول إنت ضد الثورة إنت مع العلمانيين إنت مع الصليبيين إنت مع بس إنت مش كافر لأ وخلي بالك من دى خلى بالك لا تعين الظالمين يعنى يا إخوان يا إخوة ، إخوة لنا مش عايز أذكر أسمائهم يارب ينتبهوا فى آخر لحظة ويرجعوا عن الفتوى اللي قالوها لما قالوا للناس روحوا وقولوا لأن الكنيسة واخدة الفتوى بتعتهم وبتطبعها وتوزعها يعنى دى والله العظيم تخلىنى أراجع نفسى مرة وإثنين وثلاثة الكنيسة والعلمانيين بيحببوا الأخوة ويحببوا فتاؤهم بس عشان جايلهم ع الطباطب عشان عارفين أنهم هيروحوا يقولوا يوم السبت لأن فيقولك شوف الشيخ فلان والشيخ علان بس هما ثلاثة بس يمكن إثنين كمان يعنى اه يمكن إثنين أو ثلاثة بس وأرجوا أنهم يرجعوا عن هذا حتى لا يساعدوا هؤلاء المجرمين ضد الإسلام والله يا أخوه البديل صعب جدا البلد واقعه والبلد حتفضل وقفة تانى كده فى ناس خلاص معندهاش استعداد تستحمل مصالح الناس وقفة والمجرمين دول والبلطجية ماتشين فى كل حتة مفيش لأن هتحاسب مين ! هتحاسب وزير الداخلية متواطى راح حطلى الأمن المركزى كله عند مدينة الإعلام طب وفين ريسك الشرعى اللي موجود وأنت يا جيش مين اللي أمرك هتحاسب دول إزاي ! إن لم يكن هنذك مؤسسات فى الدولة أدى أول شئ بنعمله يا ناس فأرجوكم أرجوكم إنزلوا وقولوا نعم ، وإنشاء الله هنغير اللي إحنا مش عايزينه وعندنا مادة ٢١٧ موجود فيها إن إحنا نقدر نعمل مجلس شعب يقول مع الرئيس ونقول المادة دى تتغير وكذا وكذا وهكذا فدى فتوى التعليل لأيه

الأمر اللى هيصير بعد كدا لأن لو قلت لأ للأسف والله العظيم هيبقى البديل صعب جدا جدا . يارب إحفظ مصر يارب إحفظ مصر. ويارب يكون عندنا مؤسساتنا الدستورية وإنشاء الله نقف على رجلينا الأول نقف على رجلينا عايزين تمكين الأول هيجى منين التمكين دون وإحنا معدناش أصلا مؤسسات فإنشاء الله واحدة واحدة واحدة واحدة ربنا هيمكنا إنشاء الله يارب يارب ربنا يبسر الخير وإنشاء الله سبحانه وتعالى إن النتيجة يارب تكون نعم عشان نغيظ بها أعداء الله يعرف الزراع ليغظ بهم الكفار وإن شاء الله ربنا هيجعل فى نحرهم وبأذن الله الناس هتقول نعم وهيبقى عندنا دستور الحمد لله وهنعدله وبعد كده مجلس شعب ومؤسسات وكل واحد هيتحاسب ولسه فى حساب فى الأخرة والسلام عليكم ورحمة الله وبركاته .

### كلمة الدكتور فاروق النياز (B1)

أهلا يا شباب مصر ، أنا عايز أقول لكم إن أنا قرريت مسودة الدستور اللى عملتها لجنة الخمسين مشكورة، وأسعدنى جدا ما جاء فى الدستور لأنه يؤهل الحياة الكريمة لكل مصرى و مصرية ، أسعدنى أيضاً الإهتمام بالصحة و التعليم و التعليم العالى و البحث العلمى عشان هذه الأشياء جميعاً هى التى توهل المستقبل الأفضل لمصر عشان كده أنا بقول إن إنتوا لازم تنزلوا عشان تصوتوا للدستور الجديد بتاعنا دة . صوت نعم يؤهل الحياة الكريمة لكل مصرى و مصرية). صوت نعم يؤهل الأمن و الإستقرار فى مصر. صوت نعم يؤهل التقدم العلمى و التكنولوجى فى مصر . صوت نعم يؤهل عزة مصر و رفعتها عشان كدة بقول لكوا لازم تطلع عشان نصوت للدستور و هشوفكوا قريب إن شاء الله

لماذا تقول نعم لدستور المستقبل ندوة الإتحاد المصرى للثقافة الرياضية نعم للدستور

### (سامح عاشور) (B2)

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم أيها الإخوة المواطنين الأسرة الرياضية المصرية القائد و الرئيس أستاذ طاهر أبو زيد وزير الرياضة بكل الفخر و الإعتزاز نلتقى اليوم على حب مصر هذا اليوم الكريم العظيم فى ليلة عظيمة نحتفل هذذ الليلة بمياد سيد الخلق أجمعين محمد صلى اللى عليه و سلم نحتفل جمعيا بهذا الميلاد العظيم و منذ أيام قليلة إحتفلنا بميلاد السيد المسيح عليه السلام لنأكد مرة أخرى أن مصر أن مصر وحدة واحدة غير قابلة للتجزئة ولا لإنقسام هى مصر التى ننشدها مصر التى يسود فيها الشعب ولا يتسبدها أحد ولا يُرهبها أحد ولا يُخيفها أحد إلا الله سبحانه و تعالى أيها الإخوة لم تكن لجنة الخمسين تحمل او تحوى عباقرة فى الدساتير أو فى صناعة الدساتير و إنما كان مناط هذه اللجنة أنها كانت منتخب وطنى متعدد المواهب و متعدد الأنماط والأراء و التوجهات السياسية هذه اللجنة التى يستحيل على أى منصف أن يزعم أن هذا الدستور إحتيازاً لا لليمين ولا لليساى ليس هناك إحتيازاً حزبياً لأى تيار سياسى لقد حررنا على أنفسنا أن نعمل لحساب أحزابنا أو تياراتنا السياسية كان كل ما نصبو إليه و ما

نبتغى إلى تحقيقه أن يخرج هذا الدستور معبراً عن الأسرة الوطنية المصرية بالكامل بغير تقسيم و بغير إنقسام و نجحنا) بعون الله و بتوفيقه و أيضاً بما أستلهمنا منكم منكم لا تظنوا أن لجنة الخمسين قد أستطاعت أن تبدع و إنما أستلهمنا منكم و ما رفعتهم من شعارات و من أراء و من أفكار لذلك كان هذا الدستور فيه منكم و كل منكم يشعر أن لهم فيه كلمة أو جملة أو نص أو فقرة هذا الأحساس هو الذى أعطى لهذا الدستور قيمته الوطنية الجمعية التى لا يستطيع فيها أحد أن يفرق بين مسلم و مسيحي أو بين امرأة و رجل أو بين كبير و صغير عمت المساواة و دقت ساعة العمل من أجل نفاذ هذا الدستور هذا الدستور أيها الأخوة ولا أريد أن اتحدث و إنما فقط أؤكد على حضراتكم أن هذا الدستور هو أول دستور مترجم هو اول دستور مترجم فى تاريخ الدساتير المصرية و لا أقصد بالترجمة أن هذا الدستور مترجم إلى لغة من اللغات و إنما أقصد أن محتوياته و نصوصه و استحقاقاته فى ذاته فى كل نص من النصوص دستور ه الأليه وله الأداة التى يُنفذ بمقتضاها فعندما تتحدث أو يتحدث الدستور عن الحرية و الديمقراطية و سيادة ا قانون يتحدث بألية محددة فى عدم جواز حبس أو العقوبة بالحبس على أصحاب الرأى أو أصحاب الفكر أو أصحاب العقيدة حماية لحرية الصحافة و حماية لسيادة القانون و حماية للديمقراطية حتى لا يتدخل المشرع فى يوم من الأيام من أجل أن يجعل هذه القيمة محل تراجع أو محل إنهزام أيضاً عندما نص الدستور على التعليم و أمر أصحاب المشروع أن يصغوا نسبة ٤% من الناتج القومى أساساً للعملية التعليمية كحد أدنى للزيادة من الناتج القومى من أجل أن يتحول العملية التعليمية إلى عملية تعليمية فعلية و ليست عملية تعليمية شكلية لكى تتوازي مع كل دول العالم المتقدم فى هذه التنمية هذه الأنماط هذه النسبة مدرجة أيضاً فى التأمين الصحى الذى يضمن ٣% من الناتج القومى و نفاذ هذا التأمين لكل المواطنين و أنا أقول أن الرياضة سوف تشارك التعليم فى هذا المخصص و الرياضة سوف تشارك التعليم الصحى فى هذا المخصص لتكون الرياضة هى الشريك الرئيسى الفاعل فى أنماط الدستور المختلفة

ب هذا بقول لحضراتكم أن هذا الدستور يُضيف إضافة غير مسبوقه فى تاريخ الدساتير) أنه يلزم أى حكومة و يلزم أى مسئول أن يقدم و أن يُنفذ هذا المحتوى أيضاً أرادنا أن نؤكد مرة أخرة حتى عندما تحدثنا عن حقوق الفلاحين أن نضمن للفلاح أن نُقدم له الدولة كل وسائل الإنتاج اللازمة للزراعة و أن تلتزم الدولة أيضاً بأن تشتري هذه المحاصيل الزراعية الرئيسية لكن نُحقق توازناً ثلاثياً التوازن الأول أن الفلاح سوف يتم إنصافه التوازن الثانى أن الدولة سوف توفر عملة حرة عندما تشجع الفلاح الدولة على الزراعة البعد الثالث أن المستهلك المصرى سوف يستفيد من هذا الشراء الذى تقوم به الدولة و سوف نحافظ على بقاء الأسعار كما هى دون زيادة و دون إستغلال بهذا نحقق نمطاً جديداً و أسلوباً جديداً للدساتير أقول أيضاً أن هذا الدستور يحمل برنامجاً وطنياً هو البرنامج الوطنى القادم لن يكون لأى مرشح للرئاسة أو للبرلمان أو الحكومة برنامج بخلاف

الدستور) الدستور هو البرنامج الوطنى الذى سوف يلتزم به كل القادة خلال المرحلة المقبلة من أجل ذلك عندما نُصوت على الدستور إنما نُصوت على البرنامج الوطنى للمرحلة القادمة) التى تُهم الشعب المصرى و التى تحقق أمانيه الوطنية أيضاً هناك بُعد آخر للحضور و بعداً آخر للتصويت أننا نُريد أن نرد على أعداء الوطن الذين يُهددون الوطن فى الداخل و يُروعون المواطنين و يُهددونهم و يقومون بعمليات إرهابية هذا التنظيم الذى تخلصنا منه فى ٣٠ يزنو لابد أن نُأكد أننا قد خُصنا إلى الأبد فى ٥١ يناير الحالى بالتصويت بنعم سوف ينحصر هذا التنظيم و لن يعود مرة أخرى لن يعود مرة أخرى مهما كانت الأسباب أيضاً سيكون فى ردمك و استفتانكم ٤١ و ٥١ يناير رداً على كل أعداء الوطن أعداء الوطن امريكا و إسرائيل و تركيا و قطر) سوف كون تصويتكم رداً على هؤلاء الأقرام الذين يريدون أن ينالوا من الأمة نحن نأكد أن مصر دولة وطنية مستقلة لن يحركها لا أمريكا ولا تركيا ولا إسرائيل ولا قطر و إنما الشعب هو السيد و الوطن لا يمكن يحكمه غير المصريين بالإرادة المصرية عشتم لمصر و عاشت مصر لكل المصريين و السلام عليكم و رحمة الله و بركاته

### كلمة البابا تواضروس (B3)

فى أمثال العرب عبارة جميلة بتقول كده "قول نعم تزيد النعم" قول نعم يزيد النعم فكلمة نعم تحمل فى طياتها وفى داخلها خيرات وبركات كثيرة ربما موقف الدستور والمشاركة الوطنية فى دستور أنتجته مجموعة من لجان مصر الأحياء والأعزاء) والذين لهم خبرة قانونية واسعة) وبعد مناقشات طويلة ومناقشات كلها مسؤولة عن سلامة الوطن ، خرج إلينا دستور أو مشروع دستورى وقدمه السيد رئيس الجمهورية إلى الشعب لكى يستفتى عليه فى أيام عملوه ١ يناير ٢٠١٤ والحقيقة الدستور دة عندما تقارنه بدساتير أخرى كثيرة صدرت على أرض مصر خلال ١٠٠ سنة الماضية نجده يتمتع بسمات كثيرة أكثرها حضوراً مساحات الحرية التى يقدمها هذا الدستور والتوافق الذى جعل لكل منه من فئات الشعب لها مكانها ولها خصوصياتها ولها إحترامها ولها عملها ودورها فى بناء مصر الحديثة ولذلك أنا أدعو جموع المصريين مسلمين ومسيحيين للمشاركة فى هذا الاستفتاء والتعبير عن الرأى ولأنه دستور فيه هذا التوافق الواسع جدا) والذى تعتبره حجر اساس فى بناء مصر جديدة حديثة) يمكنها من الإنطلاق لمستقبل أفضل ولذلك التصويت على هذا الإستفتاء فى هذا الدستور بطريقة إيجابية سيكون لصالح كل المصريين) وسيكون الأساس القوى لمصر النهاردة وبكره وبعده لمستقبل قوى يحفظ حريتها ويحفظ مسئوليتها كل واحد فى موقعه وحدود هذه المسئولية أنا أشجع الجميع على المشاركة وممارسة هذا الحق الوطنى وهذا الإلتزام الوطنى بمشاركة إيجابية وزى ما إبتديت كلامى وقلت أمثال العرب تعلمنا أنه قول نعم يزيد النعم ونعم للدستور تعطى بركات وهى كثيرة فى حياة مصر .. إيه ربنا بيارك فى كل عمل صالح وتكون هذه الخطوة خطوة أساسية من أجل مصرنا الحبيبة ووطنا العزيز.

**A Linguistic Study of Persuasion in Egyptian Constitutional Campaigns  
(2012–2014)**

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**1-Abd El-Menim Abd El-Mubdaa (A1)**

We are asking Allah Almighty to protect Egypt and its people from any misfortune or bad deed, to grant us the blessings of faith, security, fortune(1), and defend us against the evils of the corrupt. I am asking Allah to cut all their throats, and we are seeking God's refuge to protect us from their evil deeds. May Allah's Peace and Blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad!

I am going to read for you the religious opinion of Shaikh Ossama Abdel Azim, Prof. of Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence at Al-Azhar University when he was asked if we should vote Yes or No on the referendum of the constitution. This is an important question. May Allah support us!

We are talking now about what is called "the constitution" which is done by humans, so it bears the characteristics of humans. It is done by people, and it is not expected to be perfect. What would it include, then? Imperfection because it is an act of humans. People are characterized by weakness, ignorance, and helplessness, and these features will be found in the constitution or any human act because including defects is taken for granted. Evaluating it requires looking into its results. Let us look at this example. If people were divided into two teams, one of them would follow the new minister who worships the cross. This team includes atheists, and wicked and disobedient people (1), so it is not expected that a person would pick the team of atheists, and wicked and disobedient people. This point must be put into consideration.

The second issue with regards to the results is that this constitution - despite its defects- is that the people who worked on it can be mostly described as religious i.e., the constitutionalists who founded the constitutional committee. All the women here are veiled .You will see a large number of those who are committed to ordinances that they would interrupt wherever they are doing to pray) and worship Allah(). This has never occurred in the history of our country and even the history of other countries. Hearing this, we

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should be fair when talking about the constitutionalist committee. When the call for prayer is heard, they used to stop their work and pray. I have never seen this all through the history of Egypt. With other committees, the call for the noon and the afternoon prayers is heard while the sessions are run, but you find no one mentioning the name of Allah or magnifying His rituals. Thus, if Allah's Wisdom chose these people for us, would this be for the sake of stability or corruption? Do not you think that if Allah wanted something for us, would not it be stability? Stability is in the Yes which drives mess away and allows no more mess). Yes! The dice is cast for stability. Hurry up for stability!

One result is that if the constitution was not approved, another constitutional committee will be formed which be rejected by others. Up till this committee completes its task, security issues will not be resolved). People will continue fighting and surrendering. If some people convinced you that passing what they agreed on will lead to mess, then the ruling opinion about ending mess should be considered. It is mandatory to end mess. This constitution does not include any violations or blasphemous words. This is what concerns us, and the constitution has no harm.

Say whatever you want to say! Make a constitution or change it any time whenever you want! Do whatever you can do! We are in the hands of Allah not people(1). We are in Allah's legitimacy not your constitution nor your laws. The constitution does not prohibit a person from praying, fasting, or crying for Allah, and this is what we should be concerned about. We live our life to pray and worship Allah – nothing else. What is included in this constitution is very far from wrongdoings which are what your heart rejects. The constitution is human-made by those who learnt from from what they did. In brief, joining the team of the cross worshippers and following the new disbeliever minister means joining the line of Amr Moussa, Al-Baradie and traitors, and the allies of Israel. I do not think this is what you will choose for yourself. It is all about Allah's Choices. Allah knows best! Thank Allah! This is the

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religious opinion of his excellency Shaikh Ossama Abdel Azim, Prof. of Principles of Islamic Jurisprudence at Al-Azhar University. It is likely that he will vote for Yes for the sake of stability ). Voting No will lengthen the instability period and make us choose a new constitutionalist group. Some people will disagree on the new group, and we will remain lost). This messed up situation would take a year, or a year and a half.

We are asking Allah Almighty to bless Egypt with security, safety, and stability, and to protect it from the evils of the spiteful people, remnants, and their followers and disciples. May Allah's Peace and Blessings be upon Prophet Muhammad! Peace be upon you!

**٢-Shaykh Hussein Yacoub (A2):**

With regards to the constitution -as there is a lot of fuss about the issue- I would be clear, frank, and concise. We do not have a constitution but the Qur'an and the Prophetic traditions to guide us towards the understanding of our life .This is their constitution and laws). What they have done is related to them, but we -people of religion who believe in Allah-cannot be ruled by a constitution of disbelief and injustice. As for the vote with Yes or No, it is important to say that all the articles alike of this constitution are full of disbelief and atheism. I do not approve it at all; I do not accept one single article in it. However, I vote Yes. I even urge you to vote Yes to make life more stable(4). How can this work? What are you saying, Shaykh? Yes, it works because you can simply reject this constitution with your heart .God is a Witness that you do not accept this constitution, and that you do not want it to rule. You are just doing this because you want life to move on. Your target is to reach stability,but you reject the enemies of religion.

You should wonder why you are voting No like the rest. Is it because it is against your faith? Why are other people going to vote No? Are you going to vote No so that we form another committee and draft another constitution? Those will vote No would call for another constitutional committee and constitution which would be



worse than what we have now. This is the only option we have. They object because they want a committee which represents all the sects of people and a committee which guarantees freedom of women and lust. Is not this why they want to vote No for? They want you to join them to bring a worse constitution and committee. And what is next? Be smart and wonder if it works by law of shari'ah to vote Yes. Yes. Shari'ah wise, you can vote Yes. Prophet Muhammd (PBUH) did the same thing during the Treaty of Hdaybiyah.

Let us be realistic! I do agree with the objections some people have towards some of the articles of the constitution. But, have you considered shari'ah's verdict on the articles of the constitution. Let us examine the reality so that we have a clear religious opinion! I want you to look at this glass, and I want you to know that the liquid inside it is water. What is the religious opinion on water? If the shari'ah states that water is permissible, then you will drink. I know that shari'ah states that wine is disallowed. Can I say that what is inside this glass is disallowed? Why cannot I say this? I cannot because I know that this is water. If I want to say that it is not permissible, then I must be sure that this is wine. Thus, in order to vote Yes, I should know the constitution very well. I should also understand the real-life circumstances.

I can tell that the current situation is similar to those days of the Treaty of Hdaybiyah. We are not living in this country alone. We are not the only people who have the upper hand. This is the reality. Those who disagree should tell us about the suffering of the 7 or 8 shaykhs who are members of the constitutional committee in order to draft it as such. This is the best it could be; it cannot be any better.

It is over. It is important to remember what happened to Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) during the Treaty of Hdaybiyah. This is not our country, and we are not living here alone. We do not have the final say. We need something like the Treaty of Hdaybiyah so that we have a truce followed by a conquest. This truce would give us

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the opportunity to make Muslims understand the situation. We do not want people to talk haphazardly about religion. We want people to follow the path of Allah. People kept hating the Muslim Brotherhood till they hated the religion. People revolted on them, and their revolution became against religion.

I said it out loud since the beginning, do not revolt against religion, ethics, values, and traditions. What happened with Shaykh Al-Mahalawi was not ethical. What kind of revolution are you taking about? A revolutionist does not burn the money of people. The shaykh is 85 years old. He is the one who faced Al-Sadat with the truth. He told him to fear God and to rule by the laws of God. Where have these revolutionists been in the years 79 and 80? They might not have been born at this time, but they besieged the shaykh. The Prophet (PBUH) during the Treaty of Hudaibiyah wrote: In the Name of God, the Most Gracious and the Most Compassionate. The disbelievers told him to write: In the Name of God. Does this mean that the Prophet (PBUH) has become a disbeliever. The Prophet (PBUH) wanted to write: This is what Muhammad (PBUH) the Prophet. They responded that they do not consider him a prophet, or else they would not have fought him. They wanted him to write: Muhammad, son of Abdullah. Does this mean that the Prophet (PBUH) sold his case, religion and message. This is called going with the flow which is important now. Vote Yes and let us end this phase and start new ones. We are just going with the flow now, and later we will have a say.

I am telling the Muslims not to side with the enemies of religion and be with them in the same place. It is true that we are all suffering, but the Muslims should not go for a confrontation which would make you lose. Do not take us on the path of confrontation because you will lose at the end. Peace be upon you all!

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**3- Dr. Wagdy Ghoneim: This recording is to say Yes for the Constitution Despite Its Flaws (A3)**

In the Name of God, the Most Merciful and the Most Compassionate! Praise be to God! May God's Peace and Blessing be upon the Master of our ancestors and predecessors Prophet Muhammad, his disciples, friends, and orthodox followers till the the Day of Judgement!

I wish that all my brothers and sisters would go on Saturday to vote Yes on the constitution ). Not only this, but I also hope you would tell those who are not going to vote. Quote me and tell them: “ It's sinful”. You are going to allow the unbelievers and criminals who want to destroy Egypt to achieve their target when you do not vote. The Church, the secularists, the liberalists, the mercenries, and the like are all gathered now to make this constitution fail so that they impede the progress of Egypt ). It is sinful not to vote. Yes, I consider this a sin). They would object to this and say it is stupid to make this a matter of heaven or hell. We believe that those who would vote with Yes will be rewarded by God. The reward for good deeds is heaven, and the end result of any evil deed is hell. This is the case for Muslims, and I am not sure about others. Thus, I am urging you all to vote Yes for the constitution. Saying Yes for the constitution is a religious opinion not a personal opinion. There is a difference between the two: The religious opinion is based on evidence and the benefits arising from the path. This case mandates a religious opinion because it changes by the change of time, space, and circumstances in contrast to the fixed opinion. I want to stress that not all the clauses included in the constitution reveal disbelief. Some people object to those words which were added for the sake of disbelievers whether crusaders or secularists who hate the Islamic jurisprudence. Fine! It is your task to add the words which suit us. The constitution is not altogether a form of disbelief. I read it carefully , guys. We can make amendments to articles #2, 217, and 219 later on. But, this does not mean that someone might come and say that the constitution is a form of disbelief. That is a mistake.

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Plus, your fellows were there. The bearded salafis were members. It is true that I blame them for some of their stances, but we have to be fair. These people spent 6 months -6 full months- to draft the constitution. It is unfair to ignore this, and all the effort exerted. I swear there are some well-written articles; very few articles are not up to our expectations. Imagine yourself eating rice, and every now and then you find rice hay . What would you do? You would put the hay aside. That is it! There is also the rule that the perfect does not have to be the enemy of the good. If I cannot get some of what I want, this does not mean that I should leave it all; I should take what I can get out of it because it is very difficult to find the alternative. I would frankly say that the country is in a state of mess and destruction. Some people cannot find a bite to eat. The secular, disbeliever criminal said that we will remain as such. Hunger will make people revolt if the state remains without institutions. The coming revolution is that of the hunger. When people are hungry, you can expect anything. They even urge us to vote No. Oh brothers, fear Allah! Stay with the group and unite your efforts with us so that we maintain our unity. There is a very interesting research for Brother Muhammad Nazmy from Saudi Arabia; this research includes his religious opinion on voting for the Egyptian constitution. He brought very interesting evidence. Those who are still in doubt can refer to this research. May Allah reward him for this effort. I believe that we all should vote Yes even though it includes a few things which we do not prefer. I will refer to two evidences for voting Yes.

First: Protection from the Worst Evil: Will an evil deed occur if I voted No on this constitution? Will we follow the Islamic jurisprudence if we voted No? I swear by God I would have voted No, but what is the alternative? There is more evil than voting Yes on the constitution. We will spend more months till we find an alternative. Will the new members be better than the current ones? We spent 6 months without witnessing any progress in this country.

This is a distaster, people(3). Then, there is no option but to protect ourselves from the worst evil.

Second: Committing the Better of 2 Evils: Yes, it is evil if we consider it so. However, there is a worse evil. So, committing the better evil is better than committing the worst evil according to the Islamic law. If we considered the constitution an evil, would a vote with No end it? No, you should ask me why I should vote by Yes. You should vote Yes because the evil resulting from saying No is more than what is expected(4). Let's vote Yes and change the articles that we disapprove later because they are not a sign of disbelief or wrong. If we changed these articles, then we removed the harm. We can draft another constitution to amend this one. If we reject this constitution, there might be another bad constitution. Protecting ourselves from evil is more crucial than bringing benefits. A catastrophe is lying ahead because these criminals (the Church, liberals, secularists, mercenaries, and enemies of the revolution) are gathering now to mock this constitution. Thus, we all have to face them.

Imam Ibn Taymeya had a very simple view on this. Please refer to it in part 15 of the Great Religious Opinions. He mentioned that if two duties have to be done, then the two of them cannot be done. This means that one of them alone would be mandatory. He brilliantly referred to the tale of Prophet Youssef when he asked Allah to make him responsible for the treasure. Prophet Youssef could not do what he believed in because his people were not responsive to him. He did the fairness and kindness that he could do. Imam Ibn Taymeya ask people to fear Allah as much as they can. There is also the story of Ammar Ibn Yasser when he was forced to say what disbelievers say; he was forced to be a disbeliever because the Prophet said that if someone was forced to be a disbeliever when he has faith in Allah deep inside, then Allah will forgive him. Allah will punish those who chose to be disbelievers.

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It is important to consider the results in our case. We will have a constitution followed by a Parliament and an Advisory Council. Let us vote Yes for the constitution to achieve our target.

Let us examine the results! If we voted No without a constitution, then the country would be devastated, People. We will be stuck. A country cannot remain without a constitution. One day, a man came to Ibn Abbas. This man wanted to do something wrong and asked him if a murderer can repent. Ibn Abbas looked at him and told him “No” even though Allah stated in Al-Zumour Chapter that He forgives all the sins. Take care of this! Allah forgives all the sins.

In Al-Furqan Chapter, Allah stated that after repentance, Allah replaces the wrong deeds with good deeds. If I tell someone that there is no repentance for him, then I am driving him to follow the wrong path. Watch out for the path you drive people to walk in!

Another story by Ibn Taymya is when the Tatars invaded the country, the people feared that they break the doors and rape the women in the house. They agreed to make the Tartars drunk and take them away. Is not alcohol unpermissible? I see our situation similar to this. We, thus, should preserve what we have. We should keep what we have for fear of what is to come or to avoid regret. A bird in the hand is worth two in the bush. If we cannot guarantee what is to happen next, then let us stick to what we have. And this is the jurist's opinion. We are seeking the stability of this country). We want a Parliament to question the criminals and the traitors who take salaries without doing their job. I do not mean that all those who work in the army and the police are not fulfilling their duties. When we have a Parliament, it will summon them and investigate the matter. When will this happen? Once we have a constitution even if this constitution is the worst among all.

We should vote Yes. I am repeating my words; vote Yes. If you are helping the remnants, you are against the Revolution and with the secularists, crusaders, and disbelievers. You are not a disbeliever, but you are siding with disbelievers. watch out! You should not

support the unjust. Do not follow others! Ignore what they say that the Cathedral has its own religious opinion which was printed and given to people. I am hopeful that those who are urging people to vote No would stop it. Only a couple of shaykhs call for voting No, and I hope they would reconsider the matter so that they do not help the criminals against Islam. I swear by God, brother, the alternative is very difficult. We do not want the country to remain still. We are not ready to tolerate to harm people for the sake of criminals and thugs. There is no punishment for anyone. Who would punish the criminals?

The Minister of Interior is part of the issue because the central security is stuffed at Media City. Where is the legitimate president who would punish people? Where is the army? How can you investigate people if there are no institutions in the country? This constitution is our first step. Please vote Yes, and we will amend what we do not like. We have article #217 which states that the Parliament would work with the president to make the necessary amendments.

This is the religious opinion which provides evidence on what would happen if we voted No. I swear to God the alternative is very difficult. May Allah protect Egypt! I hope we would have our constitutional institutions to be stronger. We cannot enforce what we want unless we have institutions. May Allah guide us to the right path. I hope the referendum would result with Yes for the constitution to make our enemies angry. May all their throats be cut! Allah's Willing people would vote Yes, and we will have our constitution. And we will amend it and have our Parliament and institutions. Everyone's deeds will be checked, so will Allah do on the Day of Judgement. Peace be upon you

#### **4-Prof. Farouk Al-Baz's Speech (B1):**

I would like to welcome the Egyptian youth. I'd like to say that I read the draft of the constitution which was kindly completed by the Fifty Committee. I am pleased by what the constitution entails as it guarantees a decent life for every Egyptian male and female .

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I'm also pleased by the attention given to health, education, higher education, and scientific research because these elements lead to a better future for Egypt. That's why I urge you to vote for our new constitution. Voting yes provides a valuable life for every Egyptian. Vote by saying "yes" to guarantee a decent life for every Egyptian male and female. Vote by saying "yes" to bring safety and stability in Egypt. Vote by saying "yes" to generate technological and scientific progress in Egypt. Vote by saying "yes" to ensure Egypt's glory and progress. That's why I am telling you to vote for the constitution. And, I will meet you soon by Allah's Will.

**2-The Egyptian Union Sporting Culture Seminar on "Yes for Constitution" (Sameh Ashour) (B2)**

Why should you say Yes to the constitution of the future?

In the Name of God, the Most Gracious and the Most Merciful. Dear fellow citizens of the Egyptian sporting family, the leader, president, and Minister of Sports Mr. taher Abou Zeid,

With all pride and glory, we are meeting today for the love of Egypt on this noble, great day. Tonight, we are celebrating the birthday of the best man, Muhammad (PBUH). A few days ago, we celebrated the Christmas to ensure one more time that Egypt is a one whole that cannot be divided or separated. This is the Egypt we hope for where Egyptian people are the masters who cannot be threatened or feel frightened by anyone except for God Almighty.

Dear brothers, the Fifty Committee is not just composed of the geniuses of drafting as its members form a national team which encompasses various talents, styles, views, and political inclinations. Any fair person cannot claim that this Committee would draft a constitution that is biased towards any party or any political current. The members forbid themselves from considering their parties or political currents. All what we hoped for and wished to accomplish is that the drafted constitution would be a representative for the whole national Egyptian family without discrimination. With Allah's Support and Blessing and with the



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inspiration of the Egyptian, we succeeded in this mission. The Fifty Committee was not just innovative as it was inspired by the Egyptians, their slogans, opinions, and thoughts. Hence, this constitution entails a part of you. Each one of you has a say in it: a word, sentence, text, or paragraph. This is what gives this constitution its communal, national value without any discrimination between a Muslim and a Christian, a man and a woman, or young or old). Equality has prevailed.

It is now the time to enforce this constitution, dear brothers. I do not want to talk much, but I just want to ensure you that this constitution is the first constitution in the history of Egyptian constitutions whose content brings benefits for Egyptians. When the constitution tackles freedom, democracy, and supremacy of law, it offers a specific mechanism to end the imprisonment of people of opinion, thought, or faith. It protects the freedom of press, supremacy of law, and democracy that the legislator cannot interfere one day and stop this value. Also, the constitution gives value to education where 4% of the GNP would be devoted to the development of the educational process to place Egypt on equal footing with the countries who are advanced in this aspect. It also considers the issue of health insurance which devotes 3% of the GNP to the implementation of health insurance for all citizens. I would like to say that sports will contribute to the development of education and health as sports are the main, effective partner in the different forms of constitutions.

Hence, I am telling you that this constitution makes an unprecedented addition in the history of constitutions. It is binding for any government or in-charge to present and implement its content. This constitution also cares about the rights of farmers who will be supported by the state; the state will provide the farmer with all means of production to plant, and it will buy the main agricultural crops to make three types of balances. The first is that the farmer will be fairly treated. The second is that the state would save free currency by encouraging the farmer to plant. Finally, the

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Egyptian consumer would benefit when the state purchases the crops because the prices will not increase, and there will be no manipulation.

This constitution is, in fact, a patriotic programme, our forthcoming patriotic programme. It is not specific for any presidential, parliamentary, or governmental candidate. It is a patriotic programme where all the leaders will be committed to in the coming period . That is why when we vote for the constitution, we are voting for the patriotic programme for the coming period which guarantees that the achievement of the dreams of the Egyptian people.

There is also another perspective to consider when we vote. We want to answer back to the enemies who are threatening the nation from the inside and frightening the citizens by making terrorist operations. We got rid of this outfit on June 30<sup>th</sup>. We must stress that we got rid of them forever. We should vote by Yes in order to restrict this outfit so that it will not come again, no matter what the reasons are. Your vote on the referendum is a response to all the enemies of the nation: America, Israel, Turkey, and Qattar . Your vote is a response for those dwarfs who want to take advantage of this nation. We want to stress that Egypt is a national state that will not change because of America, Turkey, Israel, or Qattar.

The Egyptian people are the masters, and the nation cannot be ruled by non-Egyptians but with Egyptian will. Long live for Egyptians! Long live for Egypt! Peace be upon you

**3- Pope Tawadros Speech (B3)**

The old sayings of Arabs include a beautiful statement: “Saying yes increases the bless” The word “yes” entails within it a lot of goodness and blessings. Probably, the case of the constitution and the patriotic participation in it as produced by a group of dear, beloved Egyptian committees who have an extensive legal experience and after deliberations to ensure the safety of the homeland resulted in the constitution or the constitution draft. Mr.

President introduced it to the people to vote on its referendum on the days of 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> of January, 2014.

Actually, when this constitution is compared to many other constitutions which were released on the land of Egypt in the past one hundred years, we find that it is characterized by many features. The most significant ones are the freedom this constitution presents and the harmony it creates which ensures to each sect of people its own status, privacy, respect, work, and role in the formation of modern Egypt.

Hence, I am calling all the Egyptians - Muslims and Christians - to participate in this referendum and express their opinion since it is the constitution of extensive accord which we consider the fundamental milestone for building a new and modern Egypt which enables it to start a better future.

Therefore, voting on the referendum of this constitution in a positive way will be for the benefit of all the Egyptians. And, it will be the strong basis for Egypt today, tomorrow, and afterwards in order to have a strong future that will maintain its freedom and the responsibility of each person based on his position and limitations. I encourage everyone to participate and practice this patriotic right. This patriotic commitment is a positive participation. And as I started my talk and mentioned the Arab proverbs to teach us that saying “yes” increases the blessings. “Yes” to the constitution gives many blessings and benefits in Egypt’s life. Oh! May Allah bless each righteous act to be a step, a fundamental step, for our beloved Egypt and dear homeland

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