

**Refugee Review Tribunal  
AUSTRALIA**

**RRT RESEARCH RESPONSE**

**Research Response Number:** EGY33000  
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Keywords: Egypt – Arrests in 1981 – National Democratic Party (NDP) – 2000 elections – Kifaya movement

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**Questions**

**Family Political connections**

- 1. Please advise who is the President of the Law Society in Alexandria, Egypt?**
- 2. Please advise who is the Egyptian Minister of Interior?**
- 3. Please advise who is the Commander of Intelligence in Ismailiyia province?**

**Arrest in 1981**

- 4. Please advise whether President Sadat had university students arrested in 1981 who were against his policies, in particular his visit to Israel in 1981? Please provide some background material about the arrests in 1981 by Sadat?**

**National Party**

- 5. Does the National Party pressure people to join their party?**
- 6. Is there any information to support claims that people would be sacked from their jobs if they didn't join the National Party?**
- 7. Is there any information to support claims that a champion sportsman would be prevented from competing because he didn't join the National Party?**

**2000 elections**

- 8. Is it possible to obtain a list of people who registered their names for the general election in 2000?**
- 9. Is there a list of candidates who stood as independents in the 2000 elections?**
- 10. Can you provide information about Kamal El Shazli?**
- 11. Please advise which seat Mohamad Saad Hamed, the Minister of Finance stood for in the 2000 elections?**
- 12. Please advise whether any other candidate stood against Mohamad Saad Hamed in the 2000 elections?**

## **Kifaya**

13. Please advise whether Kifaya is a political party? When was it established? Who established it? Does it have a registered office? If so, what is the address? Who are the leaders of the party? Is there a list of members/office bearers? What are the aims of Kifaya? What are the policies of Kifaya?

14. Please advise whether any Kifaya members been arrested? Why and when? Please provide details of any arrests of its leading members in 2005 and 2007.

## **RESPONSE**

### **Family Political connections**

#### **1. Please advise who is the President of the Law Society in Alexandria, Egypt?**

A search of the available sources did not locate a specific law society in Alexandria. A request for information on any law societies/associations in Alexandria has been sent to the Faculty of Law at Alexandria University (RRT Research & Information 2008, Email to Alexandria University Faculty of Law: 'Request for information from the Australian Refugee Review Tribunal – Egyptian law societies', 5 March – Attachment 1).

The following information may be useful:

In the available sources the professional association representing Egyptian lawyers appears to be referred to as the "Lawyers Syndicate" or the "Lawyers Association". There is also the "Egyptian Bar Association", although it is unclear as to whether these are in fact all the same organisation. Information found on the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) website states: "Lawyers in Egypt are organized in a single Egyptian Bar located in Cairo, which is headed by a president, elected for two-year terms, and board members, elected for four-year terms" ('Democratic Governance – Judiciary – Egypt' (undated), UNDP POGAR website <http://www.pogar.org/countries/judiciary.asp?cid=5> – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 2).

A 2002 paper from the International Commission of Jurists (ICJ) includes information on the Egyptian Lawyers' Syndicate (International Commission of Jurists 2002, *Egypt – Attacks on Justice*, eleventh edition <http://www.icj.org/IMG/pdf/egypt.pdf> – Accessed 21 January 2006 – Attachment 3).

#### **2. Please advise who is the Egyptian Minister of Interior?**

According to information on the Ministry of Interior (MOI) website, the current Minister of the Interior is Habib Ibrahim El-Adly ('Minister Profile' (undated), Egyptian Ministry of Interior website

<http://www.moiegypt.gov.eg/English/AboutMOI/MinisterProfile/MinisterProfile.htm> – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 4).

A copy of the Ministry's organisational structure, found on the MOI website, is also attached ('Organizational Structure' (undated), Egyptian Ministry of Interior website <http://www.moiegypt.gov.eg/English/AboutMOI/OrganizationalStructure/OrganizationalStructure.htm> – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 5).

### **3. Please advise who is the Commander of Intelligence in Ismailiya province?**

The identity of the “Commander of Intelligence” in Ismailiya province was not found in a search of the available information. According to the available information, there are a number of different intelligence agencies in Egypt.

Information found on the Arab Decision website states that “Major General ostaf Abdel Alim Mostafa Abou Lailah” is the “Director of Ismailiya Security”. This information was last updated on 21 August 2005 (‘Egypt/Government’ (undated), Arab Decision website [http://www.arabdecision.org/inst\\_brows\\_3\\_14\\_3\\_1\\_3\\_2.htm](http://www.arabdecision.org/inst_brows_3_14_3_1_3_2.htm) – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 6; ‘Government \ Council of Ministers \ Ministry of Interior \ Ismailiya Governorate \ Director of Ismailiya Security’ 2005, Arab Decision website, last updated 21 August [http://www.arabdecision.org/show\\_cv\\_3\\_14\\_3\\_1\\_3\\_577729521.htm](http://www.arabdecision.org/show_cv_3_14_3_1_3_577729521.htm) – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 7).

The US Department of State reports the following information:

The country has both local and national law enforcement agencies, all of which fall under the Ministry of Interior. Local police operate in large cities and governorates. The ministry controls the State Security Investigations Service (SSIS), which conducts investigations, and the Central Security Force (CSF), which maintains public order. SSIS and CSF officers are responsible for law enforcement at the national level and for providing security for infrastructure and key officials, both domestic and foreign. Single-mission law enforcement agencies, such as the Tourist and Antiquities Police and the Anti-Narcotics General Administration, also work at the national level. As a whole, the security forces operated under a central chain of command (US Department of State 2006, *Country Reports of Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Egypt*, March, Section 1.d – Attachment 8).

For information on Egyptian intelligence agencies, see:

‘Egypt: Intelligence Agencies’ 2008, Federation of American Scientists website, last updated 10 March <http://www.fas.org/irp/world/egypt/> – Accessed 10 March 2008 – Attachment 9;

‘Egypt, Intelligence and Security’ (undated), Encyclopedia of Espionage, Intelligence and Security website <http://www.espionageinfo.com/Ec-Ep/Egypt-Intelligence-and-Security.html> – Accessed 10 March 2008 – Attachment 10;

Hamalawy, H. 2005, ‘Powerful Egyptian Spy Chief No Longer Behind the Scenes’, *Los Angeles Times*, 8 February – Attachment 11.

### **Arrest in 1981**

#### **4. Please advise whether President Sadat had university students arrested in 1981 who were against his policies, in particular his visit to Israel in 1981? Please provide some background material about the arrests in 1981 by Sadat?**

According to sources, Sadat’s peace deal with Israel was unpopular with much of the “Arab world”, including within Egypt itself. In 1981, following widespread rallies and protests against Sadat’s policies, a crackdown was launched on the Muslim organisations which had proliferated in the nation. *The New York Times* states that “[t]he largest of the politically

activist organizations were founded among the million Egyptian university students and came to be known simply as Islamic associations”. About 1500-1600 activists (including from student groups) were arrested in September 1981. Sadat was assassinated in October 1981 (for detailed background and description of arrests, see: Bodansky, Y. 1981, ‘Egypt and the Death of Sadat’, *Jewish Institute for National Security Affairs Newsletter*, vol 3, no 8, November, Journal of International Security Affairs website [http://www.securityaffairs.org/archived\\_site/1981/nov1981.pdf](http://www.securityaffairs.org/archived_site/1981/nov1981.pdf) – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 12; for *New York Times* article, see: Friedman, T. 1981, ‘Rise Of Militancy By Moslems Threatens Stability In Egypt’, *New York Times*, 27 October – Attachment 13).

The Muslim Brotherhood website gives the following background information on student Islamic groups:

After Egypt’s defeat in the 1967 war with Israel, students and workers had protested against the regime’s failure to take responsibility for the defeat, and began to call for a more democratic political system. The broad student movement which took shape was at first mainly secular in nature, but student Islamic groups gradually came to the fore, thanks to their ability to implement practical solutions to problems faced by students in their daily life (such as severe overcrowding), by means of the national student union in which they were increasingly elected to positions of responsibility. When Sadat’s economic policies caused severe price increases for basic necessities and appalling degradations in public services (leading to huge riots in January 1977), these groups gained influence outside universities as well. *Al-Da’wa* supported the student Islamic movement, and leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood were invited to speak at large, festive gatherings organised by student groups on Islamic holidays. When the government began to obstruct the student movement, and then to attack it using riot police, the Brotherhood’s relations with the government soured as well. (Kepel 1984, 126-146; Carré 1983, 107, 115; Wickham 2002, 32-34, 115-117) (‘History of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt (1928-1938)’ (undated), The Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan) Official English website [http://ikhwanweb.com/lib/History\\_of\\_the\\_Muslim\\_Brotherhood\\_in\\_Egypt.doc](http://ikhwanweb.com/lib/History_of_the_Muslim_Brotherhood_in_Egypt.doc) – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 14).

The “Dictator of the Month” website provides the following brief background to Sadat’s assassination:

On November 19, 1977 Sadat became the first Arab leader to officially visit Israel when he met with Israeli prime minister Menachem Begin and spoke before the Knesset in Jerusalem. He made the visit after receiving an invitation from Begin and he sought a permanent peace settlement (much of the Arab world was outraged by the visit). In 1978, this resulted in the Camp David Peace Agreement, for which Sadat and Begin received the Nobel Peace Prize. However, the action was extremely unpopular in the Arab World and especially amongst Muslim fundamentalists. Many believed that only a threat of force would make Israel negotiate over the West Bank and Gaza Strip, and the Camp David accords removed the possibility of Egypt, the major Arab military power, from providing such a threat. As part of the peace deal, Israel withdrew from the Sinai peninsula in phases, returning the entire area to Egypt by 1983.

In September of 1981, Sadat cracked down on Muslim organizations, including student groups, and Coptic organizations, making nearly 1600 arrests and earning worldwide condemnation for the extremity of his techniques.

Meanwhile internal support for Sadat disappeared due to his arrogant style of government, economic crisis and suppression of dissidents. Even worse, Sadat's economic policies only accentuated the gap between the rich and the poor in Egypt.

On October 6 of the same year, Sadat was assassinated during a parade in Cairo by army members who were part of the Egyptian Islamic Jihad organization, who opposed his negotiations with Israel as well as his brutal use of force in the September crackdown. He was succeeded by the vice president Hosni Mubarak ('Mohammed Anwar el-Sadat' (undated), Dictator of the Month website <http://www.dictatorofthemonth.com/Sadat/Aug2002SadatEN.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 15).

For more information on the Islamic movement and student groups in Egypt during the 1970s and 1980s, see: Reed, S. 1993, 'The Battle for Egypt', *Foreign Affairs*, vol 72, no 4, September/October, pp. 94-107 – Attachment 16.

For background information, see: Eedle, P. 1981, 'Asyut: Moslem fire will not be confined', *Globe and Mail*, 17 October – Attachment 17.

## **National Party**

### **5. Does the National Party pressure people to join their party?**

No specific reports were found of the National Democratic Party (NDP) pressuring people to join their party. However, the available information indicates that the NDP, controlled by President Mubarak, dominates the country politically and economically. Many reports were found of the NDP pressuring people to vote for the party during election time. The NDP also controls the licensing of new political parties (for information on NDP political control, see: US Department of State 2001, *Country Reports of Human Rights Practices for 2000 – Egypt*, March – Attachment 18; for information on the licensing of new political parties, see: Human Rights Watch 2005, *From Plebiscite to Contest? Egypt's Presidential Elections*, September <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/mena/egypt0905/egypt0905.pdf> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 19; for reports of the NDP pressuring people to vote for the party, see: Katulis, B. 2004, 'Women's Rights in Focus: Egypt', Findings from May-June 2004 Focus Groups with Egyptian Citizens on Women's Freedom, Freedom House, 19 October – Attachment 20).

The US Department of State reports the following in relation to NDP political dominance:

The ruling National Democratic Party (NDP) dominates the 454-seat People's Assembly, the Shura Council, local governments, the mass media, labor, and the large public sector, and controls the licensing of new political parties, newspapers, and private organizations to such an extent that, as a practical matter, citizens do not have a meaningful ability to change their government (US Department of State 2001, *Country Reports of Human Rights Practices for 2000 – Egypt*, March – Attachment 18).

Human Rights Watch (HRW) notes that the NDP has "held a virtual monopoly on formal political life in Egypt" since 1977. The party dominates the People's Assembly and the Shura Council, "as well as all provincial and local councils and leadership positions":

The ruling National Democratic Party, along with the much smaller leftist Tagammu` (Progressive Unionist) Party and conservative al-Ahrar (Liberal) Party, emerged from the dissolution by decree of the Arab Socialist Union in 1977. The NDP has held a virtual

monopoly on formal political life in Egypt ever since, always controlling well over two thirds of the 454-seat People's Assembly and the 264-member Consultative (Shura) Council, as well as all provincial and local councils and leadership positions.

NDP and government officials also control the Political Parties Committee, which determines whether new parties receive legal recognition. Over twenty-seven years, the Political Parties Committee approved two of the applications submitted and rejected sixty-three (Human Rights Watch 2005, *From Plebiscite to Contest? Egypt's Presidential Elections*, September <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/mena/egypt0905/egypt0905.pdf> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 19).

An *Al-Ahram* article reports that many election hopefuls provide donations as a guaranteed way to get onto the NDP candidate list:

Some observers affirm that, for many hopefuls, especially businessmen, financial donations have proven to be a guaranteed way onto the NDP list of candidates. El-Shazli, however, said that strict instructions were given to NDP offices in the various governorates that no donations are to be accepted under any circumstance (El-Din, G. 2000, 'Corruption stigma haunts NDP', *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, issue no, 489, 6-12 July <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/489/eg6.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 21).

A Freedom House report includes information on fraud and corruption allegations against the NDP:

Despite recent efforts by the Egyptian government to improve negative public perceptions about the fairness of elections, fraud is a second leading reason why so few people vote. One younger man in Alexandria says, "It is nonsense what is happening in the elections." Because of fraud, many Egyptians do not think that their vote will matter. Egyptians criticize the National Democratic Party (NDP), Egypt's ruling party, for "cooking" the results, making sure that its candidates win, and making it difficult for voters who do not support the NDP to vote. Numerous allegations of vote buying by candidates emerge:

*I once went to check on the elections last year, and the streets were closed and there were police forces stopping voters from participating because they wanted this lady [a female candidate] to lose!* (Urban man, 20-29, high school graduate, Alexandria)

*The National Democratic Party had to win the Shura elections. It was a must. There was a candidate everyone loved, but he was not from the NDP, and we were really shocked with the results. The person we loved got 1,000 votes and the NDP candidate got 9,000 votes. We don't understand how this works.* (Rural man, 20-29, high school graduate, Al-Fayoum region)

*The results of the elections are known beforehand. It is well known who will be elected and who won't be.* (Newly urban woman, 20-29, literate, Alexandria)

*...we know that businessmen distribute money so people would vote for them, whether they deserve to be elected or not! And the candidate with less financial backing will not win because he does not pay the voters.* (Urban Christian woman, 20-29, high school graduate, Cairo) (Katulis, B. 2004, 'Women's Rights in Focus: Egypt', Findings from May-June 2004 Focus Groups with Egyptian Citizens on Women's Freedom, Freedom House, 19 October – Attachment 20).

Note: The National Democratic Party is the dominant political party in Egypt. According to the information consulted, there is also a small political party called the National Party

(Umma Party) (Shaikh, F. 1992, *Islam and Islamic Groups: A Worldwide Guide*, Longman, p. 71 – Attachment 22; ‘Ummah party’ (undated), Egypt State Information Service website <http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Politics/Parties/Parties/041102000000000008.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 23).

**6. Is there any information to support claims that people would be sacked from their jobs if they didn't join the National Party?**

**7. Is there any information to support claims that a champion sportsman would be prevented from competing because he didn't join the National Party?**

No specific information was found about whether people would be sacked from their jobs for not joining the NDP. As noted above, the available information does indicate that the party controls a large section of Egypt's society, and suppresses opposition. A 2000 HRW report notes the “persistent and ongoing patterns of government harassment of political opponents and potential opposition candidates”. A 2005 HRW report notes the “NDP's dominance in all branches of government, its vast patronage network, state control of electronic and major print media, [and] more than five decades of stultifying restrictions on independent parties and political activity”. The International Crisis Group (ICG) states that “the NDP, through its control of or identification with the state and government, maintains strong patron-client links with many associations”. A 2006 piece reports that a Kifaya activist was fired from his job because of his political activism (Human Rights Watch 2000, ‘Elections in Egypt’, HRW website, October <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/mena/egypt-election-bck.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 24; Human Rights Watch 2005, *From Plebiscite to Contest? Egypt's Presidential Elections*, September <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/mena/egypt0905/egypt0905.pdf> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 19; International Crisis Group 2005, *Reforming Egypt: In Search of A Strategy*, 4 October – Attachment 25; ‘Released detainee fired from his job’ 2006, Big Pharaoh website, 12 June <http://www.bigpharaoh.com/2006/06/12/released-detainee-fired-from-his-job/> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 26).

A 2000 article in *The Estimate* notes that the NDP controls government patronage and “those who support the government party are the ones who are likely beneficiaries of government jobs in a country where the public sector remains dominant”:

There is little doubt that irregularities regularly occur in Egyptian elections — the 1995 elections were particularly embarrassing, as even the government seems to realize — but one should never underestimate, either, the power of patronage. The government party always wins, and those who support the government party are the ones who are likely beneficiaries of government jobs in a country where the public sector remains dominant, especially in terms of local employment. The ruling party is likely to win even without cheating, because it is the only party with something to offer its supporters.

...There is no real doubt that the National Democratic Party (NDP), the ruling party, would win regardless of how fair the elections might be; it controls the government patronage and is the only party with nationwide grassroots organizations (‘Egypt's Parliamentary Campaign Begins’ 2000, *The Estimate*, 22 September <http://www.theestimate.com/public/092200.html> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 27).

A 2007 *CNN* article includes an interview with the wife of a jailed opposition leader and journalist: “The message of this regime, to everybody,” she said, is “that whoever dares to put his head up will immediately be hit by all means -- personal, career, politically, socially,

financially, everything” (Wedeman, B. 2007, ‘Analysis: Egypt’s ailing democracy movement’, *CNN*, 27 March <http://edition.cnn.com/2007/WORLD/meast/03/26/egypt.wedeman/index.html> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 28).

## **2000 elections**

**8. Is it possible to obtain a list of people who registered their names for the general election in 2000?**

**9. Is there a list of candidates who stood as independents in the 2000 elections?**

A list of candidates standing in the 2000 elections was not found in a search of the available information. According to HRW, there were 4,116 candidates registered. Of these 3,240 were independents. HRW states:

One noteworthy aspect of the current elections is the overwhelming number of candidates running as independents. According to official government data, only 876 of the 4,116 registered candidates are official political party candidates. The remaining 3,240 are running on independent platforms, compared with 3,160 in 1995 and 1,800 in 1990. The vast majority of them are members of the ruling NDP, which many Egyptians believe is an indirect way of boosting the party’s dominance in the People’s Assembly (Human Rights Watch 2000, ‘Elections in Egypt’, HRW website, October <http://www.hrw.org/backgrounder/mena/egypt-election-bck.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 24).

Emails requesting a list of the candidates who stood for the 2000 Egyptian parliamentary elections were sent to: Senior Program Officer (Katie Croake), National Democratic Institute for International Affairs; Contact Officer, Middle East & North Africa Program, IFES, and; Egyptian Organization for Human Rights (EOHR) (RRT Research & Information 2008, Email to Katie Croake: ‘Request for information from the Australian Refugee Review Tribunal – Egyptian elections’, 5 March – Attachment 29; RRT Research & Information 2008, Email to IFES (Middle East & Nth Africa Program): ‘Request for information from the Australian Refugee Review Tribunal – Egyptian elections’, 5 March – Attachment 30; RRT Research & Information 2008, Email to EOHR: ‘Request for information from the Australian Refugee Review Tribunal – Egyptian elections’, 5 March – Attachment 31).

The Egyptian newspaper, *Al-Ahram*, includes an online archive of media articles from the 2000 elections. A search of these articles did not locate a list of candidates; however, a number of names of independent and party candidates are mentioned. See: <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/archives/2000elec/index.htm>.

The US Department of State report on human rights in 2000 includes the following general information on the elections held that year:

During the year, Egypt held elections for the People’s Assembly. Due to court-ordered supervision by the judiciary of the voting and counting, the process was significantly cleaner and more transparent than previous elections; however, there were a number of problems. The elections were held in stages between October 18 and November 15 in order to allow for supervision by a member of the judiciary at each polling place. Out of a total of 444 elected seats, the ruling NDP won 172 seats, independent candidates won 255 seats, and opposition parties won 17 seats. Elections for two seats in Alexandria still had not been held by year’s end due to a court-imposed delay because of procedural irregularities. Many of the

independents elected were former members of the NDP who rejoined the party after being elected, thus leaving the People's Assembly actual balance at 388 NDP members, 37 independents (17 of them affiliated with the outlawed Muslim Brotherhood), and 17 opposition party members. Seven of those elected were women and three were Christians. President Mubarak also appointed 10 members to the Assembly, of whom 4 were women and 4 Christians.

Despite the overall improvement in the electoral process, there still were problems affecting the elections' fairness, particularly in the period leading up to elections and outside some polling stations on election days. During the months preceding the elections, the Government arrested thousands of members of the Muslim Brotherhood on charges of belonging to an illegal organization. Most observers believe that the Government was seeking to undermine the Muslim Brotherhood's participation in the People's Assembly and professional syndicate elections through intimidation. In addition previous convictions on such charges legally precluded many potential candidates from running.

Violence among supporters of various candidates marred the elections at some polling places and resulted in the deaths of 9 persons. At a few locations, the security presence was so heavy as to inhibit voters' access to the polls. There were also reports of voter harassment by security forces in jurisdictions in which the Muslim Brotherhood was expected to do well. The EOHR conducted a small-scale monitoring effort, but there was no systematic, large-scale independent monitoring of the elections (US Department of State 2001, *Country Reports of Human Rights Practices for 2000 – Egypt*, March – Attachment 18).

For further information on the 2000 elections, see:

Abdenasser, G. 2001, 'Political Change in Egypt: The Parliamentary Elections of 2000 and Horizons of Reform', SWP Research Paper, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) website, July [http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/common/get\\_document.php?asset\\_id=222](http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/common/get_document.php?asset_id=222) – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 32.

#### **10. Can you provide information about Kamal El Shazli?**

According to the available information, Kamal El-Shazli was the minister of state for parliamentary affairs at the time of the 2000 elections. According to a 2005 ICG report he is also the Deputy Secretary General of the NDP, and a senior member of the Political Parties Committee (PPC) which determines whether new parties receive legal recognition (El-Din, G. 2000, 'Independents rule the poll', *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, issue no 502, 5-11 October <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/502/eg4.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 33; International Crisis Group 2005, *Reforming Egypt: In Search of A Strategy*, 4 October, p. 7 – Attachment 25).

During the 2000 elections he ran for the El-Bagour parliamentary seat, which he had held for nearly 30 years. An article in *Al-Ahram* states:

Attention is being focused on the types of candidates fielded by the NDP and the Wafd. A heated confrontation is expected between candidates of the two parties in a number of constituencies. Foremost is the expected confrontation between Kamal El-Shazli, minister of state for parliamentary affairs, and Wafdist multi-millionaire Mohamed Kamel in El-Menoufiya governorate's district of El-Bagour.

El-Shazli, who won the 1995 elections uncontested, will face this time an unprecedented number of 10 rivals, with Kamel the most serious contender among them. El-Shazli's political career largely depends on the El-Bagour parliamentary seat, which he has occupied for nearly 30 years. In a show of force and political clout, El-Shazli organised on Sunday a public rally, which was attended by Prime Minister Atef Ebeid, member of the NDP's general-secretariat Gamal Mubarak, five cabinet ministers, governors, MPs and journalists. Ebeid said he came to El-Bagour to launch a number of development projects and demonstrate support for the NDP candidate (El-Din, G. 2000, 'Independents rule the poll', *Al-Ahram Weekly Online*, issue no 502, 5-11 October <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2000/502/eg4.htm> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 33).

**11. Please advise which seat Mohamad Saad Hamed, the Minister of Finance stood for in the 2000 elections?**

**12. Please advise whether any other candidate stood against Mohamad Saad Hamed in the 2000 elections?**

No information was found on a “Mohamad Saad Hamed” (or variant spellings) in relation to the 2000 elections. According to information found on the Egyptian Ministry of Finance website, from 1999 to 2004 the Finance Minister was Mohamed Medhat Hassanein ('Ministry of Finance In Brief' (undated), Egyptian Ministry of Finance website <http://www.mof.gov.eg/English/About%20MOF/History> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 34).

A German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) research paper which analyses the 2000 Egyptian elections, includes the names of the “top officials and ministers who stood for election”. This list does not include the Minister of Finance (Abdenasser, G. 2001, 'Political Change in Egypt: The Parliamentary Elections of 2000 and Horizons of Reform', SWP Research Paper, German Institute for International and Security Affairs (SWP) website, July, p. 7 [http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/common/get\\_document.php?asset\\_id=222](http://www.swp-berlin.org/en/common/get_document.php?asset_id=222) – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 32).

### **Kifaya**

**13. Please advise whether Kifaya is a political party? When was it established? Who established it? Does it have a registered office? If so, what is the address? Who are the leaders of the party? Is there a list of members/office bearers? What are the aims of Kifaya? What are the policies of Kifaya?**

The Kifaya (or Kefaya) (“Enough”) movement is a non-partisan umbrella group of opposition organisations and parties. It is also known as the Egyptian Movement for Change. It was established in mid to late 2004 (sources differ as to the exact date), and gained momentum during the 2005 electoral season. According to the available information, the current leader (general coordinator and spokesperson) is Dr. Abdel Wahhab el-Messiri, who took over from founding coordinator, George Ishaq in early 2007. A list of office bearers was not found, although a large number of prominent and/or founding Kifaya members are mentioned in the media. According to *The Middle East Report Online* (MERO), Kifaya has a wide range of members/supporters, consisting of “intellectuals, activists, journalists and others, all from a broad range of political backgrounds”. Kifaya's central aim is an end to Mubarak's rule. It was the first movement to specifically target the President, organizing anti-Mubarak

demonstrations which have been described in the media as “groundbreaking” and “without precedent”. According to some sources, Kifaya has been floundering recently due to internal strife and a lack of clear policies, although the movement itself is credited with instigating significant changes within Egypt’s politics (for background on Kifaya, see: Devlin, M. 2007, ‘When Enough is not Enough’, *Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World*, vol 13, no 146, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies website, February, pp. 8-9 <http://www.eicds.org/english/publications/civilsociety/07/Feb07Issue.pdf> – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 35; International Crisis Group 2005, *Reforming Egypt: In Search of A Strategy*, 4 October – Attachment 25; for information on Kifaya’s current leader, see: Khalil, A. 2007, ‘Seeking A Bridge To Change In Egypt’, Muslim Brotherhood (Ikhwan) Official English website, source: *LA Times*, 28 April <http://www.ikhwanweb.net/Article.asp?ID=638&SectionID=68> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 36; for MERO article, see: Tadros, M. 2005, ‘Egypt’s Election All About Image, Almost’, *Middle East Report Online*, 6 September <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero090605.html> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 37; for media reports on Kifaya, see: ‘Kifaya in Egypt’ 2005, *Washington Post*, 15 March <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A35379-2005Mar14.html> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 38).

## **Background**

A 2005 International Crisis Group paper includes a section of Kifaya. This provides information on the formation of the group, and it’s rise to prominence. ICG gives the following information on the founding of Kifaya, obtained from an interview with founding member, George Ishak:

The idea to found Kifaya was agreed in November 2003 at a meeting at the home of *Wasat* party leader Abu ‘l-Ala Madi, held to discuss political prospects in light of the presidential and parliamentary elections due in 2005. The meeting, attended by Communists, Islamists, Nasserists and Liberals, agreed to set up a steering committee of seven members. After protracted discussions through the first eight months of 2004, sufficient agreement was reached to enable Kifaya to go public with a declaration, signed by some 300 intellectuals, academics, artists, students, workers and farmers which was then read to and debated at a conference, attended by some 500 people, in Cairo on 21 September 2004 and timed to coincide with the NDP’s annual conference. The conference adopted the name [the Egyptian Movement for Change] and chose 35 activists to organise the movement, seven of whom were charged with responsibility for day-to-day activity (International Crisis Group 2005, *Reforming Egypt: In Search of A Strategy*, 4 October – Attachment 25).

ICG further states:

Kifaya came to prominence in late 2004 and has garnered the lion’s share of international media attention since. It is an agitational movement which has distinguished itself by vehement attacks on President Mubarak’s rule and above all by its tactic of holding public demonstrations in central Cairo and elsewhere, in defiance of the law. While this breaking of taboos (criticising the President, daring to demonstrate) is seen by many Egyptian as well as external observers as of historic significance, the movement has few other achievements to its credit and has been in some disarray since late May (International Crisis Group 2005, *Reforming Egypt: In Search of A Strategy*, 4 October – Attachment 25).

HRW provides the following background information:

The popular challenge that forced President Mubarak's hand took organizational form in July 2004 when a coalition of individuals and groups, the Egyptian Movement for Change (*al-haraka al-misriyya min ajl al-taghyir*), initiated a petition campaign dismissing the latest cabinet shake-up as cosmetic, rejecting the apparent grooming of Mubarak's son Gamal for presidential succession, and calling for direct, contested presidential elections.

The first public protest calling on Mubarak to step down occurred on December 12, 2004, when the Movement for Change brought between 500 and 1,000 persons to the steps of the High Court in Cairo. The largely silent protestors taped their mouths with large yellow stickers bearing the single word *kifaya* (enough), a slogan that quickly became the operative name of the protest movement. By the spring of 2005 Kifaya protests had become weekly events, with chants of "No to Mubarak, his party, and his son," and "Mubarak, you failed us, what did you do with our money?" (Human Rights Watch 2005, *From Plebiscite to Contest? Egypt's Presidential Elections*, September <http://www.hrw.org/background/mena/egypt0905/egypt0905.pdf> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 19).

A February 2007 article provides relevant information on the background of Kifaya, as well as internal workings of the movement, membership, and more recent events (Devlin, M. 2007, 'When Enough is not Enough', *Civil Society and Democratization in the Arab World*, vol 13, no 146, Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies website, February, pp. 8-9 <http://www.eicds.org/english/publications/civilsociety/07/Feb07Issue.pdf> – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 35).

As noted previously, there are severe restrictions on obtaining legal status as a political party in Egypt. Michaelle Browsers, in a 2007 journal article, states that "Kifaya members prefer to refer to themselves as part of a 'movement' (*haraka*) and have never sought party status." An October 2005 ICG paper quotes one of the founding members of Kifaya, who states: "The regime has been controlling the opposition parties for the last twenty years. Most parties accept this – they are not really in opposition. So opposition is developing outside the parties – notably Kifaya." The organisation joined in the establishment of an alliance of opposition political groups, United National Front for Change (UNFC), to contest the parliamentary elections held in November – December 2005. According to Browsers, "none of the handful of Kifaya candidates who ran in the elections won seats" (Browsers, M. 2007, 'The Egyptian movement for change: Intellectual antecedents and generational conflicts', *Contemporary Islam*, vol. 1, no. 1, June, pp. 69-88 <http://www.springerlink.com/content/7370306441136958/fulltext.pdf> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 39).

### **Recent reports**

According to a recent article in *The Globe and Mail*, "Kifaya is spreading out its struggle in Egypt, hoping to convince the country's restive and frustrated labour unions to join forces with it." (MacKinnon, M. 2008, 'The quiet rise of civil society', *Globe and Mail*, 17 March <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/servlet/story/RTGAM.20080317.WBwmackinnonbaghdad030320080317064734/WBStory/WBwmackinnonbaghdad0303> – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 40).

A March 2008 article in *Egypt Today* includes an interview with Kifaya's general coordinator, who describes his arrest in January 2008. He also states that:

From the way things stand now, we are going toward more chaos, more corruption. Here in Kefaya, we are hoping to change things peacefully. We are working to form a coalition

between all opposition groups, be they civil society groups or professional unions — journalists, artists and so on. I never give up hope. If I did I will just stay home ('A Portrait of Poverty' 2008, *Egypt Today*, vol 29, issue 3, March <http://www.egypttoday.com/article.aspx?ArticleID=7876> – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 41).

### **Other information**

The Kifaya Manifesto, found on the Kifaya website, has been included in this response as an attachment ('Declaration to the Nation' (undated), Kifaya website <http://harakamasria.org/node/2944> – Accessed 12 March 2008 – Attachment 42).

The rest of the website is mainly in Arabic. See: <http://harakamasria.org/>

Kifaya's report on corruption in Egypt (185 pages) has also been included in this response as an attachment (Kefaya 2006, 'Corruption in Egypt: The Black Cloud is Not Disappearing', Muslim Brotherhood Official English Website, July <http://www.muslimbrotherhood.co.uk/images/Kefayafasad.doc> – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 43).

For further information, see:

Browsers, M. 2007, 'The Egyptian movement for change: Intellectual antecedents and generational conflicts', *Contemporary Islam*, vol. 1, no. 1, June, pp. 69-88 <http://www.springerlink.com/content/7370306441136958/fulltext.pdf> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 39;

Wedeman, B. 2007, 'Analysis: Egypt's ailing democracy movement', *CNN*, 27 March <http://edition.cnn.com/2007/WORLD/meast/03/26/egypt.wedeman/index.html> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 28;

Shadid, A. 2007, 'Egypt Shuts Door on Dissent As U.S. Officials Back Away', *Washington Post Online*, 19 March [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/18/AR2007031801196\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/18/AR2007031801196_pf.html) – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 44;

Azimi, N. 2005, 'Egypt's youth have had enough', openDemocracy website, 31 August [http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-protest/enough\\_2794.jsp](http://www.opendemocracy.net/democracy-protest/enough_2794.jsp) – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 45;

El-Ghobashy, M. 2005, 'Egypt Looks Ahead to Portentous Year', *Middle East Report Online*, 2 February <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero020205.html> – Accessed 27 February 2008 – Attachment 46.

### **14. Please advise whether any Kifaya members been arrested? Why and when? Please provide details of any arrests of its leading members in 2005 and 2007.**

A large number of Kifaya members have been arrested and detained since the movement began. A September 2005 *Middle East Report* article states that "Kifaya organizers have staged numerous demonstrations since their first protest on December 12, 2004. Although the demonstrations have been peaceful, many Kifaya activists have been arrested, since the emergency law prohibits demonstrations that do not have a permit from the Ministry of Interior, a clearance that is all but impossible to obtain." ICG notes that initially, in early

2005, there was “a measure of tacit indulgence on the authorities’ part” towards *Kifaya*’s demonstrations. However, by May 2005 security crackdowns on the demonstrations had become more violent. According to sources, the repression of Kifaya has increased as US pressure on Egypt’s government for democratic reform has lessened (Tadros, M. 2005, ‘Egypt’s Election All About Image, Almost’, *Middle East Report Online*, 6 September <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero090605.html> – Accessed 14 March 2008 – Attachment 37; International Crisis Group 2005, *Reforming Egypt: In Search of A Strategy*, 4 October – Attachment 25; Shadid, A. 2007, ‘Egypt Shuts Door on Dissent As U.S. Officials Back Away’, *Washington Post Online*, 19 March [http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/18/AR2007031801196\\_pf.html](http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2007/03/18/AR2007031801196_pf.html) – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 44).

## 2005

The US Department of State’s country report on human rights in Egypt for 2005 includes the following information on arrests of Kifaya members in 2005:

Beginning in December 2004, the Kifaya (“Enough”) Movement staged multiple demonstrations throughout the year calling for political reform. There were numerous examples of arrest and detention of peaceful demonstrators. For example, on January 28 police arrested three members for distributing leaflets publicizing Kifaya’s February 4 demonstration. On April 26, police arrested two Kifaya activists, Ashraf Suleiman and Hisham Nabil, prior to pro-reform demonstrations as they were distributing the movement’s leaflets outside Helwan, south of Cairo...

... During the May 25 national referendum to revise the constitution, pro-government thugs, possibly including undercover security personnel, attacked and beat several groups of opposition protesters (including demonstrators affiliated with the Kifaya Movement) and journalists, and assaulted and sexually humiliated several women journalists and protesters.

On July 30, about 200 demonstrators gathered in Cairo following a call for assembly by the Kifaya and other opposition movements to protest President Mubarak’s intention to seek a fifth term. The protesters were attacked by uniformed security forces and men in plain clothes armed with truncheons. The demonstrators had sought to assemble in the downtown Tahrir Square, but when they arrived the square was closed off by security forces, which forced them to disperse into several groups heading to several parts of the city. There, numerous demonstrators, including human rights activists, were beaten and dragged along the ground. Thirty persons were arrested and reportedly detained in unofficial detention centers, in the camps of the central security forces in Darassa, Cairo. By August 2, all of the detainees had been released.

In general, the year was marked by an increasing number of political demonstrations across Egypt, particularly those organized by Kifaya and the Muslim Brotherhood; most were marked by some degree of government interference. The Ministry of Interior generally deployed a disproportionate number of riot police to contain both the size and effectiveness of the demonstrations. A pattern of arresting demonstrators, detaining them for at least 15 days “pending further investigation” emerged, particularly in cases of unauthorized rallies and especially those occurring near or around parliament.

In a number of unauthorized demonstrations, police detained suspected organizers, some of whom alleged mistreatment while in detention (see sections 1.c. and 1.d.).

The Kifaya movement organized numerous demonstrations throughout the year, including a March 30 protest where 300 to 400 demonstrators gathered in front of the Press Syndicate

building in Cairo demanding a repeal of the emergency law and holding banners rejecting another term for President Mubarak. In late April, Kifaya held demonstrations simultaneously in 13 cities under the banner “no constitution without freedom.” Hundreds of riot police and security forces surrounded demonstrators, arresting 50 in Cairo and over 100 in other governorates. There were reports that security forces used batons and clubs to beat back demonstrators, while sealing off roads to break up the demonstrations (see section 1.d.).

On February 24, ten unidentified thugs in tracksuits disrupted a meeting, organized by the Word Center for Human Rights, at Cairo’s Pyramisa Hotel. The thugs threatened participants, overturned tables, and took cell phones and petty cash belonging to some of the participants. The meeting, which was attended by members of the al-Ghad Party (whose leader Ayman Nour had been detained on forgery charges on January 29), was focused on the prospects for constitutional reform to permit the direct election of the president. Although the identities of the thugs were never determined, eyewitnesses said that their appearances and speech suggested that they were members of the security forces (US Department of State 2006, *Country Reports of Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Egypt*, March – Attachment 8).

Details of some of these incidents are found in the following HRW reports:

Human Rights Watch 2005, ‘Egypt: Security Forces Attack Opposition Demonstrators’, HRW website, 2 August <http://www.hrw.org/english/docs/2005/08/02/egypt11554.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 47;

Human Rights Watch 2005, ‘Egypt: Calls for Reform Met With Brutality’, HRW website, 26 May <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2005/05/26/egypt11036.htm> – Accessed 17 March 2008 – Attachment 48;

## **2006**

The US Department of State human rights report for 2006 also includes examples of the arrest and torture of Kifaya activists (US Department of State 2007, *Country Reports of Human Rights Practices for 2006 – Egypt*, March – Attachment 49).

## **2007**

According to HRW Egypt stepped up attacks on political dissent in 2007 (Human Rights Watch 2008, *World Report – Egypt*, January – Attachment 50). However, few media reports of Kifaya arrests were found in the available information.

A July 2007 *BBC* article notes the “sometimes heavy-handed treatment of pro-democracy protesters from the Kifaya movement and states that:

Their protests have waned in the last year as government crackdowns against opposition leaders, dwindling US pressure for reform and the passing of constitutional reforms condemned by human rights groups have taken their toll.

“For all that Kifaya did do, the social base was for the most part limited to urban intellectuals. That’s just not enough to make any big change in Egypt,” says Mr Beinin (Sharp, H. 2007, ‘Egypt workers demand raises and rights’, *BBC News*, 23 July [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle\\_east/6911739.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/middle_east/6911739.stm) – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 55).

A March 2007 article on the Muslim Brotherhood website includes names of detained Kifaya activists (Abbadi, A. 2007, ‘Dozens Kifaya Detainees on Hunger Strike’, Muslim

Brotherhood (Ikhwan) Official English website, 17 March  
<http://www.ikhwanweb.net/Article.asp?ID=2119&SectionID=92> – Accessed 17 March 2008  
– Attachment 51)

A description of arrests of Kifaya protesters in March 2007 can be found on the *Arabawy* weblog (el-Hamalawy, H. 2007, 'Police crack down on Kefaya demo; at least 35 detained', Arabawy website, 16 March <http://arabist.net/arabawy/2007/03/16/police-crack-down-on-kefaya-demo-35-detained/> – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 52).

## **2008**

In January 2008 HRW reported that security forces had detained 30 persons during a peaceful demonstration, including journalists, human rights activists, and Kifaya members. The general coordinator of Kifaya, Dr. Abdel Wahhab el-Messiri, was also arrested by police (Human Rights Watch 2008, 'Government Shuts Down Protest Following Bush Visit', HRW website, 21 January <http://hrw.org/english/docs/2008/01/21/egypt17836.htm> – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 53).

A March 2008 article reports on recent protests:

On Monday and Tuesday (Mar. 3, 4), demonstrations were held throughout the country by student groups and opposition political associations of all stripes, including the Muslim Brotherhood opposition movement and the pro-democracy group Kefaya. Numbering in the hundreds in many cases, protestors condemned the perceived inability of Arab capitals – particularly Cairo – to stem Israeli aggression in Gaza (Morrow, A. & al-Omrani, K. 2008, 'Anger Over Israel Approaching Boiling Point', Inter Press Service website, 6 March <http://www.ipsnews.net/news.asp?idnews=41481> – Accessed 18 March 2008 – Attachment 54).

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Human Rights Watch <http://www.hrw.org/>

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