



UCBMUN XXI



# The Egyptian Revolution: Government

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**Message from the Chair**

Dear Delegates,

My name is Rose Meinrath and I am so excited to serve as your Head Chair for the JCC Egyptian Government Committee at UCBMUN XXI! A little about myself, I am originally from Sacramento, CA and am currently a second year at UC Berkeley double majoring in Political Science and History and double minoring in Public Policy and Human Rights. This is my second year in UCBMUN as well as my second time staffing the UCBMUN conference. Beyond that, I am definitely a dog person with a special affinity for Golden Retrievers and Pugs, I love running and have been lucky enough to run two half marathons here in San Francisco, and avidly watch The West Wing and House of Cards.

This committee is designed to be fast-paced and high energy. In order to combat the advancement of the opposing Rebel forces you will need to collaborate and plan strategically. We will expect you to come prepared to represent your character well and not only work behind the scenes but together in committee in order to quell the emerging revolution! Please feel free to contact me with any questions about the committee. I look forward to meeting you all!

Sincerely,  
Rose Meinrath

**Message from the Crisis Director**

Delegates,

Welcome to the JCC Egyptian Government committee at UC Berkeley Model United Nations XXI! My name is Tim Guan, and I'm looking forward to serving as your crisis director this Spring. I have no doubt that this will be a highly dynamic joint crisis, and I can't wait to see a high level of debate around such a deeply important topic.

I'm in my fourth year at Berkeley, where I study Cognitive Science and Molecular Biology with a minor in Computer Science. Though I'm originally from Edison, New Jersey, I graduated from high school in Shanghai, China. Ten years participating in Model UN have allowed me to attend a wide variety of conferences as a delegate, chair, and crisis director. When I'm not doing MUN-related activities, you can find me cloning, coding, cooking, or bemoaning the neoliberal regime. The events we will explore in this committee were monumentally significant in shaping Egypt's recent history. Delegates in this committee must navigate new technologies, foreign pressures, and a turbulent political climate as they fight a starving population both online and on the ground. While I have no doubt that you will excel with this topic, please don't hesitate to contact me with any questions. I can't wait to meet all of you during the conference.

Until March,

Tim Guan

## **Introduction**

Inspired by the revolutionaries in the neighboring country of Tunisia in 2010, the Egyptian Revolution beginning in the first months of 2011 marked the second major uprising in the series of protests, riots, and civil wars known as the Arab Spring. Beginning on January 25, the national holiday Police Day, protesters gathered in the streets of Cairo and marched towards the offices of the ruling National Democratic Party calling for an end to the corruption, injustice, food insecurity, and poverty the country faced under the 30-year-old dictatorial regime of President Hosni Mubarak.

Our simulation begins days before riots break out in Tahrir Square, as tensions between the government rage hotter with each day. As the most powerful people in Egypt, we are faced with a great challenge: How can we quell the angers of our hungry and poor while remaining in power? The following document contextualizes the building tension in terms of Egypt's history, the grievances of the people, and key factors and actors in the current political landscape.

While the Arab Spring is a distinct historical period that will be studied and analyzed for years to come, it is important not to view the events of the Arab Spring in a vacuum. In our committee, not only will the events leading up to the Arab Spring be taken into

account, but the deep, rich history of Egypt, the root causes of revolution, and the means by which revolution occurred will be important themes as well.

## **History of Egypt**

The history of Egypt is older than recorded history itself. Settlement in the Nile Valley began in Egypt in 7000 BC. Kingdoms in upper and lower Egypt united in 3000 BC, ushering in a period of prosperity, literacy in the form of hieroglyphics, and the construction of the pyramids.<sup>1</sup> Following this, there was a period of sporadic unification and disunification between the upper and lower parts of Egypt. After Ahmose unified Upper and Lower Egypt in 1550 BC by disposing the Hyksos people, he became pharaoh. Following his rule were the rules of Hatshepsut from 1473 BC to 1458 BC, a notable female pharaoh, and Ramsesses II from 1279 BC to 1213 BC, known for fighting in the Battle of Kadesh in 1274 BC, and his achievements as a military leader.

Following this a series of foreign leaders took control in Egypt, beginning with the Nubian King Piye in 728 BC, followed by the Assyrians, the Persians, and finally the Macedonians under the leadership of Alexander the Great in 332 BC, who established the city of Alexandria. The Macedonians ruled until 31 BC, when the

<sup>1</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13315719>

Romans went to war against the Egyptians in the Battle of Actium. After the Romans defeated the forces of Cleopatra VII and Roman leader Mark Antony, Egypt became part of the Roman Empire.

With this, Christianity was brought to Egypt, and local religions became much less practiced. The Romans ruled until the Arab conquest of 642 AD, and in 1517, Egypt came under Turk rule as a part of the Ottoman Empire, which officially lasted until British takeover in 1882. During this time, Napoleon Bonaparte attempted to invade in 1798, but the Turks prevailed with British help. In 1859, construction on the Suez Canal improved access to trade in the region, and became a vital trade route. However, the project almost bankrupted the government of Egypt, allowing the British to come in and largely take over control of the country, which they did officially in 1882, when British troops defeated the Egyptians. In 1922, Fuad I became King of Egypt, and a monarchy remained in place until Egypt gained independence in 1953. Several things weakened the monarch leading to a military coup. In 1948 when Iraq, Jordan, Syria, and Egypt invaded Israel, Egypt performed very poorly, and this increased the unpopularity of the King Farouk.

The overthrowing of the monarchy in 1953 was in many ways a precursor for the revolution of 2011. A coup lead by the Free Officers' Movement ousted King Farouk,

and Egypt is declared a republic in 1953. A coup leader, Gamal Abdel Nasser, became Prime Minister, and later President, in 1954. In this same year, an evacuation treaty was signed by the British and they begin to leave the state.

As President, Nasser did many significant things within Egypt. One of his most notable actions was the nationalization of the Suez Canal to fund the Aswan High Dam project, which lead to the ultimately failed attack on Egypt by Britain, France, and Israel. In 1970, Nasser died and was succeeded by Anwar al-Sadat.

During his presidency, the Aswan High Dam was completed, and Sadat moved away from Soviet and became a beneficiary of US aid in 1977 following peace talks in Israel. In 1981, Sadat was assassinated, and was succeeded by Hosni Mubarak.

Mubarak's presidency began in turmoil, and this was a theme that seemed to persist throughout his presidency. His term began with him declaring State of Emergency and restricting free speech in 1981. Then in 1986 there was an attempted mutiny by Central Security paramilitary police, and Mubarak deployed the army to suppress it.

The history of Egypt is rich and spans thousands of years, and through understanding the history of Egypt, we can better understand the Arab Spring and reasons for revolution in 2011.

## **Reasons for Unrest**

### **Revolution in Tunisia**

Also known as the Jasmine Revolution, the Tunisian revolution of December 2010 and January 2011 has just achieved success in the ouster of former president Zine al-Abidine Ben Ali. The revolution has been a direct effect of popular uprising in Tunisia against such grievances as corruption, poverty, and political repression.

Protests began after the self-immolation of Mohammed Bouzazi in the town of Sidi Bouzid on December 17. Bouzazi, a 26-year-old vegetable seller, set fire to himself outside a municipal office after local officials reportedly demanded bribes and repeatedly confiscated his merchandise. This act of desperation ignited protests nationwide. The month following was characterized by a brutal government response, with several dozen civilians killed in police clashes. Despite the use of force to combat protestors, protests quickly spread to the capital. On January 13, Ben Ali appeared on national television to announce concessions to his opposition, including a guarantee he would not run for another term as president in 2014, and promises for reduced food prices and loosened restrictions on internet use.

The concessions had little effect on the protests, leading to the declaration of a state of emergency on January 14. After

announcing that the government had been dissolved and elections were to be held in six months, Ben Ali stepped down as president and fled the country. He had ruled the country for 23 years.

Following the success of popular uprising in affecting political change in Tunisia, several experts, including Romano Prodi, suspect Egypt may be the next to experience a popular revolt.<sup>2</sup> A recent article in the Washington Post reads, "The Jasmine Revolution [...] should serve as a stark warning to Arab leaders – beginning with Egypt's 83-year-old Hosni Mubarak – that their refusal to allow more economic and political opportunity is dangerous and untenable."<sup>3</sup>

It appears some Egyptians do, in fact, feel emboldened by the uprisings in Tunisia. Several incidences of self-immolation in both Cairo and Alexandria have occurred since January 14. One of these incidents involved Abdou Abdel Mounam, a baker who set himself aflame to protest that he could not purchase bread at a subsidized price.

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<sup>2</sup><http://www.bloomberg.com/news/2011-01-16/prodi-says-egypt-to-be-monitored-after-tunisia-messaggero-says.html>

<sup>3</sup><http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/15/AR2011011503141.html>

## Police Brutality

For years, “routine” police brutality has been a widespread issue in Egypt, as reported by countless international and multinational bodies and consistently denied by the Egyptian government. Torture is used pervasively against people ranging from common criminals to opposition activists and bloggers. As *the Guardian* reports, “Some middle-class Egyptians did not report thefts from their apartment blocks because they knew the police would immediately go and torture ‘all of the doormen’.”<sup>4</sup>

Egypt’s sizeable national police force, under the purview of the Ministry of the Interior, has been recorded performing hundreds of abusive tactics. Of particular note within the Mubarak reg<sup>5</sup>ime has been the deployment of Baltageya (plainclothes police), whose presence led to 567 documented cases of torture, including 167 deaths, from 1993 to 2007. Recently, the internet has been abuzz with images of the beating of Khaled Mohamed Said by security forces in Alexandria who pulled him out of an internet cafe. Apparently wanted for “theft and weapons possession,” the abuse of the 28-year-old sparked an immense internet uproar. Photos of his mangled corpse have quickly gained traction on several social

media platforms, including Facebook, where a page titled “We are all Khaled Said” has attracted hundreds of thousands of followers to date.<sup>6 7</sup>

## State of Emergency Laws

First enacted in Egypt in 1958 as Law No. 162 of 1958, a state of emergency has been in place since the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, with the exception of a break of 18 months in 1980.<sup>8</sup> It has been continually extended every three years since 1981. The state of emergency extends police powers, suspends constitutional rights, legalizes censorship, and abolishes *habeas corpus*.<sup>9</sup> In addition, it restricts non-governmental political activity such as protests and street demonstrations. Mubarak’s rationale for the state of emergency’s continued extension has typically centered around the threat of terrorism, particularly the risk that dangerous opposition groups could gain power without the suspensions on parliamentary elections.

State of emergency laws effectively halt Egyptians’ freedom of speech and have led to the imprisonment of activists, illegal detention facilities, and persecution based

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<http://www.nytimes.com/2011/02/06/world/middleeast/06face.html>

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[http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2011/Social\\_Medias/Egypt\\_Facebook/EN/index.htm](http://www.nato.int/docu/review/2011/Social_Medias/Egypt_Facebook/EN/index.htm)

<sup>8</sup> <http://www.emerglobal.com/lex/law-1958-161>

<sup>9</sup> <http://conconflicts.ssrc.org/mideast/shehata/>

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<https://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/jan/28/egypt-police-brutality-torture-wikileaks>

<sup>5</sup> <http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/6943704.stm>



on political affiliation in universities, mosques, and the media.<sup>10</sup> The state of emergency laws have allowed Mubarak to maintain power over the government, banning candidates from opposition factions such as the Muslim Brotherhood. In the December 2010 parliamentary election, his native National Democratic Party (NDP), won by a near-unanimous vote.

### **Lack of free elections**

For the past 30 years, manipulation of election results and coercion not to vote have become commonplace in the Egyptian democratic process.<sup>11</sup> Until 2005, Mubarak was the only candidate up for the presidency during each election (with a vote “yes” or “no”), leading to his winning five times consecutively.<sup>12</sup> In 2005, Ayman Nour of the El Ghad party was set to oppose Mubarak until he was jailed before votes were cast. A recent UN report indicates voter turnout was extremely low due to lack of trust in electoral procedures.<sup>13</sup>

The power to choose by whom to be governed is not likely to return to the people

any time soon. The public perception is that Gamal Mubarak, Mubarak's younger son, is slated to succeed his father as president of Egypt..<sup>14</sup> The possibility first gained media attention following the inheritance of power by Syria's Bashar al-Assad in June 2000 following Hafez al-Assad's death. Gamal is the de facto heir-apparent to the presidency, despite vehement denial by both Mubaraks.<sup>15 16</sup>

Several political groups have demanded policy against the inheritance of power and for multi-candidate elections in the years since Mubarak's 2005 victory. One such group, the National Initiative against Power Inheritance, claims, “President Mubarak and his son constantly denied even the possibility of [succession]. However, in reality they did the opposite, including amending the constitution to make sure that Gamal will be the only unchallenged candidate.”<sup>17</sup>

Over the past decade, Gamal Mubarak has gained a great deal of power as NDP

<sup>10</sup>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110129202417/http://en.eohr.org/2008/05/28/%E2%80%9Cegypt-and-the-impact-of-27-years-of-emergency-on-human-rights%E2%80%9D/#more-22>

<sup>11</sup> <https://www.theguardian.com/world/us-embassy-cables-documents/187359>

<sup>12</sup>

[https://web.archive.org/web/20160304072714/http://www.democracy-reporting.org/files/dri\\_egypt.pdf](https://web.archive.org/web/20160304072714/http://www.democracy-reporting.org/files/dri_egypt.pdf)

<sup>13</sup> <https://fas.org/sgp/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf>

<sup>14</sup> Aziz, Muhammad Abdul and Hussein, Youssef (2002) "The President, the Son, and the Military: Succession in Egypt" Arab Studies Journal 9/10: pp. 73–88

<sup>15</sup>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20120404150833/https://web.space.utexas.edu/jmb334/www/documents/article.ASJ.2008.pdf>

<sup>16</sup> <http://www.meforum.org/27/gamal-mubarak-president-of-egypt>

<sup>17</sup>

<https://web.archive.org/web/20110513151746/http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/egyptians-abroad-speak-out-against-inheritance-of-power.html>

deputy secretary general and chair of the party's policy committee. To some, it would seem the past decade of Hosni Mubarak's presidency has effectively been the first decade of Gamal's.

### High Food Prices

For millennia, Egypt's success and longevity as a civilization and nation relied on the fertile lands of the Nile River Delta. Egypt was a nation of farmers, able to thrive on daily bread made from Egyptian wheat. Yet in 2011, an estimated 40 percent of Egypt's population live on less than 2 U.S. dollars a day, many of whom spent more than half of their income on food. The Egyptian government spends billions of U.S. dollars annually on bread subsidies in order to prevent its population from starving to death. (Tolan, 2011)

With wheat accounting for more than half of Egypt's caloric intake, the current state of affairs poses a severe threat to the wellbeing and stability of its people. As of this year, Egypt has become the top importer of wheat in the world, importing 10 million tonnes of wheat per annum (approximately 60%) of its annual consumption.) (Tolan, 2011)

As with any crisis of this nature, a wide range of inflammatory factors are at fault, not least of which is the near-quadrupling of the Egyptian population in the past 60 years. Gradual changes to Egypt's

geographic landscape due to urbanization and sand storms have also increased the nation's reliance on foreign wheat. (CIA) Indubitably, however, a primary cause is the deliberate insertion of foreign, notably American, wheat into the Egyptian market following its 1953 political coup. In the "Golden Age" of capitalism, American farms produced exorbitant surpluses of many crops. The United States saw potential in these commodities as weapons of ideological warfare. From 1956 to 1967, Fearing President Gamal 'Abd al-Nasser's socialist tendencies, America sought to influence his policies with food aid. Under Public Law 480, the United States provided 77 percent of Egyptian wheat imports, and 38 percent of Egypt's net supply of wheat and wheat flour. (Dethier, 1987)

The immediate effect of this influx was a disenfranchised peasant class whose crops could not compete with the cheap prices of foreign imports. American aid through PL 480 was thus the first in a series of external factors that transformed the Egyptian agricultural sector (Patel, 2012 and Mason, 2013). With an increasing proportion of farmers abandoning wheat cultivation for more lucrative ventures, dependence on these imports became an economic reality. Such was the degree of this dependence that the wellbeing of Egyptian citizens became inextricably linked with US food aid. Thus, when political conflicts of interest

between the US and Egypt emerged in the mid-1960s, a reduction by the Johnson administration of food aid left Egypt struggling to feed its hungry poor. Nasser responded to this crisis by implementing food subsidies, a solution which to this day places an incredible strain on the Egyptian government. At their peak in 1974, subsidies accounted for 30 percent of the government budget. (Dethier, 1987)

Attempts to reduce and remove bread subsidies have strong resistance and ultimate failure. In 1967, the regime of President Anwar al-Sadat announced an end to food subsidies and new austerity measures, facing increased pressure from the World Bank and other International Financial Institutions. The resulting increase in food prices by up to 50% instigated food riots over the span of two days in January 1977. Rioters called out against the new reforms, chanting “Nasser, Nasser” and criticizing the consumption culture of the infitah class (Bangor Daily News, 1977)

### **Stagnating Economy**

Egypt’s economy was heavily centralized and focused on import substitution under Nasser. Under each subsequent regime, structural reforms across all sectors of the economy have shifted Egypt toward a market-oriented system. Despite growth on the macroeconomic level under these reforms, unemployment and poverty are

widespread across all demographics, particularly among youth. Among the inflammatory factors contributing to the economic situation are Egypt’s rapidly growing population, improper distribution of government funds, and corruption at various levels.

The population of Egypt has skyrocketed in the past few decades, nearly doubling from 44 million in 1981 to more than 81 million today. As the population has increased, so, too, has the unemployment rate among Egyptian youth, with an estimated 7.7 million youths (ages 15-24) unemployed in 2010.<sup>18</sup> Adding fuel to the fire is the high literacy rate, especially among youth.

Attempts to mitigate the poverty situation in Egypt have been highly unsuccessful and put heavy financial strain on the federal government. “Regarding food subsidies, 83 per cent went to the non- poor; regarding electricity, 76 per cent went to the non-poor; regarding petroleum, 87 per cent went to the non-poor; and finally 76 per cent of the social safety net subsidy went to the non-poor.”<sup>19</sup> According to senior international trade policies researcher Sayed Attia, the Egyptian government ought to focus less on drafting policy and more on implementing it.

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<http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2011/02/28/youth-unemployment-and-youth-revolution.html>

<sup>19</sup>  
<http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2008/921/op13.htm>

The urgency of alleviating poverty in Egypt is apparent to leaders at all levels of government: “In reality, poverty is national security issue, not merely a social or economic phenomenon. In a dialogue recently with a French international politics magazine, Gamal Mubarak, chairman of the Policies Committee of the NDP, when asked about the factors that may lead to the instability of states answered clearly that poverty was one. To recall the words of Adam Smith from 1776: ‘No society can surely be flourishing and happy of which by far the greater part of the numbers are poor and miserable.’”<sup>20</sup>

### **Key Groups and Players**

#### **Muslim Brotherhood**

The Muslim Brotherhood was an organization founded by Hassan al-Banna in 1928 with the intention of shifting Egypt away from Western, Judeo-Christian values.<sup>21</sup> Officially, the brotherhood, also known as Ikhwan, is an illegal opposition party. It has been considered an enemy of the state by every administration since Nasser in 1952. President Mubarak has “alternatively repressed and demonized the

Brotherhood or tolerated it as an anti-communist and right-wing opposition.”<sup>22</sup>

The Muslim Brotherhood has accrued a wide array of opponents across the political spectrum, from jihadists who reject their belief in Western democracy to Western nations who disagree with their critical stance on American foreign policy. Their goal is “the independence of the Muslim land from foreign domination, and the establishment of an Islamic sociopolitical system (unity of ummah).”

The Muslim brotherhood has been systematically repressed for decades. Its members have been frequently jailed and beaten under the Mubarak regime.

#### **Egyptian Military**

Egypt has the 10th largest military in the world, with roughly 468,000 soldiers. The Egyptian military is described by the *New York Times* as “Powerful, popular and largely opaque,” noting that it “commands broad respect in Egypt.”<sup>23</sup> Unlike the famously corrupt and abusive police force, the military is considered by many to be an instrument of the people rather than the government. Since carrying out the 1952 coup d’etat to instate Nasser as president,

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<sup>20</sup> <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/Archive/2008/921/op13.htm>  
<sup>21</sup> <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-africa-13315719>

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<sup>22</sup> [https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0128\\_egypt\\_riedel.aspx](https://www.brookings.edu/opinions/2011/0128_egypt_riedel.aspx)  
<sup>23</sup> <http://www.nytimes.com/2011/01/29/world/middleeast/29forces.html>

the Egyptian armed forces have been the de facto shepherd of the revolution, with each of Egypt's four presidents having military backgrounds before assuming office.

The *Washington Post* reports that the Egyptian military was "built with tens of billions of dollars in American technology and training." In addition, "the U.S. government has spent millions of dollars in the past decade bringing Egyptian military officers to the United States for training and education."<sup>24</sup> These investments have made Egypt an important ally to the United States in the region.

Given the military's significant power and considerable clout among common Egyptians, one can expect it to play a critical role in managing a transition of power should Mubarak be forced to step down.

### **Egyptian Police**

In contrast to the military, which has been held in mostly positive regard, the state-run police force of Egypt faces overwhelmingly negative positive sentiment.

"The police, after all, have been the most frequent point of contact between the people and the regime, and they are famously corrupt and abusive," says Eric

Trager of *Foreign Affairs*. An especially hated branch of the police force is "State Security, which is responsible for monitoring and disrupting all political opposition activity through a vast system of informants. Meanwhile, to handle the messiest of anti-dissident jobs, the police frequently hire *balpagiya* — literally, gangsters, who are paid by the police to mete out punishment without dirtying the government's hands." The police are "[President] Mubarak's first line of defense against his domestic opponents."<sup>25</sup>

In April of 2010, "Egyptian police...beat and dragged off protesters to disperse a gathering of a few dozen in downtown Cairo calling for constitutional reforms and fairer presidential elections." It's worth noting here that under the state-of-emergency laws currently in place, demonstrations are illegal.<sup>26</sup>

The state police and the military are two powerful bodies that do not necessarily represent the same views and are, in point of fact, often at odds with each other. It will be interesting to observe the relationship between the two in the event of civil unrest.

### **Women**

Egypt has another population who have been historically underutilized in the political

<sup>24</sup> <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2011/01/29/AR2011012904418.html>

<sup>25</sup> [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/03/egypt-police-corrupt\\_n\\_818088.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2011/02/03/egypt-police-corrupt_n_818088.html)

<sup>26</sup> <http://www.haaretz.com/news/egypt-police-violently-disperse-pro-reform-protest-1.284000>

and revolutionary process: women. In the recent uprising in Tunisia, women were seen in unprecedented numbers protesting alongside men. Unlike in revolutions of decades past where women have taken subsidiary roles, these women organized, strategized, and reported the events.<sup>27</sup>

In Egypt, many (especially younger women) are better educated than previous generations. Women represent more than half of Egyptian university students, and the national youth literacy rate for women is roughly 86%. The advent of social media technology has provided platforms for these educated citizens to become leaders in political thought.<sup>28</sup>

### **Social Media as a Tool for Revolution**

Social Media is instrumental to the revolution of the 21st century. The “6 April Youth Movement” Facebook group was created in 2008 to support workers in El-Mahalla El-Kubra who were planning to strike on 6 April. Organizers of the protest used Facebook, Twitter, Flickr, blogs, and other social media tools to inform the public on the strike, track police activity, and draw attention to the movement. The group has hundreds of thousands of mostly young

<sup>27</sup> <https://www.project-syndicate.org/commentary/the-middle-east-s-feminist-revolution?barrier=accessreg>  
<sup>28</sup>

[https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/egypt\\_statistics.html](https://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/egypt_statistics.html)

members whose primary concerns are free speech, government nepotism, and the stagnant Egyptian economy.<sup>29</sup>

“We are all Khaled Said” mentioned above is another notable Facebook group. Dozens of communities have begun using internet platforms to share their ideas and opinions. The Ministry of the Interior monitors the most active of these communities, though the identities of their main contributors are as yet unknown. Egypt has more than 20 million Internet users and 55 million cellphone users.<sup>30</sup>

### **Current State of Affairs**

On Tuesday, January 18, 2011, two Egyptians have set themselves on fire. One is dead while the other is severely injured.<sup>31 32</sup> There is general concern that as in Tunisia, these acts of self-destruction foretell large-scale uprising against the Egyptian government.

<sup>29</sup>

[http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/magazine/25bloggers-t.html?pagewanted=all&\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/01/25/magazine/25bloggers-t.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0)

<sup>30</sup> <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsfront/Egypt-poverty-unemployment-unrest/2011/01/31/id/384555/>

<sup>31</sup> <http://www.reuters.com/article/2011/01/18/us-tunisia-egypt-immolation-idUSTRE70H3L720110118>  
<sup>32</sup>

<http://www.cnn.com/2011/WORLD/africa/01/18/egypt.self.immolation/index.html>