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Title: Review of the Ministry of Justice's fact-finding committee report

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### I. Introduction

**"Sovereignty** is the quality of having supreme, independent authority over a geographic area. It can be found in a power to rule and make law that rests on a political fact for which no purely legal explanation can be provided."<sup>1</sup>

The challenge Egypt took to get control over NGOs that now operate without proper government licenses within Egypt's sovereign borders is based on definition of sovereignty.

There were always links between international governmental organizations NGOs and respect for state sovereignty.

NGO funding comes from abroad and that sometimes challenges the sovereignty of the nation and raises important legal issues when external funding aims to change social structure and cultural traditions which are very dangerous.

The central issue is respect for Egypt sovereignty.

It remains an important ethical issue that Egypt's sovereignty reflects the citizen's right to self-determination.

The Egyptian people clearly state that they are proud of their sovereignty when weighing the merits of international involvement in domestic NGOs, which will not deviate them from the path they drew in the January 25<sup>th</sup> Revolution.

The second issue is exploitation when considering funding NGOs and regulating their access to external funding.

There are duties that flow from accepting the moral obligation to provide respect for state sovereignty which is based on the legitimacy of the state. NGOs that now operate without proper government licenses violated this.

The donors must not coerce or exploit state sovereignty. The "exterior" donors call for democracy in Egypt, but does democracy mean the SCAF should stop the work of judicial organs and respond to the external demands of democracy to promote selective democracy in Egypt? And, if the SCAF failed to respond to such demand will they be considered as a dictator?

The SCAF had to choose between two duties: the duty to provide for the needs of NGOs and the duty to preserve national sovereignty.

Democratic governments, military regimes, and the SCAF all may use force or the threat of force to maintain their position

The raid on the NGOs in Egypt is based on the conflict between the donor's obligation to promote the development effectiveness of funding and to respect recipient state sovereignty whatever the nationality of such donors.

It is not true that Egyptian authorities are in particular focused on U.S.-funded organizations, as some media reported, but they are also focused on funding coming from the Gulf and that was clear after the result of the fact finding committee report had been released, and after some International NGOs had been raided.

The raids come as part of the work of the judicial authorities and police, which both come under the framework of democracy, decentralization, and the establishment of rules of law, and that each Government department should do its job with an absolute necessity to protect both Egyptian national sovereignty and international stability. "Sovereignty" was one of the targets Egypt's revolution wanted to achieve and to avoid exploiting Egypt's political and economic turmoil.

Activists and media incorrectly described their work as "raids" because the work of inspection and audit in this regard had to enter the judicial authorities and its executive's arm The Police.

The SCAF has no role to intervene and prevent them from doing their work. The SCAF authorized the government authorities to deal with what is in the context of their work in accordance to the rule of law.

The Egyptian Government has no interest in stopping the work of NGOs registered in accordance with the provisions of the NGO law. It is not to the interests of the country, especially during the current period of transition to create an enemy called the NGOs.

The NGOs are free to work in Egypt as long as they have licenses that allow them to operate transparently.

Raids of some NGOs was all about the moral case for respecting Egypt's sovereignty and outsider involvement in NGO funding and policy.

Egypt has a good history in respecting the work of civil and non-governmental organizations that serve the community, but of course according to the rule of law and without interfering with the sovereignty of Egyptian influence, and the work of organizations in the field of development, education, health, and other areas permitted under international and national law.

The confiscation of equipment at the unlicensed NGOs can only be described as an act of jurisdiction of the judicial bodies that operate in accordance with the law.

The police's role of implementing the provisions of the judiciary, and the objection or the resistance to the performance of their work is punishable by law, whether in Egypt, America, or any other democratic country in the world.

Egypt currently has many priorities but foremost are economic stability and security. The people and their judicial authority have the right to protect the achievements made in the gains of democracy, without selectivity, according to the world's common rules of transparency and accountability.

I believe the state must impose stiffer regulations, monitoring funding applications by expertise to digest applications properly and avoid rubber stamping for fear of losing donor money. The NGOs clearly run afoul with respect for sovereignty.

In my view there must be:

- A balance of respect for state sovereignty with NGO funding.
- Adherence to standard guidelines for NGOs. Funds must disbursed only after the government agrees to consult with NGOs.
- Raise the requirements for NGO registration or allow unfettered international funding of NGOs.
- NGO compliance with the letter of the law, both for moral and legal reasons.
- There must be conditions to promote funding with respect for state sovereignty by the recipient.
- Donors themselves need to recognize their role as outsiders and that lasting social change comes from within.
- Strengthening democracy and the responsiveness of government must be a domestic, not something transplanted from outside.

Egypt calling for transparency support from the international community shows respect for Egypt in the march toward democracy, which demonstrates that the Egyptian people are proud of their sovereignty. But if the international community shows no respect for Egypt sovereignty, democracy will not function properly.

## II. Methodology

Egyptian media had reported on December 30 and 31, 2011, that several Egyptian NGO's had been "raided" (a formulation that I disagree with as I later explain in my text), that there were 17 organizations listed as receiving illegal funds and a list of 30 organizations

violating Egyptian NGO regulations. Cornelis Hulsman was asked about this in a radio interview for the Dutch NOS and as a consequence wanted to know more details about what exactly had happened. AWR then asked in an email from December 31, 2011 for the following:

- A list of the organizations that were raided;
- A list of the 17 organizations receiving funding illegally;
- A list of the 30 organizations listed in the report of the ministry of Justice or better, a copy of their report.

This, Hulsman added, "would help discovering the reasons. I want to make sure that we always fully abide by government regulations."

Following this request, I searched the internet and found texts from *Al-Ahrām online* and the Cairo Institute for Human Right's Studies as well as a chart on Facebook, selected relevant sections and wrote my conclusions based on the material that I had found.

III. Ministry of Justice Fact-finding Committee Report<sup>2</sup>

The final report prepared by the head of the fact-finding committee over foreign-funding Dr. 'Umar al-Sharīf, the Assistant Minister of Justice to investigate the "direct foreign funding of unlicensed Egyptian and foreign NGOs operating in Egypt after the Revolution of January 25<sup>th</sup>.

## **First: The Procedures**

- 1 On July 6, 2011, the Egyptian cabinet announced in meeting no. 17 the formation of a fact-finding committee on the usage of U.S. funding to Egyptian civil society and the legitimacy of such aid. [missing detail that the Arabic version]
- 2 On July 7, 2011, Minister of Justice Ādil Abd al-Hamīd received a letter from International Cooperation Minister Fāyzah Abū al-Najā informing him that Egyptian civil society organizations received \$40 million in funding from the U.S. government, represented by the USAID, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), and International Republican Institute (IRI). These two [organizations] are not registered or authorized to work in Egypt. Minister Fāyzah Abū al-Najā got this information from a statement before the U.S. Senate's Foreign Relations Committee on April 21<sup>st</sup>. The newly-appointed U.S. Ambassador to Egypt, Ann Patterson said a successful democratic transition in Egypt matters to the United States strategically: "It matters to our allies; and it will serve as a model for the rest of the Arab world." Patterson disclosed that "the US has already granted \$40 million to various non-governmental organizations, NGOs, to assist in their participation in the political life of the country."<sup>3</sup>

Minister Fāyzah Abū al-Najā added that there wasn't any consultation between the U.S. government and the Egyptian government before doing such funding.

The \$40 million in funding was contrary to what is agreed between the former Egyptian Foreign Minister and U.S Foreign Secretary, that agreement limit the direct American funding to the non-governmental organizations registered in the Egyptian Ministry of Solidarity according to law No. 84 of 2002.

The U.S. NGOs entered into an agreement with the Egyptian Foreign Ministry are the only licensed to work in Egypt.

There was a lapse in the commitment of the U.S. side to inform the Egyptian government on all steps taken by the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) to choose or to provide funding to Egyptian or American NGOs.

On July 10, 2011, Minister of Justice issued a decree No. 7218 for 2011 with the formation of the fact-finding committee to investigate the "direct foreign funding of unlicensed Egyptian and foreign NGOs operating in Egypt, and the American organizations, NDI and IRI, which are not registered or authorized to work in Egypt.

The committee started collecting information from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Public Administration to combat crimes of public funds, the national security sector, the Ministry of Social Solidarity, the Egyptian Intelligence Service, and the Unit of Money Laundering of the Central Bank of Egypt.

The head of the Committee, Dr. 'Umar al-Sharīf, the assistant of Minister of Justice for legislation appointed Dr. Amānī al-Baghdādī as Committee member and member of the legislation sector at the Ministry of Justice to conduct several interviews with some official agencies to clarify information and necessary investigation.

The report she made included the following:

The Committee received the letter of Dr. Jūdah 'Abd al-Khāliq al-Sayīd, Minister of Solidarity in August 10, 2011, attached with a file included the following:

- 1 Names of NGOs showing the nationality and the amount of funding with its permission from the Ministry of Solidarity acting in accordance with the Act 84 of 2002.
- 2 Names of non-governmental NGOs authorized to operate by the Ministry of Solidarity, which has benefited from foreign funding during the period from 1/7/2010 until 30/6/2011.
- 4 A statement of some non-governmental organizations not registered at the ministry of Solidarity receiving funding from American organizations.
- 5- The position of the two American institutes, the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI).

6 – The legal rules NGOs should follow to receive foreign funding.

The Committee through reading the file, founded the following notes:

- 1- List with the names of all NGOs receiving foreign funding.
- 2- Donors identification.
- 3- Donation amount.
- 4- Date of approval of the Minister of Social Solidarity.
- 5- List with several non-registered NGOs received a large amount of foreign funding.
- 6- NGOs who didn't use the received fund used for its approved purpose.

These notes raised suspicion, especially in light of the events that Egypt passed through after the January Revolution.

What raised the suspicion of the committee were the following notes:

181 million Egyptian pounds funding received by the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association from Qatar, Sheikh 'Īd Bin Muhammad Al Thānī. The former Minister of Social Solidarity, Dr. 'Alī al-Musilhī approved on 21/2/2011.

114,493,643 Egyptian pounds funding received by the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association from the Kuwaiti Islamic Heritage Revival Society. The former Minister of Social Solidarity, Dr. 'Alī al-Musilhī approved this on 21.2.2011.

The committee found that the funding received by the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association is the largest amount given in the form of donations to NGOs in 2010 and 2011 across all directorates of Social Solidarity in Egypt.

The committee noticed that all previous attempts by donors to fund the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association were refused by security.

The last refusal in the papers of the Ministry of Social Solidarity was the security refusal which continued until 4/1/2011.

The report of the Ministry of Social Solidarity did not mention whether the security had approved the funding of the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association after that date, although the papers sent from the ministry confirmed that the approval of security is required prior to approval of the Minister.

The Committee found that the Minister of Social Solidarity has started his work on this on 23/02/2011.

Therefore, the Commission sent to the Minister of Social Solidarity a letter dated 23/8/2011 inquiring whether he had issued the approval of security for the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association or not.

On 29/8/2011, the Minister of Social Solidarity wrote a letter about the approval of 181 million Egyptian pounds received by the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah. He claims in his letter that the Director of the Central Administration of NGOs, Ms. 'Azīzah Yūsuf Mustafá, sent him a memorandum on 20/2/2011 to support the application of the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah although this application had been previously rejected by security.

Ms. 'Azīzah Yūsuf argued that the refusal of security did not contain any reasons.

She added that the Ansār al-Sunnah al-Muhammadīyah Association sponsors poor families needing aid, and the approval of the fund came after they had met with all of the criteria set by Law 84 for the year 2002. She claimed that approving such a fund will avoid further strikes and clashes under the current circumstances in Egypt. Her memorandum ended with requesting the Minister's approval.

The former Social Solidarity Minister 'Alī Musilhī approved on 20/02/2011 to release the fund.

The Social Solidarity Minister letter sent on 29/8/2011 to the fact-finding committee included the text of the letter the Minister received on 22/2/2011 from Ms. 'Azīzah Yūsuf Mustafá.

In that text, Ms. 'Azīzah argued with the Minister that he approved some funds on 20/2/2011 received by social association, while there is another association having priority such as Ansār al-Sunnah, the Muslim Family Association in Damanhūr and Al Amal Charity in Minya for the social benefit of their services.

The fact-finding committee noticed that the approval to what was stated in this note dated 21/2/2011 while the note was edited on 22/02/2011, which raises the suspicion on those dates.

The committee began an investigation about the activity and purposes of Ansār al-Sunnah Muhammadīyah.

The legal purposes of the Ansār al-Sunnah are to help the poor, orphans, restoration and construction of mosques.

The committee found that the amount of funding received by the Ansār al-Sunnah is inconsistent with this purpose—to support Salafist purposes.

That raised in the committee suspicion on the activity of the Ansār al-Sunnah and what was spent from this funding.

The committee found through the papers sent from Ministry of Solidarity that the amount

of 181 million pounds which was transferred to Ansār al-Sunnah, has allocated 30 million only for orphan and the care of the poor.

The 151 million was spent on "different development issues". That's how the Ansār al-Sunnah named the money spent.

The statement presented by the Minister of Social Solidarity concerning the non governmental organizations, Egyptian or foreign (American) working in the program "Democracy and Governance" stated the following facts:

International Cooperation Minister, Fāyzah Abū al-Najā, sent a letter to the Minister of Social Solidarity to inform him that USAID told her they intend to fund some non-governmental Egyptian and American organizations working in the Democracy and Governance Program in Egypt.

Some of these American organizations have an agreement with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Other organizations are involved with this agreement with a possibility of obtaining a license to operate in Egypt.

American National Democratic Institute (NDI) and American International Republican Institute (IRI) were among the organizations that were funded.

The Minister of Social Solidarity sent a reply to the Minister of International Cooperation stating that the NDI, the IRI, other Egyptian NGOs named the Arab Organization for Criminal Reform and the International Press Center, are not licensed or authorized to practice their activities in Egypt [the Arabic text reads - المركز الدولى الصحفيين - which has been literally translated. Editor: we do not know an organization with this name in Egypt but we know the Foreign Press Association, the organization of correspondents working for non-Egyptian media. Could it be that the text was referring to this organization?]. That is considered to be a violation of Law 84 of 2002. In addition, Security Authorities refused any cooperation with these organizations.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a letter to the Minister of Social Solidarity to inform him that the American National Democratic Institute (NDI) has applied to open a branch in Egypt in accordance with the provisions of Law 84 of 2002.

The NDI started their activities in Egypt in 1995, depending on financing from the U.S. government and the United Nations. NDI collaborates with many Egyptian NGOs, led to the promotion of Egyptian citizen to cast his vote in the elections. NDI encouraged Egyptian women to participate in political activities.

The Egyptian Center for Women's Rights has become one of the largest organizations in the world supporting the political participation of women. The program which gave women the skills for political participation has been implemented in Oman and attended by delegations from Egypt, Gaza, Iraq, Lebanon and Jordan.

The NDI prepared a program in the United States for training journalists from the Egyptian Nile News Channel and the Middle East News Agency.

The Minister of Foreign Affairs sent a letter to the Minister of Social Solidarity to inform him that the American National Democratic Institute (NDI) received funding from USAID in order to start a new training program in Egypt in 2005.

Several NGOs were approaching the three largest American democracy and governance programmers, the National Democratic Institute (NDI), the International Republican Institute (IRI), and the International Foundation for Electoral Systems (IFES is registered in Egypt according to Act 84, 2002) on a daily basis "to join their training programs on electoral systems, conducting opinion polling and using its data, tailoring messages to constituencies, volunteer recruitment and organizing, and all the other trappings of a free and fair election in Egypt.<sup>3</sup>

NDI requested the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to send a recommendation letter to the Ministry of Social Solidarity to support their application of opening a branch in Egypt in accordance with the provisions of the Egyptian law.

The Fact-Finding Committee received a letter from Central Administration of Associations and Federations at Ministry of Social Solidarity concerning the National Democratic institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI).

The letter stated that the two institutes are not registered in Egypt and are not permitted to work in the country according to Egyptian law.

The NDI has already requested a permission to work in Egypt since 2005.

The Ministry of Social Solidarity reported that the objectives of NDI were consistent with the Act 84 of 2002.

The permission process was stopped because the Ministry of Foreign Affairs did not send any feedback that it has signed an agreement with NDI as required by the Act 84 of 2002.

The Fact-Finding Committee found it clear enough that the National Democratic Institute (NDI) and the International Republican Institute (IRI) are working in Egypt in violation of the provisions of Act 84 of 2002.

This raises eyebrows and questions about who left NDI and IRI to work in Egypt, without taking any legal action against them.

No one tried to stop and prevent their activities, while they are violating Egyptian Law.

No one tried to do the necessary towards the legalization of their activities.

The Ministry of Social Solidarity should take legal action to stop their activities and raise the criminal case against them according to law no. 84 of 2002.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs should contract with them formally, especially since their activities began in 1995.

The fact-finding Committee made inquires at the Ministry of Social Solidarity concerning suspicion raised by huge funding received by the following organizations:

# 1-Mohammed 'Alā' Mubārak Association

Received a total of 86,150,000 Egyptian pounds as detailed below:

28,500,000 Egyptian pounds received on 2/9/2010 from the United Arab Emirates.

29,200,000 Egyptian pounds received on 24/1/2011 from the Lighthouse Association in The United Arab Emirates, Abu Dhabi.

28,450,000 Egyptian pounds received on 14/7/2010 from the Ministry of Finance in Oman

# 2- Caritas Association

Received a total amount of 155,734,000 Egyptian pounds as detailed below:

79 million Egyptian pounds received on November 2010.

76 million Egyptian pounds received on 21 February 2011.

The Committee expressed extreme surprise at the magnitude of the amount received by Muhammad 'Alā' Mubārak and Caritas before and after the outbreak of the Revolution of January 25, 2011.

### IV. Conclusions

The Commission found that control over spending foreign funding received by NGOs in Egypt is very serious and in a high degree of difficulty.

As for the danger, the committee has proven that hundreds of millions of Egyptian pounds have been spent in a manner not related to the activity of the NGO who received the funding, which affects the integrity of Egypt at this critical stage.

As for the difficulty, there is no evidence that hundreds of millions of pounds which are regularly coming from outside the country to fund large numbers of NGOs scattered all

over Egypt from the far south to far north were spent on the NGOs' legal purposes according to Act 84, 2002.

Due to the absence of any controlling bodies to oversee the disbursement of this explosive flow of millions, the committee suggested the formation of a police unit at the Ministry of Interior with investigative offices all over Egypt to detect the disbursement of foreign funding and observe the illegal channels of spending.

Law No. 84 of 2002 should be amended to tighten regulation of controlling the financing of associations and merge the associations established subject to private agreements with Egypt's department to be under control and supervision of the Ministry of Social Solidarity.

The Commission's investigations were headed by Judges Ashraf al-'Ashmāwī and Sāmih Abū Zayd. The investigations identified a list of NGOs that are not registered with the Ministry of Social Solidarity, receiving foreign funding in violation to Law 84, 2002.

The Fact-Finding Committee of the Minister of Justice listed 33 NGOs that are not registered under the Associations Law. This offense is punishable with imprisonment under Egypt's Associations Law 84 2002, which criminalizes NGO activities by organizations not registered under the law and any receipt of foreign funds without prior official approval.

Under law 84/2002 no association may be established or engage in civil society activities without a license from the competent administrative body, represented by the Ministry of Social Solidarity and its various district offices (Article 6).<sup>4</sup>

As such, the law enforces obligatory registration even if the founders of an association do not wish to register or want to set up an association using another legal framework available under civil law.

Indeed, the law requires associations established under other legal frameworks to settle their status and register in accordance with the provisions of the NGO law; otherwise, they are considered disbanded under the law and their officials are subject to up to six months imprisonment pursuant to Article 76 of the law.

Article 11 prohibits the establishment of associations whose goals or activities constitute a threat to national unity, violate the public order, advocate discrimination, engage in political activity limited to political parties, or engage in trade union activity limited to trade unions.

Any organization found guilty of the practice would be charged with betraying Egypt by deliberately promoting political strife.

The report listed 33 NGOs committing the crime of receiving foreign funds without prior authorization in violation to Article 11 of Law 84, 2002 which prohibits the establishment

of associations whose goals or activities constitute a threat to national unity, violate the public order, advocate discrimination, and engage in political activity limited to political parties.<sup>5</sup>

	NGOs that received foreign funds without prior authorization	Received amount
		in US\$
1	American Center for International Labor Solidarity	318757
2	Andalus Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies (AITAS)	48900
3	Arab Foundation for Supporting Civil Society (AFSCS)	25000
4	Arab Society for Human Rights (ASHR)	22600
5	Association for Women's Total Advancement and Development	20000
6	Association of Egyptian Female Lawyers ( AEFL)	22000
7	Bridge Center for Dialogue and Development (BTRD)	25000
8	Budgetary and Human Rights Observatory	25000
9	Center for Egyptian Women's Legal Assistance (CEWLA)	34400
10	Center for International Private Enterprise (CIPE)	187569
11	El-Haq Center for Democracy and Human Rights	19400
12	Egyptian Center for the Right of Education	25300
13	Egyptian Democracy Institute (EDI)	48900
14	Egyptian Union of Liberal Youth (EULY)	33300
15	Fares Organization for Social Care (FOSC)	20500
16	Huquq al-Nas (People's Rights) Center.	50000
17	Human Development Association (HAD)	20000
18	Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS)	65000
19	International Center for Justice and Legal Support	17000
20	Justice and Citizenship Center for Human Rights (JCCHR)	20000
21	Lawyers Union for Democratic and Legal Studies (LUDLS)	20000
22	Mogtamaana for Development and Human Rights Association	20300
23	National Association for the Defense of Rights and Freedoms(NADRF)	81000
24	One World Foundation for Development and Civil Society Care	24500
25	Our Hands for Comprehensive Development	19200
26	Project on Middle East Democracy (POMED)	45300
27	Regional Center for Research and Consultations (RCRC)	20000
28	Rural Development Association (RDA)	25000
29	Rural Studies Center (RSC)	27000
30	Rural Woman Development Association (RWDA)	20500
31	Siwa Association for the Development of Society	19000
32	Sons Of Land Center for Human Rights (SLCHR)	30000
33	Youth Forum	19000

The Fact-Finding Committee of the Ministry of Justice reported the listing of 37 NGOs that are not registered with the Ministry of Social Solidarity under Law No. 84 but operate legally as private companies or law firms that are being investigated.

1	Future Center for Legal Consulting and Human Rights Studies.	مركز دار المستقبل للاستشارات القانونية ودراسات حقوق
		الإنسان .
2	Hisham Mubarak Center for Law	الإنسان <u>.</u> مركز هشام مبارك للقانون
3	Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS)	مركز ابن خلدون للدراسات الانمائية
4	The Arabic Network for Human Rights Information	الشبكة العربية لمعلومات حقوق الانسان
5	Andalus Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies (	مركز أندلس لدراسات التسامح ومناهضة العنف
	AITAS)	
6	United Group for legal Consulting	المجموعة المتحدة للاستشارات القانونية
7	Arab Office for Law	المكتب العربي للقانون
8	Arab Association for Support of Civil Society	المؤسسة العربية لدعم المجتمع المدني
9	Full Reinforcement Foundation for Women and Development	مؤسسة التعزيز الكامل للمرأة والتنمية
10	Association of the Egyptian Female Lawyers ( AEFL)	اتحاد المحامين النسائي مؤسسة بكرة للإنتاج الاعلامي
11	Bukra (Tomorrow) Foundation for Media Production.	مؤسسة بكرة للإنتاج الاعلامي
12		مركز السلام والتنمية البشرية
	Center for Peace and Human Development	,
13	Egyptian Democratic Academy	الاكاديمية الديمقر اطية المصرية
14	Huquq al-Nas (People's Rights) Center	مركز حقوق الناس
15	Human Development Union	اتحاد التنمية البشرية
16	Family of the New Future Center	مركز أسرة المستقبل الجديد
17	Lawyers for Justice and Peace	محامو العدل والسلام
18	New Insights	نظر ات جدیدة
19	Political Union for an Open Society	نظرات جديدة اتحاد السياسة من أجل مجتمع مفتوح
20	Vision Center for Development and Mass Studies.	مركز رؤية للتنمية ودراسات الاعلام
21	Regional Center for Research and Consulting	المركز الإقليمي للابحاث والاستشارات
22	Rural Development Union	اتحاد التنمية الريفية
23	Peace and Justice Institute	معهد السلام والعدل
24	Federation of Community Development, Women and	اتحاد تنمية المجتمع والمرأة والبيئة
	Environment	
25	Technology Center for Human Rights	المركز التكنولوجي لحقوق الانسان
26	Transparency Center for Development Training and	مركز الشفافية للتدريب التنموي والدراسات التنموية
	Development Studies.	·
27	Development Support and Institutional Rehabilitation Center	مركز دعم التنمية والتأهيل المؤسسي
28	Egyptian Center for Housing Rights	المركز المصري لحقوق السكن
29	Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights	المبادرة المصرية للحقوق الشخصية
30	Arab Organization for Penal Reform	المنظمة العربية للإصلاح الجنائي مركز مبادرة لدعم قيم التسامح والديمقر اطية
31	Center initiative to support the values of tolerance and	مركز مبادرة لدعم قيم التسامح والديمقر اطية
	democracy	
32	Land Center for Human Rights	مركز الأرض لحقوق الإنسان
33	Nadim Center for the Treatment of Victims of Violence and	مركز النديم لعلاج ضحايا العنف والتعذيب
	Torture.	· ,
34	Egyptian Center for Economic and Social Rights.	المركز المصري للحقوق الاقتصادية والاجتماعية
35	American National Democratic Institute (NDI)	المعهد الوطني الديمقراطي الأمريكي
36	American International Republican Institute (IRI)	المعهد الجمهوري الدولي الأمريكي
37	Freedom House Foundation	المعهد الجمهوري الدولي الأمريكي مؤسسة فريدم هاوس الأمريكية

# Places that were raided

1- In Manyal area in Cairo a number of members of the public prosecution raided the Arab Center for Independence of the Judiciary and Advocacy. Prosecutors confiscated some documents in the center. They stayed in the center for about 4 hours from 11am to 2pm. They accessed the documents of the Center which show the activities and sources of funding. After completion of the examination of documents, members of the public prosecutor decided to close the center and seal it with red wax. The prosecutor seized some documents and computers. Nāsir Amīn, Director of the Arab Center for Independence of the Judiciary and Advocacy sent two lawyers with the prosecutors to attend the investigation.



In the photo: Nāsir Amīn, Director of the Arab Center for the Independence of Justice and Lawyers.





2- American International Republican Institute (IRI).



Soldiers stand guard in front of the US National Democratic Institute.

- 3- American National Democratic Institute (NDI).
- 4- The Friedrich Naumann Foundation for Liberty (FNF)
- 5- Konrad Adenauer Foundation.
- 6- In the Duqqī area in al-Giza, the Budgetary and Human Rights Observatory has been shut down and sealed with red wax.





### End Notes:

- 1. <a href="https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereignty">https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sovereignty</a>, retrieved 5 January 2012. This text refers to "Sovereignty (politics)" which in turn refers to. *Britannica Online Encyclopedia*. Retrieved 5 August 2010.
- 2. A translation from *al-Fajr* news by Sayf Nabīl of the fact-finding committee's report was used for comparison to the author's translation. URL: http://www.elfagr.org/Detail.aspx?secid=0&vid=0&nwsId=83771.
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