



# **The Arab Spring**

MG Mohamed Elkeshky

# The Arab Spring

- In trying to understand the complex causes of this year's wave of unrest across the Arab world, people sometimes ask whether the real drivers were economic, rather than political.

(Literally *the Arabic Rebellions* or *the Arab Revolutions*) is **Wave** of a **Revolutionary, Demonstrations** and **Protests** happening in the **Arab world**

● Since 18 December 2010 there have been

- Revolutions in TUNISA- and Egypt

- Civil war in Libya

- Civil uprisings in Bahrain, Syria, and Yemen

- Protests in Algeria, Iraq, Jordan, Morocco, and Oman

- Minor protests in Kuwait, Lebanon, Mauritania, Saudi Arabia, Sudan, and Western Sahara

- Clashes at the Syria, Lebanon border of Israel in May 2011 have also been inspired by the regional Arab Spring.

- The protests have shared characteristics of civil resistance in sustained campaigns involving strikes, demonstrations, marches and rallies, as well as the use of social media to organize, communicate, and raise awareness in the face of state attempts at repression and internet censorship
- Unemployment is among the people's key grievances, as job creation has struggled to keep up with the region's famously fast population growth, and as there has been a chronic mismatch between the education that is provided and the skills that the job market needs.

## Country profile

**Total area: 1,001,450 sq km**

**population: 82,079,636 July**

**Languages**

**Arabic (official), English and French widely understood**

**Religions Muslim (mostly Sunni) 90%, Coptic Christian 9% and other 1%**

**27 governorates**

**Military branches Army, Navy, Air Force,  
Air Defense Command**

**Egypt hosts two major religious institutions,**

**the Coptic Orthodox Church of Alexandria established in the middle of the 1st century by Saint Mark the Evangelist, and Al-Azhar University founded in 970 by the Fatimids as the first Islamic University in the world**

# The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF)



The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) (Arabic: المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة, al-Mağlis al-'A'lā lil-Quwwāt al-Musallahah, also Higher Council of the Armed Forces) consists of a body of 19 senior officers in the Egyptian military. As a consequence of the Egyptian Revolution of 2011, the Council Assumed the power to govern Egypt from its departing President Hosni Mubarak on February 11, 2011.

Polls have shown that the SCAF has enjoyed wide legitimacy from the Egyptian people and general confidence in their ability to provide free elections. A poll in October 2011 showed that 91.7% of Egyptians have confidence in the SCAF to provide the conditions for free elections.

Source: "<http://en.wikipedia.org/>"

## Egyptian Transition Process

- On February 1, 2011 the Egyptian Armed Forces announced that they fully supported the objectives of the demonstrators in Tahrir Square and the aspirations of the Egyptian people.
  - The demonstrators in the square and the Egyptian people as whole have a wide range of opinions and the process of establishing a new reformed Egypt was never going to be easy.
  - What is essential is that the Egyptian people end up with a government that responds to their views and the abuses of the past are eliminated.

● All of those who participated in the revolution agreed on four basic objectives—

- President Mubarak should step down.
- Police abuses of the people should cease.
- The corrupt system of crony capitalism had to end; and,
- A new system of government that better reflected the views of the Egyptian people had to be established.

The Egyptian Army has never wavered from its commitment to achieving these goals



The SCAF understands its historic responsibility is to facilitate the difficult transition while assuring that all Egyptians have their views included in the process.

- The first step was to suspend the oppressive Mubarak era constitution and to establish a plan on how to proceed.
- The transition SCAF has never been empowered to implement the revolution.
- That will be the responsibility of a new government chosen under a new constitution.

In order to establish an orderly transitional process a committee of constitutional scholars reviewed the changes necessary in Egyptian law in order to establish a legal framework under which to proceed.

- Their recommendations were put to a popular vote on March 19, 2011 and were approved by 77.3% of the Egyptian voters. In so doing, the Egyptian people decided on how to proceed in the transformation of Egypt.
- Parliamentary elections will be held.
- The elected parliament will choose a 100 member constitutional committee.

- After this committee completes the work of writing a constitution which defines the authorities of Egypt's future legislature and president, a popular referendum will ratify the constitution.
- Elections for a new president will follow.
- At that point, the SCAF will relinquish its transitional authorities

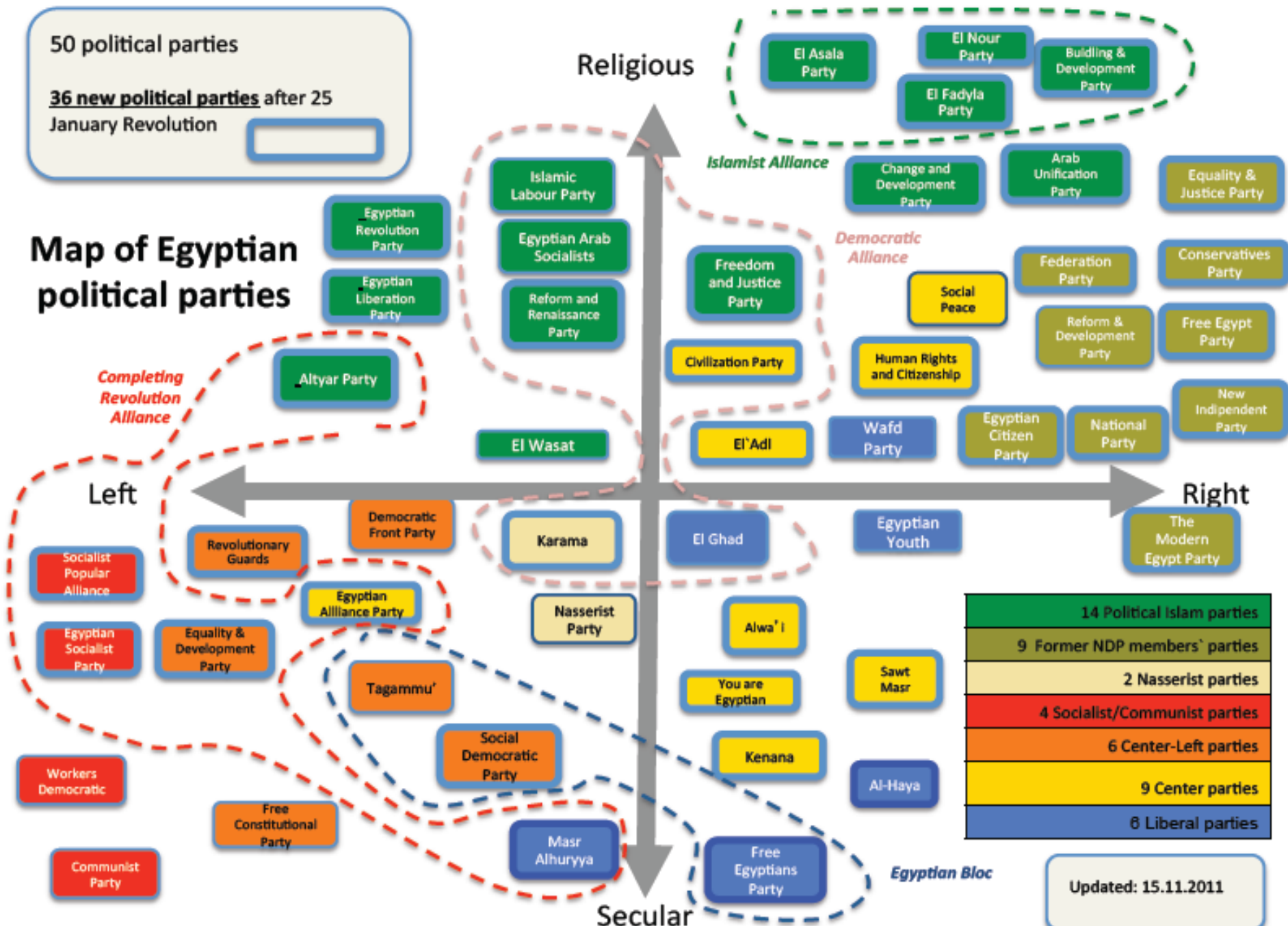
The SCAF has tried to be responsive to concerns of various groups of Egyptian citizens.

- The original plan put forward by the SCAF was to have parliamentary elections in June; complete the constitutional process in July and August; and, elect a president in September.
- This process was delayed because of concerns from some groups that felt they, as newly created parties, would be unfairly disadvantaged in favor of the long established parties.

50 political parties

**36 new political parties** after 25  
January Revolution

# Map of Egyptian political parties



14 Political Islam parties
9 Former NDP members' parties
2 Nasserist parties
4 Socialist/Communist parties
6 Center-Left parties
9 Center parties
6 Liberal parties

Updated: 15.11.2011

- Most non-Egyptian pro-democracy organizations and the United States government advocated the delay.
- The actual election process is taking longer than originally anticipated because of the need to have judicial supervision and adequate security at each polling station.
- Early results indicate that the vast majority of Egyptians are actively participating and support the process as approved.



<http://from-egypt-with-love.blogspot.com>



<http://from-egypt-with-love.blogspot.com>



<http://from-egypt-with-love.blogspot.com>



<http://from-egypt-with-love.blogspot.com>



<http://from-egypt-with-love.blogspot.com>

# The elected parliament will choose the committee to write the constitution.

- We resolve our differences through consensus rather than confrontation. All viewpoints will be represented in the constitutional deliberations. Neither the majority nor the minority will be able to impose its will on the rest.
- For the sake of Egypt, historic compromises will be made by those writing the constitution.
- Our intention is that the constitutional writing and ratification process should be completed by June so that a president can be elected and the SCAF can relinquish its transitional authorities.



## Status of the military under civilian rule

Field Marshall Tantawy has reaffirmed that the status of the military in the new Constitution will not differ than previous constitutions

### ● Rise of Islamist Parties

- Egypt's Constitution clearly prohibits the formation of any party on the basis of religion or discrimination under any form.
- The Constitution also guarantees absolute equality for all citizens regardless of religion, gender race or creed.
- Islamist parties will therefore have to conform to the framework of the constitution and the letter of the law.

# SCAF Issues Decree to Form Advisory Council

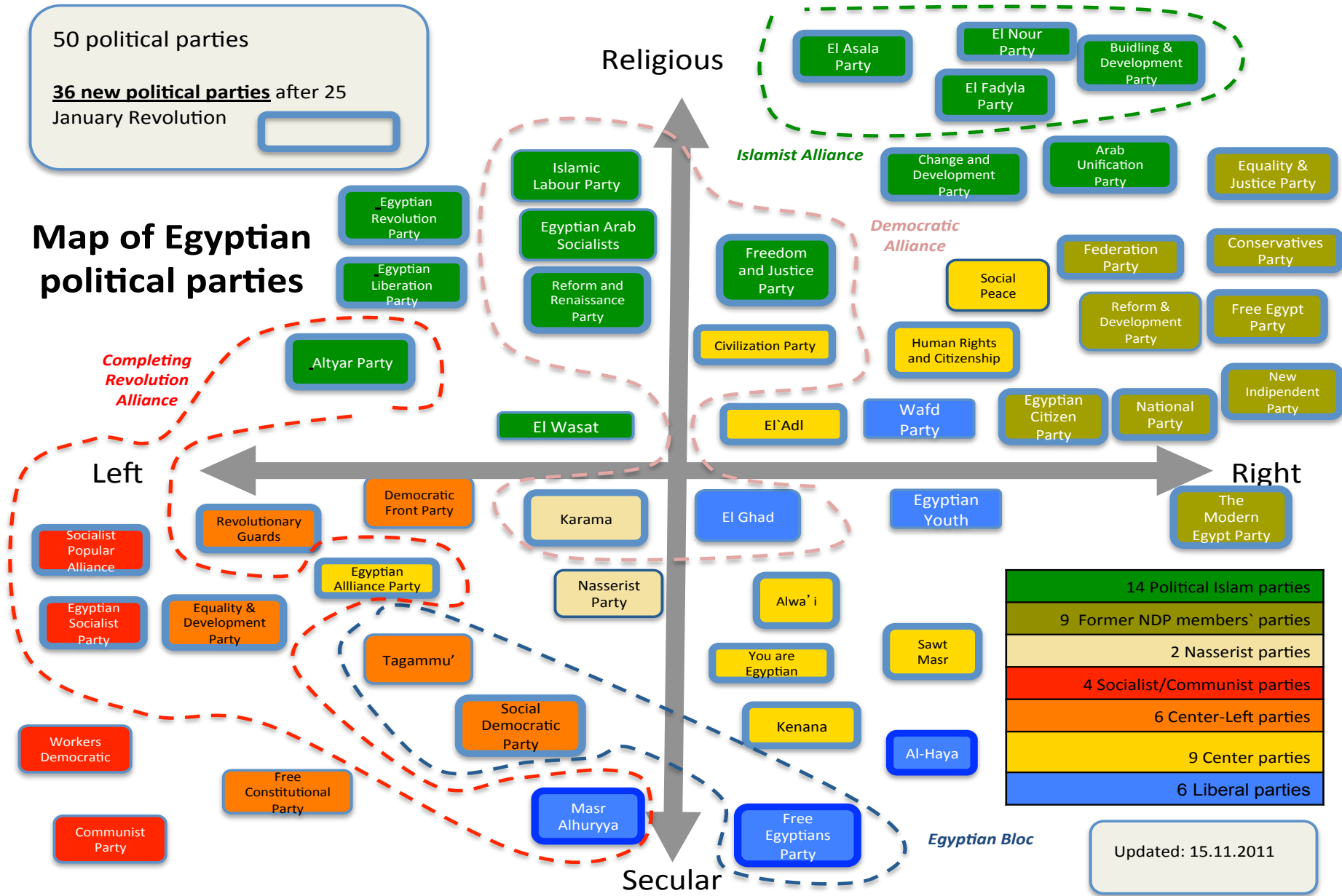
- Head of the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) issued a decree No. 283 for 2011 to form an advisory council and define its responsibilities.
- The advisory council will give its opinion on state affairs and will continue undertaking its mission until the presidential elections are held.
- Among the proposed council's responsibilities is to advise the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF) on proposed legislation and to play a role along with the incoming parliament in the formation of a constitutional assembly mandated with drawing up a new constitution.

● Egyptians will face many challenges over the next seven months--security, the economy, and deciding the future of our country.

- We will have our differences, but we will resolve them as Egyptians.
- Egyptians are secularists and Islamists, Muslims and Christians.
- But above all, we are Egyptians.

50 political parties  
36 new political parties after 25  
 January Revolution

# Map of Egyptian political parties



## List of political formations with basic information

PARTY	FANS (Facebook)	Alliance	Registered	Leader or prominent figures	Notes	Website
Al-Nour Party 	51214	Islamist Alliance	Yes June 2011	Emad Eddine Abdel Ghaffour	Salafi	<a href="http://www.alnourparty.org/">http://www.alnourparty.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/AlnourParty">https://www.facebook.com/AlnourParty</a>
Al-Asala Party 	7319	Islamist Alliance	Yes Aug 2011	Adel abd al-Maqsoud Afify	Salafi,	<a href="http://www.alasalah.org/pages/home.html">http://www.alasalah.org/pages/home.html</a> <a href="http://www.facebook.com/alasala.party">http://www.facebook.com/alasala.party</a>
Al-Fadila Party 	26071	Islamist Alliance	Yes Oct 2011		Salafi, no candidates in the coming elections	<a href="http://www.alfadyla.com/">http://www.alfadyla.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/alfadyla">https://www.facebook.com/alfadyla</a>
Building and Development Party 	375	Islamist Alliance	Yes Sep 2011	Tareq al-Zumr, Safwat Abd al-Ghani	Official Party of the Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/البناء-الرسومية-الصفحة-والتنمية/117564535010327">https://www.facebook.com/pages/البناء-الرسومية-الصفحة-والتنمية/117564535010327</a>
Reform and Renaissance Party 	11800	Democratic Alliance	Yes July 2011	Hesham Mostafa Abdel Aziz	Linked to a Muslim Brotherhood dissidence group	<a href="http://www.eslah-nahda.org">http://www.eslah-nahda.org</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/eslah.nahdaParty">https://www.facebook.com/eslah.nahdaParty</a>
Freedom and Justice Party 	77172	Democratic Alliance	Yes June 2011	Mohamed Mosry, Mohammad Sa`d al-Katatni	Muslim Brotherhood	<a href="http://www.hurryh.com/">http://www.hurryh.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/FJParty.Official">https://www.facebook.com/FJParty.Official</a>
Altyar Party 	9476	Completing Revolution	Pending	Mohammed Al Kassas, Islam Lotfy	Youth Muslim Brotherhood	<a href="http://www.tayarmasry.com/">http://www.tayarmasry.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/TMParty/">https://www.facebook.com/TMParty/</a>
Egyptian Liberation Party 	685		Yes Sep 2011	Ibrahim Zahran: Founder and President	Sufi party	<a href="http://www.hizbaltahrimalmasry.org/">http://www.hizbaltahrimalmasry.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/HizbalTahriralMisry">https://www.facebook.com/HizbalTahriralMisry</a>
Arab Unification Party 	240		Yes July 2011		They define themselves as "independent Islamists"	<a href="http://www.altwhedarby.com/">http://www.altwhedarby.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/altwhedarby?sk=wall">https://www.facebook.com/altwhedarby?sk=wall</a>

Change and Development Party		13536		Yes Aug 2011		Islamist moderate	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/CDPEG">https://www.facebook.com/CDPEG</a> <a href="http://c-d-p-e.org/">http://c-d-p-e.org/</a>
Egypt Revolution Party		154837 (?)		Yes Oct 2011	Ahmed el-Sokary	Islamist party, emerged from Revolution movements.	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/EgyptRevolutionParty">https://www.facebook.com/EgyptRevolutionParty</a>
El-Wasat		26193		Yes Feb 2011	Abul-Ela Madi	Moderate islamists` most important party His model is the Turkish AKP, close contact with M. El Baradei	<a href="http://www.alwasatparty.com/">http://www.alwasatparty.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/alwasatparty">https://www.facebook.com/alwasatparty</a>
Egyptian Islamic Labour Party		2638	Democratic Alliance	Yes Oct 2011	Mohamed Ahmed Hussein	Islamic and nationalistic positions, funded in 1978 and suspended in 2000. It has restarted its activities a few months ago	<a href="http://www.el-3amal.com/news/">http://www.el-3amal.com/news/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الاسلامى-العمل-حزب-الاصلاحى-المصري/121287574561635?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الاسلامى-العمل-حزب-الاصلاحى-المصري/121287574561635?sk=info</a>
Egyptian Arab Socialist Party		335	Democratic Alliance	Yes 1992	Waheed Fakhry Al Aksary	Baathist nationalist party	<a href="http://www.misrelaraby.net/">http://www.misrelaraby.net/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/MisrElaraby">https://www.facebook.com/MisrElaraby</a>
National Party of Egypt		1901		Yes Sep 2011	Talaat Saddat	Former NDP members Nationalistic and right-wing positions	<a href="http://www.np-egypt.com/">http://www.np-egypt.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الاصلاحى-المصري-القومى-حزب-الاصلاحى-المصري/131706413567716">https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الاصلاحى-المصري-القومى-حزب-الاصلاحى-المصري/131706413567716</a>
Reform and Development Party		20926		Yes Mai 2011	Talaat Saddat`s family	Former NDP members; created in 2009, good dialogue with MB	<a href="http://www.rdpegypt.org/">http://www.rdpegypt.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/rdpegypt">https://www.facebook.com/rdpegypt</a>
Egyptian Citizen Party		601		Yes Sep 2011	President Salah Hassabullah; Mohammad Ragab (former NDP Secretary General)	Former NDP members	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Egyptian.Citizen.Party">https://www.facebook.com/Egyptian.Citizen.Party</a>
Free Egypt (Misr Al-Hurra) Party		532		Pending	Dr. Abdullah El-Ashaal	Former NDP members	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/masralhurra?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/masralhurra?sk=info</a>
The Modern Egypt Party		221420 (?)		Yes July 2011	Nabil De`bes, former member of NDP	Former NDP members	<a href="http://www.masrelhadytha.org/">http://www.masrelhadytha.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/masrelhadytha?sk=wall">https://www.facebook.com/masrelhadytha?sk=wall</a>

Federation Party		909		Yes Sep 2011	Hossam Badrawy (former NDP Secretary General)	Former NDP members	<a href="http://www.eauparty.com/">http://www.eauparty.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/eauparty?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/eauparty?sk=info</a>
Conservatives Party		147		Yes 2006	Ahmed Abdulhady	Former NDP members	<a href="http://mohafizen.forumegypt.net/">http://mohafizen.forumegypt.net/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/-المصري-المحافظين-حزب-الاجديد/121379187945070">https://www.facebook.com/pages/-المصري-المحافظين-حزب-الاجديد/121379187945070</a>
New Independent Party		310		Pending		Former NDP members	<a href="http://www.almostklenalgodod.org/">http://www.almostklenalgodod.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/ال-المستقلين-حزب-البرسيميه-صفره-الاجدد/214149945277843">https://www.facebook.com/pages/ال-المستقلين-حزب-البرسيميه-صفره-الاجدد/214149945277843</a>
Arab Equality and Justice Party		177		Yes Oct 2011		Former NDP members	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/elhezbel3araby">https://www.facebook.com/elhezbel3araby</a>
Karama		5289	Democratic Alliance	Yes Aug 2011	Hamdeen Sabahi, Amin Iskandar	Nasserist and socialist positions	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الكرامة-حزب-البرسيميه-الصفره-الاجديد/156679571052816?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الكرامة-حزب-البرسيميه-الصفره-الاجديد/156679571052816?sk=info</a>
Nasserist Party		222		Yes 1992	Sameh Ashour	Nasserist and socialist positions	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الديمقراطى-العربى-حزب-النصرى/133933866659857">https://www.facebook.com/pages/-الديمقراطى-العربى-حزب-النصرى/133933866659857</a>
Socialist Popular Alliance Party		40573	Completing Revolution	Yes Oct 2011	Abu al-Ezz al-Hariri , Abd al-Ghaffar Shukur, Ibrahim al-Esaw	Socialist alliance group	<a href="http://egyleftparty.org/">http://egyleftparty.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/popular.alliance.party">https://www.facebook.com/popular.alliance.party</a>
Egyptian Socialist Party		1713	Completing Revolution	Pending		Marxist-socialist groups	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Socialist.Party.of.Egypt">https://www.facebook.com/Socialist.Party.of.Egypt</a>
Workers Democratic Party		787		Pending	Kamal Khalil	Communist workers party	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/العمل-حزب-البرسيميه-الصفره-الاجدد/154746924583265?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/pages/العمل-حزب-البرسيميه-الصفره-الاجدد/154746924583265?sk=info</a>
Egyptian Communist Party		3140		Pending		Historical communist party	<a href="http://egyptian.wordpress.com/">http://egyptian.wordpress.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/cpegypt">https://www.facebook.com/cpegypt</a>
Free Constitutional Social Party		387		Yes 2008	Manduh El-Nawi	One of the funding member in 2010 of Baradei's National Association for Change; socialist background	<a href="http://www.aldoistory.org/">http://www.aldoistory.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=39009681202">https://www.facebook.com/group.php?gid=39009681202</a>

Social Democratic Party		19040	Egyptian Bloc	Yes July 2011	Mohamed Abu-al-Ghar	Liberal and leftist tendencies. A lot of intellectuals joined this party	<a href="http://www.egysdp.com/">http://www.egysdp.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/Egysdp">https://www.facebook.com/Egysdp</a>
Democratic Front Party		6077		Yes 2007	Osama El Ghazali Garb, Mohamed Nosseir	One of the few opposition's parties allowed in Mubarak's era. It played an important role in the Revolution	<a href="http://www.democraticfront.org/">http://www.democraticfront.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/elgabh.a.party">https://www.facebook.com/elgabh.a.party</a>
Revolutionary Guards Party		5559		Pending	Magdy El-Sherif	Revolutionary youths, left positions	<a href="http://www.horaselthawra.com">http://www.horaselthawra.com</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/Horas.ElThawra">https://www.facebook.com/Horas.ElThawra</a>
Equality and Development Party		32689	Completing Revolution	Yes Oct 2011	Taissir Fahmi	Social welfare and center left positions, close to revolutionary youth. The head of the party is a Coptic actress.	<a href="http://www.almosawahwaeltanmia.com">http://www.almosawahwaeltanmia.com</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/elmoswaweltanma">https://www.facebook.com/elmoswaweltanma</a>
Tagammu`		2769	Egyptian Bloc	Yes 1992	Refaat-al-Said	Nasserist socialism	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/الجمهورية-ع-حزب/45885284538?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/pages/الجمهورية-ع-حزب/45885284538?sk=info</a>
ElAdl Party		19440		Yes Jun 2011		Centrist positions, supporting Baradei for the presidency	<a href="http://eladl.org/">http://eladl.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/eladlparty?ref=ts">https://www.facebook.com/eladlparty?ref=ts</a>
Civilization Party		8994	Democratic Alliance	Yes July 2011	Hatem 'Azzam, Mohammed El Sawi	New Party: liberal, centrist positions	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/alhadaraparty">https://www.facebook.com/alhadaraparty</a>
You Are Egyptian Party		15132		Pending	Mohamed Ali Abdel Qader	Liberal, centrist positions	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/ant.ma.sry">https://www.facebook.com/ant.ma.sry</a>
Egyptian Alliance Party		2469	Completing Revolution	Pending		Liberal positions, endorsement of El-Baradei as candidate for the Republic presidency	<a href="http://www.elthalf.com">http://www.elthalf.com</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/EgyptianAllianceParty/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/EgyptianAllianceParty/</a>
Kenana Party		22900		Pending	Ashraf Zaki Baroumi	Center Left Party: social justice and social reforms (education, health care...)	<a href="http://mesralknana.com/">http://mesralknana.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/groups/mesralknana/">https://www.facebook.com/groups/mesralknana/</a>
Alwa`l Awareness		568		Pending	Shady Ghazali Harb,	Centrist positions	<a href="http://www.elwa3i.com/">http://www.elwa3i.com/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/Elwaei">https://www.facebook.com/Elwaei</a>



Human Rights and Citizenship Party		2248		Pending	Gamal El-Tohami	Centrist positions	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/hrcparty?sk=info">https://www.facebook.com/hrcparty?sk=info</a>
Social Peace Party		246		Yes 2009	Hifzi Zayed	Small party, centrist positions, it left the Democratic Alliance at the end of October.	<a href="http://socialpeaceparty.com/wp/">http://socialpeaceparty.com/wp/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/SPP.Egypt">https://www.facebook.com/SPP.Egypt</a>
Sawt Masr Party		61		Pending		Small party with centrist positions	<a href="http://www.hezbsootmasr.com">http://www.hezbsootmasr.com</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/pages/بصير-صوت-حزب/114470578633336">https://www.facebook.com/pages/بصير-صوت-حزب/114470578633336</a>
Wafd		18002		Yes 1983	Al Sayed Al Badawi	The oldest Egyptian party: liberal/nationalistic positions	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Alwafdparty">https://www.facebook.com/Alwafdparty</a> <a href="http://www.alwafdparty.com/">http://www.alwafdparty.com/</a>
Free Egyptians Party		81189	Egyptian Bloc	Yes Jul 2011	Naguib Sawiris	Liberal party, success among the Egyptian Diaspora abroad, strong opposition to MB	<a href="http://www.almasreyeenalahrrar.org/">http://www.almasreyeenalahrrar.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/almasreyeenalahrrar">https://www.facebook.com/almasreyeenalahrrar</a>
Masr Alhuryya Party		14355	Completing Revolution	Yes Mai 2011	Amr Hamzawi	Centrist and social-liberal party advocating social justice and equality between citizens	<a href="http://www.masralhureyya.org/">http://www.masralhureyya.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/MasrAlHureyya">https://www.facebook.com/MasrAlHureyya</a>
New Ghad		55265	Democratic Alliance	Yes Oct 2011	Ayman Nour	Created in 2004: active opposition to Mubarak regime. Centrist positions, economic liberalism	<a href="http://www.aymannour.net/">http://www.aymannour.net/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/dr.Aymannour">https://www.facebook.com/dr.Aymannour</a>
Egyptian Youth Party		11052		Yes 2005	Ahmed Abd al-Hadi;	Liberal positions	<a href="http://www.shbabmisr.org/">http://www.shbabmisr.org/</a> <a href="https://www.facebook.com/Egy.Y.P">https://www.facebook.com/Egy.Y.P</a>
Al-Haya Party		109		Pending	Michel Mounir	Liberal positions; the founder Michel Mounir is a Coptic US based activist	<a href="http://www.hayaparty.org/">http://www.hayaparty.org/</a>

## Alliances

**ISLAMIST ALLIANCE:** announced at the end of September 2011, lead by El Nour Party (previously member of the Democratic Alliance) and composed by 2 Salafi parties and the Building & Development Party, formed by the Al-Gama'a al-Islamiyya.



**EGYPTIAN BLOC:** the main liberal alliance, composed by 3 parties in a united list: respectively Free Egyptians Party gets 50% of the places, Social Democratic Party 40% and Tagammu' 10%.

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/groups/elkotlaelmasreva/>



**DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE:** announced in June 2011, initially composed by a large and heterogeneous group of parties, it is led by the Muslim Brotherhood party, Freedom and Justice. The Waft left recently the alliance.



**COMPLETING THE REVOLUTION:** announced in October, it is composed by left and centrist parties, by Al-Tayar Party (Youth of Muslim Brotherhood) and by the Revolutionary Youth Coalition.

Website: <http://thawramostamera.files.wordpress.com>

Facebook: <https://www.facebook.com/thawramostamera>



Drafting a categorization of Egyptian political forces is a complex but at the same time essential exercise after the 25 of January Revolution. This map aims to fill a gap and offers a first picture of the Egyptian political landscape. The Egyptian political scene has progressively opened: 14 old political parties have reshaped their political objectives and about 36 new parties have been created. We decided to take the presence of an official fans` page on Facebook as an exclusive variable: this is the reason why parties which do not have a Facebook group do not appear in the map.

Political parties have been divided following 4 main axes: religion oriented, secular, right and left cleavages. This framework seems relevant to depict the Egyptian situation since the country has been characterized in the last 30 years by a dominant party system. The former ruling party (NDP) was the privileged player in a situation where official political parties were subjected to restrictive rules. The majority of new parties received the official authorization and a few of them have not formalized it but we decided to insert them in the map. The categorization has been established by an analysis of the programs of the parties and by statements of the party leaders.

**Jacopo Carbonari**

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14 Political Islam parties
9 Former NDP members` parties
2 Nasserist parties
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6 Center-Left parties
9 Center parties
6 Liberal parties

### Annex: List of old political formations not included in the map

They are old and small registered political formations created before the 25 of January Revolution that played a role of "formal opposition" during the previous regime but the reliability of their effective existence is difficult to certify.

PARTY	Registered	Leader or prominent figures
El Ahrar Socialists Party	Yes	Helmy Salem
Al Oumma Party	Yes	Ya'eesh Abo Rege'a
Egyptian Greens Party	Yes	Ahmed Gebeily
El Etihad Democratic Party	Yes	Abd El Mon'em Al A'sar
Social solidarity Party	Yes	Ahmed Gebeily
National Accord Party	Yes	Hassan Turk
Misr 2000	Yes	Ossama Shaltout
El Geel Democratic Party	Yes	Ref'at Al A'groudi
El Salam Democratic Party	Yes	Nagy El Shehabi
Free Republican Party	Yes	Ahmed Baioumi Al Fadali