



1. Can you provide a brief history of the National Democratic Party?

The National Democratic Party (NDP) was established by President Anwar Sadat in 1978 as a de facto successor to the previously ruling Arab Socialist Union. The NDP remained the principal political party in Egypt for next thirty years, entrenching itself in state institutions and dominating cultural and political life.¹ It draws its main base of support from rural areas and public sector workers and, prior to the February 2011 uprising, claimed to have 1.9 million members. Hosni Mubarak became President and Chair of the party in 1981 following the assassination of Sadat by Islamic extremists. Under Mubarak the party was accused of maintaining power through political repression, including through the regulation of authorised political parties and civil organisations, and the arrest, detention and torture of political opponents.² Parliamentary elections held in 2005 and 2010, in which the party won a broad majority, were marred by allegations of vote rigging and fraud.³ Following a popular uprising against the party's rule in February 2011, the party was dissolved by court ruling on 16 April 2011.⁴ Some former NDP officials have established new political parties with a view to run in upcoming parliamentary elections.⁵

The 2010 *Political Handbook of the World* states the following on the NDP:

¹ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 22 September 2011; 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> – Accessed 6 October 2011

² US Department of State 2011, *2010 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, 8 April, Sec 1d. www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154460.htm; ElBaradei, Mohamed 2010, 'Egypt's real state of emergency is its repressed democracy', *The Washington Post*, 26 December <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2010/12/26/AR2010122601699.html> – Accessed 7 October 2011; 'Egypt - Background: A History of Repression, Cautious Optimism' 2011, International Centre for Transitional Justice, <http://ictj.org/our-work/regions-and-countries/egypt> – Accessed 7 October 2011

³ 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> – Accessed 6 October 2011; US Department of State 2011, *2010 Country Reports on Human Rights Practices*, 8 April, Introduction www.state.gov/g/drl/rls/hrrpt/2010/nea/154460.htm; 'FACTBOX-Political parties, groups in post-Mubarak Egypt' 2011, *Reuters*, 5 October <http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFL6E7IK2HZ20111005?sp=true> – Accessed 6 October 2011

⁴ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 22 September 2011; 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> – Accessed 6 October 2011

⁵ 'FACTBOX-Political parties, groups in post-Mubarak Egypt' 2011, *Reuters*, 5 October <http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFL6E7IK2HZ20111005?sp=true> – Accessed 6 October 2011

National Democratic Party—NDP (*al-Hizb al-Watani al-Dimu-qrati*). The NDP was organized by President Sadat in July 1978 as the principal government party, its name being derived from that of the historic National Party formed at the turn of the century by Mustapha Kamel. In August it was reported that 275 deputies in the People's Assembly had joined the new group, all but 11 having been members of the Egyptian Arab Socialist Party—EASP (*Hizb Misr al-Arabi al-Ishtiraki*), which, as an outgrowth of the EASO, had inherited many of the political functions earlier performed by the ASU. The EASP formally merged with the NDP in October 1978. President Mubarak, who had served as deputy chair under President Sadat, was named NDP chair at a party congress on January 26, 1982.

Two months after his pro forma reelection in October 1993, President Mubarak announced the composition of the new NDP political bureau, most leadership posts being retained by incumbents despite the president's campaign pledge to revitalize both the NDP and the national administration. In November 1998 the NDP nominated Mubarak as its candidate for the 1999 presidential election. Official NDP candidates reportedly won only 27 percent of the seats in the 2000 assembly balloting, although many successful independent candidates joined (or rejoined) the party to give it 388 out of 442 elected seats. Analysts attributed the poor performance of the official NDP candidates to public perception that the party lacked an ideological foundation and existed only to rubber-stamp the administration's agenda.

President Mubarak was reelected as chair of the NDP at the September 2002 congress, while his son, Gamal Mubarak, who has been mentioned as a possible successor to his father, was elevated to a new post as head of the NDP's policy board.

In 2005, the NDP won the two-thirds majority (ultimately reported as 320 seats) needed to amend the constitution, which will determine how Mubarak's successor will be chosen. In 2006 Gamal Mubarak was elevated to the post of assistant secretary general of the party, observers suggesting that he was being “groomed” to succeed his father, despite the elder Mubarak's comments in November indicating his interest in remaining president for as long as he lives.

The party's vice president, Mustafa Khalil, resigned in November 2007 due to health reasons. (Khalil, a former prime minister, died on June 7, 2008, at age 88.) At the party congress that same month, Husni Mubarak was reappointed as party chair despite intensified speculation that Gamal Mubarak would again be promoted. Though the younger Mubarak had received much publicity for his earlier announcement that Egypt would pursue a large-scale nuclear power project—a move some observers thought was designed to assure his ascendancy—his father assumed control over that issue in 2007 (see Current issues, above). However, the party congress resulted in the by-laws being amended to make it easier for Gamal Mubarak to legally succeed his father as Egypt's president. A “supreme body” of 45 leading party members was given the authority to choose the party's next presidential candidate, with each member of the group having the right to run for president after having served on the panel for one year. Among the members was the president's son.

In early 2009 Gamal Mubarak organized two large rallies in support of his father's policies regarding the conflict in Gaza, and made public pronouncements defending him and denouncing “Islamist and leftist forces” who, he claimed, were using the war to stir Egyptians against their government. His pronouncements were described as references to the Muslim Brotherhood, the *Kifaya* movement, and the NADP in particular. Meanwhile, the NWP and NPUP were said to have supported the NDP's position.

Leaders: Muhammad Husni MUBARAK (President of the Republic and Chair of the Party), Zakaria AZMI, Gamal MUBARAK (Assistant Secretary General and Chair of the Policies Committee), Muhammad Safwat al-SHARIF (Secretary General).⁶

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace website provides a comprehensive background on the NDP including the following summary of the party's dissolution and attempts to reorganise:

The National Democratic Party (NDP), Egypt's former ruling party, first established by President Anwar Sadat in 1976, remained the country's dominant party until the overthrow of President Hosni Mubarak. It tried to survive by announcing on April 13 that it would participate in the forthcoming elections under the name New National Party and under new leadership. Nevertheless, the Supreme Administrative Court issued a ruling on April 16 ordering that the NDP be dissolved for engaging in corruption and election fraud during Mubarak's rule. The ruling also mandated the seizure of the party's assets—including bank accounts and properties—which an NDP lawyer estimated could amount to as much as \$70 million. Although the NDP was dissolved, its members will be able to participate in the elections not only as voters but as candidates as well. The NDP has since been trying to revive itself through the formation of new front parties including the Egyptian Citizen Party, Egypt Renaissance Party, Freedom Party, and al-Itihad, which prominent NDP member Hossam Badrawy founded in September 2011. These parties are considering forming an alliance to contest the upcoming elections.⁷

The same source provides the following characterisation of the parties rule:

Presence in governing institutions: Over the course of Hosni Mubarak's rule, the NDP functioned as an instrument of executive power and a mechanism for patronage distribution. In addition to its control of core legislative institutions, the NDP dominated Egyptian cultural and political life through the educational system and through oversight committees that regulate the activities of authorized political parties and civil society organizations.

Economic reforms: In an effort to promote economic development, the NDP promoted several waves of reform since the mid-1970s aimed at attracting foreign investment and stimulating the private sector. The party repeatedly faced the challenge of striking a balance between Western demands for economic liberalization and popular pressure to preserve price controls and other features of the former socialist system. In the last decade businessmen who made fortunes as a result of such reforms came to occupy senior positions in the NDP and the cabinet.

Limited political reforms: Under Hosni Mubarak's leadership, the NDP sponsored limited political reforms that included direct popular election of the president and the implementation of a quota for women in parliament in response to domestic and international pressures for reform. But the party had resisted implementing any changes that might tilt the balance of power in favor of an increasingly restless opposition.

Divide between old and new guard: As is the case with many of Egypt's political parties and movements, the NDP displayed a clear split between an old guard and a

⁶ 'Egypt' 2010, *Political Handbook of the World Online Edition*, CQ Press Electronic Library http://library.cqpress.com/phw/document.php?id=phw2010_Egypt&type=toc&num=56 – Accessed 22 September 2011

⁷ 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> – Accessed 6 October 2011

younger, more reform-minded cohort. The NDP's pro-reform camp, headed by Gamal Mubarak, promoted more aggressive economic reforms, privatization of state enterprises, modernization of government and party institutions, increased media and Internet freedom, and some improvements in human rights practices and civic freedoms. The old guard remained invested in state domination of the economy and other public spheres. During the 2011 uprising, the pro-reform wing tried to gain control in an effort to preserve the party's hold on power.

Opposition to Islamists: The NDP was not an explicitly secular party, but under Hosni Mubarak's leadership the party took decisive measures to limit the political influence of Islamist forces and the Muslim Brotherhood in particular, the only real competition the party encountered. Reacting to a surprisingly strong showing by the Muslim Brotherhood in the 2005 People's Assembly elections (when they won 20 percent of the seats), the NDP sponsored an amendment to the constitution barring any political activity based on a religious frame of reference.

Constituency: Historically, the NDP drew much of its support from public-sector employees and rural areas. The party cultivated a strong constituency through its administration of public services, use of media, and ability to establish ties with local organizations and community leaders.

Media presence: The NDP's official weekly newspaper was *al-Watan al-Youm*, although the party owned and managed sixteen other monthly and regional newspapers in addition to several radio stations under Mubarak's rule. With its arsenal of widely circulated print publications and broadcast programs, the NDP was a prominent fixture in Egypt's media landscape. In the aftermath of the 2011 uprising, the NDP's official website was taken offline.⁸

An October 2011 *Reuters* article states the following regarding the dissolution of the NDP and attempts by former members to establish new political parties:

Mubarak's National Democratic Party (NDP) was disbanded by a court order but former party officials have established or are seeking to set up at least six new parties. Opponents have demanded that former NDP members be barred from the election.

One of the most prominent is the Ittihad (Union) party set up by Hossam Badrawi, who was named secretary-general of the NDP in the last days of the anti-Mubarak uprising in a last attempt to quell protests. Badrawi, seen as a reformer opposed by the old guard, swiftly resigned saying Egypt needed new parties. His party calls for separating judicial, executive and legislative powers whose boundaries were blurred under Mubarak, free market policies and stronger regulations to ensure social justice.

The NDP secured sweeping election victories under Mubarak through ballot stuffing, intimidation and other abuses. Some of its members still command influence through broad business interests or as local notables with clout in their areas.

Other parties led by former NDP officials include al-Horreya (Freedom) party which is still seeking approval, Masr al-Tanmiya (Egypt Development), Renaissance Party, Egyptian National Party, Masr al-Haditha (Modern Egypt) party, and al-Mawatan al-Masry (Egyptian Citizen) party.⁹

⁸ 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> – Accessed 6 October 2011

⁹ 'FACTBOX-Political parties, groups in post-Mubarak Egypt' 2011, *Reuters*, 5 October <http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFL6E7IK2HZ20111005?sp=true> – Accessed 6 October 2011

2. Is there any information on the names of senior members of the NDP?

No comprehensive information on the names of senior members of the NDP could be found.

The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace provides the following list of party leaders:

Pre-2011 Uprising

Hosni Mubarak: Former Party President (until February 2011)

Safwat al-Sherif: Former Secretary General (until February 5, 2011)

Gamal Mubarak: Former Assistant Secretary General and Head of Policies Committee (until February 5, 2011)

Ahmed Ezz: Former Secretary for Organizational Affairs (until January 29, 2011)

Moufid Shehab: Former Secretary for Parliamentary Affairs (until February 5, 2011)

Post-2011 uprising

Hossam Badrawy: Secretary General (February 5, 2011-February 11, 2011)

Talaat Sadat: President (April 11, 2011 – April 16, 2011)

Mohamad Ragab: Assistant Secretary General (February 5, 2011- April 11, 2011) and Secretary General (April 11, 2011 – April 16, 2011)

Mohamed Shetta: Leading member (until April 16, 2011) ¹⁰

Other former senior NDP members mentioned in various sources include:

- Ibrahim Kamel: Multi-millionaire businessman and prominent party member¹¹
- Ahmed Nazif: Former Prime Minister (until January 2011)¹²
- Zakaria Azmi: Mubarak's former chief of staff¹³
- Mustafa al-Fiqqi: Former head of the Shura Council's Arab Affairs committee¹⁴

3. Deleted.

4. Are there any reports on mistreatment or discrimination against former National Democratic Party members since the ousting of Mubarak? If so, do these reports distinguish between leaders and general members of the NDP?

No information could be found to indicate mistreatment or discrimination against former NDP members since the ousting of Hosni Mubarak. There are reports that many senior NDP members who were key figures of the former Mubarak regime have been arrested and face

¹⁰ 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> – Accessed 6 October 2011

¹¹ 'Profile of Ibrahim Kamel' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2010/09/06/profile-of-ibrahim-kamel> – Accessed 6 October 2011

¹² 'Profile of Ahmed Nazif' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2010/09/06/profile-of-ahmed-nazif> - Accessed 7 October 2011

¹³ 'Mubarak's former chief of staff arrested' 2011, *Al-Jazeera*, 7 April <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/middleeast/2011/04/20114720540306784.html> - Accessed 7 October 2011

¹⁴ Zain-eddine, Basant 2010, 'Senior NDP member: Egypt governed by a single-party system', *AlMasry AlYoun*, 21 December <http://www.almasryalyoun.com/en/node/276781> - Accessed 7 October 2011

trial on a variety of charges related to alleged corruption and abuses of power.¹⁵ However, no reports could be found of general members of the NDP being targeted for arrest or other mistreatment simply as a result of their party affiliation.

Sources report that former NDP members have formed new political parties and intend to run in upcoming parliamentary elections.¹⁶ That issue has been the focus of recent political protests and of negotiations between the ruling military council and opponent political parties who seek to prevent supporters of the Mubarak regime from running for elections.¹⁷ However, at present, information suggests former NDP members remain free to participate fully in the political process and according to the European Council on Foreign Relations, 'remain dominant local figures in much of the country'.¹⁸

5. Are there any reports on mistreatment or discrimination against family members of former NDP members?

No reports could be found regarding mistreatment or discrimination against family members of former NDP members.

6. Is there any information about NDP representation in Qalubiya (eg prominent members, events)?

Scant information was located regarding details of NDP representation in Qalubiya. Only one source was located referring to the name of a prominent NDP member with links to Qalubiya. Several reports were located indicating that the NDP was active in Qalubiya from at least 2005 to 2010 and it exercised political influence over other party candidates in this area. However, no detailed information was located describing NDP events or organisations.

¹⁵ 'Egypt trials: Mubarak officials' charges and verdicts' 2011, *BBC News*, 28 September <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-14389223> - Accessed 7 October 2011; Sharp, Jeremy 2011, *Egypt in Transition*, Congressional Research Service, 23 August, p.8 <http://www.fas.org/spg/crs/mideast/RL33003.pdf> - Accessed 12 September 2011; 'Egypt court acquits three Mubarak ministers' 2011, *Al Jazeera*, 5 July <http://english.aljazeera.net/news/africa/2011/07/201175111239347361.html> - Accessed 7 October 2011

¹⁶ El-Din, Gamal Essam 2011, 'Return of the NDP: Mubarak-regime diehards retrench ahead of Egypt's parliamentary elections', *Ahram Online*, 18 September <http://english.ahram.org.eg/NewsContent/1/0/21542/Egypt/0/Return-of-the-NDP-Mubarakregime-diehards-retrench-.aspx> - Accessed 21 September 2011; 'Committee approves group set up by Mubarak party official' 2011, *Daily News Egypt*, 20 September; 'Guide to Egypt's Transition – National Democratic Party' (undated), Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, <http://egyptelections.carnegieendowment.org/2011/09/22/national-democratic-party> - Accessed 6 October 2011

¹⁷ 'FACTBOX-Political parties, groups in post-Mubarak Egypt' 2011, *Reuters*, 5 October <http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFL6E7IK2HZ20111005?sp=true> - Accessed 6 October 2011; Semeika, Mohsen 2011, 'Activist group blames military council for NDP resurgence', *Al-Masry Al-Youm*, 6 September <http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en/node/492787> - Accessed 22 September 2011; 'Egypt: Muslim Brothers, others threaten election boycott' 2011, *Jerusalem Post*, 28 September <http://www.jpost.com/MiddleEast/Article.aspx?id=239897> - Accessed 7 October 2011; Fadel, Leila 2011, 'Egyptian activists angry over deal between political parties, military' *Washington Post*, 4 October, http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle-east/egyptian-activists-angry-over-deal-between-political-parties-military/2011/10/03/gIQAxpIYIL_story.html - Accessed 7 October 2011

¹⁸ Dworkin, A., Korski, D., & Witney, N. 2011, *Egypt's Hybrid Revolution: A Bolder EU Approach*, European Council on Foreign Relations, May, p.2 [http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR32_EGYPT_BRIEF_AW\(1\).pdf](http://www.ecfr.eu/page/-/ECFR32_EGYPT_BRIEF_AW(1).pdf) - Accessed 22 September 2011; 'FACTBOX-Political parties, groups in post-Mubarak Egypt' 2011, *Reuters*, 5 October <http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFL6E7IK2HZ20111005?sp=true> - Accessed 6 October 2011

Qalubiya is one of the lower governates in Egypt. It is located in the Delta of the Nile and lies 48 km northwest of Cairo. Banha (also spelled Benha) is the capital of this governate.¹⁹

A 2010 *New York Times* article made reference to the NDP using its influence to crack down on Muslim Brotherhood members; arresting up to 1200 people nationwide in the weeks leading up to an election poll. The article includes a claim by a Muslim Brotherhood (MB) lawmaker in Banha that NDP supporters were shutting MB voters out of polling stations.²⁰

A November 2010 report by the Brookings Institution recounted that in 2007 student MB members were stricken from student election lists at three universities by the NDP-dominated government, including at one university in Banha.²¹

Only one only reference to an NDP member by name in Banha was located. Mahmoud Mohieldin's resume was described in a 2008 listing of commissioners affiliated with an internationally sponsored policy group named the Commission on Growth and Development. He was credited with being a Member of the General Secretariat of the NDP, a Member of the Policies Secretariat, and Co-Chairman of Economic Committee of the party, in addition to serving as a Member of the Board of Benha University. No further details were located regarding his specific involvement with NDP activities in Banha.²²

An information listing website linked to Telecom Egypt was located which listed NDP branches and locations. This website listed an NDP branch in Banha, Qalubiya with a telephone number. No further information about this branch was provided and it was not clear if all listings are current.²³

A November 2005 article listed on the MB website Ikhwan reported that violent clashes occurred in Banha between NDP supporters and MB supporters over claims of polling irregularities. The MB alleged that the NDP hired thugs to throw stones at MB polling centres and candidates.²⁴

¹⁹ 'Banha' 2011, Encyclopedia Britannica website <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/51840/Banha> – Accessed 5 October 2011

²⁰ Worth, R., El-Naggar, M. 2010, 'Fraud Charges Mar Egypt Vote', *New York Times*, 28 November <http://www.nytimes.com/2010/11/29/world/middleeast/29egypt.html> – Accessed 5 October 2011

²¹ Mabrouk, M. 2010, 'The Elusive Myth of Democratic Egyptian Elections' Brookings Institution, Middle East Memo Number 19, p. 6 http://www.brookings.edu/~media/Files/rc/reports/2010/11_egypt_elections_mabrouk/11_egypt_elections_mabrouk.pdf – Accessed 5 October 2011

²² 'Mahmoud Mohieldin' 2008, Commission on Growth and Development website, 30 May http://www.growthcommission.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=41&Itemid=138 – Accessed 5 October 2011

²³ 'The National Democratic Party Qalubiya' 2011, 14Online website <http://www.14online.com/Company.aspx?Lang=En&CompanyId=C88433&c=13&a=225> – Accessed 5 October 2011

²⁴ 'Molotov and Stones Used in Banha's polls' 2005, Ikhwan website, 27 November <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/article.php?id=5351> – Accessed 5 October 2011

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