

تقرير رسمي أمام النيابة يكشف الأسماء والمبالغ؛

# ١٣٤٤ مليون جنيه من أمريكا والخليج وأوروبا تمويلاً أجنبياً للمنظمات المصرية في آخر ٤ أشهر

"الحداية ما بترميش كتاكيت"، فإذا رمت نأكد أنها مجرد طعم لصيد كبير.. وبهذا المنطق الواقعي البسيط والعميق تنتظر القوى الوطنية لموضوع التمويل الأجنبي للجمعيات والمنظمات غير الحكومية داخل مصر منذ سنوات بعيدة، لكن ما تم تداوله حول التمويل الأجنبي بعد ثورة يناير، وما واكب ذلك من أحداث تضغط على المجتمع المصري، وتجعل المصريين في حالة دائمة من عدم الفهم، دفع قوى سياسية ووطنية إلى المطالبة بمراجعة كل ما يتعلق بالتمويل الأجنبي للجمعيات والمنظمات غير الحكومية، وهو نفس السبب الذي دفع الدكتور ممدوح حمزة لإرسال إنذار على يد محضر لكل من "رئيس المجلس الأعلى للقوات المسلحة، ورئيس مجلس الوزراء، ووزير الخارجية، ووزارة التعاون الدولي، ووزير التضامن" طالبهم فيه بالكشف عن المبالغ التي دفعتها الإدارة الأمريكية لمنظمات المجتمع المدني بمصر، ثم كلف في منتصف يوليو الماضي الدكتور صلاح صادق الإحامي بمخاطبة السفارة الأمريكية بالقاهرة للكشف عما جرى إعلانه على لسان السفارة الأمريكية في هذا الشأن. وبعدها بأيام عقد "المجلس الوطني المصري" مؤتمراً بنقابة الصحفيين في ١٠ أغسطس الماضي..





عن أنشطتها ومبلغ التمويل الذي حصلت عليه، وذلك بموجب إخطار من الوكالة الأمريكية للتنمية الدولية إلى وزارة الشؤون الدولي، كما يتفق مع الحكومة المصرية في حالة وجود تهديد على القوام المصري من أنشطة إحدى المنظمات، أن تطالب الوكالة الأمريكية بتغيير المنظمة أو وقف نشاطها كذلك التمويل المقدم لها، وتبين من خلال الممارسة الفعلية لبعثة الوكالة الأمريكية في القاهرة عند تنفيذ البرامج

على نحو ٢٨ مليون دولار، ويمتد نشاط هذه المؤسسة من قلب القاهرة إلى محافظات سوهاج، قنا، أسوان، كفر الشيخ، الإسكندرية والسويس، الجيزة، وبئر سويف.

هذا وقد وجهته وزيرة التعاون الدولي، بن عيسى

الحكم، وتوجيه التمويل لقطاعات المجتمع المدني -شيكال مباشر- لدعم الديمقراطية، ثم أعلنت في الصحف المصرية وبشكل مستمر عن استخدام المبلغ المبادر برمجته من خلال عقد ورش عمل ونشاطات أخرى لاستخدامه، فضلا عن الإعلان عن استخدام بعض الوكالات الأمريكية للتمثيل الدولية لتقديم منح مالية لمنظمات مصرية

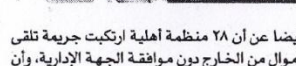
منها ٧٩ مليون جنيه في نوفمبر ٢٠١٠، ونحو ٧٦ مليونا في شهر فبراير الماضي.

وقد أوصت لجنة تقصي الحقائق في نهاية تقريرها بإجراء تحقيقات عن طريق النيابة العامة، وإقامة الدليل والإدعاء على ارتكاب الجرائم قبل اتخاذ إجراءات الإحالة للمحاكمة الجنائية، كما أوصت اللجنة بضرورة وجود تطبيق لقوانين المنظمات العاملة حاليا خارج الأطر الشرعية حتى يكون ذلك رادعا للتدخل الخارجي غير الشرعي في شئون الوطن.

أيضا عن أن ٧٨ منظمة أهلية ارتكبت جريمة تلقي بموال من الخارج دون موافقة الجهة الإدارية، وأن

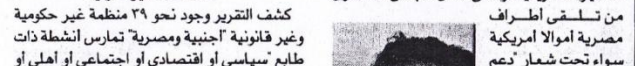
مليارات دولار، لكن البيانات الواردة في هذا الشأن تكشف الخلافات الأمريكية للاتفاقيات والقواعد المتفق عليها، وتؤكد عدم شفافية الجانب الأمريكي في التعامل مع الجانب المصري فيما يخص التمويل المباشر للمجتمع المدني، ومن الوقائع التي تؤكد ذلك اختلاف العددين التي ذكرتها الوكالة الأمريكية (29 مليار) عن الواردة في

كما أظهر التقرير حصول جماعة أنصار السنة المحمدية على ١٨١ مليون جنيه من مؤسسة عبد بن محمد آل ثاني القطرية، وقد خصص منها ٢٠ كفاية الجنيه فقط للصرف على ملكات الجيوش ورياسة القصر، بينما تم توجيه ١٢٢ مليون جنيه للصرف على ما تمت تسميته بفضايا مالية مختلفة، أما جمعية كاريتاس فحصلت على نحو ١٥٠ مليون جنيه،



ولول، والمعهد - كما ذكر التقرير - عبارة عن شركة مدنية يديرها كل من إسماعيل الدين على وإسماعيل إسماعيل، عبد الفتاح، كما أظهر أيضا حصول مركز دراسات المستقبل للاستشارات القانونية ودراسات حقوق الإنسان الذي أسسه عدد من شباب ٦ أبريل (أحمد صلاح، أحمد ماهر، وخالد طه وعزت

كما أظهر التقرير حصول جماعة أنصار السنة المحمدية على ١٨١ مليون جنيه من مؤسسة عيد بن محمد آل ثاني القطرية، وقد خصص منها ٣٠ مليون فقط للصرف على كتابة البتيم ورعاية الفقراء، بينما تم توجيه ١٢٣ مليون جنيه للصرف على ما تم تسميته بقضايا تنمية مختلفة، أما جمعية كارياتاس فحصلت على نحو ١٥٥ مليون جنيه،



الجمعية الأهلية دون  
اتباع الأحكام المقررة في  
القانون بالحسب من ذي  
تزيد على ستة أشهر وبغرامة لا تزيد على ألفي  
جنيه، أو بإحدى هاتين العقوبتين.

أبرز هذه الجمعيات  
مركز دار المستقبل للاستشارات القانونية  
ودراسات حقوق الإنسان، مركز هشام مبارك  
للثقافة، مركز ابن خلدون للدراسات الانمائية،  
الشبكة العربية لمعلومات حقوق الإنسان، مركز  
أندلس للدراسات والتصاميم والبحوث الثقافية، العنف،

وإسامة للكرامة الوطنية  
والاستقلال الوطني  
التي تصدرت أهداف  
ثورة 25 يناير.

وطالب البيان المجلس  
الأعلى للقوات المسلحة  
بتسمة مطالب منها،  
الكشف عن أسماء  
وقوائم من تلقوا أموالاً  
من أية جهة خارجية وخصوصاً من الولايات المتحدة  
الأمريكية هذه، الاتحاد الأوروبي، بعض الدول،

الجندي

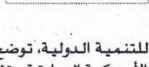
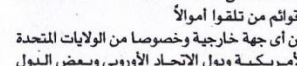
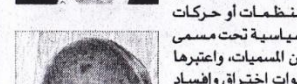
نحو السفارة الأمريكية مطالبين الوزير المفوض بالتشافي واحترام قانون الجمعيات الأهلية في مصر.

وفي سياق مواز كان مجلس الوزراء قد أعلن في يوم ٢٧ يوليو ٢٠١١ رفضه التام للتمويل الأجنبي للجمعيات الأهلية في مصر، واعتبر أن التمويل الأجنبي لتلك الجمعيات تدخلاً سافراً في الشؤون الداخلية للبلاد، وكلف المستشار محمد عبد العزيز الجندى، وزير العدل بتشكيل لجنة تقصي حقائق للكشف عن تمويل تلك الجمعيات والمنظمات، وتهد بشتر أسماء ومصادر تمويل تلك المنظمات على الشعب.

المنظمة العربية للإصلاح الجنائي، مركز مبادرة لدعم قيم التسامح والديمقراطية، مركز الأرض لحقوق الإنسان، مركز النديم لعلاج ضحايا العنف والتعنيف، المركز المصري لحقوق الأقليات الاجتماعية، المعهد الوطني للديمقراطية الأمريكي، المعهد الجمهوري الدولي الأمريكي، ومؤسسة فريدم هاوس الأمريكية.

٢٨ منظمة تتلقى أموالاً من الخارج

كشف التقرير





## **Official Report to the Prosecutor Uncovers Names and Amounts: 1.34 Billion Egyptian Pounds Given from the United States, Europe and the Gulf to Egyptian Organizations in the Last Four Months**

National forces have been looking into the issue of foreign funding to non-governmental organizations in Egypt for several years. Yet, this issue has drawn significantly more attention in the wake of the January 25<sup>th</sup> revolution because both national and political forces have recently called for a comprehensive review of foreign funding to nongovernmental organizations.

For the same reason, Dr. Mamdooh Hamza requested the head of the Supreme Council of Armed Forces (SCAF), the Prime Minister, the Foreign Minister, the Minister of International Cooperation, and the Minister of [Social] Solidarity, to uncover the amounts of funding given by the American administration to Egyptian civil society organizations.

Then in mid-July, attorney Dr. Salah Sadiq asked from the American Embassy in Cairo to clarify the remarks of Ambassador Anne Patterson's in her confirmation hearing regarding this issue. On August 10<sup>th</sup>, the Egyptian National Council held a conference with the press association.

### **Washington Has Given 88 Million Dollars to NGOs in Egypt; 39 Illegal Egyptian and Foreign Organizations Act without Consent of the Ministry of Social Solidarity**

The National Council has issued a statement under the title, "No to Foreign Funding...No to Foreign Intervention." In this statement the Council expresses its concern that some Egyptian parties are receiving American funding, whether for purposes of "supporting the democratic transition," for fostering a conspiracy, or undermining stability in Egypt. Such funding is particularly troubling in light of dangerous developments that threaten to undermine the January 25<sup>th</sup> Revolution.

The statement, read by Dr. Mohamed Al-Saeed Idris, condemned all forms of foreign funding for the activities of any organization, association or political movement, and considered this assistance to be a tool of corruption and in contradiction to some of the most prominent goals of the January 25<sup>th</sup> Revolution, national dignity and stability.

The statement called upon the Supreme Council for Armed Forces (SCAF) to reveal the names and lists of the organizations that have received funding from any foreign agent, especially from the United States, member states of the European Union, and Arab countries such as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, and Qatar. It also called for all those found guilty to be referred to the national security prosecutor for investigation.

The statement called for the Egyptian ambassador in Washington to be consulted regarding what has been broadcast about American funding of Egyptian organizations. It stated the need to address these unacceptable violations of sovereignty with the American ambassador in Cairo, and to raise concerns about the lack of American integrity with funding given to influence the course of the January 25<sup>th</sup> Revolution in order to fulfill American objectives hostile to Egyptian interests. Furthermore, it stated the need to address an incident involving members

of the National Council who were marching towards the American Embassy and demanding transparency and respect for the laws of national organizations in Egypt.

In a parallel context, the Cabinet announced on July 27, 2011 that it unequivocally opposes foreign funding for civil organizations in Egypt and considers such funding to be a blatant interference in domestic affairs.

Mohammed Abdel Aziz Algindy, the Minister of Justice, mandated the formation of a fact-finding committee to uncover the sources of funding for these organizations and then publish the results for the public.

*Al-Fagr* newspaper obtained a copy of the fact-finding committee's report on funding sources of nongovernmental organizations in Egypt and summarizes the most important points here.

### **39 Illegal Organizations**

The report identifies 39 Egyptian and American organizations that have conducted “political, economic, social, civil or charitable” activities without obtaining a license for such activities from either the Ministry of Social Solidarity (for the Egyptian organizations) or from the Foreign Ministry (for the American organizations), and are thus operating illegally. These organizations have committed a crime by violating article 76 in the Law of Civil Associations and Organizations (number 84) issued in 2002, which stipulates that any civil organization that does not follow this prescribed law will be subject to imprisonment for no longer than 6 months and a fine no greater than 1000 Egyptian pounds (about \$168).

#### **The Most Prominent of these Illegal Organizations**

The Future Center for Legal Consultation and the Study of Human Rights; the Hisham Mubarak Law Center; the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS); the Arab Network for Human Rights Information (ANHRI); the Andalus Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies; the United Group for Legal Consultation; the Arab Bureau of Law; the Arab Foundation for Civil Society and Human Rights Support (Madanaya); the Foundation for the Full Promotion of Women and Development; the Female Lawyers Union; Bokra for Media Productions, Media Studies and Human Rights; the Center for Peace and Human Development; the Egyptian Democratic Academy (EDA); the Center for People's Rights (Centre des Droits des Gens- CDG); the Union for Human Development; the Family Center for a New Future; Lawyers for Peace and Justice; New Insights; the Political Union for an Open Society; the Center for a Vision of Development and Media Studies; the Regional Center for Community Research and Consulting (RCRC); the Union for Rural Development; The Peace and Justice Institute; The Union for Social, Women's and Environmental Development; the Technology Center for Human Rights (TCHR); the Transparency Center for Development Training and Studies; the Development and Institutionalization Support Center (DISC); the Egyptian Center for Housing Rights (ECHR); the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights (EIPR); the Arab Penal Reform Organization (APRO); the Mubadara Center for Democracy and Tolerance; the Land Center for Human Rights (LCHR); Al-Nadeem Center for Rehabilitating Victims of

Violence and Torture; The Egyptian Center for Social and Economic Rights (ECESR); the National Democratic Institute (NDI, an American organization); the International Republican Institute (IRI, an American organization); and Freedom House (an American organization).

In addition to identifying organizations operating without a license,, the report states that 28 Egyptian civil organizations committed the crime of receiving foreign funds without consent of the administrative authority, and that some foreign organizations working in Egypt violated article 11 of the Law of Civil Associations and Organizations by practicing political activity limited to political parties. The report also emphasizes that NDI and IRI obtained 18 million dollars after the January 25<sup>th</sup> revolution and an additional 14 million respectively for implementing programs and activities in Egypt related to democracy. These amounts exceed the total amount of funds the organizations have received in the past six years by nearly 19 million dollars.

The report also stated that the United States funded the Egyptian Democratic Academy (EDA) with nearly \$522,000. EDA, according to the report, is a civil corporation headed by Hisam Aldeen Ali, Bassem Sameer, and Esraa Abdel-Fattah. It also noted that the Future Studies Center for Legal Consultation and the Study of Human Rights, established by several April 6th youth (Ahmed Salah, Ahmed Maher, Khalid Taha, and Ezzat Bedrous Bedwani), received the support of \$262,000 from Freedom House, the Middle East Partnership Initiative, and US endowments.

Similarly, the report cites 15 rights centers funded by the United States and European Union, including: the United Group of Attorneys and Human Rights Advocates headed by Nagad Al-Bura'e (which obtained \$907,000 of funding); the Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS) headed by Bahey el-din Hassan (which received \$245,000), the Andalus Institute for Tolerance and Anti-Violence Studies headed by Ahmed Sameeh (\$160,000), the Ibn Khaldun Center for Development Studies (ICDS) headed by Saad Eddin Ibrahim (\$1.4 million), and the Arab Penal Reform Organization (APRO) headed by Mohammed Zara (which received funding of nearly \$2.1 million).

The report also noted that the Society for the Sunnah of Muhammed received 181 million Egyptian pounds from the Qatari 'Eed ibn Muhammed Aal Thaani Charitable Foundation, only 30 million of which was to be spent on supporting the poor and orphans, whereas 133 million was allocated for what was broadly termed as various development issues.

The organization Caritas obtained nearly 155 million Egyptian pounds, of which 79 million was received in November 2010 and nearly 76 million last February.

At the end of its report, the fact-finding committee recommended an investigation be conducted by the general prosecutor to corroborate the evidence and motivations behind these crimes before making referral procedures for the criminal court. The committee also emphasized the necessity of applying the law to the illegitimate organizations in an effort to deter foreign intervention in domestic affairs.

## **The Story of Direct American Funding**

In a related development, *Al-Fagr* obtained a list of cases of direct American funding to civil society organizations in Egypt after the January 25<sup>th</sup> Revolution. Specifically, these were instances of funding from the US Agency for International Development (USAID) mission in Cairo to a number of nongovernmental Egyptian, American and international organizations as stated in USAID's Annual Program Statement covering the period of April 1<sup>st</sup> to August 11<sup>th</sup> of this year. In this period of just over 4 months, the total amount of grants was over 58 million dollars.

The information provided in this statement demonstrates American violations of international agreements and confirms the lack of American transparency regarding its direct funding of Egyptian civil society. One fact that points to this reality is a discrepancy between the number of grants reported by USAID (29 grants) versus the number specified on a list from the American Embassy in Cairo submitted by US Ambassador Anne Patterson to the Military Council. The latter list specified 50 grants with a total value of more than 88 million dollars. This value exceeds the total amount spent by USAID in Egypt in the last six years (87.5 million).

USAID explained that this discrepancy may be due to the fact that there are Egyptian organizations that receive funding from other American programs separate from those implemented by USAID. This is contrary to the aid agreement between the two countries.

It appears that there are many American precedents with regards to this issue. In 2004, the United States announced the start of democracy and governance programs as part of economic assistance to Egypt via the provision of direct assistance to civil society organizations. In this context, discussions were held with the American administration to set conditions and regulations surrounding this funding and to reach a mutual understanding on the mechanisms of implementation.

In letters exchanged with the authority of agreement, the recipients of direct American funding for democracy and governance programs were limited to civil society organizations registered with the Egyptian Ministry of Social Solidarity, and American organizations who had signed an agreement with the Egyptian Foreign Ministry, authorizing its work in Egypt. This came with a confirmation that the Egyptian Ministry of International Cooperation would be informed of all the civil society organizations that are chosen by USAID and allocated money, as well as their activities and the amount of funding they receive, (as Egypt has a right to this information in the case of a potential threat to Egyptian national security from the activities of these organizations). Furthermore, it was agreed that in such an instance USAID could be called upon to stop such activities or its support.

It is clear that the activities implemented by some of these funded Egyptian organizations take on the form of traditional political activities related to electoral processes and the exercise of political rights. Also, the majority of these organizations are either not registered with the Egyptian Ministry of Social Solidarity or have not signed an agreement with the Egyptian Foreign Ministry. These violations are the reason for the Ministry of International Cooperation's objection.

With the inauguration of President Obama in 2009, the United States renewed its commitment to the rules and conditions agreed upon between the two countries. However, with the change in Egypt's political circumstances that occurred at the end of 2010 due to the

Parliamentary elections, the American administration resumed funding non-Egyptian organizations, providing financial support for the unsolicited work of American organizations in Egypt, such as by NDI and IRI.

After the January 25<sup>th</sup> revolution, the American administration announced in a USAID Annual Program Statement a unilateral decision to allocate 150 million to be directly provided to civil society organizations in support of democracy. It then announced in the Egyptian newspapers using some of this funding to hold workshops and seminars on how to access and utilize the funding. There was also an announcement about the readiness of the USAID mission in Cairo to present grants to Egyptian, American, and international organizations, whether they be in the private sector, business associations, trade unions, or quasi-governmental bodies. An announcement then came guaranteeing the invitation to funding for all civil society groups, whether registered or not with the Ministry of Social Solidarity. Furthermore, there was a statement of the intention of the United States to fund international nongovernmental organizations, violating the agreed-upon regulations.

The Egyptian government then formally conveyed its position to the American administration through a correspondence from the Egyptian Minister of International Cooperation to the former American ambassador on March 29<sup>th</sup>, 2011. This was followed by a letter from the Egyptian Foreign Minister to the American Secretary of State, confirming the Egyptian government's refusal of the reallocation of this amount and the necessity to stop American efforts to dole out this money.

Yet the American side has ignored all Egyptian decisions with regard to this matter and continued to provide financial grants to nongovernmental organizations without applying agreed-upon conditions. This includes 22 million dollars to IRI and NDI, and 3.5 million dollars given through two grants to the Businessmen's Association of Asyut. One of these two grants was provided to fund activity over a 24 month period, beginning August 2011, with the objective of assisting professional voters in exercising their political rights in upcoming elections in the governorates of Asyut, Minya and Beni Suweis. Also, 2.35 million dollars was provided to the company Berlitz Egypt as well as funding organizations to implement activities in South Sinai, including "the Institute of Creative Colleagues" which received nearly 2 million dollars to fund activities for a one-year period beginning July 2011. The One World Foundation received a grant of nearly 1.328 million dollars with the same specifications, with activities extending from Cairo to the governorates of Sohag, Qana, Aswan, Kafr Al-Sheikh, Alexandria, Suez, Giza, and Beni Suweis.

The Minister of International Cooperation has directed a letter to the new director of the USAID mission, clarifying in it all the former American violations, and reiterating that the Egyptian government objects to the reallocation of 150 million dollars since it never approved this funding. It also notes the open violation of Article 7 in the Agreement of Technical and Economic Assistance, which was signed by both countries in 1978, and other related concerns especially after USAID has, in recent months, called for the signing of detailed memoranda of understanding with the governorates of Al-Sharqaya, Port Said, Cairo and Alexandria without passing them to the Minister of International Cooperation.

On the other hand, the U.S. has perennially been involved in Egypt's affairs. For example, officials at the American Embassy in Cairo requested information from the Ministry of the Labor Force and Migration on the number of Egyptian workers in Iraq and the value of remittances in that context as the Embassy is undertaking research on the economic relations between Egypt and Iraq. The ambassador was given an apology for not having these requests met.

If we return to the issue of the amount of foreign funding that has been given to organizations inside Egypt from reports about the last four months, we will find that in sum the amount reaches nearly 1.244 billion Egyptian pounds.

*This translation was written by Nada Zohdy, Program Assistant at the [Project on Middle East Democracy](#).*