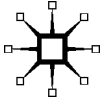


The Mubarak Leadership and
Future of Democracy in Egypt

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Alaa Al-Din Arafat

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To
Professor Stephen Chan
Distinguished scholar and great teacher

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P R E F A C E

I conceived this work in early 2000 while conducting fieldwork for *Vote et démocratie dans l'Égypte contemporaine* (IRD Édition et Karthala, Paris, 2005). I found myself pushed to find the historical roots of Egypt's intransigent political progress. I found them in Egypt's political system, especially in the way Egyptian presidents have used parties to survive. The robust single-party system, even when disguised by layers of gauzy pluralism, is the source of the problem. It must be removed. Upon completing my last book, I began the research for this work, which has taken five years to finish. In addition to the cited sources, I drew on a number of interviews conducted with some National Democratic Party (NDP) members.

This book examines the NDP, and especially how it operates in the political arena. I trace its gradual supplantation by the Policy Committee—a technocratic and corporate wing of the party that is growing in power. This neoconservative party-in-waiting somewhat resembles the Chinese Communist Party—committed to economic liberalization, but in no way committed to democracy. In fact, what is happening to the NDP may also, in the fullness of time, happen to the ANC in South Africa. The African continent, from top to bottom, may reflect the Singapore technocratic dominant-party state system: a full part of global capitalism with a brittle veneer of globalized democracy. Egypt faces an unknown future.

The system of transliteration follows, to some extent, the format used by the International Journal of Middle East Studies. Well-known proper names are presented as they appear in the English literature or as they have been transliterated by individuals themselves. I also follow the system of transliteration used by local English newspapers, especially *Al-Ahram Weekly*, particularly for names of local areas and local politicians. So, the system of transliteration generally follows the names

as they appeared in Egyptian media. This is to assist students and non-specialists in this field who expressed their reluctance to plow through numerous dots and dashes, which to them appear randomly sprinkled over the pages of the text. It is also helpful to people familiar with Arabic, especially scholars of Middle Eastern history and political scientists.

The crucial period of writing occurred in 2003–2004, when I was an associate researcher in the political science department, SOAS, London University. I am most grateful to my colleagues at SOAS with whom I discussed my work, especially William Hale, our respected head, Stephen Chan, our dean, and the distinguished professor and scholar, Robert Springborg, MBI Al Jaber Chair in Middle East Studies and Director, London Middle East Institute at SOAS.

I wish to thank Professor Sarah Ben Néfissa, responsible for researchers in the IRD, for her unceasing help and support for about twelve years, far beyond the demand of this work.

I wish also to thank Bassma Kodmani, former Middle East officer at the Ford Foundation, Cairo branch, for her continued help and support.

Finally, I am most grateful to Marlena Doucette, the distinguished editor who shaped my manuscript with great care.

Needless to say, none of the persons named above bear any responsibility for the ideas and opinions expressed in this book or for its shortcomings. For these, I alone am responsible.

A C R O N Y M S

ACPSS:	Al-Ahram Center for Political and Strategic Studies
ASPE:	Arab Socialist Party of Egypt or Misr Party
ASU:	Arab Socialist Union
BMENA:	Broader Middle East and North Africa Initiative
CC:	The Central Committee
CDD:	The Committee for the Defense of Democracy
ECASU:	ASU Executive Committee
EIDHR:	Democracy and Human Rights European Initiative
EC:	Electoral College
FSU:	The Free Students Union
G-8:	Group of Eight Major Industrialized Nations
HCLF:	Higher Committee for the Liquidation of Feudalism
HRDF:	Human Rights and Democracy Fund
ICG:	International Crisis Group
<i>Kifaya:</i>	The Egyptian movement for change
LPC:	Local Popular Council
LP:	The Liberal Party (<i>Al-Ahwar</i>)
MB:	Muslim Brotherhood
MEFTA:	Middle East Free Trade Area Initiative
MENA:	Middle East and North Africa
MEPI:	Middle East Partnership Initiative
MTP:	The Marxist Tagammu' Party
NA:	National Assembly
NAP:	The Nasserist Arab Party
NCPR:	National Consensus for Political Reform
NDB:	National Development Bank
NDI:	National Democratic Institute
NDP:	The National Democratic Party
NGO:	Nongovernmental Organization

NRDT:	The National Rally for Democratic Transformation
NPUP:	Al-Tagammu', the National Progressive Unionist Party
PA:	People's Assembly, Magles Al-Sha'ab, (Egypt lower house parliament)
PCC:	Popular Campaign for Change
PPC:	Political Parties Committee
PS:	Policies Secretariat
QRC:	The Quadripartite Reform Committee
RCC:	Revolutionary Command Council
SAPs:	Structural Adjustment Programs
SC:	Shura Council (Egypt Upper house parliament)
SECASU:	ASU's Supreme Executive Committee
SLP:	<i>Hizb Al-Amal Al-Ishiraki</i> , the Socialist Labor Party
SPP:	The State Partnership Program
SSI:	State Security Intelligence
UNFC:	The United National Front for Change
WTO:	World Trade Organization