



**1. Please provide information on the treatment by the Egyptian authorities of Muslim Brotherhood members and leaders in Egypt in light of the changed circumstances following the fall of President Mubarak.**

The reaction of the Muslim Brotherhood (MB) to the protests against the Mubarak regime on 25 January 2011 was reported to be cautious, with the Brotherhood neither calling on members to attend the demonstrations nor instructing them not to do so. Its leadership changed its position only after witnessing the scope of the demonstrations and the repressive response by the police. By 28 January 2011, “it had chosen to throw its weight into the battle.” It was reportedly “not at the vanguard of the protest movement and has not dominated the opposition.”<sup>1</sup> On 6 February 2011, the Brotherhood, along with other opposition groups, participated in discussions with the government. On 11 February 2011, Mubarak resigned and the powers of the presidency were transferred to the military supreme command council. The Brotherhood was reported to have said it did not seek power. It has undertaken not to stand a candidate at the presidential election, although it would compete in any parliamentary election.<sup>2</sup> The Brotherhood indicated that it would establish a political party called the Justice and Freedom Party.<sup>3</sup>

The military was reported on 15 February 2011 to have expressed concern, in a meeting with youth representatives, over the Muslim Brotherhood possibly “collecting the lion’s share of seats in forthcoming parliamentary elections.”<sup>4</sup> The International Crisis Group, however, refers to some Egyptian observers claiming “to discern an emerging, implicit understanding between the military and the Brotherhood”. According to the International Crisis Group report:

Some Egyptian observers, anxious about the role the Brotherhood might play in the post-Mubarak period, claim to discern an emerging, implicit understanding between the military and the Brotherhood pursuant to which the former would allow the latter more space in return for it neither challenging the military’s privileges nor pushing radically democratic demands. Proponents of this argument point to the composition of the eight-member constitutional amendment committee, which is led by an intellectual with ties to the Brotherhood and includes a former Brotherhood parliamentarian, as well as to the military’s willingness to allow Sheikh Yusef Qaradawi, a preacher aligned with the Brotherhood, to return to his native Egypt and give

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<sup>1</sup> International Crisis Group 2011, *Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?* Middle East/North Africa Report N°101, 24 February, pp. 23-24 – Attachment 1

<sup>2</sup> Smith, B. 2011, ‘Uprising in Egypt’, UK House of Commons Library, 14 February, pp. 11 & 17 – Attachment 2

<sup>3</sup> International Crisis Group 2011, *Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?* Middle East/North Africa Report N°101, 24 February, p. 25 – Attachment 1

<sup>4</sup> Eleiba, A. 2011, ‘Military worried about Brotherhood, youth want 9 months before elections’, *Ahram Online*, 15 February – Attachment 3

the Friday-prayer sermon before hundreds of thousands gathered in Tahrir Square on 18 February.<sup>5</sup>

An article in *The Economist* dated 10 March 2011 refers to the Muslim Brotherhood ceasing “to be the main target of state repression.” The Brotherhood had estimated that some 40,000 members were jailed during Mr Mubarak’s last two decades of rule, and none remained in jail. Spokesmen for the Brotherhood had said “it will abide by the army’s commands, would accept minor constitutional reforms and does not intend to run a presidential candidate or seek a parliamentary majority.”<sup>6</sup>

In March 2011, Egypt’s Interior Minister, Mansour al-Issawi, dissolved the State Security Investigation Service (SSIS), the internal security agency which had been blamed for decades of human rights abuses. Many members of the Muslim Brotherhood were reported to have suffered at the hands of the SSIS, and the Brotherhood said the agency’s dissolution was a “step in the right direction”.<sup>7</sup> On 30 March 2011, Egypt’s Interior Ministry denied that the State Security Investigative Service was behind a burglary at the home of Muslim Brotherhood Supreme Guide Mohamed Badie on 27 March 2011, in which important documents, CDs and a flash drive were stolen. Badie had accused two former State Security officers, but the ministry said that all State Security offices had been shut down.<sup>8</sup>

On 20 March 2011, it was reported that 77.2% (of a turnout of 41%) of voters had approved a referendum on constitutional changes in Egypt that was supported by the Muslim Brotherhood. The eight constitutional amendments were designed to establish the foundations for coming elections, and the referendum result paved the way for early legislative elections. The main supporters of the referendum were the Muslim Brotherhood and remnant elements of the National Democratic Party. They said that the election timetable would ensure a quick return to civilian rule. The liberal wing of Egyptian politics mostly opposed the referendum. They argued that they lacked time to form effective political organisations, and that the Brotherhood and the old governing party would benefit from early elections and would seek to write a constitution that centralised power, similar to the old one. The referendum was reported to be the first time the Muslim Brotherhood had campaigned openly since it was banned in 1954.<sup>9</sup>

On 28 March 2011, the military council announced an amended Political Party Law, which maintained a clause prohibiting the formation of parties on the basis of religion. The Muslim Brotherhood reportedly “does not seem wary of the clause prohibiting religious parties.” In February 2011, it had “announced that it would form a ‘civil’ political party with an Islamic frame of reference, named Freedom and Justice, as soon as the military lifts the Mubarak-imposed restrictions on party formation.”<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> International Crisis Group 2011, *Popular Protest in North Africa and the Middle East (I): Egypt Victorious?* Middle East/North Africa Report N°101, 24 February, p. 25 – Attachment 1

<sup>6</sup> ‘Democracy’s hard spring’ 2011, *The Economist*, 10 March – Attachment 4

<sup>7</sup> ‘Egypt dissolves notorious internal security agency’ 2011, *BBC News Middle East*, 15 March <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-12751234> – Accessed 29 April 2011 – Attachment 5

<sup>8</sup> ‘Interior Ministry denies State Security behind theft at Brotherhood leader’s home’ 2011, *Almasry Alyoum*, 30 March – Attachment 6

<sup>9</sup> MacFarquhar, N. 2011, ‘Egyptian Voters Approve Constitutional Changes’, *The New York Times*, 20 March <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/03/21/world/middleeast/21egypt.html?sq=egypt&st=cse&scp=2&pagewanted=print> – Accessed 7 April 2011 – Attachment 7

<sup>10</sup> El-Hennawy, N. 2011, ‘Egypt’s new Political Party Law fails to please everyone’, *Almasry Alyoum*, 29 March – Attachment 8

The military council also announced that parliamentary elections would be held in Egypt in September 2011. This gave new parties little time to gather finance or popular support for their campaigns. The better established Muslim Brotherhood was reported to be best positioned to benefit from a quick vote. Some secular politicians reportedly feared that the September parliamentary elections, which immediately follow Ramadan when religious fervour is heightened, would favour the Islamists. They also “say the timing suggests that the military now favours the Brotherhood, perhaps out of a concern that secular reformers may be more ready than Islamists to question its network of business and other interests.” Military officials denied taking sides and said their only concern was to hand over power as soon as possible to civilians.<sup>11</sup> In April 2011, Mohamed Badei, the Supreme Guide of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, “denied an alleged deal between the Islamic opposition group and the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) over Egypt’s political track in the wake of the January 25 Revolution and the upcoming parliamentary and presidential elections.” Badei hailed the role of the armed forces and stated that they had helped to protect the revolution.<sup>12</sup> On 1 May 2011, it was reported that the Muslim Brotherhood’s Shoura Council, in its official inauguration of its Freedom and Justice Party, had said the party will contest 45 to 50% of the seats in Egypt’s People’s Assembly elections in September.<sup>13</sup>

On 5 April 2011, Mostafa Kamal al-Halabawy, a prominent Muslim Brotherhood figure who had lived in voluntary exile in London for 23 years, returned to Egypt. The Muslim Brotherhood “said al-Halabawy’s return was a manifestation of the freedom that had been attained as a result of the 25 January revolution.”<sup>14</sup> Egypt’s Interior Ministry was reported to have removed the names of the leaders of various Islamic groups, including the Muslim Brotherhood, from travel ban and watch lists. Muslim Brotherhood General Guide Mohamed Badi, all of the leaders and delegates of the Brotherhood’s Guidance Bureau, and several members of the group’s Shura Council were, according to sources, removed from the lists, including several Brotherhood leaders living abroad.<sup>15</sup>

## **2. Please provide information on significant Muslim Brotherhood activities and leaders/figures in and around the city of Banha, particularly at Banha University.**

An article on the November 2010 parliamentary election in Egypt refers to Mohsen Rady, a Brotherhood lawmaker, being in attendance at a polling station in the city of Banha on the day of the election.<sup>16</sup>

A number of reports regarding the treatment of Muslim Brotherhood members by the authorities in Banha and at Banha University were located. In May 2010, Ikhwanonline, the official website of the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt, reported that on 28 March 2010, MB member Nasr al-Sayyid Hasan had been arrested by the security services in Banha City of al-Qalyubiyah Governorate.<sup>17</sup> A January 2011 Human Rights Watch report refers to Muslim Brotherhood member Nasr al-Sayed Hassan Nasr, who was interviewed in Banha, being

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<sup>11</sup> Fayed, S. 2011, ‘Egypt secular parties in race for credibility’, *Reuters News*, 24 April – Attachment 9

<sup>12</sup> ‘Muslim Brotherhood Guide denies cutting a deal with Egyptian army’ 2011, *Ahram Online*, 13 April – Attachment 10

<sup>13</sup> ‘Muslim Brotherhood to contest half of parliament seats’ 2011, *Daily News Egypt*, 1 May – Attachment 11

<sup>14</sup> Khaled, O., El-Aumi, Y. & Adib, M. 2011, ‘Prominent Brotherhood figure returns from exile’, *Almasry Alyoum*, 5 April – Attachment 12

<sup>15</sup> ‘Travel ban lifted for leaders of Islamic groups’ 2011, *Almasry Alyoum*, 7 April – Attachment 13

<sup>16</sup> Worth, R.F. & El-Naggar, M. 2010, ‘Fraud Charges Mar Egypt Vote’, *The New York Times*, 28 November – Attachment 14

<sup>17</sup> ‘Egyptian authorities continue to arrest, release members of Muslim Brotherhood’ 2010, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Ikhwanonline website, Cairo, 2 May – Attachment 15

blindfolded and tortured during his 60 day detention by State Security Investigations in 2010. Nasr's lawyer had filed a complaint of arbitrary detention, disappearance, and torture with the Banha prosecutor in April 2010, and then with the public prosecutor in May 2010.<sup>18</sup>

Amnesty International reported in November 2010 that students at the universities of Banha, Helwan and Kafr el-Sheikh had been questioned in October 2010 about distributing leaflets and putting up posters seen as supportive of the Muslim Brotherhood, and some had apparently been suspended.<sup>19</sup> An article from October 2010 indicates that Banha University students affiliated with the MB had accused university officials of ruling out around 70 candidates for student union elections without providing a clear reason for their exclusion. The students had threatened to hold protests until their petitions were addressed.<sup>20</sup>

A June 2010 report refers to the Administrative Judicial Court in Banha allowing a Muslim Brotherhood candidate in the Shura Council elections to use election publicity without official intrusion and to hold election rallies. The spokesman for the MB Group in al-Qalyubiyah had said that despite the court decision, security services were still not allowing them to hold rallies and were still tearing down MB election publicity banners.<sup>21</sup>

In April 2010, a south Cairo court was reported to have decided to release four MB members from Banha town in al-Qalyubiyah Governorate after upholding their appeal against their arrest on charges of publicly distributing copies of a Fatwa condemning the building of the steel wall on Egypt's border with Gaza made by the President of the International Association of Muslim Scholars, Dr Yusuf al-Qardawi.<sup>22</sup>

An earlier June 2008 report on the Ikhwanonline website indicates that the Banha prosecution had decided to release 13 MB members in al-Qalyubiyah Governorate who had been arrested by the State security intelligence service in relation to local council elections. The MB members were reportedly arrested to prevent them from participating in a protest held by MB candidates in front of the al-Qalyubiyah Governorate building after the government had refused to list the MB candidates' names in the election lists and decided to imprison them on charges of belonging to a prohibited organisation.<sup>23</sup> The Banha prosecution had previously decided in April 2008 to release 15 MB members, including three leading figures in the al-Qalyubiyah Governorate, who had been arrested on 2 April 2008 in relation to the local council elections.<sup>24</sup>

The Ikhwanonline website reported in October 2007 that the university management at Banha University had deleted all of the MB candidates' names from the final lists of the student

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<sup>18</sup> Human Rights Watch 2011, "Work on Him Until He Confesses" *Impunity for Torture in Egypt*, January, pp. 17 & 22-23 – Attachment 16

<sup>19</sup> Amnesty International 2010, *Egypt: 'Shouting slogans into the wind' Human rights concerns ahead of the parliamentary elections*, November, MDE 12/032/2010, p. 16  
<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/032/2010/en/8addea19-dbd8-4fce-b1dc-857557b55d13/mde120322010en.pdf> - Accessed 27 April 2011 – Attachment 17

<sup>20</sup> 'Student electoral lists due Sunday amid tension on Egypt's campuses' 2010, *Daily News Egypt*, 15 October – Attachment 18

<sup>21</sup> 'Egypt continues to harass Muslim Brotherhood candidates' 2010, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Ikhwanonline website, Cairo, 4 June – Attachment 19

<sup>22</sup> 'Egyptian authorities arrest/release members of Muslim Brotherhood group' 2010, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Ikhwanonline website, Cairo, 8 April – Attachment 20

<sup>23</sup> 'Egypt releases new group of Muslim Brotherhood detainees' 2008, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Ikhwanonline website, Cairo, 21 June – Attachment 21

<sup>24</sup> 'Egyptian security continues arrests of Muslim Brotherhood members' 2008, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Ikhwanonline website, Cairo, 19 April – Attachment 22

union elections.<sup>25</sup> In July 2007, it was reported that 45 students at Banha, Ayn Shams, Alexandria and Al-Munufiyah universities who were MB members had been arrested by the Egyptian security authorities. Thirty of the MB members had been released, while 15 had been remanded in custody for 15 days pending investigation. They faced charges of joining an outlawed group and possessing publications propagating the organisation's ideas.<sup>26</sup>

In October 2005, student supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood in Banha were among hundreds of Islamist students who had demonstrated at several Egyptian universities, seeking democratic reforms.<sup>27</sup>

### **3. Please advise of any significant Muslim Brotherhood activities (including crackdowns against MB members) in the period 16 July - 29 September 2009.**

Amnesty International reported in November 2010 that lawyers representing MB members had said that "more of them were arrested in 2009 than in any year since 2005: a total of 5,022, of whom 3,101 were detained under emergency legislation."<sup>28</sup> A Human Rights Watch report dated 17 August 2009 indicates that the Egyptian authorities had "arrested a number of senior members of the Muslim Brotherhood over the past months and detained them under the emergency law."<sup>29</sup>

Specific reports of Muslim Brotherhood activities, including actions against its members in the period 16 July - 29 September 2009 include the following:

On 22 July 2009, Egypt's State Security Investigative Service (SSIS) detained Magdy Saad, Abd El Rahman Ayyash, and Ahmed Abu Khalil, three bloggers affiliated with the MB who had voiced support for MB detainees and criticised the trials of MB members in military courts. The bloggers were held for approximately a week before being released.<sup>30</sup>

On 1 August 2009, it was reported that the leader of Egypt's Muslim Brotherhood had appealed "for talks with the government in an apparent attempt to ease a crackdown that has put some of the group's top leadership behind bars." A clampdown against the Brotherhood had intensified in 2009 after the MB had expressed support for the Palestinian Hamas and the Lebanese Hezbollah, two Islamic militant groups regarded as threats by Egypt's government. There were five senior Brotherhood leaders and a number of its other prominent figures in jail, either awaiting trial or serving sentences. The government had "recently broadened its accusations against the Brotherhood to include money laundering, attempts to revive the group's international network and spying for foreign organizations."<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> 'Egypt: Cairo university students protest rigging of student union elections' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Ikhwanonline website, Cairo, 27 October – Attachment 23

<sup>26</sup> 'Egypt: Muslim Brotherhood members arrested for joining outlawed groups' 2007, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: MENA news agency, Cairo, 27 July – Attachment 24

<sup>27</sup> 'Islamist students held protests across Egyptian universities' 2005, *Associated Press Newswires*, 3 October – Attachment 25

<sup>28</sup> Amnesty International 2010, *Egypt: 'Shouting slogans into the wind' Human rights concerns ahead of the parliamentary elections*, November, MDE 12/032/2010, p. 15

<http://www.amnesty.org/en/library/asset/MDE12/032/2010/en/8addea19-dbd8-4fce-b1dc-857557b55d13/mde120322010en.pdf> - Accessed 27 April 2011 – Attachment 17

<sup>29</sup> Human Rights Watch 2009, *Obama should highlight rights at meeting with Mubarak*, 17 August – Attachment 26

<sup>30</sup> US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Egypt*, March, Section 2(a) – Attachment 27

<sup>31</sup> El Deeb, S. 2009, 'Egypt's opposition seeks talks with government', *Associated Press Newswires*, 1 August – Attachment 28

On 9 August 2009, the State Security prosecutor renewed the detention order against Abdelmenoim Abulfutouh, a member of the Muslim Brotherhood's executive bureau and secretary-general of the Arab Union for Medical Doctors. He and other senior Muslim Brotherhood members had been arrested on 28 June 2009. He was detained under the emergency law and charged with membership in an illegal organisation.<sup>32</sup>

On 9 August 2009, it was also reported that seven leaders of the Muslim Brotherhood in Alexandria had been arrested by the Egyptian police during an organisational meeting.<sup>33</sup>

A report dated 18 August 2009 indicates that Egypt had rejected the application for legal status of the Al-Wasat Al-Jadid (the New Center) political party for the fourth time. The party was founded in 1996 by activists who left the Muslim Brotherhood and sought to create a political movement that promoted a tolerant version of Islam. The authorities reportedly seemed to fear the party would be a front for the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>34</sup>

An article in *The Wall Street Journal Asia* of 26 August 2009 indicates that Egypt had "accelerated a crackdown against the opposition Muslim Brotherhood, amid uncertainty over succession plans by President Hosni Mubarak and ahead of next year's parliamentary polls." In the previous week, the authorities had detained 30 Brotherhood members in the city of Suez, and two days later, had arrested seven mid-level Brotherhood officials in Cairo. The following day, 18 MB members had been detained northeast of the capital. Two MB members had been released, but the 53 other detainees remained in custody without charges at that time. According to the article, the detentions appeared "to be wider ranging than previous crackdowns on the group, targeting activists and Brotherhood leaders seen as moderates and reform-minded." Officials aligned with the government suggested the crackdown related to public criticism of Egypt's muted reaction to Israel's military offensive in the Gaza Strip earlier in 2009, with the Brotherhood organising public demonstrations in defiance of the government's security lockdown.<sup>35</sup>

On 28 August 2009, Egyptian security forces were reported to have arrested 15 Muslim Brotherhood members in Al-Buhayrah Governorate. According to the report, the arrests were a few days before the month of Ramadan and were a preventive strike against any moves by the group during Ramadan, when there is an increase in religious and charity manifestations in the Egyptian street. The police were also reported to have confiscated books and other material from bookshops and publication houses run by members of the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>36</sup>

On 15 September 2009, the Ikhwanonline website reported that two MB members from al-Arish city in northern Sinai had been arrested and tortured at the premises of the State security intelligence service in al-Arish for over 10 days.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Human Rights Watch 2009, *Obama should highlight rights at meeting with Mubarak*, 17 August – Attachment 26

<sup>33</sup> Sorin, A. 2009, 'Egyptian police arrest 7 Muslim Brotherhood leaders in Alexandria', *The Jerusalem Post*, 9 August – Attachment 29

<sup>34</sup> Sinan, O. 2009, Egypt rejects request for moderate Islamic party, *Associated Press*, 18 August – Attachment 30

<sup>35</sup> Khalil, A. 2009, 'Cairo hardens actions against opposition group', *The Wall Street Journal Asia*, 26 August – Attachment 31

<sup>36</sup> 'Muslim Brotherhood head condemns "corrupt" Egyptian government' 2009, *BBC Monitoring Middle East*, source: Al-Quds al-Arabi website, London, 29 August – Attachment 32

<sup>37</sup> 'Egyptian authorities reportedly continue action against Brotherhood members' 2009, Ikhwanonline website, 15 September – Attachment 33

A report dated 19 September 2009 on the Ikhwanonline website indicates that the Muslim Brotherhood's defence attorney had said there were 231 leading figures and members of the MB in various Egyptian prisons at that time, including five members of the MB Guidance Bureau. The defence attorney said that Egyptian courts had issued decisions for the release of 68 of the detainees, but the decisions had not been enforced and the interior minister had issued decisions re-arresting them.<sup>38</sup>

On 27 September 2009, it was reported that 16 MB members, including former MP Gamal Heshmat, had been detained by the Egyptian authorities in the Nile Delta province of Beheira, according to Mohammed Habib, the movement's number two. Habib believed the latest wave of detentions could have been linked to the 2010 Egyptian parliamentary elections in which the Brotherhood was planning to run.<sup>39</sup>

On 27 September 2009, Egyptian security forces arrested 15 members of the MB in Beni Suef, Giza, and Sharqiya provinces on charges of recruiting for an illegal organization.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> 'Hundreds of Egyptian Islamist to spend Id al-Fitr feast in prison' 2009, Ikhwanonline website, 19 September – Attachment 34

<sup>39</sup> 'Egypt detains 16 Islamists in latest roundup: Brotherhood' 2009, *Agence France-Presse*, 27 September – Attachment 35

<sup>40</sup> US Department of State 2010, *Country Reports on Human Rights Practices for 2009 – Egypt*, March, Section 2(b) – Attachment 27

## Attachments

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