



# DAILY NEWS

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## Deadly clashes in Qorsaya

RESIDENTS AND ARMY LAY COMPETING CLAIMS TO LAND ON QORSAYA ISLAND

By Hend Kortam

At least four people are dead and more are suspected missing after the army attacked a group of protesters who had blocked roads in the latest development of a longstanding land dispute in Giza.

The clashes started on Sunday morning when protesters from the island of Qorsaya in the suburbs of Giza blocked the Bahr Al-Azam road, disrupting traffic. They burned tyres and the army responded by firing rubber bullets at them. "One of them got a bullet in his side and he died... this is what made the situation escalate," said Dalia Mousa from the Egyptian Centre for Economic and Social Rights (ECESR), which has been following the clashes since early Sunday morning.

Mohamed Mostafa, a resident of the island of Qorsaya said, "the army had taken the lands, but the people got a court order giving them back the land [in 2008], but it was never carried out." Mostafa said that two days ago, the locals decided to go back to the disputed lands but the army violently dispersed them, which is why they took to the streets.

Ahmed Mohamed Aly, army spokesperson, said the lands belong to the armed forces and the locals trespassed at a time when there was



Protesters block Bahr Al-Azam road in Giza, provoking violent confrontations with security forces

a lack of security in the country. He said on Friday around 60 locals, mostly women, entered the land and refused to leave following negotiations. He

added that only after the negotiations failed, did the army remove them and regain control.

He also said that the army was fired

upon, which is why the army opened fire and arrested 25 people.

The death toll, according to the centre, had reached four by Sunday

afternoon, the latest being one of the injured who died at Al-Qasr Al-Einy hospital on Sunday. At least eight were injured in the clashes, Mousa

said and 13 of the people of the island were arrested and taken to C28, the military prosecution headquarters. She also said that five people who tried to escape the clashes jumped into the Nile and as of Sunday afternoon are missing.

Mousa said that the army has destroyed people's houses and crops, boats and trees had been set on fire. "Some of the people are also held in the village and they're being tortured and electrified," Mousa said. The army was also pursuing journalists and photographers, Mousa said.

"The people have houses there and they live on farming these lands," said Mousa, adding that they've lived on this island for more than a generation. "The army wants to take it and says that these are their lands," she added.

Qorsaya Island is home to about 2,000 residents. Mostafa said he didn't understand why the army was on the island among people who've lived on the island for years. He said he had been a resident of the village for over 28 years.

The ECESR said that the army used the land to build a military barracks, fenced with barbed wire, and was attempting to re-install its forces in the lands.

Clashes continued on Sunday afternoon after protesters blocked the road again and three Central Security Forces trucks were sent to the scene.

## Pope Tawadros II enthroned

Coptic Orthodox Church officially appoints new leader after eight months



Pope Tawadros II is enthroned on the papal seat at St Mark's cathedral in Cairo

By Basil El-Dabh

The Coptic Orthodox Church officially appointed its 118th pope on Sunday morning at St. Mark's Cathedral in Abbaseya. The papal ceremony, the first since the enthronement of Pope Shenouda III on 14 November 1971, was attended by thousands of people, who packed the cathedral.

Prominent attendees included Prime Minister Hesham Qandil, presidential adviser Samir Morcos, Nobel Laureate Mohamed ElBaradei, former presidential candidate Hamdeen Sabahy, former

Prime Minister Essam Sharaf and 16 active and former ministers. Prominent clergy members from other Christian denominations also attended. Foreign delegations included ones representatives from Italy, Cameroon, Hungary, Lebanon, the Dominican Republic, Poland, Singapore, Armenia, the Netherlands, Canada, Germany, Palestine, and Kuwait.

President Mohamed Morsy, who had been invited to the ceremony, sent a representative in his place.

A procession of bishops and other clergy made their way to the cathedral shortly after the service began.

As the cathedral bells rang, Tawadros was given a ceremonial key, symbolising his new leadership role and responsibilities.

An emotional Tawadros then made his way down the aisle flanked by the two senior-most bishops.

The papal selection wept as more than 100 bishops took turns reading parts of the prayer used in the papal ceremony, speaking languages that included English, French and German to represent their dioceses.

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## Egypt grief stricken over Assuit train crash

One day after the deadly accident, protests are planned

Political parties and NGOs have expressed their grief and anger after a train hit a school bus on Saturday morning, leaving 51 children dead and over a dozen injured.

The crash occurred in Manfalout, Assiut and the bus was dragged by the train for almost a kilometre, according to state-run Al-Ahram.

The minister of transportation has resigned over the issue.

Al-Karama Party and the National Council for Women and the National Council for Motherhood and Childhood said the Minister of Transportation Mohamed Rashad Al-Mateeny's resignation isn't enough, but he should be tried for negligence along with everyone responsible for the accident.

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## Nile University case resolved

Administrative court returns building to Nile University, remaining lands stay with Zuweil

By Rana Muhammad Taha

Nile University students emerged victorious from the administrative court on Sunday, following the court's decision to return to the university one of its buildings.

After almost a month since coming to court, the judge resolved the case by canceling former Prime Minister Ahmed Shafiq's decision to give Nile

University lands and two buildings to the Zuweil Science City.

The decision gives Nile University the right to use one of the two buildings it has constructed, as well as EGP 150 million in compensation. The rest of the land formally allocated to the university remains earmarked for the Zuweil Science City, reported state-owned Al-Ahram.

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## Remembering Mohamed Mahmoud



A protester gestures while confronting security forces on Mohamed Mahmoud Street

Last year's November clashes on Mohamed Mahmoud Street left as many as 90 people dead, hundreds injured and almost 400 imprisoned. The violent scenes also changed the Egyptian political landscape.

The clashes between young revolutionaries and the old regime, represented by the police and led by the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, forced the resignation of the prime minister and brought presidential elections a year forward.

Yet it was neither SCAF nor the revolutionaries who took the spoils of the battle. The Muslim Brotherhood

refused to get involved, maintaining the line that the clashes were designed to disrupt parliamentary elections scheduled for that month.

However, it was the Brotherhood which ended up with the most seats in parliament and eventually their candidate won presidential elections that would not have been held if it were not for protests they refused to partake in.

As for the revolutionaries? Their goals remain unfulfilled, despite the hundreds of fallen.

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Currencies	Buy	Sell
CHF	6.3411	6.6473
USD	6.0875	6.1175
EUR	7.6373	8.0061
GBP	9.5315	9.9918
SAR	1.615	1.6346

Egyptian Stock Exchange		
	Closing	Weekly Change
EGX 30	5,478.38	-3.25%
EGX 70	497.52	-3.66%
EGX 100	827.47	-3.38%
EGX 20	6,285.02	-3.27%

### Commentary

Mohamed Abdelfattah writes: Many of us who got into journalism, particularly among this young generation, had hopes for making real impact on people's lives. But in Egypt, it seems the comfortable are getting more comfort and the afflicted will have to bear more suffering

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أسود أصفر أحمر أزرق





# More withdraw from Constituent Assembly

At least 24 members suspend or terminate their membership within one week

By Ahmed About Enein

The crisis in the Constituent Assembly continues as 15 members, who froze their membership last week, announced their complete withdrawal on Sunday. This follows a decision by representatives of Egypt's Christian churches to do the same.

Members of the Wafd Party also withdrew while Ghad Al-Thawra Party representatives announced they would freeze their membership and make their final decision on whether to stay next Saturday.

A further 10 members from the assembly's reserve list and the technical advisory committee joined the 15 who withdrew today.

The 24 members froze their membership on Tuesday and submitted a list of demands to the assembly chairman, Hossam El-Gheriany.

They withdrew on Sunday, after none of their demands were met. Representatives of Egypt's Coptic Orthodox, Coptic Catholic and Coptic Evangelical churches announced their withdrawal on Friday after meeting with Bishop Pachomious, the Coptic

Orthodox acting-pope at the time.

6 April Youth Movement General Coordinator Ahmed Maher also announced his withdrawal Sunday while former Member of Parliament Mohamed El-Sadat froze his membership.

Two members of the Wafd and Ghad Al-Thawra parties announced they would not withdraw or freeze their membership in defiance of their parties' decisions. At least 24 members have so far withdrawn or frozen their Constituent Assembly memberships in addition to 11 members from the Egyptian Social Democratic, Free Egyptians and Taggamu' Party members who resigned immediately after the assembly's formation, bringing the total to 35.

The 100-member assembly needs a 67 per cent majority to pass constitutional articles and failing that a 57 percent second round of voting is enough to pass an article. It is currently holding daily meetings to finalise the draft and put it to referendum before the end of the months.

The non-Islamists who resigned are demanding the deadline be extended by 90 days in order to allow more time for debate and consensus.



A constant stream of resignations have emptied the Constitutional Assembly that originally comprised of 100 members

The assembly faces a court case that could render it dissolved, however, and Islamists inside it want to finish the constitution as soon as possible.

On Sunday 23 human rights organisations released a statement declaring their rejection of the current constitution draft, describing it as unrepresentative of the Egyptian people's cultural, religious, political and racial diversity or the "goals of the 25 January revolution."

"The Constituent Assembly has revealed its opposition to human rights by not including an article in the constitution forcing the state to adhere to international treaties it is already a signatory to, and its obvious attempt at distancing Egypt from all international human rights treaties," said the statement.

The organisations accused the assembly of attempting to found a state similar to Iran's Guardianship of the Jurist system where religious scholars dominate all important aspects of decision making, only with "a Sunni twist," through giving Al-Azhar power to interpret Shari'a, which all laws are to be based on, therefore making the institution stronger than an elected parliament.

## Political groups unite for social justice

By Nouran El-Behairy

Representatives from 15 political parties and movements signed the founding statement for the Egyptian National Alliance on Saturday at the Leadership and Management Development Centre in Giza.

Among the signatory parties were the Egyptian Social and Democratic Party (ESDP), Al-Doustour, Free Egypt, Arab Nasserist, Egyptian Socialist, Al-Karama, Strong Egypt and the Popular Current.

"The alliance is a political and not an electoral one," said Amany Al-Khayat, media secretary of the ESDP. She added that parties decided to unite over a common vision on four crucial issues.

"The constitution, social justice, election law and the flawed formation of the Constituent Assembly are the four pillars of the alliance," Al-Khayat said.

She added the alliance came after months of negotiations. Equal social and economic rights for all citizens

is a main concern for these parties, which represent the left and centre-left ideologies.

Political figures and party leaders like Mohamed Abul Ghar, Amr Hamzawy, Hamdeen Sabahy, Karima Al-Hefnawy and Ahmed Al-Boraei signed the statement.

"During the era of the ousted regime we called for implementing the constitution regarding social justice, now corruption and injustice will be legalised in the draft constitution," Al-Khayat said.

She added that the alliance could also join forces in elections but only if clear and fair elections and political rights laws were drafted.

"I don't want people to feel desperate, there is hope and people are becoming more responsive to parties working on the ground... actions will be taken and people will have their rights," she said.

The alliance is scheduled to launch its joint activities with a conference on 8 December in Damanhor.

## Mahmoud Al-Khudairi released on bail

Judges seen as abusing power to stymie criticism

By Connor Molloy

Mahmoud Al-Khudairi's release on bail is the latest chapter of the ongoing "insulting the judiciary" saga that has plagued Egypt since the revolution. According to MENA, the former Vice President of the Cessation Court paid EGP 3,000 to be released, while he faces a charge of accusing judges of election fraud.

Al-Khudairi is part of a wave of such cases, which have been levelled more frequently since then revolution, said Hoda Masralla, a lawyer in the criminal justice unit at the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR). Masralla claims increased activity in the court system led to more commentary on judges' actions.

Recently Reem Maged, the TV host of Baladna Bel-Masri, was charged with insulting judges and

letting the guests of her show do the same. Fellow TV host, Hala Sarhan, was similarly charged and both hosts have been released on bail with investigations pending, reported Al-Ahram.

The past two years in Egypt have caused judges to pass many controversial judgements, including those regarding the constitution, the deaths of protestors, and the culpability of authority figures.

At the same time, one of the promises of the Egyptian revolution was the ability to speak out. Standing in the way of this promise is Article 186 of the Egyptian Penal Code. This article is vaguely worded and has been used to criminalise anyone who is seen as being overly critical of a judge. Frequently, the cases are brought by the judges themselves who felt offended.

"It's about their public image," said Masralla. "As an individual the

judge should be subject to criticism of their work, without having a law to protect him."

"In fact, we don't have the exact term 'insult' in the Article [186]," continued Masralla. EIPR and other organizations have worked to change Article 186, and surrounding articles that criminalise criticism of other figures such as parliament and the president, saying it stifles freedom of expression.

"We're requesting rephrasing of some of the text because they are too broad. We want to make them more specific and narrow, and hence minimise criminalisation," said Masralla. "We base this on more democratic nations that say constructive criticism is a must and [this] should be clarified in the text."

The articles also contradict the International Convention on Civil and Political Rights, to which Egypt

is a signatory. Article 19 of the convention specifically states that freedom of expression should include the "freedom to seek, receive and impart information and ideas of all kinds, regardless of frontiers, either orally, in writing or in print, in the form of art, or through any other media."

Al-Khudairi's trial has the added twist of his previous involvement in the judiciary independence movement.

Said Masralla, "there are two currents within the judiciary. There is the one for judiciary independence and the one that belongs to the Supreme Judiciary Council." The two currents are in conflict, with the Supreme Judiciary Council being accused of belonging to the old regime and Al-Khudairi's judiciary independence movement accused of being too political and stepping outside the realm of the law.

## Nile University case resolved

Continued from page 1

The verdict was met with applause, particularly by the dozens of Nile University students, their families and professors, who attended the session wearing university T-shirts and badges.

"Finally the judiciary did us justice after our 83 day sit-in," Nile University student Nancy Mustafa said outside court, adding that the students' next step would be to gain a court order to officially enable their access to the building.

The case was filed by lawyer and ex-parliamentarian Hamdy Al-Fakharany, alongside Nile University students, demanding the decision to give the disputed land to Zuweil Science City



Protests begin at Nile University campus (File photo)

be reversed and the land returned to Nile University.

Nile University students have been attending classes during their sit-in, held outside the university campus in the disputed land. They also held several viva exams during the sit-in.

The Nile University sit-in began in early September after the government's decision to appropriate university buildings and give them to the Zuweil City. Both institutions claim they have the right to the buildings.

In February 2011, some board members of Nile University, signed a waiver relinquishing the university's interest in the land. The waiver was challenged by Nile University lawyers due to its lack of documentation.

## Road safety campaign launched

Campaign marks the world remembrance day for road traffic victims

By Rana Muhammad Taha

The Egypt office of the Egyptian Red Crescent launched a community awareness road safety campaign on Sunday, the world remembrance day for road traffic victims.

The event is co-organised by the World Health Organisation (WHO), with contributions from the Ministry of Health and Population, the Ministry of Transport and the Ministry of Interior.

"Our main aim is to decrease the number of road accidents and victims," said Salma Bahgat, volunteer at the Egyptian Red Crescent and campaign organiser.

The launch was held on Sunday at the Egyptian Red Crescent headquarters. The campaign resumes on Monday when awareness flyers will be distributed at the Cairo-Alexandria toll crossing. The flyers encourage passengers to wear seatbelts and stick to the speed limit.

"We were targeting passengers who take the ring road," Bahgat said, "yet, due to our inability to access the ring road, we focused instead on Cairo's main toll gates to which the ring road leads."

The volunteers stationed at the gates will encourage people to wear their seatbelts on the road with the distribution of printed t-shirts and giveaways.

Other events, scheduled to take place throughout the week, include similar awareness campaigns at the Ein Al-Sokhna and Ismaileya gates.

A similar campaign is also scheduled to take place in Alexandria in December, Bahgat said. The Al-exandria campaign will target the Courchniche and Gamal Abdel Nasser road.

51 children were killed in a train crash in the Manfalout area of Assiut on Saturday. The train collided with a school bus in a tragedy which shook the country.

"The crash made our campaign more tangible," Bahgat said, adding that Egyptians are now motivated and thus more likely to respond to the awareness campaign. "Egyptians must realise that there is a problem which will be solved when they themselves address it before the government does."

Egypt is part of the WHO's Road Safety in Ten Countries' project ; launched in 2010 to expand road safety to 10 countries: Brazil, Cambodia, China, Egypt, India, Kenya, Mexico, the Russian Federation, Turkey and Vietnam.

According to the WHO, out of every 100 thousand Egyptians almost 42 will die on the road. 48 per cent of road traffic victims die inside their vehicles, compared to 20 per cent who are pedestrians.

## Members of dissolved People's Assembly suspend their sit-in

Protest deferred until return from Gaza

By Fady Salah

Members of the dissolved People's Assembly decided to suspend their sit-in on Sunday, which was held in front of the Supreme Constitutional Court in Cairo.

The sit-in was held in conjunction with the court cases raised by Mohammed El-Omda, member of the dissolved assembly, and Anwar Sobhy Darweesh, who brought the initial lawsuit demanding the parliament be dissolved. The Supreme Constitutional Court will consider the lawsuits on Tuesday.

Major General Adel Abbas, chair-

person of the Egyptian Arab Socialist Party, confirmed his party's participation in the sit-in, and said the decision to suspend it was taken because most of the demonstrating members are travelling on Monday morning to Gaza, in support of the civilians injured during the Israeli bombings.

Abbas called the verdict issued by the Constitutional Court void, because it was called to judge the constitutionality of one third of the People's Assembly, but dissolved the whole assembly instead.

El-Omda said that Egypt requires a strong legislative authority to draft

laws that would help in solving many of Egypt's ongoing problems.

He said that the Freedom and Justice, Al-Wasat and the Reform and Development parties are participating in the sit-in, in addition to Egyptian Arab Socialist Party.

Ahmed Sobei, Freedom and Justice party spokesperson, confirmed the participation of his party, but did not provide any further information.

Amr Farouk, spokesperson of Al-Wasat Party denied his party's participation in the sit-in.

Abdallah Helmy, head of the political office at the Reform and Development party, said that the members of

his party respected president Morsy's decision to hold new parliamentary elections after the new constitution is adopted. He added that members of the party are not participating, as they are currently busy with the final steps of drafting the constitution.

Ibrahim Darwish, constitutional expert, said that these attempts are useless. He said the People's Assembly was dissolved by the power of law, which no one can override.

"No one can bring the dissolved People's Assembly back, not the court, not the government, and not the president, who already tried to do so before," said Darwish.





# POLITICS

## Israel begins second stage of Gaza operation

Israel continues airstrikes, media campaign aimed at Gaza residents

By Joel Gulhane

Israel has used Gazan radio and television to broadcast messages warning civilians in the Gaza Strip to stay away from Hamas government buildings as Israeli airstrikes continue in Gaza. Hamas and other groups continue to fire missiles into southern Israel.

"Israel has hijacked the television and radio in Gaza," said Dr. Hani Al-Basoo, "they were even on the Hamas radio station." According to Al-Basoo the Israeli broadcast announced the beginning of the second stage of what the Israeli Defence Force have named Operation Pillar of Defence. Al-Basoo said, "the Israelis asked the people of Gaza to stay away from important infrastructure and Hamas buildings."

Paul Hirschson, a media spokesperson for the Israeli foreign ministry confirmed that Israel has broadcast messages to the citizens of Gaza as part of a campaign to prevent civilian casualties. Hirschson said "we have taken a number of steps. We have broadcast on [Hamas] frequencies, we have made thousands of phone calls and SMS messages, and we have dropped leaflets from aircrafts." He added "We are exclusively targeting military targets. We would be happy to have no civilian casualties."

Al-Basoo, assistant professor of political sciences at Islamic University in Gaza and a resident of Gaza City described the situation as "very tense." He said bombs land every few minutes and "the most intensive bombing is in Gaza City but missiles are coming from the north and south and hitting all areas of the Gaza strip." During the telephone conversation a bomb landed 500 metres from Al-Basoo's home, which he believed to be targeting a local Hamas leader.

"The bombs are targeting Palestinian Authority and Hamas government buildings. There have also been bombs landing on empty ground where the Israelis think missiles are being launched from. Civilian houses have been hit and



A Palestinian man carries the dead body of a child from the rubble after an Israeli missile struck a family home killing at least seven members of the same family in Gaza City

one or two police stations too."

Hirschson said "there have been 825 missiles over five days fired from the Gaza strip. Of these missiles 98 failed to launch or landed in Gaza and 275 have been intercepted by the Iron Dome system which is calibrated to ignore missiles heading for open land."

"Today [Sunday] there has been a constant trickle of missiles fired, not all of them hit their target though," said Hirschson.

Al-Basoo believes that the Israeli operation will continue for the next few days at least. He is not hopeful that a ceasefire will be reached; he said "Israel will not agree to ceasefire because if [Israeli Prime Minister Benjamin] Netanyahu agrees to ceasefire he will lose the next election." Al-Basoo thinks the Israelis have two options "firstly they could invade Gaza, this would lead to a bloody conflict and they will not succeed. Hamas and other factions will use all the power they can to fight. Civilians here with no training will fight; everybody is willing to defend their home, street and city. The second option is for them to escalate their operation which I be-

lieve they have started today."

Hirschson said that he is aware of three Israeli civilians that were killed a few days ago, he said "many others have been injured and treated for shock." He reported that the Israeli figures for casualties in the Gaza strip stand at 48. "30 of the people who have died in Gaza were involved with Hamas or other militant groups and there have been 18 civilian casualties." Al-Basoo said "the international community has to take responsibility and pressure the [UN] Security Council to take action. We have seen only two delegations from Egypt and Tunisia."

An emergency ministerial meeting at the Arab League was held on Saturday night; Al-Basoo said "the Palestinian people were hopeful and expected more to come out of the meeting. We wanted them to put pressure on the United States who currently is giving Israel the green light to attack the Gaza Strip."

World leaders have urged Egypt to use its leverage to broker a ceasefire over the last few days. Prime Minister Hisham Qandil visited the Gaza Strip on Friday. "Egypt has been leading the

efforts to stop the attacks but really nothing has been done," said Al-Basoo.

President Mohamed Morsi discussed the Gaza situation with Qatari Emir Sheikh Hamad Bin Khalifa Al-Thani and Turkey's Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan in separate meetings on Saturday. Al-Thani announced that Qatar will send urgent aid to Gaza with cooperation from Egypt.

On the possibility of a ceasefire Hirschson said "there are conversations in the background to ensure the safety of the residents of southern Israel." He declined to comment on any Egyptian contact with the Israeli government regarding a ceasefire.

## Water delegation meets Chinese counterparts

Egypt and China share a history of managing rivers

By Connor Molloy

The minister of water and irrigation is headed to China to talk dams. Minister Mohamed Baha'a El-Din will spend three days, starting on Monday, in China, the ministry reported.

El-Din will be working on a memorandum of understanding with China's water minister that will serve as the foundation for an exchange of information and expertise. The two delegations will also work to encourage the cooperation of private Egyptian and Chinese water companies.

"We have a close relationship with China," said ministry spokesperson Khaled Wasif.

The relationship is centred around the two countries' extensive experience with managing waterways. While Egypt is home to the world's longest river, China boasts the Yangtze, which stretches nearly as far as the Nile. The Yellow, Heilongjiang, and Pearl rivers also run for thousands of miles through China and this topography has led to a society that, according to Wasif, "specialises in the building and design of reservoirs and dams."

Egypt, said Wasif, has over 100 small dams, in addition to the notable large dams in Aswan and Minya. "[The Chinese] have offered technical assistance on the building of Egyptian dams," and, added Wasif, "there are many Chinese firms running projects in Egypt."

Wasif said that the details of the memorandum of understanding will be finalised in the coming days. It will touch upon the fields of maintaining irrigation networks, establishing hydroelectric projects, and discussing the science of water desalination.

The China trip comes as water availability, sewage maintenance, and the Nile basin have been included in the list of criticisms levelled against Egypt's new government.

It also comes on the heels of an EU-Egypt pact that includes pledges from the European Investment Bank to commit money to Egyptian water infrastructure projects.

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## Urgent meeting at the Arab League on Gaza

Calls to freeze relations with Israel

By Joel Gulhane

A resolution released after the emergency meeting of Arab foreign ministers on Saturday called for Arab League member states "to observe a moratorium on all forms of normalisation with Israel."

The ministers passed a resolution condemning the "brutal Israeli aggression against civilians in the Gaza Strip which are war crimes and crimes against humanity." The resolution called on Israel to end its operation and commended "Egypt's efforts to coordinate with the state of Palestine to end the aggression and alleviate the suffering of the Palestinian people."

It was also announced that the secretary general of the Arab League will "visit the Gaza to affirm solidarity with the Palestinian people and to immediately deal with the humanitarian needs."

The ministers reaffirmed the "Arab identity of Jerusalem and reject [ed] all illegal Israeli practices aimed at Judaising the city and changing the demographics." They also "order [ed] the full and immediate cessation to settlements on Palestinian territory in the West Bank, including East Jerusalem."

The resolution called for all Palestinian factions "to end the division and restore unity to confront the current challenges." The ministers also called on all "United Nations member states to support the Palestinian bid on 29 November to raise the status of Palestine...to a non-member state." The

declaration accused Israel of using "aggression on the Gaza Strip...to thwart Palestinian endeavours to go the United Nations."

The ministers also called for all Arab countries to provide for the humanitarian needs of the people in the Gaza Strip in the form of "urgent food aid, medicines and medical equipment to treat the wounded."

The World Health Organization (WHO) released a statement on Saturday regarding the Gaza crisis. The statement said "the WHO is deeply concerned about the escalating situation in the Gaza Strip and Israel and its impact on the health and lives of civilian populations in the area."

The statement claims "the Ministry of Health in Gaza reported that 38 people had been killed: 27 adults, of whom two are women, and 11 children under the age of 18. Three people were also reported killed in Israel."

The statement pointed out that before the Israeli operation began "health facilities were severely over stretched mainly as a result of the siege of Gaza." As a consequence of this and the escalation of violence the hospitals in the Gaza strip are struggling to cope. They have a shortage of anaesthesia drugs causing them to postpone surgeries.

The statement appealed to the international community for financial support "to provide essential medicines to cover pre-existing shortages, as well as emergency supplies for treating casualties and the chronically ill." The WHO requires \$10 million to achieve this.

## Pope Tawadros II enthroned



Clergy celebrate during the enthronement of Pope Tawadros II

Continued from page 1

As he reached the front of the cathedral, Tawadros put on the tonia and sedra, liturgical vestments worn by the clergy. The golden sash (sedra) depicted the twelve disciples, as the church often refers to its leader as the "thirteenth disciple." He also put on his papal crown for the first time.

After the enthronement, Pachomius read a statement written by the new pope, in which Tawadros stressed unity and his mission to represent all Egyptians. "We open our hearts to all religions," he said, "because religion is for God and the nation is for man."

After his official enthronement, members of the Holy Synod took turns congratulating him and kissing his hand. Prime Minister Qandil also approached the throne to extend his congratulations.

"President Morsi claimed he is a president for all Egyptians. We want to actually see that on the ground," said George Ishaq, an activist and prominent member of Al-Dostour Party both in reference to the president's absence and the current Constituent Assembly, from which the Coptic Church withdrew.

The liturgy concluded with Tawadros visiting the relics of St. Mark, located in a shrine in the cathedral complex, and processing to the papal residency, located across the cathedral as Copts lined the path cheer-

ing and holding flowers for their new spiritual leader.

Pope Tawadros II will fast for one year following Sunday, aside from major feasts, as is custom for new patriarchs in the Coptic Church.

According to Coptic tradition, the first head of the Egyptian Church was Saint Mark the Evangelist, one of the 70 apostles of Jesus. The pope is the "first among equals" of the Holy Synod (the church body made mostly of bishops) and responsible for determining the Coptic Church's stance on matters concerning faith.

Pope Tawadros II has been vocal about the withdrawn political role he hopes to play during his papacy. On Saturday, the Coptic Church, along with other Christian denominations, announced its withdrawal from the Constituent Assembly, claiming that the current draft does not reflect the identity of the Egyptian people.

The church's new patriarch was formerly the General Bishop of Beheira and has a close working relationship with Metropolitan Pachomius, the Coptic Church's interim leader since March.

The Coptic Orthodox Church is the largest Christian community in the Arab world, making up roughly ten percent of Egypt's population. Over recent decades, millions of Copts have established communities overseas in places such as North America, Europe, and Australia.



Children injured in the collision lie in hospital in Assiut

Continued from page 1

Political parties such as the Egyptian Social Democratic Party (ESDP) released a statement on Sunday saying the party "holds President Mohamed Morsi and his government responsible for the accident." The party said the transportation sector has for a long time suffered from negligence and corruption and the resignation of the minister isn't enough. The party said it is necessary the government ensures Egypt's transportation sector meets international requirements.

The ESDP is planning to hold a protest at the Cabinet on Thursday. A silent vigil at Cairo University is planned for Monday.

The elected committee governing the ongoing doctors' strike also released a statement on healthcare provided to the injured. The statement said that the ambulances were late,

poorly equipped and the hospital the children were taken to had poor capabilities. In addition, there were shortages in medicine needed for critical and emergency cases. It said all of this exposed to society the level of corruption and negligence in government healthcare and the immediate need for reform.

The prosecutor general called in the resigned minister along with current and former heads of the Railways Authority, and banned them from leaving the country.

Investigations into the worker who runs the railway crossing have shown that he was asleep when the accident happened, according to state-run Al-Ahram. He should have closed the crossing ten minutes before the train arrived.

Following the crash, Minister of Interior Ahmed Gamal Al-Din, the former head of security in Assiut, and Prime Minister Hisham Qandil went

to visit the injured along with several other ministers. The crowds chanted against them and kicked the officials out, according to Ahmed Abdel-Kereem, Assiut activist.

"We don't know the reason, but the people were chanting and suddenly the CSF began cordoning the crowd and then CSF started hitting the people from the other side...It could be because the officials were kicked out," he added.

Abdel-Kereem said that a symbolic funeral was held for the victims on Saturday night in front of the building of the Governorate of Assiut. He added that things in Assiut were almost back to normal on Sunday morning but that people are coming to visit the families of the victims and show support to them. "I spoke to Khaled Ali who said he was coming," Abdel-Kereem said, referring to the former presidential candidate and activist.





# A new era for Egyptian-Turkish relations



Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan (L) with Egyptian counterpart, Hesham Qandil during the Egyptian-Turkish Economic Forum

By Hend El-Behary

The Egyptian Turkish Economic Forum convened on Monday in the presence of PM Hisham Qandil, his Turkish counterpart Recep Tayyip Erdogan, ministers, politicians, and a large group of businessmen representing over 300 Turkish enterprises in Egypt.

Turkey has signed 27 agreements of mutual cooperation with Egypt with the goal of launching a new era for bilateral relations and to build for a better future.

"We had signed the Turkish loan to Egypt worth \$1 billion; Egypt has received \$500 million, and the other \$500 million will be delivered by the beginning of the new year," Erdogan declared in his speech during the forum.

He added, "the forum is not just a meeting point, rather today we are witnessing a huge aggregation of attendees to look at what has been achieved between both countries, and other aspirations for the coming era."

Erdogan said that ten years ago, Turkey received a loan from the IMF worth around \$23 billion, but now they are indebted by only \$1.7 billion.

Qandil remarked that mutual benefit relations are the only way to reach goals between countries; "Turkey has provided Egypt with a soft loan worth \$1 billion, along with a new credit facility line of the same amount."

"Turkish investments in Egypt are worth EGP 267 billion, with only EGP 100 billion for the public sector. By the end of this year the volume of Egyptian-Turkish trade will exceed \$5 billion and we are looking forward to Turkey becoming a gateway for relations in both Asia and Africa," Qandil continued.

Minister of Investment, Osama Saleh, said the government's task is to attract more foreign investments to support the national economy as well as improving business performance, supporting

investors and removing all obstacles to create an calm investment climate and a fertile soil for development.

"The government has amended the investment law, allowing settlement with investors in a way that doesn't affect the existing contracts" said Saleh.

Headed that GDP growth reached 2.2 per cent during the previous fiscal year, and is expected to achieve a 3.8 to 4 per cent rise this year.

Minister of Housing and Urban Development, Tarek Wafik, announced the development project of the Suez Canal, which would transform the Suez Canal from just a shipping channel to a hub for logistics and industrial and maritime services.

"This project will turn the Suez Canal into Egypt's economic capital, surging its returns to \$100 billion annually," said Wafik.

Sinai has a huge stock of coal, around 150 million tons, in addition to the white sand which Sinai is known for. It contains great reserves of silica, which is used in the production of silicon computer chips, said Chairman of Sinai Development Authority Shawki Rashwan.

"\$5 billion of trade between the two countries is really a very small number; and we are looking forward to doubling that number; however we could never reach that goal without joint cooperation between the two countries" said the deputy director general of the Turkish General Directorate of Exports.

"Turkey is seeking mutual businesses, along with benefiting from available investments and cooperation in all fields, and businessmen are the engine to execute projects," said the Chairman of the Turkey Egypt Business Council Zuhail Mansfield.

"We are hope to increase the volume of Turkish investments in Egypt, especially after the Turkish president AbduAllah Gul laid the foundation for the indus-

trial zone of the 6th October district in 2008, which now contains around 400 factories with 100 Turkish businessmen investing over there" said the Chairman of Egyptian Business Development Association (EBDA) Hassan Malek.

Turkey has come to Egypt after knowing it has a good chance for profit, especially after the COMESA and the QUEZ agreements, which "reinvigorated the Turkish trade relations" commented Chairman of the Egyptian Businessmen's Association Hussein Sabbour.

Sabbour called on the government to provide means of attraction to enhance investments in Egypt from the Egyptians themselves, especially as several Egyptian investors are looking to other countries like China and Turkey because of their cheap production and facilities.

"There were 22 problems pertaining to Turkish investments in Egypt and with the help of President Morsy, all of them have been resolved, that is a fact. Today we're hoping for new investments. As you can see we've proposed several developmental projects, in Sinai, East of the Suez Canal as well as east Port Said," said Chairman of the Egypt Turkey Business Council Adel El Lamei.

"Turks are very close to us [Egyptians], socially, politically and religiously. And the fact that only two out of 300 companies have exited the Egyptian market over the past two years is indicative of level of comfort Turkish investors feel in Egypt," added El Lamei.

"Nowadays, our concern is the political situation. If it would improve, which I believe it will, customers will be more encouraged to come here and conduct business," Director of Tureks for Textiles Ali Topuz, told Daily News Egypt, commenting on the obstacles that might hinder the flow of further Turkish investments to Egypt.

# Egypt receives Algerian gas

By Mohamed SalahEldin

In an effort to alleviate energy burdens, Egypt has received a 53,000 tonne shipment of gas from Algeria in the last few days, reported the Algerian independent Al-Fadjr.

The shipment contained 33,000 tonnes of diesel gas and 20 thousand tonnes of butane. The imports are expected to grow during this year as the government has negotiated with Algerian petroleum company SONATRACH to increase its butane gas imports to

one million per year, according to Al-Ahram.

Algeria is the main supplier of liquefied butane to Egypt, as stipulated in the agreement between the two countries that was renewed last July. Saudi sent a 6,400 tonne shipment of liquefied butane to a Suez port last week, reported Amwal Al-Ghad.

The head of the Egyptian General Petroleum Corporation Hani Dahi said President Mohamed Morsy has demanded a rise in imports of cooking gas to provide a significant

reserve during the winter, he added that Egypt had increased butane imports from Algeria since last year's uprising from 360,000 tonnes per year to 700,000.

The vice president of the petroleum products section in the chambers of commerce union, Walid Sakr, blamed the government for the shortage and called it an official plan to reduce energy subsidies in the future, according to the Algerian press.

Petroleum subsidies reached EGP 113.2 billion in the 2011/2012 budget.

# Shale energy production spike revolutionising energy sector

London (AFP) - A spike in shale oil and gas production is revolutionising the energy sector and risks weighing on prices of conventional crude, according to industry experts.

A forecast last week by the International Energy Agency (IEA) that the United States would become the world's biggest oil producer by 2017 thanks to an explosion in hard-to-reach energy trapped in shale, or sedimentary rock, has triggered debate among companies and consumers.

"We are facing a revolution, from North America," Christophe de Margerie, chairman and chief executive of French energy giant Total told delegates attending the recent Oil & Money industry conference in London.

De Margerie stressed that the industry's biggest danger was no longer a drop in oil reserves, but rather technological limitations preventing exploitation of energy resources that can serve the world's needs for "decades and decades."

But although "the future is going to be technologically challenging" it

will not be "more than it has been in the past," said Mike Daly, a senior executive at British energy group BP.

Daly said that industry spending on exploration was at \$90 billion (70 billion euros) a year compared with \$20 billion just five years ago, while more than half of current spending was on unearthing unconventional hydrocarbons such as shale oil and gas.

According to the IEA, which represents major oil consuming nations, world gas demand is set to rocket by 50 percent by 2035, with half of this increase met by unconventional gas output mainly in the US, Australia and China.

The IEA added that world oil demand should increase by 10 percent over the next 23 years on higher transport usage and result in crude prices rising to only \$125 a barrel compared with \$107 on average at the moment.

Shale oil and gas "will have the power, not only to stop prices from rising any further, but to send prices lower in the coming years," said DNB

Bank analyst Torbjorn Kjus.

"This is despite our view that geopolitical risk in the oil market will be even higher in the coming ten years than in the prior 10 years."

Crude oil prices rallied last week on Middle East supply concerns as Israeli warplanes pounded Gaza.

Julian Jessop, an analyst at Capital Economics research group, said the rise in shale products would impact Saudi Arabia, which is currently the world's biggest oil producer.

OPEC, of which Saudi Arabia is among the cartel's 12 member nations, downplayed the threat posed by shale liquids.

"I don't believe that shale gas will have a big share" of the energy market, concluded Abdullah El-Badri, secretary general of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries.

El-Badri also warned that persistent IEA forecasts that the United States would become the world's leading oil producer would lead to a drop in investment by other crude-producing countries.

# KidZania Cairo & KAMS teach kids how to make their own puppets

KidZania® Cairo has signed a cooperation agreement with KAMS®, one of the leading toys store chains, to establish a workshop for teaching the children how to make toys and puppets by themselves inside the KidZania city.

Mr. Tarek Zidan, KidZania® Egypt Governor, said "Cooperation with KAMS® aims at developing children's creativity and artistic skills that will contribute in creating a new generation of artists and designers". He added that this is a part of KidZania®'s edutainment target and that KidZania® believes that

KAMS® is the best in this industry due to its long experience with kids.

Zidan hopes that KidZania® -KAMS® workshop will generate great popular artists who make puppets as Rahmi, Salah El-Sakka, Nagi Shaker and others from the innovative artists.

Valeed Azab, CEO of KAMS®, has confirmed that his company was keen to take place inside KidZania® Egypt in order to reach their children's audience from the all ages. "KAMS® will work on providing the best experience inside the puppets workshop as

well as teaching the kids the skills of sales and how to gain work experience in KAMS® stores".

Azab pointed out that the activity in KidZania® -KAMS® workshop will start by learning how to design the various puppets and toys and identifying the materials used in production process, then selecting the design or the suitable toy according to the kid's age. After that, the Kid will be provided with the materials and tools to make the toy and will be aided in producing it till it becomes an end-product.

## Daily EGX30 index performance

Company Name	Reuters Code	Sector	Last Price	Close Price	Returns			Daily Performance		Turn Over (EGP Mill.)	Volume Trade	Market Cap. (EGP Mill.)
					Daily	YTD	12-Mths.	Max. Price	Min. Price			
Commercial Bank	COMI	Banks	36.75	37.10	-4.23%	98.40%	56.28%	38.03	36.70	16.06	432,951	23,136.59
NSGB	NSGB	Banks	40.01	40.43	-6.76%	99.06%	70.09%	43.02	39.07	14.663	362,675	19,231.72
Ezz Steel	ESRS	Basic Resources	9.15	9.19	-4.37%	146.38%	67.09%	9.52	9.00	11.70	1,273,272	5,220.78
ELSWEDY ELECTRIC	SWDY	Industrial Goods and Services and Automobiles	25.20	25.20	-1.18%	21.50%	25.94%	25.20	25.20	0.436	17,303	5,697.16
MRRDIVE	MOIL	Industrial Goods and Services and Automobiles	1.03	1.04	-1.89%	-13.95%	-31.45%	1.04	1.03	1.77	279,467	379.90
AIC Contracting	AIND	Financial Services excluding Banks	0.49	0.50	-3.85%	-3.85%	-13.79%	0.51	0.49	2.903	5,842,647	278.00
Amer Group Holding	AMER	Financial Services excluding Banks	0.64	0.65	-2.99%	18.18%	-7.14%	0.67	0.61	5.73	8,855,429	2,036.60
EK Holding	EKHO	Financial Services excluding Banks	1.21	1.20	0.00%	22.45%	20.00%	1.21	1.20	3.141	429,099	1,007.15
FG-Hermes	HRHO	Financial Services excluding Banks	10.88	10.91	-2.68%	8.99%	-10.65%	11.09	10.83	19.48	1,786,386	5,361.68
Pioneers Holding	PIOH	Financial Services excluding Banks	4.63	4.71	-5.04%	112.16%	72.53%	4.80	4.63	7.271	1,542,752	2,480.00
Citadel Capital	CCAP	Financial Services excluding Banks	3.68	3.73	-4.11%	46.27%	19.94%	3.85	3.66	8.22	2,202,965	2,542.97
Raya Holding	RAYA	Technology	5.34	5.41	-5.75%	55.46%	37.31%	5.67	5.30	1.391	257,299	368.64
Telecom Egypt	ETEL	Telecommunications	13.52	13.55	-1.17%	2.57%	-2.80%	13.61	13.51	2.07	152,815	23,403.95
Orascom Telecom Media And Technology	OTMT	Telecommunications	0.57	0.58	-3.33%	67.98%	60.96%	0.59	0.56	19.224	33,217,497	3,147.41
Orascom Telecom	ORTE	Telecommunications	3.58	3.64	-2.15%	110.60%	101.80%	3.70	3.58	6.20	1,705,893	19,513.97
Sidi Kerir Petrochemicals	SKPC	Chemicals	13.13	13.15	-0.98%	10.41%	9.13%	13.25	13.10	0.488	37,138	6,972.00
Egyptian Financial and Industrial	EFIC	Chemicals	10.1	10.19	-4.68%	14.37%	-0.68%	10.57	10.00	2.37	233,081	740.83
AMOC	AMOC	Oil and Gas	77.01	77.92	1.16%	16.40%	21.85%	78.00	76.26	4.132	53,025	6,632.28
Juhayna Food Industries	JUFO	Food and Beverage	6.79	6.88	-3.37%	76.41%	52.89%	7.10	6.74	3.71	539,769	5,027.10
Orascom Construction Industries (OCI)	OCIC	Construction and Materials	252.84	254.44	-3.06%	26.49%	11.80%	260.17	251.20	9.820	38,594	54,842.16
Delta Construction & Rebuilding	DCRC	Construction and Materials	6.59	6.67	-5.66%	-13.26%	-24.72%	7.00	6.50	1.37	204,657	163.36
Modern Co. For Water Proofing	WATP	Construction and Materials	1.92	1.99	-5.69%	-13.48%	-8.29%	2.08	1.92	2.219	1,112,659	215.22
Palm Hills	PHDC	Real Estate	2.46	2.47	-5.36%	126.61%	99.19%	2.52	2.41	25.84	10,471,986	2,736.12
TMGH Holding	TMGH	Real Estate	4.48	4.51	-4.45%	52.36%	37.08%	4.65	4.47	8.415	1,864,362	9,740.01
National Real Estate Bank	NRPD	Real Estate	21.75	22.21	-7.15%	13.20%	-6.60%	23.48	21.62	4.13	186,183	93.35
Six of October	OCDI	Real Estate	20.17	20.05	-4.11%	151.57%	55.19%	20.30	19.80	4.077	203,360	1,896.04
El Kahera Housing & Development	ELKA	Real Estate	5.5	5.51	-4.67%	42.01%	30.57%	5.67	5.42	0.95	172,586	541.88
Arab Cotton Ginning	ACGC	Personal and Household Products	3.77	3.82	-4.98%	81.04%	51.59%	3.95	3.75	6.258	1,637,664	1,088.68
Oriental Weavers	ORWE	Personal and Household Products	23	22.96	-1.46%	-17.12%	-19.54%	23.30	22.51	0.26	11,260	2,097.00
Egyptian Tourism Resorts	EGTS	Travel & Leisure	1.04	1.05	-4.55%	25.00%	9.38%	1.09	1.04	1.192	1,130,665	1,155.00

## Market indices performance

Index	Value	Daily Ch.	YTD Ch.
EGX 30	5,478.38	-3.25%	51.24%
EGX 70	497.52	-3.66%	19.71%
EGX 100	827.47	-3.38%	28.67%
EGX 20 Capped	6,285.02	-3.27%	60.11%

## Market Brief

Markets	No.	Volume	Value(LE)	Trades
Listed	184	100,868,551	769,595,307	20,554
Stocks	179	100,420,078	279,821,338	20,547
PDBonds	4	448,433	489,769,848	6
Bonds	1	40	4,121	1
Nilex	7	213,547	660,630	124
OTC	7	43,519	5,548,288	24
Deals	7	43,519	5,548,288	24
Orders	0	0	0	0
Total	198	101,125,617	775,804,225	20,702
Total Market Cap		377,771,853,909		

Direction	No.	Volume (000's)	Value (LE 000's)	No. of Trades
Listed stocks	180	100,420	279,825	20,548
Gainers	8	1,296	12,243	346
Decliners	156	98,611	264,320	20,071
Unchanged	16	514	3,263	131





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# COMMENTARY

MONDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 2012 DAILY NEWS EGYPT 5

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## Papal enthronement and Gaza attacks overwhelm commentators

As Pope Tawadros II was enthroned Sunday some columnists offered him advice for his coming mission. The Israeli aggression on Gaza is still gripping the hearts and minds of other writers, who scrutinise Morsy's reactions towards the attacks

**There is a difference... but Amr Al-Shobaki**  
Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper



There is a big difference between President Mohamed Morsy's situation towards the recent attacks on Gaza and that of the ousted Mubarak. Al-Shobaki praises Morsy's stance against the Israeli aggression, but asks whether this position will be successful within the international and regional framework. One of the main differences between what Egyptians used to feel during Mubarak's era and what they feel under Morsy is that we now feel less helpless. The move to send Prime Minister Hesham Qandil and a large delegation to the Gaza Strip could never be imagined during Mubarak's rule, when officials used to visit Israel only.

The writer explains that Egypt's reaction to the Gaza attacks does not imply that we will soon be at war. It rather highlights the achievements of a "peaceful era" that should materialise in an atmosphere of economic and political development. Egypt should not interfere in any military confrontations with Israel unless in self-defence. Al-Shobaki commends all political and legal support to Gaza, but affirms that Egypt should intervene to fight back Israeli attacks only according to its economic and political strength in the region.

**The 118th papal enthronement Helmy Al-Gazzar**  
Al-Masry Al-Youm newspaper



On the occasion of the enthronement of Pope Tawadros II, the Muslim Brother-

hood leader Helmy Al-Gazzar dedicates his piece to congratulating Copts on their new pope and offering some advice to the newly enthroned head of the Church. Almost all Egyptians are waiting to see how the pope will manage the internal and external affairs of St. Mark's Cathedral. The writer is optimistic that Tawadros, a student of Bishop Pachomius, will deal wisely with such a sensitive period in Egypt's history. In Al-Gazzar's opinion, the new pope needs to encourage more active political participation for Egyptian Copts.

He needs them to seek legal action when they are faced with serious issues, Al-Gazzar writes. In this context, he calls upon state institutions to finalise regulations that deal with building and maintaining churches. Al-Azhar will play a significant role in supporting the church in the coming phase, states Al-Gazzar. He elaborates that Al-Azhar and the church should work hand-in-hand to raise public awareness of genuine national solidarity. The writer sees it is also the role of Islamist movements, which call for justice and tolerance, to deal peacefully with the Coptic community.

## What's the use of journalism in Egypt?

Egyptians are once again confronted with, and unified in, the only thing that has sustained their togetherness: calamity.

At least 50 children died as their bus recklessly traversed a malfunctioning level crossing, only to be hit by an oncoming train and dragged for close to 1,000 metres, according to witnesses.

Seventeen more kids reportedly survived, but a life of woe, trauma, and disbelief may still haunt them for good.

The body parts of dismembered four to six year-olds were scattered for almost a kilometre, and bereaved family members had them collected in plastic bags as they desperately waited for an ambulance that arrived more than an hour later.

The specifics of a failing level crossing system, if any, may not be needed to cite. It's not any different from the many other train crashes or road deaths this country has endured for decades.

But what has caught my attention in the midst of all this is a revealing investigative report published almost two months ago on Al-Masry Al-Youm online.

EGP 5.5 million was allocated earlier this year for the renovation of the crumbling level crossings across Egypt's beleaguered railways. None of this money ever materialised, the report reveals.

The reporter toured across Egypt to find evidence of any improvement or renovation projects, but found none.

Level crossings across impoverished upper Egypt were supposed to be completely renovated from January for a sum of EGP 1.5 million. No one knows into which pocket this money found its way.

It's a sad story.

I don't know what the reporter felt at the sight of spilled blood she tried to play a role in preventing. I feel absolutely sorry for her and equally for journalism. The brilliant information-digging she did in the public interest has achieved nothing.

Many of us who got into journalism, particularly among this young generation, had hopes for making real impact

on people's lives. Comforting the afflicted and afflicting the comfortable is the mantra that has been driving many of us. But in Egypt, it seems the comfortable are getting more comfort and the afflicted will have to bear more suffering.

It looks like a time of disillusionment for many. I know we're not supposed to wield influence on power in every story we write. But the unmatched tragic loss of life in this crash should get us to start questioning what is wrong beyond the sphere and capacity of the press?

Most stories of death-by-torture in the country's notorious police stations and detention centres have found little or no recourse in a criminal justice system that needs to be upended. I recall a story I uncovered in 2010, of a young man in a poor neighbourhood of Alexandria who was tortured to death.

The case of Ahmed Shaaban made its way to several international media outlets and triggered an Amnesty International statement before it made its way into local press busy with an election season. Several local activist groups launched protests in support. But the pressure the victim's family had to bear, along with the continual threats they received from the local police force, had them acquiesce and finally agree to put the investigation on the shelf.

It seems across all aspects of injustice in this country, the state machinery is the actual culprit. Whoever (de)formed this bureaucracy and filled almost all legal frameworks with countless loopholes, designed to favour the powerful against the powerless in startling consistency, should be indicted with premeditated murder.

And the Muslim Brotherhood, who have blatantly hijacked the Egyptian revolution, are another culprit. They have deliberately reduced the radical changes everyone hoped for to mere time-serving and cosmetic reforms. The "renaissance" project has revived nothing but Mubarakist practices, spiced up with Islamic undertones of morality.

In fact, it's not the first time Egypt's railway system has been soaked in blood. A simple Google search leads you to a tragic litany of accidents. Even



MOHAMED ABDELFATTAH

during Mubarak's era, transport officials got fired for similar events. What has changed? Nothing.

A simple reading into the body-count of road and railway accidents in Egypt every year is shocking. According to the World Health Organization, Egypt loses about 12,000 lives each year to road accidents. Five months in power, has the Muslim Brotherhood's second-choice president (Morsy) initiated or even pondered a proactive policy to prevent this systemic bloodshed?

The tragic collision is likely to follow the typical trajectory of such horrendous acts of public negligence: firing an official; holding a low-level employee accountable; and offering embarrassing reparations to bereaved families. But nothing will touch the crumbling state machinery the Muslim Brotherhood has shown itself willing to preserve.

This tragedy will likely be a defining moment for many who wished well for Egypt after the revolution. For the families of the dead and injured, I ran out of words that could be used to console their loss. For the Egyptian press and a vanguard of anti-establishment journalists, I wish nothing but the ability to resist a persisting state of disillusionment.

**Mohamed Abdelfattah** is a journalist and multimedia producer based in Cairo, Egypt. His main news beats are politics, human rights, and criminal justice. In 2011, he won an International Press Freedom Award for his work on police brutality.

## Hamas: the legitimacy of resistance

Once again as Israeli elections come closer, Israel politically campaigns by attacking Gaza, this time killing the head of Al-Qassam Brigades' Ahmad Al-Jabari who was a popular and respected figure in the Gaza Strip. By this move that killed three Palestinians, Israel has breached the cease-fire that was sponsored by Egypt.

The Zionist state has been accustomed to conducting such operations before elections as a way for whatever coalition is in power to boost its confidence and therefore try to sustain its place after the elections. The response however from Al-Qassam Brigades was unexpected and rocket missiles were fired that struck cities in the occupied lands never reached before. Furthermore Hamas announced that it shot down an F-16, which was confirmed by some Israeli sources. This alone is a turning point which makes the Gaza Strip resistant to planes at low altitude. Rumours are being circulated that an Israeli pilot or two, who evacuated a plane before its crash in the sea, are being held hostage.

The entire situation is no longer the same; Zionist leaders can no longer expect innocuous responses. Though modest, responses are causing casualties and are stirring up fear and instability throughout the occupied lands. Rockets have reached Tel Aviv, the economic capital where most businesses and embassies are situated. They disturbed and delayed international flights.

The United States and its Zionist ally refers to Hamas as a terrorist group, but obviously this is not the case in the rest of the region. The days of declaring war on the Gaza Strip from Egypt, as previous minister of foreign relations Tzibi Livini did, are over. Ismael Haneya, head of Hamas, has visited Turkey and stood next to Erdogan in their parliament as parliamentarians clapped. Not long ago Haneya was visiting Egypt and talking with

President Morsy. This is the same Haneya who was literally left to sit on the pavement waiting for the Rafah crossing to open for him to conduct meetings with security officials under Mubarak.

The visit of the Egyptian prime minister to the Gaza strip with assistants to Morsy is also a significant and strong symbolic message to Israel and the world. Even though Tunis has its secularist tendencies, this did not hold its minister of foreign relations back from making a visit to Gaza. Finally, the urgent meeting conducted by foreign ministers of Arab states which recommended reconsidering the entire "peace process" with Israel and stopping all forms of normalisation is not a move Israel should take lightly. The regional support Hamas is getting is not an exclusively Islamist support; it is gradually building an Arab support.

Now it is Hamas rejecting the typical deal the Zionist entity wants and demanding that there be guarantees that Israel will not breach it again. In Gaza, songs of resistance and jihad are already being sung with lyrics that describe Tel Aviv under fire. There is an overwhelming atmosphere of resistance that inundates the people of Gaza. This is despite the siege and collective punishment Israel and the US have imposed on Palestine for voting Hamas into government in 2006.

Hamas has given Palestine that which Abbas and his crew have failed to give; a sense of hope and pride. Death is no longer a deterrent and more death and destruction does not take away the legitimacy of *muqawama* (resistance) which was rooted in the previous discourse of the former Palestinian Liberation Organization (PLO). Hamas is making a strong argument that resistance is the only way to achieve freedom and liberation. The "peace process" has brought nothing but suffering, humiliation and more occupation or colonial "settlements."

The region is in turmoil: the Syr-



MUSTAFA SALAMA

ian opposition is about to have a formal and recognised representation abroad; Jordan which borders Israel could possibly have a revolution of its own; and still the Iranian question of nuclear weapons for the US and Israel remains unanswered. Netanyahu's escalation surely comes as a headache to Obama, whose administration is already frustrated by the ongoing aftermath of the Arab Spring.

If Israel will go ahead with its ground skirmishes, the possibility of a third intifada becomes eminent and the Palestinian Authority will be unlikely to be able to hold back the masses and could possibly be overthrown. Personally, I doubt that Israel will go ahead, as the consequences are incalculable and an escalation is in no one's interest. In the meantime, and as the situation is still ongoing, Israeli officials will have to seriously reconsider their policies towards Palestine. More than ever, Israel stands regionally isolated, Hamas is stronger and the Palestinian Authority is a cosmetic accessory.

**Mustafa Salama** is a Political Researcher and a Freelance Journalist. He has an extensive academic background on Islamist movements and Middle East Affairs. Salama holds a Bachelors and Masters Degree in Political Science from the American University in Cairo

## Haggling over Gaza

Frantic diplomatic efforts are ongoing in Cairo and all the major Palestinian players are involved: Hamas; Khaled Meshaal; Moussa Abu-Marzook; Islamic Jihad; Ramadan Shalah; Fatah; and Nabil Shaath. Israel's Channel Two television station has announced that an Israeli envoy is also heading to Cairo. That is in addition to the big three leaders of Qatar, Turkey and Egypt.

Does that mean a ceasefire is near? That is what both Morsy and Erdogan want us to believe, though I would interpret their optimism as a message for a domestic audience and not necessarily an indication of any progress.

Al-Qassam military brigades (the military wing of Hamas) have released a video. The defiant, loud rhetoric was clearly aimed at the wider Arab public to garner support. Their "surprise" in the video turned out to be the unveiling of an anti aircraft surface-to-air shoulder mounted missile. Nothing hugely surprising. There are also reports that Palestinian fighters fire most of their rockets by remote control, and that rockets are hidden in trenches camouflaged by trees.

As for Israel, it seems that it has designed a step-by-step plan, yet the end point is unclear. It is also unclear whether Netanyahu is really willing to go to war or if he is just

bluffing. Though his support inside Israel seems to be solid, many Arabs do not take him seriously after his previous empty threats against Iran. I guess the answer depends on what deal he could clinch from the three mediators, Turkey, Qatar and Egypt. He has to remember that any deal would not be bad for Hamas, but not necessarily good for him. Hamas, in the current dynamics, have nothing to lose but plenty to gain.

Egypt needs to secure a deal with Turkey and Qatar. If the financial side of things is crucial to supporting Gaza in the future, security arrangements are paramount for any deal to survive long-term. The logistics of a permanently open border and the volatile situation in Sinai are part of the equation too. I also suspect very delicate negotiations are taking place with other Palestinian factions, especially Islamic Jihad. Ramadan Shalah is a very important player with a pivotal role that can shape the outcome of the current crisis.

Many analysts claim that Hamas is desperate and has lost most of its missile capabilities. I think we should be careful before we reach such a conclusion. Four years of smuggling won't be depleted easily. It seems to me, though I could be wrong, that Israel is not duly bothered by



NERVANA MAHMOUD

Hamas's capabilities, but seeks a long term deal; not a truce or a lull but a concrete agreement. Netanyahu seems to be willing to give Hamas a favourable strategic position against Fatah in return for a guaranteed end to rockets and the control of smaller groups.

Anyway, I think we are heading for another day of negotiations and airstrikes. May God be with the innocent civilians who are awaiting the results of the political haggling, and to see how their leaders roll the dice.

**Nervana Mahmoud** is a doctor, blogger and writer on Middle East issues. You can follow her on Twitter @Nervana\_1

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# IN-FOCUS



Hassan Ibrahim

The pictures, videos and first-hand accounts that emerged after the clashes ended, provided damning evidence that the police force unlawfully used firearms. The police force's use of firearms broke both Egyptian and international law, according to an Amnesty International report.

The attempt to forcefully break up the peaceful protest on 19 November is in direct violation of article 21 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (which Egypt is party to) ensures the "right of peaceful assembly" with no restrictions.



Hassan Ibrahim

There has been no feasible justification for the use of force against the peaceful protesters, as they were not posing a threat to national security, public safety or public order.

## Remembering Mohamed Mahmoud: T



Hassan Ibrahim

A man lies on Tahrir Square suffering from the effects of tear gas. A week before the anniversary of the Mohamed Mahmoud clashes, a march of around 300 people left Cairo University and walked to Tahrir square in silence. They flew black flags and held up two banners with the visages of Mina Daniel and Sheikh Ahmed Effat. Four coffins, draped in Egyptian flags to commemorate those who were killed, led the march. "We are marching because no one remembers and nothing has changed," said Mohamed, a 6 April member.



Hassan Ibrahim

The graffiti of on Mohamed Mahmoud Street serves as a memorial to those who died during the clashes. The original graffiti had been white washed by the government only for people to graffiti the walls again. The colourful murals depict anti-regime slogans, caricatures of SCAF officers and portray the faces of the martyrs of the revolution.



Hassan Ibrahim

The sight of motorcycles carrying the wounded from the battle was common throughout the clashes. Many of those who were present have said that the back and forth journeys between the front line and the field hospitals made by these men were a vital lifeline for the demonstrators. Where there were clashes, the motorcycles were never far away. The image of men on their motorcycles before the clashes generalised them as thugs and many were intimidated by them. They went a long way to changing this stereotype through putting themselves in direct danger to save the lives of others during the clashes. Many of the people involved have described them as heroes.

By Ahmed About Enein, Basil El-Dabh, Joel Gulhane and Connor Molloy

The walls of Mohamed Mahmoud Street are emblazoned with graffiti that tells the tale of this now iconic street. This is the tale of a murderous police force, political leadership that failed a revolution, a group that made no sacrifices but seized all the spoils, and martyrs.

For over a week in November 2011 this downtown street, home to restaurants, cafes and a university became a war zone. Conscripted riot police and their commanding officers fired barrages of tear gas, rubber bullets, buckshot and live ammunition at hundreds of young men who responded with rocks and the occasional Molotov cocktail.

It began when thousands of Islamists took to the street on 18 November in one of the largest Friday protests to arrive at Tahrir.

The protesters, led by the Muslim Brotherhood, were demonstrating against then-Deputy Prime Minister Ali El-Salmy's "supra constitutional principles," which gave the ruling military council power over the constitution drafting process and over the handover to civilian rule.

A smaller contingent of revolutionary youth was also there that day. Their demands were for presidential elections to be held immediately after parliamentary ones and for a handover of power by April 2012 instead of June 2013.

By nightfall both groups mostly left the square. All that remained were less than a dozen tents where the families of the 25 January 2011 uprising's martyrs and the injured were staying, having started an open-ended sit-in two days earlier demanding justice for their relatives and swift trials for their killers.

Although small in number, the police apparently viewed them as a threat. Central Security Forces violently broke up the sit-in, beating the protesters and tearing their tents apart. Revolutionary youth quickly arrived on the scene and police started using tear gas. The battle moved into Mohamed Mahmoud Street where it raged for eight days.

### Before the battle

The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF), which took over the country following the ouster of President Hosni Mubarak, initially promised to rule for a transitional period of just six months.

The deadline was extended with parliamentary elections planned for September and presidential elections in December. A constitution was to be completed after presidential elections with SCAF out of the picture.

Parliamentary elections were postponed to November and scheduled so that they would be held over three months. SCAF made other modifications, claiming there could be no presidential elections before a constitution. Before the Mohamed Mahmoud

clashes, presidential elections were scheduled for June 2013.

At the time, SCAF held both executive and legislative powers, exercising the former through Essam Sharaf's cabinet, viewed as weak-willed and subservient to the military council. In short, SCAF was in control.

On the other hand, the revolutionary youth who sparked the January uprising were at their lowest point. SCAF and what remained of Mubarak's regime, had launched a brutal and effective smear campaign against them, to the point where the average citizen blamed the revolution for all their problems.

Revolutionaries were also subjected to violence, with at least one protest per month since March being forcibly broken up by either the military or police.

This trend culminated in the Maspero massacre of October 2011 when military vehicles ran over 15 Coptic Christian protesters and the army shot dead a further eight in a throwback to the 28 January 2011 clashes all over Egypt.

At the time Egypt's future rulers, the Muslim Brotherhood, lay in wait. The Brotherhood was initially part of the broad coalition that forced Mubarak to resign, and were counted among the revolutionary forces.

This quickly changed after March 2011. SCAF had amended the 1971 constitution and put it up for referendum. The revolutionaries, who demanded an entirely new constitution, campaigned for a "no" vote.

The Brotherhood thought SCAF's proposed roadmap of amending the constitution, holding elections, then drafting a new constitution, would lead to faster stability.

Egypt's Islamists used religion to campaign for a "yes" vote, working through mosques to campaign and claiming that Article 2 of the constitution, stipulating Islam as the state religion and the principles of Shari'a as the main source of legislation, was under threat.

The amendments were passed, the revolutionaries felt the Brotherhood had betrayed the revolution.

Right before the clashes, the Brotherhood was preparing its political arm, the Freedom and Justice Party, for the upcoming parliamentary elections.

### The battle rages on

The protesters' resolve remained unbroken, with hundreds of youth heading into Mohamed Mahmoud Street to stop the police's advances on the square. And stop them they did, for eight straight days.

Men on motorcycles transported the injured and those who had fainted from tear gas inhalation back to the square. They also transported the occasional body every few hours. Almost 90 overall, at least 14 on one day.

Those in Tahrir set up several field hospitals to treat the injured. Others brought food, medicine and supplies. The presence of hundreds of thousands in the square helped spur on those fighting in Mohamed Mahmoud Street.

It also ensured political and media attention.

Hania Mansour, a coordinating member of the 6 April Youth Movement who was in Mohamed Mahmoud throughout the clashes, spent time working at an emergency clinic on the ground.

She talked about the heavy weaponry that was used; in particular the strange gas.

"In the clinic I saw many symptoms of the gas. Some people were throwing up white stuff, others were shaking, and others couldn't breathe," said Mansour.

She added that some of the corpses she saw were black, as if they had been burned, and wondered if the gas caused it.

Police used tear gas, rubber bullets, buckshot and live bullets, although they did not admit to the use of live ammunition. Minister of Interior Mansour Al-Essawy, of whom protesters demanded resignation, made a number of media appearances throughout time of the clashes, claiming that police were not firing at demonstrators or any other civilians.

The interior ministry repeatedly denied using live ammunition or rubber bullets against protesters in a string of statements throughout the week. On 19 November it claimed police were working to control vandals who had damaged property in the area, saying dozens of policemen had been injured.

Two days later the ministry claimed demonstrators had blocked traffic from Tahrir and then provoked police into clashes.

The ministry claimed it was using tear gas to disperse "rioters" and in an effort to control the vandalism and danger to the police.

It said protesters had the right to free expression, but that police had to intervene after disruptions were caused and the security apparatus was provoked.

SCAF urged Egyptians to remain calm and to adhere to the democratic transition "roadmap" that had been put in place.

The council's first statement on the violence was made on the evening of 20 November, denying that it was attempting to delay handover to civilian authority. The statement contained an assertion by the armed forces that it would not obstruct the process of democratisation.

SCAF expressed its "deep regrets" and called on all political forces to work with "all strength and solidarity" in an attempt to evoke the "spirit of 25 January."

Over the ensuing days as clashes continued SCAF continued to claim that violence was threatening the handover of power that it insisted it was eager to carry out.

On 22 November Field Marshall Mohamed Hussein Tantawi officially accepted the resignation of Prime Minister Essam Sharaf.

Tantawi reiterated that SCAF did not want to stay in power and





# IN-FOCUS

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www.thedailynewsegypt.com



Laurence Underhill

In response to the overwhelming number of injuries, protesters had to set up field hospitals in Tahrir square where volunteer doctors treated people. Thousands of protesters brought supplies for the field hospitals such as medicine and medical equipment. A Twitter account, Tahrir Supplies, was set up to inform protesters what the field hospitals needed. In future clashes field hospitals became a target of violence. Alaa Abdel Hady, a doctor, was one of the victims in the December clashes that followed. He was shot dead as he treated the wounded in a field hospital.



Hassan Ibrahim

Most reports from the Zeinhom morgue, where the bodies were taken, point towards at least 90. The Ministry of Health reported the death toll at 41. Cause of death included live ammunition, with several bodies coming in with multiple gunshot wounds, buckshot wounds and asphyxiation from the tear gas. Field hospital doctors reported some bodies were completely black because of the tear gas. At least two children, both 15 year-olds, were killed. The health ministry and Zeinhom morgue refused to issue proper death certificates for many of the victim's families, instead documenting the cause of death as being a "heart attack," which prompted many to demand full autopsies of their loved ones' bodies. The manipulation of death causes is the chief reason why there is no clear death toll.

## The good, the bad, and the Brotherhood

was ready to hand authority over to a civilian government as soon as the country's transitional roadmap would permit.

Protesters expressed outrage over Tantawi's speech and the statement released by SCAF the next day, which claimed, "[SCAF] confirms that there is no truth whatsoever to the resonating rumours that the armed forces are using ammunition against demonstrators in Cairo and Alexandria."

Throughout the next two days SCAF released a series of statements urging Egyptians to refrain from spreading "rumours" of the role of the military and police in the clashes.

Both the interior ministry and SCAF repeatedly urged people to refrain from provoking the security apparatus, but were not able to identify tangible culprits for the deaths and injuries.

The two repeatedly used parliamentary elections as a reason to refrain from protesting, moving the focus from atrocities that were dismissed as "rumours" to a touted democratic transition.

Statements released by the FJP mirrored many of those made by SCAF, reiterating the importance of the upcoming parliamentary elections, beseeching demonstrators to exercise "wisdom and restraint," warning about actors that might attempt to derail the 25 January Revolution.

In a statement on 20 November the FJP said, "we announce that we will not participate in any more protests or demonstrations that may lead to more confrontations and tensions in a continuous effort to bury the strife between all parties sparked by the Interior Ministry."

The following day secretary general of the FJP, Saad Al-Katatni, announced that his party would meet with SCAF to discuss the clashes and the democratic transition.

Following the meeting, the FJP detailed the democratic transition roadmap agreed upon by the council. It expressed deep concern and claimed "invisible hands" sparked the clashes.

The Brotherhood's real view of the Mohamed Mahmoud clashes was only revealed months later. Muslim Brotherhood Deputy Supreme Guide Khairat El-Shater told French newspaper Le Figaro in January, "it is very possible that there will be further delays in the current transition timeline, mainly because of groups trying to sow chaos in Egypt. We saw them at work in late November in Tahrir Square, clashing with police in Mohamed Mahmoud Street, just before parliamentary elections and again during the attack on the cabinet building in December."

### Lost opportunity?

The refusal of protesters to give up led to Tantawi accepting Sharaf's resignation. The military was also forced to release a statement saying it would guarantee presidential elections before June 2012, bringing the transition

forward by a year.

Protesters were not satisfied with this, demanding SCAF relinquish power immediately.

Word spread of the revolutionaries' new demand: a civilian transitional government headed by Nobel laureate Mohamed ElBaradei with fellow presidential candidates Hamdeen Sabahy and Abdel Moniem Aboul Fotouh as deputy prime ministers.

"At the time, all the politicians were only interested in parliament and getting elected," said Mansour. She added that she believes the politicians were fully aware of the violence that was taking place.

It was decided that the unfolding political process of parliamentary elections was insufficient to address the demands of the revolutions, she said.

"We started talking about that we wanted a government from the revolution. We wanted a government of Aboul Fotouh, Sabahy, and ElBaradei. We didn't want the parliament; we wanted a government [headed] by ElBaradei. All three accepted. They all went to Tahrir and approved it."

But the deal fell apart. Mansour said that when the violence stopped, the momentum for critiquing the elections stopped as well. There have been many rumours on what caused this governing coalition to collapse, but nothing concrete.

Revolutionary youth have since considered the Mohamed Mahmoud Street clashes as a moment when SCAF could have been brought down, but the revolution's political leadership missed the opportunity.

Al-Doustour party founding member, Jermeen Nasr, believes Islamists brought down the proposed government.

"On 22 November 2011 all stages bearing political parties' logos were removed except a single platform for the revolution's demands. The revolutionary faction called for the formation of a national salvation government, or transitional government to be led by Mohamed ElBaradei, Abdel Moniem Aboul Fotouh and [constitutional scholar] Hosam Eissa but that wasn't accepted by the Islamic factions such as the Muslim Brotherhood and supporters of [Salafi leader] Hazem Salah Abu Ismail," she said.

"ElBaradei then said that he wouldn't impose himself to form this government and it should be led by someone who would be accepted by all factions," added Nasr.

Elections were held as scheduled and the young revolutionaries watched in despair as the Brotherhood and the Salafis swept up the vast majority of parliamentary seats.

### The dust settles

Mohamed Mahmoud Street set the trend for mass arrests following clashes. In the roundups protesters were detained and beaten while under police custody.

"During the trial our investigations

proved that torture took place," said Mahmoud Belal, a lawyer for protesters in subsequent court cases.

After a month, the last of the protesters had been released from custody. However, 379 faced criminal charges ranging from resisting authorities, blocking traffic, and destroying public property.

On 8 October, President Mohamed Morsy issued a presidential decree granting amnesty to many individuals convicted of offences that were defined as "supporting the revolution." This included most of those detained during Mohamed Mahmoud, and in the end 327 had their charges dropped.

The rest still face trial with the verdict scheduled for 15 December.

Despite the hundreds of protesters that were made to stand trial, only a single police officer was accused of violence.

A lieutenant, Mahmoud Sobhy Al-Shennawy, remains in custody as he faces charges stemming from his involvement as a sniper for the police force. Lawyers say that Al-Shennawy intentionally targeted protesters' eyes and shot with an intention to kill.

Belal said that Al-Shennawy is not even being charged with murder. He only faces charges of attempted murder, a charge that Belal said, "will not deliver justice."

However, SCAF did not come out of the clashes unscathed. It was forced to abandon its plans to draft the constitution before presidential elections. Similar clashes down the line like the Cabinet building clashes in December or the Abbaseya clashes in May would force it into more political concessions.

The military's loss was not the gain of the revolutionaries, but the Brotherhood's.

"The ultimate beneficiary was the Muslim Brotherhood primarily, the Salafis secondarily, and the young revolutionaries came out nearly empty handed," said prominent sociologist and political analyst Saad El Din Ibrahim.

The Muslim Brotherhood went on to win over 45 per cent of seats in the lower house of parliament and 58 of the upper house. The party chairman went on to become Egypt's president because of elections that were held a year earlier, due to the sacrifices of protesters his group said were trying to sow chaos in Egypt.

"Mohamed Mahmoud was used by the Muslim Brotherhood to mobilise, highlight, and dramatise discontent against SCAF and against the remainder of the establishment that was in place," said Ibrahim.

The Brotherhood now has dominance over the constitutional drafting process as well. Islamists make up a 60 per cent majority of the Constituent Assembly tasked with drafting the new constitution and the Brotherhood leads that bloc.

Ibrahim spoke of how, "they marshalled and manipulated every event that happened. The Muslim Brotherhood ended up collecting all the fruits."

### Mohamed Mahmoud Street Timeline November 2011

#### 16 November:

- The families of those who died or were injured during the uprising against Hosni Mubarak begin their sit-in

#### 19 November:

- Police use force to break up families' sit-in
- Tear gas and ammunition used by the army
- Protesters throw stones

#### 21 November:

- Protesters set up barricades for protection
- Essam Sharaf resigns as prime minister
- Doctors from field hospital say tear gas is getting stronger
- SCAF call for political groups to help resolve crisis and convey regret for deaths and injuries

#### 23 November:

- Al-Azhar sheikhs negotiate temporary cease-fire
- Police fire tear gas over armed forces, aiming at protesters

#### 24 November:

- Army build wall of cement blocks to impede protesters
- Mohamed Mahmoud Street is quiet
- Kamal Al-Ganzouri appointed prime minister

#### 26 November:

- Sit-in blocks security vehicles from passing the cabinet building
- One protester dies after being shot by police

#### 18 November:

- 'Friday of one demand' protests in Tahrir Square – protest against supra constitutional principles

#### 20 November:

- Police and army launch joint offensive on protesters from all sides
- Tahrir Square cleared in 10 minutes
- Tear gas fired in to field hospitals
- Protesters throw stones and Molotov cocktails
- Video clips of soldiers dragging dead bodies on to piles of rubbish emerge

#### 22 November:

- Tantawi announces that investigations into Maspéro and Mohamed Mahmoud Street are transferred from military prosecutor to public prosecution office
- Announcement that presidential elections to be held before June 2012
- Protesters attempt to form revolutionary government
- Ultras and Al-Azhar sheikhs join the demonstrations

#### 25 November:

- 'Last chance Friday'
- Calls for SCAF to hand over power
- Majority of political groups participate
- Muslim Brotherhood and Freedom and Justice party do not participate

#### 28 November:

- Parliamentary elections begin



Laurence Underhill

Several witnesses confirmed that police were aiming directly and intentionally at protesters' eyes, another throw-back to the 28 January 2011 battle. Dozens of protesters lost sight in their eyes, including activist Malek Mostafa. Dostour Party founding member, Ahmed Harrara, lost his second eye in the Mohamed Mahmoud clashes after losing the first on 28 January 2011. Police lieutenant Mahmoud Sobhy Al-Shennawy, dubbed "the eye sniper" was filmed surrounded by his subordinates, who shouted "well done sir" every time he hit a protester in the eye. Al-Shennawy is in custody facing charges of attempted murder. No other police officer has face any legal action.





# ART & CULTURE

Art should make a statement and Culture is what surrounds us.

## Colourful testaments



"Glory to the martyrs"

The walls surrounding Mohamed Mahmoud Street reflected its story in colourful images drawn by the city's graffiti artists. Overnight, sorrow, defiance and remembrance were expressed in what became iconic representations of the uprising of the Egyptians.



"Erase again you cowardly regime"

On 19 September Cairo woke up to empty walls; late at night, on orders of the government, all graffiti had been covered by beige paint in an attempt to obliterate the memories that live vividly in the minds of those that fought for freedom and dignity.



The walls will not be silent

True to the very nature of the temporary art form, artists arrived in droves to use the blank canvas the city had created and filled the walls anew. The walls of Mohamed Mahmoud will never be silent; its story too important to ever be forgotten.

### EVENTS

#### MUSIC

##### City Band

Some jazz and fusion music with the After Eight regulars City Band. Minimum charge is EGP60. After Eight  
6 Kasr El Nil Street  
Downtown, Cairo  
Tel: 010 0339 8000  
19 November 8pm

##### Diamond Mondays

DJ Morad and Scratch DJ competition winner Nuff Said are spinning all night long to help you get over the fact that the weekend is still nowhere in sight. Minimum charge is EGP200. Amici  
New President Hotel  
20 Taha Hussein Street  
Zamalek, Cairo  
Tel: 010 9332 3333  
19 November 10pm

#### MISCELLANEOUS

##### Chocofest

Puppet shows and performances, but be honest you are there for the chocolate! Join Sakia for a delicious treat in Chocofest Cairo for only EGP20. El Sawy Culture Wheel  
River and Word Hall I  
End of 26th of July Street  
Zamalek, Cairo  
Tel: (02) 2736 6178  
19 November 6.30pm

#### EXHIBITIONS

##### PhotoCairo 5

Part of an impressive line-up of events that cover seven different venues in Cairo and span everything from screenings to symposiums, this exhibition at Townhouse is about the response art provokes in people and its effect. Attendance is free and the exhibition is bilingual in Arabic and English. Contemporary Image Collective  
22 Abdel Khalak Tharwat, 4th Floor  
Downtown, Cairo  
Tel: (02) 2792 4080  
19 November 12pm

## 'Culture is not just in the Opera House'

By Omar El Adl

A new campaign, reminding citizens of their cultural rights, has hit the streets of Cairo and Giza featuring startling imagery and provocative quotes. The campaign is endorsed by the Sawy Culture Wheel and is initiated by the National Group for Cultural Policies, operating under the Mawred AlThaqafy organisation.

The Sawy centre will focus on displaying the posters in the lower-income areas in Cairo and Giza. Examples of the slogans used include: culture is not just in the Opera House, culture is in Tanta and Shubra; culture is not just for the cultured, culture is for all Egyptians; it is my right to colour; and it is my right to dance.

everyone has  
the right freely  
to participate  
in the cultural  
life of the  
community and  
enjoy the arts

The campaign features beautiful, vivid images of Egypt and Egyptians and the slogans are chosen to emphasise that culture is not an abstract topic for discussion by intellectuals but is something that is directly relevant to all Egyptians in their everyday life. The posters were designed by artists Hamdy Reda, Osama Dawood and Sameh Ismael.

One of the posters prominently displays article 27 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, which states that "everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits."

The campaign is a welcome step in a country where popular opinion rarely places cultural policy as a priority and where international law does not always feature in na-



I have the right draw

tional policy.

The campaign aims to raise awareness on citizens' cultural rights and garner public support and lay the groundwork to eventually create a national cultural policy for Egypt.

The National Group for Cultural Policies was founded in 2010 as an initiative by Al-Mawred Al-Thaqafy and includes artists, intellectuals, academics and civil society representatives.

"The Group was founded before the revolution to propose policies and the drafts that were put forward were accepted by the parliament before it was disbanded," said Wesam Ragab, Press and Communications Officer at Al-Mawred Al-Thaqafy. "The aim of the campaign

is to raise awareness that people have the access to culture and art as a legal right and that this should be recognised nationally as it is internationally."

Al-Mawred is currently making a documentary film about cultural policy and is planning a press conference in December where more than 150 representatives of the independent cultural sector from Egypt, the Arab world, Europe and Turkey are expected to attend.

The campaign was launched last month and is expected to garner more attention now the Sawy centre has signed on and the organisers hope to reach more people and garner more support to establish cultural rights as a priority for national policy.

## Saving the south of Egypt's coast



Workers at the Sukari goldmine in Marsa Alam

By Adel Heine

The southern Red Sea coast and surrounding part of the Eastern Desert is one of the poorest and least developed regions of Egypt's coastline and one of the few areas that can still boast a pristine natural environment. As touristic interest in the area grows and subsequent development follows in its wake, a group of concerned Egyptians are launching an initiative to devise a development plan for the area that considers sustainable tourism and environmental awareness.

The 3Alganoob, (To the South), programme is slated to start in April 2013 and will involve a conference, a workshop, a cultural festival and a series of press conferences to raise awareness and develop plans to ensure that the economic richness of tourism, fishing and mining will be developed in a sustainable way.

"Nearly all discussions regarding sustainable tourism and development of the southern part of the Red Sea coast take place in Cairo but we felt it was time to organise a platform in the area itself," Amr Ramadan, one of the organisers of 3Alganoob said. "The natural resources are vast and have great economic potential but we would like to prevent development like in Hurghada and Sharm El-Sheikh."

Besides the obvious draw the still empty beaches and largely unspoiled reef systems have for tourists, fishing and mining are economic factors as well. Local tribes sustain themselves through combinations of catching fish and working in the local tourism sector. Gold is being mined in the desert surrounding the coast. "No studies have been done on what the environmental impact will be of the mining in the area, but they are sorely needed,"

Ramadan said.

The conference aims to bring together all stakeholders in order to develop a realistic, sustainable and environmentally friendly development plan for the area. "We will invite the local leaders of the tribes and NGO's that have experience with sustainable development among others," Ramadan explained. "At this moment the Wafaa El Nil NGO and the Deep South Eco-lodge are spearheading the initiative but we hope to create a broad platform to ensure the conference will be a success." A second conference is planned to be held in the following year, which will then include the government.

Ramadan, who is a policy analyst, explained why during the first conference the government is not included. "The government is not ready to address local planning at this time and I believe that development starts on a local level. At this moment in time there is no local council in place so we will have to wait until there have been local elections."

The cultural event that will be organised alongside the conference aims to attract people who are interested in the culture of the region and raise awareness of the issues that it faces.

The organisers of 3Alganoob are currently setting up appointments with possible partners and are developing plans to raise the funds they need. "We have written the concept note and aim to have the final plan ready by mid-December," Ramadan said. "We will then have two months to fundraise and that might prove to be a bit too ambitious but whatever happens, the project will take place. A proper development plan is too important for the future of the people and the area."

Weather	
Monday, November 19	
Alexandria	25°C / 16°C
Aswan	33°C / 19°C
Cairo	26°C / 16°C
Hurghada	28°C / 20°C
Luxor	31°C / 18°C
Sharm El-Sheikh	31°C / 20°C
Suez	23°C / 12°C