



Australian Government
Refugee Review Tribunal

Country Advice

Egypt

Egypt – EGY38795 – Elections – Muslim Brotherhood – 2007 Referendum – Mohsen Radhy – Salafist Groups

17 June 2011

Please note that spelling in this country advice may vary due to transliteration. Spelling is used as per the source document.

- 1. Please provide details of all elections held in Egypt between 2005 and 2008. In doing so, please include information regarding the involvement of the Muslim Brotherhood and any matters of significance regarding the Muslim Brotherhood and these elections, such as boycotts.**

In the period from 2005 to 2008, Egypt had a referendum on 25 May 2005, a presidential election on 7 September 2005, parliamentary elections that were held in three stages on 9 November, 20 November and 1 December 2005, and a referendum on 26 March 2007.¹

In 2005, it was reported that the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) had been formally banned in Egypt since 1954, but in reality, since the 1970s, it had been allowed to operate within limits by the Egyptian government, which kept it in check with frequent arrests and crackdowns.²

In February 2005, President Mubarak, reportedly under pressure from pro-democracy activists and the United States, called for a constitutional amendment to allow multi-candidate elections. There had been unprecedented public demonstrations and calls for Mubarak to step down prior to this announcement.³ The amendment to Article 76 of the constitution was approved by the People's Assembly on 10 May 2005 and subsequently ratified in a national referendum held on 25 May 2005.⁴ Despite the approval of the amendment, there were still restrictive conditions placed on potential candidates. The Egyptian authorities had attempted to ban protests on the day of the referendum, but large demonstrations took place. The government also arrested Muslim Brotherhood members. The ongoing crackdown against Islamists and other opposition groups sparked large protests, which led to further arrests.⁵

¹ 'Country Profile: Egypt' 2011, Election Guide website, 3 March <http://www.electionguide.org/country.php?ID=65> – Accessed 9 June 2011 – Attachment 1

² Otterman, S. 2005, 'Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt's Parliamentary Elections', Council on Foreign Relations website, 1 December http://www.cfr.org/publication/9319/muslim_brotherhood_and_egypts_parliamentary_elections.html – Accessed 26 June 2009 – Attachment 2

³ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430 http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

⁴ US Department of State 2006, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 4

⁵ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430 http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

According to the US Department of State 2005 report on human rights practices in Egypt, from February to June 2005, security forces arrested and detained hundreds of MB members during dozens of demonstrations for political reform held across the country. In May 2005, the Egyptian Organisation for Human Rights (EOHR) reported documenting the names of at least 498 MB members arrested during peaceful demonstrations held in Cairo, Ismailiyya, Sharqiyya, Minya, Suez, Bahrayya, Fayyoun, Assiut, Menoufiyya, and Gharbiyya.⁶

From mid-2005, the Muslim Brothers were reported to have refrained from staging major protests. According to the International Crisis Group (ICG), “many commentators believe that an arrangement of some sort was the only explanation for what in effect was a truce between the Brothers and the government throughout mid-2005.” During the September 2005 presidential election campaign, while many other political forces either supported Mubarak’s opponents or staged anti-Mubarak demonstrations, “the Muslim Brothers by and large were silent, endorsing no one.” They appeared to have ignored the presidential election to focus on the November-December 2005 parliamentary elections. On the eve of those elections, a prominent Muslim Brother remarked that “for the first time since 1995 there is not a single Muslim Brother in prison.”⁷ Another report indicates that a more open political atmosphere in 2005 because of both domestic and international pressure, led the government to give the Muslim Brotherhood unprecedented freedom to campaign before the 2005 parliamentary elections. The group is reported to have had 150 candidates who officially ran as independents, but held rallies, used the Muslim Brotherhood’s slogan “Islam is the Solution”, and hung posters with the Brotherhood’s name.⁸

On 7 September 2005, President Hosni Mubarak won 88% of the vote in Egypt’s first multi-candidate presidential election, and was elected for a fifth six-year term. The election was reported to be marred by charges of fraud and by low voter turnout. The government reported voter turnout of 23%, but domestic election monitors said the turnout was lower.⁹ Some 19 candidates were disqualified, laws severely restricting political activity remained in place, and the government refused to allow international monitors.¹⁰

The first round of the 2005 elections for the People’s Assembly held on 9 November 2005 is reported to have occurred peacefully, although there were multiple confirmed reports of vote buying and charges of vote rigging. Independent candidates who were “allied with the banned but tolerated Muslim Brotherhood won 35 seats out of the 160 in play in the first round.” The second round of the parliamentary elections reportedly “witnessed violence by government supporters against opposition voters, sporadic police cordons intended to limit access to polling stations, and additional wins for independent Islamist candidates linked with the MB.” The third round of the parliamentary elections saw widespread police cordons at polling stations intended to limit opposition voters, and multiple clashes between the police and opposition voters which resulted in at least eight deaths. As a result of the elections, the

⁶ US Department of State 2006, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Egypt*, March, Section 1(d) – Attachment 4

⁷ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt’s Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, pp. 1 & 8 – Attachment 5

⁸ Otterman, S. 2005, ‘Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt’s Parliamentary Elections’, Council on Foreign Relations website, 1 December

http://www.cfr.org/publication/9319/muslim_brotherhood_and_egypts_parliamentary_elections.html – Accessed 26 June 2009 – Attachment 2

⁹ US Department of State 2006, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Egypt*, March, Introduction & Section 3 – Attachment 4

¹⁰ ‘Egypt’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430

http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

National Democratic Party (NDP) retained its majority in the new parliament. Eighty-eight independent deputies allied with the Muslim Brotherhood were elected.¹¹

The winning of 88 of the 160 seats they contested from a total of 444 seats by the Muslim Brothers was achieved “despite considerable security interference, fraud in the polls’ second and third rounds, mass arrests of campaign staff as well as the Brothers’ own decision to limit the number of their candidates.”¹² One source refers to hundreds of supporters of Muslim Brotherhood-backed candidates having been arrested during the three-stage elections,¹³ while another article indicates that more than 1,000 Muslim Brothers were arrested before the second and third rounds of the elections. According to independent organisations monitoring the elections, police blocked MB supporters from entering the polls in some districts. The government was also accused by Muslim Brotherhood leaders of changing the final count in seven districts, a concern echoed by independent monitors.¹⁴

According to the International Crisis Group, “[t]he Society of Muslim Brothers’ success in the November-December 2005 elections for the People’s Assembly sent shockwaves through Egypt’s political system. In response, the regime cracked down on the movement, harassed other potential rivals and reversed its fledgling reform process.” Writing in 2008, the ICG said that:

The regime’s strategy towards the Muslim Brothers over the last two decades has combined relative tolerance of (or indifference toward) its religious and social activities with a hostile media discourse and steady stream of security crackdowns against political activists. But the 2005 elections marked a quantitative and qualitative change: the regime dramatically increased the number of arrests of rank-and-file members whenever the Muslim Brothers contested an election or took part in public protests, imposed travel bans on most of their senior leaders and curtailed their public activities and contacts with other opposition and civil society figures. The new policy also included long-term detention (without charges under the Emergency Law) of prominent members and targeting the Society’s key financiers and most influential leaders. Muslim Brothers and external observers describe the crackdown as the most widespread campaign against the group since the 1960s, even if the level of brutality is far less and its aim is to control and contain rather than eradicate the group.

... The pattern appeared to be that the security services would crack down every time the Muslim Brothers took to the streets (whatever the reason) or contested an election.¹⁵

In January 2006, the Muslim Brother’s General Guide Akef is reported to have pledged that they would henceforth contest every election. The Muslim Brothers had previously focused largely on the People’s Assembly, professional syndicates and student union elections. They claimed they would now also participate in elections for municipal councils, the Shura

¹¹ US Department of State 2006, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2005 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 4

¹² International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt’s Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p. 1 – Attachment 5

¹³ ‘Egypt’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430 http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

¹⁴ Otterman, S. 2005, ‘Muslim Brotherhood and Egypt’s Parliamentary Elections’, Council on Foreign Relations website, 1 December http://www.cfr.org/publication/9319/muslim_brotherhood_and_egypts_parliamentary_elections.html – Accessed 26 June 2009 – Attachment 2

¹⁵ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt’s Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, pp. I, 8 & 9 – Attachment 5

Council (the upper house of parliament), labour unions, and occasionally, the board of Cairo's prestigious social clubs.¹⁶

On 15 February 2006, the People's Assembly granted a request by President Mubarak that municipal elections be postponed for two years on the basis that the constitution should be amended first, as had been promised by Mubarak in his campaign. The regime's fear that the Muslim Brothers would ride a wave of public support was widely seen as one of the reasons for the move.¹⁷ Another report indicates that the government said the delay was necessary to give the assembly further time to adopt laws that would increase the role of local governments.¹⁸

In October 2006, opposition students, mostly from the Muslim Brothers, were barred from participating in university elections in Egypt. This prompted an alliance with the radical left and the declaration of an unrecognised "Free Union" independent of the university administration. Riot police and hired thugs were reportedly used to repress Islamist students.¹⁹

In November 2006, the Muslim Brothers and other opposition candidates were barred by security forces from registering for labour union elections, which the Society was seriously contesting for the first time.²⁰

In June 2007, the government organised Shura (Consultative) Council elections for 88 open seats, which resulted in the ruling NDP winning 84 of the 88 contested seats. Three NDP members who had failed to secure party nomination won seats as independents, and another seat was won by the opposition leftist Tagammu Party.²¹ The Muslim Brotherhood participated for the first time by backing independent candidates for the Shura Council, although none won a seat.²² In the run-up to the elections, hundreds of MB members and campaign workers were arrested and detained by government security forces.²³ According to the ICG, there were several hundred Muslim Brothers arrested before and during the Shura Council elections "in which the Muslim Brothers failed to win a single seat due partly to police repression."²⁴ The government reported 31% voter turnout for the Shura elections, but independent monitors reported turnout of 5%. After the Shura election results were

¹⁶ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p. 6 – Attachment 5

¹⁷ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p. 7 – Attachment 5

¹⁸ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

¹⁹ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p.9 – Attachment 5

²⁰ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p.9 – Attachment 5

²¹ US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

²² 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 427
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

²³ US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

²⁴ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p.10 – Attachment 5

announced, President Mubarak used his presidential prerogative to appoint another 44 members.²⁵

Municipal elections were held in April 2008. In the run-up to the elections, it is reported that “over 830 potential candidates and their supporters were arrested and only 498 out of 5,754 Muslim Brother candidates were able to register due to administrative and police obstruction. On the eve of the elections, the Society announced its boycott in protest at the arrests.”²⁶ The NDP won 92% of 52,000 council seats in the municipal elections. According to the 2010 *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*:

In the run-up to the elections, hundreds of Muslim Brotherhood members were arrested—more than 900 by March—on grounds of belonging to an illegal political group. Nonetheless, the Brotherhood chose to back independent candidates for some of the 52,000 seats on local councils, though the government reportedly blocked 90 percent of the Islamist candidates from registering. Subsequently, it was reported that dozens of candidates backed by the Brotherhood had gone underground in an attempt to avoid arrest before the balloting... Nevertheless, a general strike by opposition groups and labor activists was staged the weekend before the elections, followed by demonstrations by thousands of supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood that turned violent when police intervened. On April 7 the Brotherhood announced that it was boycotting the elections, the candidates backed by the group having been allowed to contest only 20 seats. In balloting marked by extremely low turnout, the NDP was reported to have won 92 percent of the seats, after having run unopposed in about 90 percent of the contests. The Muslim Brotherhood called the elections a fraud since most opposition candidates were barred from running, and Brotherhood leaders were contemplating legal action. Only about 2 percent of candidates were from legal opposition groups... On April 15, some family members of 40 detained Muslim Brotherhood members were arrested while they awaited a verdict from a military court; 25 of the 40 were subsequently sentenced to up to 10 years in prison on charges that included terrorism and money laundering. Five others, tried in absentia, received 10-year prison terms for terrorism. Brotherhood leader Muhammad Mahdi Akef, for his part, called the government “a bunch of gangsters” following the military tribunal’s actions.²⁷

2. Please provide information about the 2007 referendum in Egypt, including what the referendum was about and what was the MB’s reaction to it.

In November 2006, Egypt’s President Mubarak requested the People’s Assembly to make 34 amendments to the constitution. The amendments were drafted by a restricted committee, which included senior National Democratic Party members and representatives from the security services and the office of the presidency. Details of the amendments were gradually presented to the parliament between December 2006 and February 2007.²⁸ The amendments included revisions to Article 88 replacing the judiciary’s supervision of elections with a new Supreme Electoral Commission, and a ban under Article 5 on the establishment of any political party with a religious basis.²⁹ Other significant amendments were granting the president the authority to dissolve parliament, and the entrenching of most of the restrictions

²⁵ US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

²⁶ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt’s Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, pp. 7 & 10 – Attachment 5

²⁷ ‘Egypt’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, pp. 427 & 430-431 http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

²⁸ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt’s Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, p. 12 – Attachment 5

²⁹ US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

under the emergency law, including a broadening of the authority of the police to circumvent legal processes to combat terrorism.³⁰

The constitutional amendments were reported to have caused uproar in parliament, and the Muslim Brothers had “joined virtually all political and civil society voices in denouncing the government and calling for the amendments’ rejection in the 26 March 2007 popular referendum.” According to the International Crisis Group, amendments that “contained provisions apparently designed to further contain the Muslim Brothers” included the amendment to Article 5, which formalised the ban on religious parties, the amendment to Article 1, which defined Egypt as a “democratic state based on citizenship” rather than a “democratic socialist state based on the alliance of the working forces of the people”, and the amendment to Article 62 which “paved the way for the replacement of the current electoral system with one based either on proportional representation, in which case only legal parties could present candidates, or on a mixed system in which some seats would be assigned to party lists and others to individual candidates.” The Muslim Brotherhood did not have a legal party. Also, Article 179, which referred to anti-terror legislation that would eventually replace the Emergency Law, would, as amended, “allow new legislation to perpetuate key aspects of the Emergency Law... The amended text, not divulged to parliament until late in the debate, allows for the future anti-terror law to contravene Articles 41, 44 and 45 of the constitution, which provide protection against, respectively, arbitrary arrest, searches without warrants and violation of privacy.”³¹

International and local civil society advocates and human rights groups were reported to have criticised the timetable for the referendum and “the substance of the amendments as falling short of meaningful reform. The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace characterized revisions to Article 88 as a step backwards, noting that judicial oversight had previously resulted in a more transparent electoral process. AI [Amnesty International] described the amendments as the ‘greatest erosion of human rights in 26 years’ and called on parliament to reject the proposed constitutional amendments, stating they would continue a long-standing system of abuse under the Emergency Law. The EIPR [Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights] criticized the proposed amendment to Article 179, arguing that it would ‘do away with whatever legal protection is left for personal rights and freedoms’ as well as diminish guarantees of due process.”³² Amnesty International commented that the changes to Article 179 “cemented the sweeping arrest powers of the police, gave broad authority for state agents to eavesdrop on private communications, authorized the President to bypass ordinary courts and paved the way for new anti-terrorism legislation expected to further erode human rights protection.” It also stated that the amendments reducing the role of judges in supervising elections and referendums, and banning the establishment of political parties based on religion, apparently in response to the Muslim Brotherhood’s electoral success in 2005, appeared to be politically motivated.³³ Opposition and human rights groups said the changes “were designed to consolidate the ruling party’s control.”³⁴

³⁰ ‘Egypt’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010
– Attachment 3

³¹ International Crisis Group 2008, *Egypt’s Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?*, Middle East/North Africa Report N°76, 18 June, pp. 12-14 – Attachment 5

³² US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

³³ Amnesty International 2008, *Amnesty International Report 2008 – Egypt*, 28 May – Attachment 7

³⁴ ‘Egypt’ 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010
– Attachment 3

The referendum was boycotted by the Muslim Brotherhood and other opposition groups. It was held on 26 March 2007, ten days before the scheduled date and only seven days after the president's proposed changes were approved by parliament.³⁵

The amendments were approved at the referendum, with the government reporting that 75.9% of voters voted for the amendments and 24.1% voted against the changes. Voter turnout was reported by the government to be 27.1%, while independent monitors and press reports estimated turnout to be between 2% and 5%.³⁶ The constitutional changes went into effect immediately. Human rights organisations claimed that the vote was rigged.³⁷ The NCHR [National Council for Human Rights] fielded monitors for the referendum, who reported witnessing "inaccurate electoral lists, group voting, lack of judicial supervision in some polling stations, prevention of NGOs representatives from practicing their work, closure of ballot boxes before official time, lack of prescribed ink in some polling stations, and a lack of information for voters outside the polling stations."³⁸ Egypt's judges were reported to have rejected the results of the referendum and vowed not to supervise future balloting.³⁹

3. Please provide information about Mr Mohsen Radhy (also spelt Rady and Radi I believe) who is claimed to be a Muslim Brotherhood MP in Banha. In doing so, please focus on the period between 2005-2008, including any involvement of Mr Radhy in elections during this period and any other significant events concerning Mr Radhy during this period.

It is reported that a person named Muhssen Rady was elected in the Banha district of Qalubiya constituency in the November-December 2005 parliamentary elections in Egypt. Information on the Muslim Brotherhood's Ikhwanweb website indicates that following the second round of the November-December 2005 elections, Muhssen Rady in Banha district in Qalubiya constituency was to participate in a run-off poll.⁴⁰ He was subsequently elected in Banha district in the run-off poll.⁴¹ Mohsen Rady "was a member of the Brotherhood's parliamentary bloc".⁴² He is also reported to have been a journalist.⁴³

³⁵ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

³⁶ US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

³⁷ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

³⁸ US Department of State 2008, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2007 – Egypt*, March, Section 3 – Attachment 6

³⁹ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, p. 430
http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

⁴⁰ 'The Final Result of the MB's Nominees in 2nd Round' 2005, Ikhwanweb website, 22 November
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=5442&ref=search.php> – Accessed 8 June 2011 – Attachment 8

⁴¹ Muhammad, A.M. 2005, 'The Brotherhoods Win 29 Seats in Run-offs', Ikhwanweb website, 27 November
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=5349&ref=search.php> – Accessed 8 June 2011 – Attachment 9

⁴² Bradley, M. 2011, 'Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood To Rejoin Protests', *Dow Jones News Service*, 6 April – Attachment 10

⁴³ 'Egyptian House Speaker: Including Media Under Anti-Terror Law Under Study' 2007, Ikhwanweb website, 4 April
<http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=1908&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 11

Other reports on Mohsen Radi include an article on the Ikhwanweb website in May 2006, which indicates that he was among members of the Muslim Brotherhood arrested at a demonstration in Cairo on 5 May 2006.⁴⁴

In February 2007, Mohsen Radi said that the detention of two Muslim Brotherhood members in Qalyubiyah were a part of the Egyptian security services' scheme to curb the Muslim Brotherhood's activities, and to prevent it from fielding candidates in forthcoming Shura Council elections.⁴⁵ In August 2007, Mohsen Radi denounced the arrests of Muslim Brotherhood members in raids on summer camps in Egypt. These included the arrests of 40 young Muslim Brotherhood members who were charged with "relaunching the activity of a banned organization" following a raid on a holiday camp in Baltym on the Nile Delta.⁴⁶ A report on the Ikhwanweb website in November 2007 indicates that Mohsen Radi was the member of the Muslim Brotherhood parliamentary bloc responsible for the journalists file. The report also indicates that two out of three Muslim Brotherhood candidates had won seats on the board of the Egyptian Press Syndicate in elections held in November 2007.⁴⁷

In March 2008, Mohsen Radi condemned comments by Egypt's Minister of Information, Anas Al-Feqi, who said that members of the MB Parliamentary Bloc could never participate in live TV programs and interviews. Al-Feqi also described the Muslim Brotherhood as an "outlawed group".⁴⁸ In August 2008, it was reported that Mohsen Radi, who was a member of the Culture and Information Committee in the People's Assembly, had been critical of the seizing of an edition of the Egyptian daily newspaper, Al Dostour.⁴⁹

In October 2009, Mohsen Radi condemned the intervention of state security to eliminate 12 professors from the ballot lists of candidates for elections for the Benha Teaching Staff Club.⁵⁰

A report on the Ikhwanweb website dated 1 January 2010 refers to Mohsen Radi having presented a draft law on the banning of the imprisonment of journalists and a draft law on the postponement of the capital punishment of pregnant mothers, to the People's Assembly.⁵¹

Mohsen Rady is reported to have lost his seat in the December 2010 elections.⁵² A recent article describes Mohsen Rady as a "[s]enior Muslim Brotherhood (MB) member" and a "former official spokesman of the MB parliamentary bloc."⁵³

⁴⁴ Aly, M. 2006, 'Morsy, Al-Erian, 500 MB and Kefaya Activists Arrested', Ikhwanweb website, 5 May <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=4229&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 12

⁴⁵ 'Egyptian Security Forces Arrest 2 Qalyubiyah MBs' 2007, Ikhwanweb website, 2 February <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=2399&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 13

⁴⁶ 'Egypt arrests 40 Muslim Brotherhood members' 2007, *Agence France-Presse*, 11 August – Attachment 14

⁴⁷ Ismail, M. 2007, 'Winning MB Journalists Ready to Cooperate with Gov't Backed Chief', Ikhwanweb website, 11 November <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=14715&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 15

⁴⁸ Abdullah, N. 2008, 'Minister of Information: MB Parliamentarians Still Belong to Outlawed Group', Ikhwanweb website, 3 March <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=16406&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 16

⁴⁹ 'Radi: Seizing Sunday's Edition of Al Dostour is a Scandal for the Egyptian Regime' 2008, Ikhwanweb website, 8 August <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=17581&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 17

⁵⁰ 'A parliamentary questioning the scandal of the elimination of the Banha University Professors' 2009, Ikhwanweb website, 10 October <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=21254&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 18

⁵¹ 'MB MPs excellent performance in the Egyptian Parliament' 2010, Ikhwanweb website, 1 January <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=22434&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 19

In May 2011, Mohsen Radi was reported to have been the general coordinator of a project for a film and television series about the founder of the Muslim Brotherhood, Imam Hasan al Banna.⁵⁴

An earlier report on Mohsen Radi indicates that during 2004, he was one of three MB members along with an MB-affiliated journalist prevented by security services from travelling to meetings outside Egypt.⁵⁵ Also, a report from November 1995 refers to a Muslim Brotherhood member named Mohsen Radi, who was abroad at the time and was tried in absentia, being sentenced by an Egyptian military court to three years hard labour. He was among 54 Muslim Brotherhood members sentenced by the court.⁵⁶

4. Please provide information about recent violence perpetrated by any Salafist offshoot organisation from the Muslim Brotherhood, or any Salafist groups in Egypt. In doing so, please distinguish between violence committed against Muslims and non-Muslims.

Recent articles refer to Egypt's Salafist movement making use of the liberties won with the end of the Mubarak government. A report from June 2011 indicates that Egyptian Salafists had held conferences to determine their future course, and that Salafist youth had sought to create the "Nour Islamic Party". The Salafists have denied that al-Nour is a religious party, and al-Nour maintains that it is open to members from the Coptic community.⁵⁷ Groups such as Gama'a al-Islamiya which was once involved in violent conflict with the Mubarak administration, and others only involved in peaceful preaching were reappearing and Salafists were returning to mosques from which they were banned.⁵⁸ Another report indicates that Islamist groups such as the Islamic Group and the Al-Jihad Group had advocated a yes vote on constitutional amendments subject to a popular referendum in March 2011. Leaflets distributed by the Muslim Brotherhood, which also favoured a yes vote, said that voting would retain Article 2 of the Constitution, which said that "Islam is the religion of the state, and the principles of the Islamic Shari'ah are the main source of legislation."⁵⁹

It is reported that the Islamic Group and Al-Jihad were once linked to the Muslim Brotherhood. The 2010 *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition* refers to al-Jihad or Holy War being "[a] secret organization of militant Muslims who had reportedly split from the Muslim Brotherhood in the second half of the 1970s because of the latter's objection to the use of violence". The Islamic Group or Gamaat i-Islami is reported to have "surfaced in the late 1970s as the student wing of the Muslim Brotherhood, subsequently breaking from that organization and aligning (until the mid-1980s) with *al-Jihad* in seeking overthrow of the government." In mid-1996, there were reports that a faction of the Islamic Group had signalled interest in negotiations with the government, and in March 1999, the Islamic Group

⁵² Bradley, M. 2011, 'Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood To Rejoin Protests', *Dow Jones News Service*, 6 April – Attachment 10

⁵³ 'Presidential hopeful Hazem Abu Ismail not Brotherhood member, says group' 2011, *Daily News Egypt*, 30 May – Attachment 20

⁵⁴ 'Movie Honoring MB Founder Released Wednesday' 2011, Ikhwanweb website, 5 May <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=28657&ref=search.php> – Accessed 14 June 2011 – Attachment 21

⁵⁵ US Department of State 2005, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2004 – Egypt*, February, Section 2(d) – Attachment 22

⁵⁶ 'Egypt – Nov. 23 – 54 MB Members Jailed; Offices Shut' 1995, *APS Diplomatic Recorder*, 25 November – Attachment 23

⁵⁷ Nasira, H. 2011, 'Salafists, Copts and Sectarianism in Egypt after the Revolution', *The Jamestown Foundation Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IX, Issue 22, 2 June, pp. 3-4 – Attachment 24

⁵⁸ Perry, T. 2011, 'In free Egypt, Salafists regroup, speak out', *Reuters News*, 22 February – Attachment 25

⁵⁹ 'Egyptian politicians worried by Islamist support for constitutional amendments' 2011, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Al-Hayat website, London, 18 March – Attachment 26

announced a unilateral cease-fire.⁶⁰ In February 2011, it was reported that Gama'a al-Islamiya's leaders, who had "formally abandoned violence more than a decade ago, say they remain committed to peaceful activism."⁶¹

It has recently been reported that Salafists have been "widely blamed for instigating a recent spate of clashes between Muslims and Christians that left more than a dozen people dead and hundreds wounded."⁶² On 27 May 2011, it was reported that Christians had said that in the previous week, Salafists and other local Muslims had blocked access to a church in the Ain Shams district of eastern Cairo and pelted them with cinder blocks.⁶³ On the evening of 7 May 2011, there were clashes between Christians and Muslims in the Cairo district of Imbaba that extended into the next day. Twelve people were reported to have been killed and more than 238 people wounded in the violence, which was triggered by rumours that a woman who had converted to Islam had been abducted by Christians.⁶⁴ Another report refers to 15 people being killed and 186 wounded in the violence which reportedly occurred after Salafists gathered outside a church where it was rumoured a female convert was being held against her will.⁶⁵ Members of Egypt's Christian minority and some Muslims are reported to "have blamed the tensions on the emergence of Salafists", while others believed that remnants of the Mubarak regime were to blame.⁶⁶

On 20 March 2011 in Qena, Salafists are reported to have cut off a Copt's ear and caused other injuries after he was accused of renting an apartment to a prostitute.⁶⁷ Abdel Moneim al-Shahat, a leading Salafist, wrote a defence of the movement after this incident, describing the incident as a lie, saying that he was accused of shameful sexual behaviour, and those who accused the Salafists were giving in to Christian sectarianism. Salafist leaders were reported to have denied participating in a series of recent violent incidents in Egypt, "beginning with the March 8 burning of St. George Church in Atfih, Giza Governorate, through to the severing of the ear of a Coptic man in Qena Governorate in late March and the sectarian incidents in the Cairo suburb of Imbaba on May 8."⁶⁸

Salafist followers of Sayed Qurasy are reported to have played a leading role in the staging of a sit-in to cut the railway line through Qena governorate in support of demands for a Muslim governor. The sit-in occurred after the appointment of a Christian governor, General Emad Mikhail, in April 2011. General Mikhail was also the former deputy head of Central Security in Giza, and was associated with the security services' violent response to the late January demonstrations against the Mubarak regime.⁶⁹

⁶⁰ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library, pp. 434-435 http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 12 August 2010 – Attachment 3

⁶¹ Perry, T. 2011, 'In free Egypt, Salafists regroup, speak out', *Reuters News*, 22 February – Attachment 25

⁶² Londono, E. 2011, 'Egypt fundamentalists make presence felt', *The Washington Post*, 10 June – Attachment 27

⁶³ Aboudi, S. 2011, 'Christians worry Egypt being hijacked by Islamists', *Reuters News*, 27 May – Attachment 28

⁶⁴ Saleh, Y. & Mikhail, S. 2011, 'Egypt tightens security amid inter-faith tensions', *Reuters News*, 9 May – Attachment 29

⁶⁵ Nasira, H. 2011, 'Salafists, Copts and Sectarianism in Egypt after the Revolution', *The Jamestown Foundation Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IX, Issue 22, 2 June, p. 5 – Attachment 24

⁶⁶ Saleh, Y. & Mikhail, S. 2011, 'Egypt tightens security amid inter-faith tensions', *Reuters News*, 9 May – Attachment 29

⁶⁷ Marshall, P. 2011, 'Egypt's Other Extremists', *The Weekly Standard*, 16 May – Attachment 30

⁶⁸ Nasira, H. 2011, 'Salafists, Copts and Sectarianism in Egypt after the Revolution', *The Jamestown Foundation Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IX, Issue 22, 2 June, p. 4 – Attachment 24

⁶⁹ Nasira, H. 2011, 'Salafists, Copts and Sectarianism in Egypt after the Revolution', *The Jamestown Foundation Terrorism Monitor*, Volume IX, Issue 22, 2 June, p. 4 – Attachment 24

On 23 March 2011, Salafists were reported to have surrounded St. George's church in Beni Ahmad and successfully demanded that a government approved church expansion be stopped. On 27 March 2011, they blockaded St. Mary's church in Giza. On 28 March 2011, one villager was killed and eight others injured after Salafists attacked a liquor store owned by a Copt in Kasr El-Bassil, destroyed other stores, and demanded the closure of coffee shops. On 5 April 2011, St. John the Beloved church in Kamadeer was occupied and Copts told they were not allowed to pray there anymore.⁷⁰

Salafists are also reported to have attacked other Muslims. On 30 March 2011, a Salafist killed a Muslim for not praying at the requisite time. Sufi mosques and shrines have also reportedly been attacked by Salafists. Since the end of the Mubarak government, dozens of Sufi shrines on the outskirts of Cairo have been burned or have disappeared.⁷¹ Locals say that five shrines have disappeared in Qalyoub on the northern outskirts of Cairo since Mubarak lost power, part of what the Egyptian media has declared is a campaign by Salafists.⁷² There have also been attacks on Sufi shrines in Alexandria, Beheira and Monufiya.⁷³ In a meeting between prominent Salafist and Sufi leaders convened by the ministry of religious endowments in Alexandria, a memorandum of reconciliation was signed, with the Salafists asserting they had neither demolished the shrines nor would incite such behaviour.⁷⁴ Egypt's small Shiite community is also reported to be a target.⁷⁵

⁷⁰ Marshall, P. 2011, 'Egypt's Other Extremists', *The Weekly Standard*, 16 May – Attachment 30

⁷¹ Marshall, P. 2011, 'Egypt's Other Extremists', *The Weekly Standard*, 16 May – Attachment 30

⁷² Perry, T. 2011, 'Islamist campaign against Egypt shrines focus fears', *Reuters News*, 6 April – Attachment 31

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