



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Egypt

Egypt – EGY40370 – National Democratic Party (NDP) – Future Generation Foundation (FGF)

29 May 2012

1. Are there members of Mubarak's party still in power? Are they negotiating to stay in power?

Hosni Mubarak's party was the National Democratic Party (NDP), which was dissolved in April 2011¹, two months after Mubarak resigned as president.² According to *Al Jazeera*, at the time the party was dissolved, '[m]uch of its senior leadership [was] behind bars on suspicion of embezzlement'.³ When Mubarak resigned, he handed over power to the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF)⁴, which is currently the country's head of state⁵ until it transfers this power to the elected government in June 2012.⁶

Egypt held parliamentary elections on 28 November 2011.⁷ Shortly before the elections, Egypt's supreme administrative court ruled that former members of the NDP were allowed to run as candidates.⁸ *Al Jazeera* reported that 'dozens of former high-ranking members are reportedly planning to run as independents'.⁹ On 18 November 2011, Egyptian news agency *Ahram* published a list of political parties it says are made up of former NDP members.¹⁰ The list comprised of ten political parties intending to run in the parliamentary elections that month.¹¹ In January 2012, the same news agency reported that these 'NDP offshoot' parties

¹ 'Egypt dissolves former ruling party' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 16 April
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/2011416125051889315.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

² 'Hosni Mubarak resigns as president' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 11 February
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/201121125158705862.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

³ 'Egypt dissolves former ruling party' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 16 April
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/04/2011416125051889315.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

⁴ 'Hosni Mubarak resigns as president' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 11 February
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/02/201121125158705862.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

⁵ International Foundation for Election Systems 2011, *Election Guide – Egypt*, 7 December
<<http://electionguide.org/country.php?ID=65>> Accessed 22 March 2012; Knell, Yolande 2011, 'Egypt after Mubarak: Mohamad Hussain Tantawi profile', *BBC News*, 22 November <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12441512>> Accessed 22 March 2012

⁶ Abdoun, Safaa 2012, 'SCAF reiterates June date as activists call for Tahrir sit-in', *Daily News Egypt*, 25 January
<<http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/scaf-reiterates-june-date-as-activists-call-for-tahrir-sit-in.html>>

⁷ For detailed information about these elections see: RRT Country Advice 2012, *Egypt Elections Roundup*, 2 April

⁸ 'Egypt court clears way for ex-NDP candidates' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 18 November
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/11/201111156234899540.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012; Shenker, J, 2011 'Egypt's National Democratic party members can stand for office, says supreme court', *Guardian*, 16 November <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2011/nov/16/egypt-national-democratic-party-members>> Accessed 28 May 2012

⁹ 'Egypt court clears way for ex-NDP candidates' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 18 November
<<http://www.aljazeera.com/news/middleeast/2011/11/201111156234899540.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

¹⁰ 'NDP Offshoots' 2012, *Ahram*, 18 November <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26897/Elections-Political-Parties/NDP-Offshoots.aspx>> Accessed 28 May 2012

¹¹ 'NDP Offshoots' 2012, *Ahram*, 18 November <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/104/26897/Elections-Political-Parties/NDP-Offshoots.aspx>> Accessed 28 May 2012

received a total of 4 per cent of the parliamentary vote.¹² *Al Jazeera* reported that parties linked to the former NDP received ‘roughly 5 per cent’ of the vote.¹³ The table below, from *Al Jazeera*, shows the parliamentary election results by political party, grouping together all parties that are ‘Mubarak-linked’.¹⁴

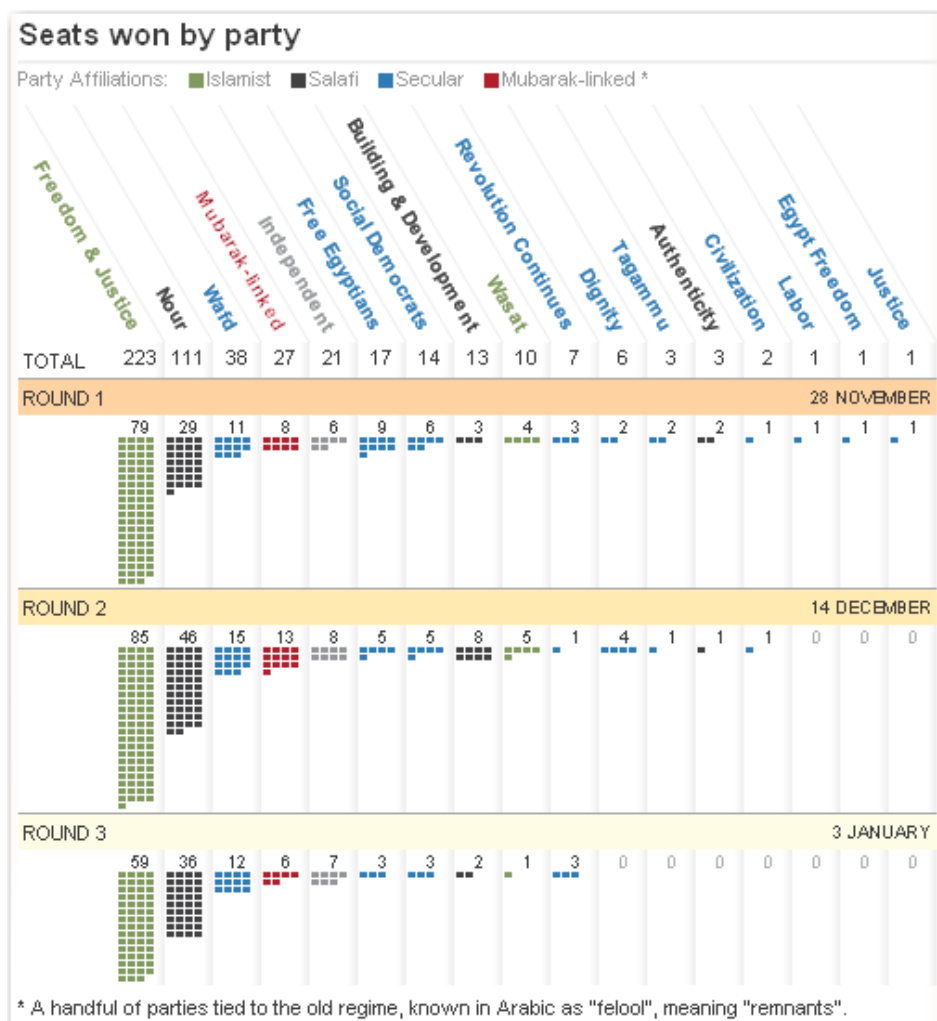


Figure 1: Parties with ex-NDP members shown in red¹⁵

For more information about the parliamentary elections, see the Country Advice *Egypt Elections Roundup*, which has detailed information about the election process, main candidates, and the election results.¹⁶

There are some senior members of the Mubarak regime still holding power, who were not NDP members. The current head of the SCAF is Muhammad Hussein Tantawi¹⁷, who was

¹² Tarek, S, 2012 ‘Islamists win 70% of Egypt People’s Assembly party list seats’, *Ahram*, 21 January <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/33/100/32287/Elections-/News/Islamists-win--of-Egypt-Peoples-Assembly-party-lis.aspx>> Accessed 28 May 2012

¹³ ‘Interactive: Full Egypt election results’ 2012, *Al Jazeera*, 1 February <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2012/01/20121248225832718.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

¹⁴ ‘Interactive: Full Egypt election results’ 2012, *Al Jazeera*, 1 February <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2012/01/20121248225832718.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

¹⁵ ‘Interactive: Full Egypt election results’ 2012, *Al Jazeera*, 1 February <<http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/interactive/2012/01/20121248225832718.html>> Accessed 28 May 2012

¹⁶ RRT Country Advice 2012, *Egypt Elections Roundup*, 2 April

¹⁷ International Foundation for Election Systems 2011, *Election Guide – Egypt*, 7 December <<http://electionguide.org/country.php?ID=65>> Accessed 22 March 2012

Egypt's Defence Minister under Mubarak.¹⁸ The SCAF is Egypt's head of state¹⁹, but is due to transfer this power after elections have been finalised in June.²⁰

Egypt's presidential elections were held on 23 and 24 May 2012, with some candidates having links to the former Mubarak regime.²¹ Of the front runners in the lead-up to the election, two had connections to Mubarak's regime: Amr Moussa, former Foreign Minister under Mubarak; and Ahmed Shafiq, Egypt's Prime Minister under Mubarak.²² The results of the election were announced on 28 May 2012, with Egypt's Supreme Presidential Elections Commission declaring that a run-off election will take place between Ahmed Shafiq and Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood on 16 and 17 June 2012.²³ Reports of this run-off election describe it as an election between Islamists and the leadership of the past.²⁴ The *New York Times* reported that Shafiq 'campaigns as a strongman who would crack down on street protests, restore law and order and check the power of the Islamists'²⁵; however, 'Mr. Shafiq also sought to quiet fears that he represented the government of his friend Mr. Mubarak, saying, "There is no turning back"'.²⁶

2. Is there any information to indicate that participation in organisations such as the Future Generation Foundation would make an individual a target from the present regime?

What is the Future Generation Foundation?

Founded in 1998, the Future Generation Foundation (FGF) is an organisation that provides training and work experience to business graduates in Egypt.²⁷ It is described a 'non-

¹⁸ 'Egypt after Mubarak: Mohamad Hussain Tantawi profile', *BBC News*, 22 November <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12441512>> Accessed 22 March 2012

¹⁹ International Foundation for Election Systems 2011, *Election Guide – Egypt*, 7 December <<http://electionguide.org/country.php?ID=65>> Accessed 22 March 2012

²⁰ Abdoun, Safaa 2012, 'SCAF reiterates June date as activists call for Tahrir sit-in', *Daily News Egypt*, 25 January <<http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/scaf-reiterates-june-date-as-activists-call-for-tahrir-sit-in.html>> Accessed 29 May 2012

²¹ Fadel, L, 2012, 'Egypt's presidential election: Facts about the historic post-Mubarak vote', *Washington Post*, 23 May <http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egypts-presidential-election-facts-about-the-historic-post-mubarak-vote/2012/05/22/gIQAoe0riU_story.html> Accessed 28 May 2012

²² 'Egypt's historic election – Wednesday 23 May' 2012 *Guardian*, 23 May <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/middle-east-live/2012/may/23/egypt-presidential-elections-live>> Accessed 28 May 2012; Fadel, L, 2012, 'Egypt's presidential election: Facts about the historic post-Mubarak vote', *Washington Post*, 23 May <http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/egypts-presidential-election-facts-about-the-historic-post-mubarak-vote/2012/05/22/gIQAoe0riU_story.html> Accessed 28 May 2012

²³ Black, I, 2012 'Egypt confirms Mohamed Morsi and Ahmed Shafiq in election runoff', *Guardian*, 29 May <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/may/28/egypt-presidential-election-morsi-shafiq?newsfeed=true>> Accessed 29 May 2012; 'Mursi, Shafiq officially in Egypt's presidential elections runoffs' 2012, *Ahram*, 28 May <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/36/122/43126/Presidential-elections-/Presidential-elections-news/BREAKING-Mursi.-Shafiq-officially-in-Egypt-presid.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012

²⁴ Kirkpatrick, D & Fahim, K, 2012 'Egypt Race Pits Aide to Mubarak Against Islamist', 25 May <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/26/world/middleeast/egypt-presidential-election-runoff.html?_r=3> Accessed 28 May 2012

²⁵ Kirkpatrick, D & Fahim, K, 2012 'Egypt Race Pits Aide to Mubarak Against Islamist', 25 May <http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/26/world/middleeast/egypt-presidential-election-runoff.html?_r=3> Accessed 28 May 2012

²⁶ Fahim, K, 2012 'Some Disdain Both Options in Egypt's Narrowed Race', *New York Times*, 26 May <<http://www.nytimes.com/2012/05/27/world/middleeast/some-in-egypt-disdain-both-candidates.html?ref=ahmedshafik>> Accessed 28 May 2012

²⁷ United Nations Development Programme 2003, *Egypt Human Development Report*, p.69 <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstates/egypt/egypt_2003_en.pdf> Accessed 29 May 2012; Microsoft, n.d., *FGF/Microsoft Scholarship*,

government organisation'²⁸; however it was founded by Gamal Mubarak, Hosni Mubarak's son²⁹, and operates under the jurisdiction of Egypt's Ministry of Social Affairs.³⁰ The FGF website³¹ is currently inactive, but a copy of the website archived as at 15 December 2010 shows Gamal Mubarak as the FGF Chairman.³²

A 2003 report from the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) states that FGF's aims were 'to develop youth activities in a number of fields and to help support youth in their quest for employment and economic enterprise opportunities'.³³ The UNDP report states that 'FGF has offered programs to develop human resources and provided training in the basic skills required in business'.³⁴ The FGF's programs were developed in partnership with other organisations, giving young entrepreneurs and business graduates training and work experience.³⁵ The FGF has programs with organisations such as Microsoft³⁶ and TechSoup³⁷.

The FGF Alumni Association was also created alongside FGF, with a focus on community development. The Alumni Association has 'taken part in blood donating campaigns, friends of the environment programs, in assisting young people and children with cancer and in an awareness campaign for garbage sorting'.³⁸

In October 2008, the FGF celebrated its 10th anniversary with a ceremony attended by Queen Rania al-Abdullah of Jordan, former British Prime Minister Tony Blair, Gamal Mubarak and his mother Suzanne Mubarak, as well as Egyptian business people and politicians.³⁹

<<http://www.microsoft.com/middleeast/egypt/english/communityaffairs/egprojects/FGF.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012; TechSoup, n.d., *Egypt: Future Generation Foundation*, <<http://www.techsoupglobal.org/countries/egypt>> Accessed 29 May 2012

²⁸ United Nations Development Programme 2003, *Egypt Human Development Report*, p.69 <http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstates/egypt/egypt_2003_en.pdf> Accessed 29 May 2012; Microsoft, n.d., *FGF/Microsoft Scholarship*,

<<http://www.microsoft.com/middleeast/egypt/english/communityaffairs/egprojects/FGF.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012; TechSoup, n.d., *Egypt: Future Generation Foundation*, <<http://www.techsoupglobal.org/countries/egypt>> Accessed 29 May 2012

²⁹ El-Din, G E, 2011, 'Timeline: Gamal Mubarak', 14 April

<<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/9991/Egypt/Timeline-Gamal-Mubarak.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁰ Microsoft, n.d., *FGF/Microsoft Scholarship*,

<<http://www.microsoft.com/middleeast/egypt/english/communityaffairs/egprojects/FGF.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012

³¹ The FGF website is <http://fgf.org.eg>

³² FGF n.d., *Board Members*, <<http://fgf.org.eg/About.aspx?pageID=160>> Accessed 29 May 2012

³³ United Nations Development Programme 2003, *Egypt Human Development Report*, p.69

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstates/egypt/egypt_2003_en.pdf> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁴ United Nations Development Programme 2003, *Egypt Human Development Report*, p.69

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstates/egypt/egypt_2003_en.pdf> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁵ Microsoft, n.d., *FGF/Microsoft Scholarship*,

<<http://www.microsoft.com/middleeast/egypt/english/communityaffairs/egprojects/FGF.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁶ Microsoft, n.d., *FGF/Microsoft Scholarship*,

<<http://www.microsoft.com/middleeast/egypt/english/communityaffairs/egprojects/FGF.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁷ TechSoup is an NGO that provides other NGOs with technology products and resources. See: TechSoup, n.d., *Egypt: Future Generation Foundation*, <<http://www.techsoupglobal.org/countries/egypt>> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁸ United Nations Development Programme 2003, *Egypt Human Development Report*, p.69

<http://hdr.undp.org/en/reports/national/arabstates/egypt/egypt_2003_en.pdf> Accessed 29 May 2012

³⁹ 'Suzanne Mubarak witnesses celebrations marking the 10th anniversary of future generation foundation' 2008, *IPR Strategic Information Database*, 13 October

<http://global.factiva.com/aa/?ref=IPRSID0020081013e4ad00008&pp=1&fcpil=en&napc=p&sa_from=>> Accessed 29 May 2012

FGF corruption and links to the NDP

While information was not found to suggest that members of the FGF have been targeted by the current government, sources were located describing incidents of corruption within FGF that gave the foundation or its members favourable treatment under the Mubarak regime. The FGF Chairman was Gamal Mubarak⁴⁰, a senior NDP official and son of Hosni Mubarak, who was touted as Mubarak's possible successor before the regime fell.⁴¹

In 2011, the *Egypt Independent* reported that the Egyptian government's Social Development Fund paid substantial grants to the FGF when Mubarak was still in power, despite the organisation not meeting 'the fund's declared goals of combatting unemployment and poverty'.⁴² The article states that a total of 16.8 million Egyptian Pounds (AUD\$2.8 million) was paid in 2006-2009 to two organisations headed by Mubarak's wife Suzanne and son Gamal, one of which was the FGF.⁴³

In 2011, Egyptian news agency *Ahram* reported on protests by bank employees against nepotism and high management wages. The article noted that some banks showed favouritism towards FGF members when recruiting:

Countless stories of nepotism have been told among every group of protestors. "Partisans of the Future Generation Foundation, headed by Gamal Mubarak, were given permanent contracts in the bank, regardless of their skills, while there are other employees who work on a full-time basis without any contracts," adds the branch manager who preferred to remain anonymous.⁴⁴

In April 2011, *Ahram* published a timeline of key political events in Gamal Mubarak's life. The article noted that when Gamal founded the FGF in 1998, the FGF board members included 'several prominent businessmen, many of whom later become cabinet ministers and top NDP officials'.⁴⁵

Gamal Mubarak was detained along with his brother, Alaa, amid allegations of corruption on 13 April 2011.⁴⁶ He was banned from leaving the country and his assets were frozen.⁴⁷ Gamal faces charges of illegally accumulating wealth and using his position as head of the Policies

⁴⁰ FGF n.d., *Board Members*, <<http://fgf.org.eg/About.aspx?pageID=160>> Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴¹ Shenker, J, 2010 'Protests in Egypt against Gamal Mubarak succession plans', *Guardian*, 21 September <<http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2010/sep/21/protests-egypt-gamal-mubarak-succession>> Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴² Razeq, M B, 2011, 'Govt agency gave LE16.8 million to organizations run by Mubaraks', *Egypt Independent*, 3 October <<http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/govt-agency-gave-le168-million-organizations-run-mubaraks>> Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴³ Razeq, M B, 2011, 'Govt agency gave LE16.8 million to organizations run by Mubaraks', *Egypt Independent*, 3 October <<http://www.egyptindependent.com/news/govt-agency-gave-le168-million-organizations-run-mubaraks>> Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴⁴ Hussein, S, 2011 'Employees of Egypt's public banks in revolt', *Ahram Online*, 13 February <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/News/5501.aspx>> Accessed 25 May 2012

⁴⁵ El-Din, G E, 2011, 'Timeline: Gamal Mubarak', 14 April <<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/9991/Egypt/Timeline-Gamal-Mubarak.aspx>> Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴⁶ 'Egypt: Mubarak and sons detained amid corruption probe' 2011, *BBC*, 13 April <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13058855>> Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴⁷ 'Egypt: Mubarak and sons detained amid corruption probe' 2011, *BBC*, 13 April <<http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-13058855>> Accessed 29 May 2012

Committee in the NDP to increase his wealth.⁴⁸ Human Rights Watch states that if convicted, Gamal faces a possible sentence of up to three years.⁴⁹

⁴⁸ 'Gamal Mubarak's detention renewed' 2011, *Ahram*, 6 May

<<http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/64/11508/Egypt/Politics-/Gamal-Mubaraks-detention-renewed.aspx>>

Accessed 29 May 2012

⁴⁹ Human Rights Watch 2012, *Egypt: Q&A on the Trial of Hosni Mubarak*, 28 May

<<http://www.hrw.org/news/2012/05/28/egypt-qa-trial-hosni-mubarak>> Accessed 29 May 2012

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