



The Tahrir Institute
for Middle East Policy

PULLING BACK THE CURTAIN:

DYNAMICS AND IMPLICATIONS
OF EGYPT'S ELECTIONS PERIOD

FACT SHEET

CANDIDATES-UPDATED 8.22.18

Serving Second Term



Abdel-Fattah El Sisi:

The incumbent president of Egypt, Sisi previously held the positions of defense minister and director of military intelligence. He has no party affiliation.

Status:

Sisi secured his reelection handedly, receiving 97.1 percent of all valid votes in the election. Sisi's victory was met with praise throughout Egypt and by many of his counterparts internationally, with mixed messages sent by U.S. President Donald Trump's administration. Per the constitution, Sisi appointed a new cabinet following his inauguration in June 2018, including new defense and interior ministers, seen as an attempt to further consolidate his control over the regime.

Endorsements:

According to the National Election Authority (NEA), Sisi received endorsements from 549 of the 595 representatives in the House of Representatives, along with 161,707 public endorsements—11 percent of the total 1.35 million submitted. Several campaigns held rallies worldwide and claimed to have collected over 4.5 million signatures in support of his reelection; multiple members of the House of Representatives and party leaders from outside parliament hosted or attended.

Campaign team:

Sisi announced that Mahmoud Karem would serve as his campaign's general coordinator and Bahaa al-Din Abu Shoqa as his legal representative and spokesman. Karem is a career diplomat, having served as Egypt's ambassador to Japan, the European Union, NATO, Belgium, and Luxembourg. Abu Shoqa is a prominent lawyer and son of the vice-chairman of the Wafd Party.

Platform:

Though he has not yet formally articulated a platform, Sisi announced his intention to run for president during the Story of a Nation event, in which he presented a "balance sheet" of his four years as president, giving insight into the issues of import to the president. He cited economic reform, construction of housing units, the Karama and Takaful social security programs, megaprojects (such as the Suez Canal expansion), facilitation of treatment for the country's hepatitis C epidemic, efforts in the war on terror, and Egypt's role in the region. At the same event, Sisi declared his commitment to "free and transparent" elections.

¹ For more information on the presidential election, see TIMEP's Phase III briefing documenting the results of the election.

Defeated



Moussa Mustafa Moussa:

The current leader of the Ghad Party, Moussa had led the faction of the party that opposed the candidacy of its founder, Ayman Nour, in the 2005 presidential election. In 2012, under Moussa's leadership, the Ghad Party aligned with other political bodies to form the Conference Party. Moussa also created Moayedeen, a pro-Sisi group, in September 2017.

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- Status:** Following his election defeat, Moussa announced his intention to form a political coalition in support of Sisi. In light of political party consolidation discussions in parliament, Moussa's bloc, known as the National Opposition Coalition, aims to unite unrepresented parties in the legislature in support of the current regime.
- Endorsements:** Moussa reportedly obtained 26 endorsements from members of parliament and 43,000 signatories from the general public in a midnight effort to place his name on the presidential ballot. However, the NEA candidate list published on January 30 listed no citizen endorsements and only 20 from representatives.
- Campaign team:** None announced.
- Platform:** Moussa announced that his campaign would rely on "patriotic capitalism," promising to create Egyptian jobs for the youth. He mentioned the need for Egypt to become a net exporter and has also stressed the importance of African investment. Moussa's brand of patriotism is best exemplified by his fiercely anti-Muslim Brotherhood comments, coupled with his assertion that Egypt should refuse to yield any water supply in the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam negotiations. Moussa indicated that his campaign is in the name of fair elections, but his social media page, even at the time of registration, was unabashedly pro-Sisi.

Facing Charges



Sami Anan:

Anan served as former chief of staff of the armed forces until being relieved of his duties under former President Muhammad Morsi in 2012. Anan continues to serve in the military as a member of the reserve forces. He was formerly part of the Egyptian Democratic Party.

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- Status:** Arrested shortly after announcing his intention to run for president, Anan remained in detention throughout the electoral process. Anan reportedly suffered a stroke in May 2018, but his health improved gradually until July, when he was rushed to a military hospital and placed on life support.

Conflicting reports from around that time stated that Anan had died, but those proved to be false. Anan remains in detention at the Maadi Military Hospital outside of Cairo while recovering from the chest and back infection for which he was hospitalized.

Endorsements: Anan received citizens' endorsements for his bid (though the exact number was not reported). However, the candidate withdrew before receiving any prominent endorsements or endorsements from representatives.

Campaign team: Anan's campaign team included a small staff whom he coined a "civilian nucleus." The group includes Hisham Geneina, who was to be vice-president of human rights, and Hazem Hosni, who was to be vice-president of political revolutions. Geneina, former head of the Central Auditing Organization, and Hosni, a professor of political science, had both voiced opposition to the current government.

Platform: In his campaign announcement, Anan claimed to be seeking changes from previous, wrongly enforced policies in a variety of fields. Anan called on the military and political institutions to remain neutral during the upcoming election.



Khaled Ali:

Human rights lawyer and activist, Ali played a prominent role in the legal battle nullifying the Tiran and Sanafir agreement in 2017, as well as a number of rights-related cases since 2001. Ali contested the 2012 elections on a platform of "social justice," but received less than one percent of the vote.

Status: Ali withdrew from the presidential election over interference from government officials and out of fear following Anan's arrest. Even during his campaign period, Ali faced charges of indecent behavior stemming from his 2016 victory in the Tiran and Sanafir legal battle. The Dokki Appeals Court heard Ali's defense on June 5, 2018, and postponed his case until September 5.

Endorsements: Ali received support from Egypt's leftist, revolutionary cadre, and his campaign reported having received 19,300 citizens' endorsements before he left the race. Former presidential candidate Hamdeen Sabahi announced his support for Ali in November, stating that Ali offers a fresh perspective on the political climate in Egypt. The student wing of the Strong Egypt Party began campaigning on college campuses on behalf of Ali in early January 2018. The Dostour Party began a campaign collecting endorsements supporting Ali's decision to run for president.

Ali claimed his campaign lost hundreds of civilian endorsements due to government interference, which he tied into his anti-corruption platform. He had initially called for a human chain to be formed in downtown Cairo as a public demonstration of support for his campaign on the anniversary of January 25, but called off the action amidst security concerns.

Campaign team: None announced.

Platform: Until the day that Ali announced he would not run in the election, he remained critical of the government institutions and their apparatus of control over the state. He highlighted rampant corruption as one of the major problems plaguing Egypt, and he blamed the government for allowing these acts to occur. He made broad statements to the youth population of Egypt encouraging them to be vigilant of the government, while promoting the interests of civil societies and organizations.

As a lifelong human rights activist, Ali's campaign platform primarily focused on social programs and improving the livelihood of Egypt's destitute and at-risk population. He also sought to expand health care services provided by the government and create a national minimum wage. In a press conference in late December 2017 Ali called for the cessation of the State of Emergency, along with requests for the state apparatus to remain neutral throughout the electoral process.

Sentenced to Prison



Ahmed Qonswa:

A military colonel, Qonswa was most recently an architecture professor at the Military Technical School.

Status: Qonswa was detained and sentenced to six years in prison for expressing political sentiments while actively enlisted in the military. Qonswa remains imprisoned and his detainment status has not changed following the presidential election.

Endorsements: Qonswa was arrested almost immediately following his candidacy announcement and thus did not receive any endorsements. Qonswa was a complete unknown in Egyptian politics before his announcement and was not expected to have a major impact on the election before his arrest.

Campaign team: None formed.

Platform: Qonswa did not disclose any major components of his platform during his initial campaign speech, but he expressed strong opposition to the Tiran and Sanafir agreement in posts on his personal Facebook page in April 2016. As a lifelong member of the military, Qonswa's campaign announcement emphasized the importance of a united Egypt in the face of terrorism, but he did not reveal any concrete action plans pertaining to his platform. One rather contentious statement he made concerned his nonaffiliation with any political entity in Egypt and his intent to represent the general will of the people in light of his political neutrality.



Al-Sayed al-Badawi:

The longtime chairman of the Wafd Party, Badawi formerly owned one of Egypt's top television channels, al-Hayat, and is the chairman of pharmaceuticals giant Sigma. Badawi remains in his position as chairman of Sigma following a successful appeal in 2016, when his colleagues attempted to remove him from the board.

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- Status:** A last-minute effort by fellow Wafd Party members and military intelligence officials almost resulted in Badawi entering the presidential election, though his party voted nearly unanimously against the initiative. As chairman of the Wafd Party, Badawi contemplated running for another term in the position though this decision was resisted by many members within the organization. Badawi did not participate in the party's internal elections and was later bestowed with the title of honorary president of the organization.
- Endorsements:** None reported.
- Campaign team:** Badawi's campaign was short-lived, lasting less than one day, which did not give him sufficient time to form a campaign team.
- Platform:** Badawi announced his intention to run for president on January 26, and the Wafd Party subsequently rejected his request the following day, meaning he did not have enough time to develop a formal campaign platform.

Withdrawn



Ahmed Shafiq:

Former prime minister of Egypt under President Hosni Mubarak, Shafiq ran for president in 2012 against Morsi but lost in the divisive election. Shafiq is a member of the National Movement Party (NMP).

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- Status:** Following Shafiq's detainment and decision to withdraw from the presidential election, he further distanced himself from political life by stepping down as chairman of his political organization, the National Movement Party. Shafiq later congratulated Sisi after his reelection in early April. In August 2018, Shafiq announced his intention to refrain from future political involvement; he remained under house arrest at the time of his decision.
- Endorsements:** Shafiq received no prominent endorsements, though the NEA reported he had received citizens' endorsements (and did not report how many). Shafiq was met with mixed reviews from fellow party members following his campaign announcement in late November 2017: some reports claim that the NMP was united in its support of Shafiq, while contradicting reports state that party members were not consulted on this decision and Shafiq chose to run on his own accord.

Campaign team: Shafiq collaborated with the leadership of the NMP but did not formally create a campaign team.

Platform: Shafiq remained relatively quiet on his political views, as he did not disclose any intended policies or campaign plans before his arrest. In the limited public addresses that he made, Shafiq ensured that he was working towards the general public's best interest.



Muhammad Anwar al-Sadat:

Sadat, president of the Reform and Development Party and nephew of former President Anwar Sadat, resigned from his position in the House of Representatives in 2017 after receiving criticism for attending a human rights conference in Geneva.

Status: Sadat opted not to participate in the presidential election, and he actively boycotted the election with other prominent political figures as part of the Civil Democratic Movement. Sadat stirred up controversy in parliament when five representatives traveled to Europe to meet with him to discuss the current state of political affairs in Egypt. While Sadat did not face any repercussions, the five representatives were sent to the Ethics Committee for investigation into their actions.

Endorsements: Sadat attempted to formally address his former colleagues in parliament to advocate on his behalf, but this request was denied by parliamentary leadership. Members of the 25-30 Bloc ignored requests from Sadat to endorse him for president to satisfy the NEA minimum endorsements requirement for candidates. Sadat reportedly received 170 public endorsements for president.

Campaign team: Sadat reportedly collaborated with a team during the early stages of his campaign formation to create his initial platform, but did not provide any information on these individuals other than stating that they are experienced in a variety of fields, including the economy, industry, and agriculture.

Platform: Sadat covered a variety of topics in a September 2017 interview pertaining to his campaign, including economic issues, sectarian violence, and combating terrorism. Sadat called for programs to reduce the rising national debt, open forums for labor unions to organize, and a solution to the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam crisis. He also proposed loosening ties with foreign powers such as the United States and Russia to maintain Egyptian interests and not feel coerced into a specific policy.

Sadat has been particularly critical of the upcoming elections, calling them corrupt and unconstitutional. He believes this election has been decided before it began, and has been criticizing pro-Sisi groups such as the To Build It Campaign for their questionable legal status as organizations supporting Sisi.



Mortada Mansour:

Mansour is a member of the House of Representatives on the Constitutional Affairs Committee and president of the Zamalek Club

Status:

Mansour announced his withdrawal from the presidential election in late January 2018, yet he remained a prominent figure in Egyptian politics afterward. Mansour has frequently been the subject of investigations over alleged financial mishandlings from his association with the Zamalek Football Club, though the legislature decided on six separate occasions since January 2018 to maintain his parliamentary immunity. Speaker of the House Ali Abdel ‘Al criticized Mansour in June for the repeated requests and warned him to improve his behavior.

Endorsements:

Mansour did not receive any public endorsements of his campaign. His son said in an interview following Mansour’s campaign decision that he plans on voting for President Sisi in the upcoming election rather than his father.

Platform:

Mansour stated that his first decision if elected president would be to suspend Facebook in Egypt. Mansour was also outspoken about the ongoing Nahdha Dam crisis between Egypt, Sudan and Ethiopia, calling the issue a “red line” concern related to Egyptian national security.



Ahmed al-Fadali:

Fadali is head of the Democratic Peace Party.

Status:

Fadali has not made any notable public appearances or statements since withdrawing from the presidential election in late January 2018.

Endorsements:

None reported.

Campaign team:

None formed.

Platform:

No platform was articulated. Per statements from the party’s spokesman, the Democratic Peace Party wanted to prove that Egypt can present more than one candidate for the 2018 presidential election, and so the party’s parliamentary authority had mandated its participation in the election.

Did Not Qualify



Mona Prince:

A professor at Suez University in Egypt, Prince is currently suspended from her position for teaching her students John Milton's *Paradise Lost*, which the university deemed to be satanic.

Status:

Prince was dismissed from her position in June 2018 after posting on her personal Facebook account a video of her dancing. Her colleagues and students at the university reportedly called the video “disgraceful.” Following the election, Prince has not made any notable political appearances or statements other than those related to her dismissal.

Endorsements:

According to the NEA, Prince received civilian signatories, but the number of her endorsements is unknown.

Campaign team:

None announced.

Platform:

Prince aspires to revolutionize the Egyptian political realm. She believes that citizens view the president as a demigod, and her campaign presented itself as an initiative to humanize the presidency. On a more practical level, Prince's platform focused on developing the education system and emphasizing arts and humanities as the primary solutions to combating Egypt's current political crises, specifically terrorism and the faltering economy.



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