

ISSUES PAPER

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1. Executive Summary

The Muslim Brotherhood (or the Brotherhood, as it will be referred to in this paper) was formed in the 1920s and banned as a political party in the 1950s. Despite this, the Brotherhood became the largest opposition bloc in Egypt, by standing its candidates as independents aligned to the Brotherhood in the federal election in 2005. A number of laws and constitutional amendments have banned the Brotherhood's formal involvement in the political system. Emergency Laws allow police and security services to detain individuals without charge, or transfer civilians to military courts which do not allow appeals. Police often detain members of the Brotherhood for long periods without formal charges. Constitutional amendments have banned religious based political parties. Members of the Brotherhood have reportedly been tortured by police and State Security forces, often to extract confessions which may comprise the main evidence against a defendant. Authorities have reportedly curtailed Brotherhood members' freedoms of expression and movement.

2. Background

2.1 Ideology

The Society of the Muslim Brothers (the Muslim Brotherhood), is a hierarchical Sunni socio-political movement that was formed in 1928¹. At this time, the Brotherhood had two main goals: to expel foreign influence from Egypt and to reconstitute Egypt as an Islamic state. The contemporary Brotherhood views outside influences in Egypt in a negative light. It believes that Egypt is under political and cultural assault by crusaders (Christians and the West), Jews and secularism². According to the *Common Ground News Service*, the Brotherhood seeks to establish a democratic political system in the country with an Islamic frame of reference³.

The Brotherhood has been officially banned by the state since the mid-1950s, when some of its members were accused of plotting to assassinate former president Gamal Abdel Nasser. In the 1970s, however, the group officially renounced violence and according to *Inter Press Service*, its tactics have been strictly confined to the political arena ever since⁴.

In October this year, the Brotherhood brought thousands onto the streets in a campaign supporting Gaza's Hamas rulers, with which it shares historical and ideological ties⁵. Many members were subsequently arrested.

2.2 Elections

The Brotherhood has exploited loopholes in the electoral system by allying itself with other parties and running candidates as independents⁶. The Brotherhood first entered

¹ Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood", *African Security Review* volume 17(3), September 2008. CISLIB17960.

² Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood", *African Security Review* volume 17(3), September 2008. CISLIB17960.

³ "Sisters in the Muslim Brotherhood", *Common Ground News Service*, 14 April, 2009. CX235379

⁴ "Islamists Hounded, On Campus and Off", *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, 10 November, 2008. CX213977

⁵ "Harassment of suspected supporters of Palestinian activities; Background information on connections of Palestinian activists (Hamas) to Syria and foreign relations between Egypt and Syria", *Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation (ACCORD)*, 19/10/2009. CISLIB17944.

electoral politics in multiparty elections in 1984, by entering into an alliance with al-Wafd, a secular party with liberal leanings⁷. The same scenario took place in 1987 through a different Brotherhood electoral alliance with the liberal al-Ahrar party, which resulted in the alliance gaining thirty-seven seats of a total 448 elective seats available in Parliament. The Brotherhood boycotted the elections in 1990 in protest against the state's repressive policy toward them. In the 1995 elections, they secured only one seat. But in the 2000 elections, despite security strikes against their candidates and supporters, they managed to secure seventeen seats in Parliament. In 2005, despite widespread electoral fraud, the Brotherhood secured 88 seats (roughly one-fifth of the national assembly), making it Egypt's largest opposition movement⁸.

After the strong 2005 showing, the Islamist movement was declared "a security threat"⁹. In 2007, in a response to the Brotherhood's rising electoral challenge, President Mubarak carried out a sweeping set of constitutional reforms that gave him the authority to dissolve parliament, ban religious political parties, weaken judicial oversight of elections and grant the government extensive new security powers¹⁰.

That year, the government rounded up hundreds of the movement's senior and rank-and-file members. It also targeted the movement's economic assets by confiscating properties and closing down factories owned by some leading businessmen who are Brotherhood members¹¹.

2.3 Popular support

In the decade since the early 1990s, the Brotherhood has been successful in controlling key professional organisations within civil society such as lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, journalists and engineers giving them broad influence over Egypt's educated elites¹².

One observer estimates that the Brotherhood has 50,000 to 60,000 registered members with a further 400,000 to 500,000 sympathizers and supporters. Of the total, 25–30 percent are women¹³.

2.4 Structure

The Brotherhood is governed by an internal statute dating back to 1951 and last modified in the mid-1980s. The statute identifies the main administrative units, establishes the mechanisms for the election and selection of members of both the Guidance Bureau and Shura Council and explains the tasks assigned to each unit. According to the *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, the Brotherhood's hierarchy consists of:

⁶ Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood", *African Security Review* volume 17(3), September 2008. CISLIB17960.

⁷ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

⁸ "Islamists Hounded, On Campus and Off", *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, 10 November, 2008. CX213977

⁹ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

¹⁰ Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood", *African Security Review* volume 17(3), September 2008. CISLIB17960.

¹¹ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

¹² Laurence Caromba and Hussein Solomon, "Understanding Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood", *African Security Review* volume 17(3), September 2008. CISLIB17960.

¹³ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

- 1) The Supreme Guide, the Brotherhood's highest authority
- 2) Maktab al-Irshaad (the Guidance Bureau), a sixteen-member executive body elected by the movement's Majlis al-Shura (Consultative/ Shura Council)
- 3) The Majlis al-Shura, the legislative body, which outlines general policies. It consists of 75 to 90 members representing Brotherhood members in the 22 governorates of Egypt
- 4) The administrative bureaus (*al-makaatib al-Idariyyah*), the executive bodies at the governorate level. Each bureau outlines the plan of action in its respective area and communicates with the Guidance Bureau¹⁴.

According to *The Economist*, 'supreme guides' of the organisation have previously served for life, however, Mehdi Akef, the Brotherhood's last supreme guide, stood down in January 2010¹⁵. He was replaced by Mohammed Badie, who will be the Brotherhood's eighth supreme guide since its founding in 1928¹⁶.

2.4.1 Splinter groups

2.4.1.1 Women's groups

An important Brotherhood document issued in 1994 stated that women have the right to participate in elections both as voters and candidates, since there is no rule in Shari'a that prohibits this¹⁷. In 2004, the Brotherhood outlined that women are entitled to participate in parliamentary elections, hold public posts (except that of head of state) and have educational opportunities. The Brotherhood leadership takes a conservative stand on the issue, with many upholding the Salafist¹⁸ view that women's activism should be kept to a minimum¹⁹.

The Brotherhood's first women's division, '*ferqat al-akhawaat al-muslimaat*' (the Muslim Sisters Group) was created in 1932²⁰. Structurally, there is a complete separation

¹⁴ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

¹⁵ "The Muslim Brothers: Appear or oppose?", *The Economist*, 8 October, 2009. CX234708.

¹⁶ "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood chooses new leader", *Associated Press (AP)*, 16 January, 2010. CX238785.

¹⁷ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

¹⁸ Salafiyya is a Sunni Islamic movement that seeks to purify Islam of any practices that deviate from the seventh-century teachings of the Prophet Muhammad and his companions. Salafis generally believe that the Quran and the Prophet's practices are the ultimate religious authority in Islam, rather than the subsequent commentaries produced by Islamic scholars that interpret these sources. Salafiyya is not a unified movement, and there exists no single Salafi "sect." However, Salafi interpretations of Islam appeal to a large number of Muslims worldwide who seek religious renewal in the face of modern challenges (Blanchard, Christopher M. "CRS Report for Congress - The Islamic traditions of Wahhabism and Salafiyya", *Congressional Research Service- The Library of Congress*. 2008).

¹⁹ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

²⁰ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

between the main movement and the women's division²¹. The Muslim Sisters group aims to uphold the Islamic ethos and spread virtue through lectures and women-only gatherings²².

According to *Common Ground News Service*, a Washington-based organisation seeking to promote mutual understanding and offer opportunities for constructive suggestions that facilitate peaceful resolution of conflict, women activists advocating for an Islamic political system through the Brotherhood believe that Islam brought justice to women. The division claims that their lack of equal rights currently, has to do more with the cultural, political and social realities in which their movement functions than with the movement itself. However, the Brotherhood is routinely criticised for its conservative position on women's issues²³.

In April 2009, *Common Ground News Service* reported that a number of female members of the Brotherhood were becoming restless about the lack of representation and were seeking ways to increase their numbers in senior positions in the movement itself and, in time, to participate more in the country's politics²⁴. The majority of this group occupies mid-level positions in the movement and is calling for increased women's leadership within the organisation, as well as a greater number of female Brotherhood candidates in national elections²⁵. *Common Ground News Service* reports that "a conservative culture in the Brotherhood, coupled with an oppressive socio-political context – which the movement sometimes appears to mirror – is why women in the Brotherhood fail to acquire adequate representation reflective of their contribution to the movement's political struggle"²⁶.

In Egypt's 2000 parliamentary elections, the Brotherhood nominated for the first time, a female candidate, Jihan al-Halafawi. Halafawi's husband (also a Brotherhood member) and her campaign manager were arrested during the campaign. Security officials approached her, offering to free her husband if she withdrew her candidacy. She did not withdraw. When the initial vote count indicated that Halafawi was close to winning, her victory was reportedly overturned by an official decree that cancelled the elections in the al-Ramal constituency, which remained without representation in the assembly for two years²⁷. According to *Common Ground News Service*, "[A]lthough the government eventually ensured her defeat (for being a Brotherhood candidate, not for gender reasons) by rigging the vote, harassing her supporters and arresting her husband and campaign manager, Al-Halafawi had a strong backing from the public"²⁸.

After the 2005 elections thousands of Brotherhood leaders and key supporters have been arrested and prosecuted in military tribunals²⁹. After the arrests of Brotherhood members in 2007, the women's division organised a campaign, led by the daughters and wives of

²¹ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

²² Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

²³ "Sisters in the Muslim Brotherhood", *Common Ground News Service*, 14 April, 2009. CX235379

²⁴ "Sisters in the Muslim Brotherhood", *Common Ground News Service*, 14 April, 2009. CX235379

²⁵ "Sisters in the Muslim Brotherhood", *Common Ground News Service*, 14 April, 2009. CX235379

²⁶ "Sisters in the Muslim Brotherhood", *Common Ground News Service*, 14 April, 2009. CX235379

²⁷ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

²⁸ "Sisters in the Muslim Brotherhood", *Common Ground News Service*, 14 April, 2009. CX235379

²⁹ "Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?", *International Crisis Group*, 18 June 2008. CISLIB 16107.

the detained Brothers, that helped create public awareness of the plight of the detained Brothers. They also organised street protests against the military trials, ran media campaigns, secured funds to pay lawyers and support the families of detainees and organised visits to those detained³⁰.

In the 2005 elections, over 5,000 candidates ran for 444 parliamentary seats. One hundred and twenty seven candidates of the candidates were women, of whom 114 ran as independents³¹. In this election, in the Cairo electoral district of Nasser City, the Brotherhood had one female candidate, Makarem al-Deeri³². When the votes were counted, al-Deeri was 1,500 votes ahead of her ruling-party opponent. However, officials announced that her rival had won the seat³³. Ultimately, six women won seats in the assembly, while another five were later appointed by President Hosni Mubarak³⁴.

2.4.1.2 Student groups

The Brotherhood forms the largest political bloc on student campuses and student union elections have resulted in clashes between Brotherhood students and the police³⁵. Candidates associated with opposition movements, especially the Brotherhood, were reportedly barred from participating in student union elections in universities throughout Egypt during October 2008³⁶.

In October 2009, State security forces raided the homes of six students of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) group of the al-Zaqaziq University Engineering School. According to *Ikhwanonline*, the Brotherhood students were charged with being "members of the MB Group, that they were promoting the thought of the MB Group and that they were causing disturbances in the campus"³⁷.

In recent years, Muslim Brotherhood students have been arrested in the universities of al-Manufiyah, al-Fayyum and al-Zaqaziq. Student elections were suspended in al-Azhar University and the names of Brotherhood students were deleted from the student lists of candidates in Hulwan University³⁸.

According to the *International Crisis Group*, security forces barred opposition students (mostly from the Brotherhood) from participating in university elections across the country in October 2006, prompting them to ally with the radical left and declare an unrecognised "Free Union" independent of university administration. Clashes over the elections and notably the use of riot police to repress Islamist students, led to ongoing tensions that contributed to the "al-Azhar militia" incident of December 2006 (for further

³⁰ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008, CISLIB 16665.

³¹ "Women's rights activists demand more political participation", *IRIN*, 26 January, 2006. CX145231.

³² "In Egypt vote, Islamist influence grows", *Christian Science Monitor*, 9 November, 2005. CX206827.

³³ Omayma Abdel-Latif, "In the Shadow of the Brothers: The Women of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood", *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*, October 2008.

³⁴ "Women's rights activists demand more political participation", *IRIN*, 26 January, 2006. CX145231.

³⁵ "Rights group condemns clampdown on student unions", *Daily News Egypt*, 23 October, 2008. CX213093.

³⁶ "Islamists Hounded, On Campus and Off", *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, 10 November, 2008. CX213977

³⁷ "Egypt reportedly continues to arrest or release members of Muslim group", *Ikhwan Web*, 27 October, 2009. CX235688.

³⁸ "Egypt Muslim Brotherhood members said barred from university elections", *Ikhwan Web*, 15 October, 2008. CX212542.

information see CISLIB 16107). The same practices were applied on campus at the beginning of the 2007 academic year³⁹.

2.5 Arrests

A state of emergency has been in force since the assassination of President Sadat in 1981⁴⁰. Emergency Laws have been renewed repeatedly since then despite protests from rights groups and regime opponents⁴¹. These laws suspend basic constitutional protections and allow police to detain individuals without charge⁴². Special courts issue non appealable verdicts that are subject to ratification by the President (for further information please see 3.1.4 Judicial). Although judges in these courts are usually selected from the civilian judiciary, they are appointed directly by the President. The *International Federation for Human Rights* reports that these courts accept as evidence information obtained under torture⁴³.

Amendments to the constitution preserve many controversial aspects of the Emergency Laws, such as the President's authority to transfer civilians suspected of terrorism to military courts⁴⁴. *Amnesty International* reports that thousands of political prisoners are held in administrative detention under emergency legislation, many of them for more than a decade⁴⁵.

Freedom in the World reports that arrested political activists are often tried under the Emergency Laws⁴⁶. Police often detain members of the Brotherhood for long periods without formal charges⁴⁷. According to *Reuters*, Egyptian police disregard court rulings ordering detained members of the country's political opposition set free⁴⁸. Similar reports indicate that the state security service in Alexandria has refused to carry out the court's decision and has ordered Brotherhood arrests⁴⁹.

Amnesty International reports that twenty-five members of the Brotherhood were sentenced in April to up to 10 years in prison by the Haikstep military court, including seven who were tried in their absence. Amnesty International observers were denied access to the trial⁵⁰.

In 2008, *Human Rights Watch* reported that security forces arbitrarily arrested and detained without charge more than 800 members of the Brotherhood, including at least 148 would-be candidates in the elections scheduled for April 8 2009⁵¹.

³⁹ "Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?", *International Crisis Group*, 18 June 2008. CISLIB 16107.

⁴⁰ "Voices for a Democratic Egypt - Egyptian Human Rights Overview 2007-2009", *Voices for a Democratic Egypt*, 2009, CISLIB17820.

⁴¹ "Torture is systematic in Egypt 'police state': rights groups", *Agence France Presse (AFP)*, 4 December, 2009. CX237219.

⁴² "Rights: Govt enforcing Ramadan fast", *Inter Press Service (IPS)*, 15 September, 2009, CX233495.

⁴³ "Observatory for the Protection of Human Rights Defenders Annual Report 2009 - Egypt", *International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)*, 18 June, 2009. CX230358.

⁴⁴ "Freedom in the World 2009 - Egypt", *Freedom House*, 16 July, 2009, CX230651.

⁴⁵ "Amnesty International Annual Report Egypt 2009", *Amnesty International*, 28 May, 2009, CX227125.

⁴⁶ "Freedom in the World 2009 - Egypt", *Freedom House*, 16 July, 2009. CX230651

⁴⁷ "Egypt police detain Muslim Brotherhood members", *Reuters*, 8 November, 2008. CX213943.

⁴⁸ "Egypt police detain Muslim Brotherhood members", *Reuters*, 8 November, 2008. CX213943.

⁴⁹ "Egyptian authorities continue crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood", *Ikhwan Web*, 14 December, 2008. CX216537.

⁵⁰ "Amnesty International Annual Report Egypt 2009", *Amnesty International*, 28 May, 2009. CX227125.

⁵¹ "Jailing 800 activists casts doubt on elections", *Human Rights Watch (HRW)*, 30 March, 2008. CX196629.

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The *Associated Press* reports that Egyptian authorities have jailed around 5,000 Brotherhood members over the last five years⁵².

3. Treatment by government authorities

3.1 Law and legal

3.1.1 Emergency Laws

Please see the above section 2.5 Arrests.

3.1.2 Constitutional

Constitutional amendments passed in 2007 banned religion or class based political parties⁵³. According to the *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, these amendments have made it impossible for the Brotherhood and more difficult for Brotherhood affiliated independent candidates, to run in either parliamentary or presidential elections. The restrictive new electoral law, which allows only registered political parties to campaign, bans religious parties and imposes tough conditions on "independent" candidates. In 2008, these restrictions resulted in the rejection of more than 800 Brotherhood candidates for local council elections⁵⁴.

Amendments to Article 5, ban political activity/parties based on religion⁵⁵. According to the new text, "no political activity shall be exercised or political parties shall be established on the basis of religion or on discrimination due to gender or race"⁵⁶.

Article 88- removes judicial supervision of elections, while Article 179 invokes special powers to fight terrorism⁵⁷. *International Crisis Group* reports that, as amended, Article 179 creates loopholes that will allow new legislation to perpetuate key aspects of the Emergency Laws, such as granting police the right to conduct warrantless searches and wiretaps as well as to detain suspects for extended periods of time without charging them⁵⁸.

3.1.3 Other Laws

The Egyptian Parties Law 40 of 1977 states that political parties based on religion are illegal. Pursuant to this law, the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) is an illegal organisation. In 2005-2006, hundreds of members of the Brotherhood were arrested and charged with membership in an illegal organization, planning to revive the activities of the banned group, obstructing the constitution and the law of the country and organizing demonstrations without obtaining prior security permission⁵⁹.

In July 2005, the parliament passed government-sponsored revisions to the Political Parties Law (Law 40/1956) providing that new parties be legally registered automatically unless the Political Parties Affairs Committee (PPC), headed by the chair of the ruling National Democratic Party, rejects the application. The revised law also empowers the

⁵² "Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood chooses new leader", *Associated Press (AP)*, 16 January, 2010. CX238785.

⁵³ "Freedom in the World 2009 - Egypt", *Freedom House*, 16 July, 2009, CX230651.

⁵⁴ "Transition in Egypt: radicals on the rise?", *Washington Institute for Near East Policy*, 24 September, 2009. CX234670.

⁵⁵ "Divisive Egypt reforms approved", *BBC News*, 27 March, 2007. CX174479.

⁵⁶ "Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?", *International Crisis Group*, 18 June 2008. CISLIB 16107.

⁵⁷ "Divisive Egypt reforms approved", *BBC News*, 27 March, 2007. CX174479.

⁵⁸ "Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?", *International Crisis Group*, 18 June 2008. CISLIB 16107.

⁵⁹ "Egypt International Religious Freedom Report 2006", *United States of America (USA): Department of State also State Department*, 15 September, 2006. CX206820.

PPC to suspend an existing party's activities if it judges this to be "in the national interest" and to refer alleged breaches of the law to the Prosecutor General⁶⁰. The restrictive new electoral law, which allows only registered political parties to campaign, bans religious parties and imposes tough conditions on "independent" candidates.

Also under the new rules, a party must have been continuously operating for at least five years and occupy at least five percent of the seats in parliament in order to nominate a presidential candidate⁶¹.

The Egyptian Government is drafting an anti-terrorism law, which the *Cairo Centre for Human Rights Studies* claims will be used against opposition politicians and that it will also be used for the exercise of violence and that it will be an extension of the state of emergency which would turn into a permanent situation⁶².

3.1.4 Judicial

According to *Amnesty International*, in military court trials, the right to appeal to a higher tribunal is limited to hearings before the Supreme Court for Military Appeals which is composed exclusively of military officers and which only examines the law, its interpretation and procedural issues, rather than the evidence itself or the factual basis of the charges.

Senior Brotherhood members are sometimes charged in military courts, which do not allow appeals. In April 2008, a military court convicted over two dozen Brotherhood activists, including deputy leader Khairat al-Shatir, on charges of money laundering and belonging to a banned organisation. The men received sentences that ranged from three to ten years in prison⁶³.

In 2007, forty members of the Brotherhood were tried on charges of terrorism and money laundering before a military court although the defendants were civilians. The defendants, who faced charges punishable by death, included the Brotherhood's deputy supreme guide, who was arrested in December 2006 along with 16 other prominent members. All seventeen were acquitted of all charges by an ordinary criminal court but were immediately rearrested. President Mubarak ordered the seventeen cases and those of twenty three other alleged Brotherhood members, to be transferred to the Supreme Military Court in Haikstep, Cairo. *Freedom House* reports that, a Cairo administrative court ruled that the President's order was invalid but a few days later the Supreme Administrative Court reversed that decision, after the government appealed⁶⁴. According to *Amnesty International*, a total of twenty five defendants were sentenced on terrorism and money-laundering charges in connection with their membership of the Brotherhood. Fifteen others were acquitted. All denied the charges⁶⁵.

During the 2005 elections, voter turnout was low and there were numerous reports of violent attacks on opposition voters by security forces. Judges criticised the government

⁶⁰ "HRW World Report 2007", *Human Rights Watch*, 11 January, 2007. CX169867.

⁶¹ "Freedom in the World 2009 - Egypt", *Freedom House*, 16 July, 2009. CX230651.

⁶² "Egyptian rights centre report says human rights deteriorating", *Amlalommah*, 13 December, 2009. CX237667.

⁶³ "Freedom in the World 2009 - Egypt", *Freedom House*, 16 July, 2009. CX230651.

⁶⁴ "Amnesty International Report Egypt 2008", *Amnesty International*, 28 May, 2008. CX201106.

⁶⁵ "Egyptian Military Court of Appeals fails to rectify injustice", *Amnesty International*, 19 November, 2009. CX236842.

for failing to prevent voter intimidation and refused to certify the election results, prompting the authorities to suppress judicial independence in 2006⁶⁶.

3.1.5 Police and law enforcement

According to *United States Commission on International Religious Freedom*, Egyptian security forces continue to arrest hundreds of suspected Islamists every year and there are numbers reports of members being subject to torture and/or prolonged detention without charge⁶⁷.

In late 2008, Egyptian police stormed a Brotherhood conference and detained 30 members. Witnesses reported that police beat brotherhood members with batons⁶⁸.

During elections, there have been widespread reports of police blocking Brotherhood campaign staff and supporters from voting and campaigning⁶⁹.

The official website of the Brotherhood, *Ikhwan online*, reports that in 2008, a prisoner was tortured by beating and electric shocks by a police officer. Also that year, in a separate incident, also reported by *Ikhwan online*, a brotherhood member, suffered total paralysis after being assaulted by the Deputy Chief of Mina al-Basal Police Station⁷⁰. In September 2009, two members were arrested and reportedly tortured for over ten days at the State Security Investigations premises⁷¹. Two months later, in November 2009, police detained a 33 year old Brotherhood member and reportedly tortured him with electric shocks; kicked, slapped and insulted him⁷².

3.2 Access to services

3.2.1 Education

In general, members of the Brotherhood are not excluded or restricted from accessing educational services. However, *Ikhwan online* reported in December, that hundreds of Brotherhood female students from Cairo University, staged a silent protest on the campus for the third consecutive day to protest the decision by the university administration barring them from entry into the exam halls if they had the niqab veil on⁷³. Further information on Education can be found at 2.3.1.2 Student Groups.

4. Additional human rights issues

4.1 Freedom of expression

In 2006 members of the Brotherhood started to emerge on blogs⁷⁴. In April 2007, security officers arrested Brotherhood-affiliated blogger and journalist Abd al-Monim Mahmud.

⁶⁶ “Freedom in the World 2009 - Egypt”, *Freedom House*, 16 July, 2009. CX230651.

⁶⁷ “U.S. Commission on International Religious Freedom Annual Report Egypt 2008”, *United States Commission on International Religious Freedom (USCIRF)*, 1 May, 2008. CX202481.

⁶⁸ “Egypt police detain Muslim Brotherhood members”, *Reuters*, 8 November, 2008. CX213943.

⁶⁹ “Egypt police hold 17 Islamists in parliament vote”, *Reuters*, 13 July, 2008. CX205219.

⁷⁰ “Muslim Brotherhood says to ask ICC to probe “police excesses” in Egypt”, *Ikhwan Web*, 5 October, 2008. CX211728.

⁷¹ “Egyptian authorities reportedly continue action “against Brotherhood members”, *Ikhwan Web*, 15 September, 2009. CX233539.

⁷² “Egyptian authorities continue arrests of Muslim Brotherhood members”, *Ikhwan Web*, 12 December, 2009. CX237670.

⁷³ “Egyptian authorities continue to arrest/release Muslim Brotherhood members”, *Ikhwan Web*, 10 December, 2009. CX237678.

⁷⁴ “Core to Commonplace: The evolution of Egypt's blogosphere”, *Arab Media and Society*, 2008. CX211815.

He had blogged about his experience of torture in 2003. He was held for 47 days on charges of belonging to a banned organisation before being released without trial⁷⁵.

The government's actions against political opposition groups, particularly the Brotherhood, intensified in April 2009. On 5 April that year, three days before local elections and a day before a planned general strike, the government banned all demonstrations. Protests were nevertheless held in Mahalla, north of Cairo, which were violently suppressed, and in other cities. At least three people were shot dead and dozens wounded as a result of the use of force by the security forces⁷⁶.

According to a *Human Rights Watch* report published on 21 January 2009, the Brotherhood has reported that 860 of its members have been arrested in connection with demonstrations protesting Israeli actions in Gaza⁷⁷.

4.2 Freedom of movement

Most notably, at the time of the 2005 elections, authorities imposed travel bans on most senior Brotherhood leaders⁷⁸. In April 2009, 15 members of the Brotherhood who had been tried in a military court for terrorism and money laundering charges were acquitted but banned from travel abroad⁷⁹.

4.3 Torture

In one incident, a number of members were held in different State Security branches for at least 70 days, during which they were reportedly tortured, including with electric shocks. At least 24 of them told the Public Prosecutor that they had been tortured. Although some of them were referred to forensic doctors, the resultant examinations were not able, due to the passage of time, to establish what caused the marks on their bodies or when or how they had been sustained⁸⁰.

A trial began in August 2009 before the (Emergency) Supreme State Security Court in Tanta of 49 people accused of involvement in violent protests on 6 April 2009. The defendants said they were blindfolded for nine days and tortured by State Security Investigation (SSI) officials in Mahalla and at Lazoghly Square, Cairo, after their arrests. Methods alleged included beatings, electric shocks and threats that their female relatives would be sexually abused. The authorities did not order an independent investigation into their complaints and confessions allegedly obtained through torture comprised the main evidence against the defendants⁸¹.

There have been reports of prisoners who have been tortured and receiving delayed access to health services. In one such case, a prisoner suffered acute burns under torture

⁷⁵ "Freedom on the Net 2009 - Egypt", *Freedom House*, 1 April, 2009. CX223906.

⁷⁶ "Amnesty International Annual Report Egypt 2009", *Amnesty International*, 28 May, 2009. CX227125.

⁷⁷ "Harassment of suspected supporters of Palestinian activities; Background information on connections of Palestinian activists (Hamas) to Syria and foreign relations between Egypt and Syria", *Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation (ACCORD)*, 19/10/2009. CISLIB17944.

⁷⁸ "Egypt's Muslim Brothers: Confrontation or Integration?", *International Crisis Group*, 18 June 2008. CISLIB 16107.

⁷⁹ "Amnesty International Annual Report Egypt 2009", *Amnesty International*, 28 May, 2009. CX227125.

⁸⁰ "Harassment of suspected supporters of Palestinian activities; Background information on connections of Palestinian activists (Hamas) to Syria and foreign relations between Egypt and Syria", *Austrian Centre for Country of Origin and Asylum Research and Documentation (ACCORD)*, 19/10/2009. CISLIB17944.

⁸¹ "Amnesty International Annual Report Egypt 2009", *Amnesty International*, 28 May, 2009. CX227125.

at the police station and was kept there until he suffered an inflammation of the wounds, after which he was sent to hospital⁸².

Torture is also detailed under 3.1.3 Police and Law Enforcement.

⁸² “Egyptian security continues crackdown on Muslim Brotherhood”, *Ikhwan Web*, 12 October, 2008. CX212221.

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