

Section One

Challenges to Human Rights in the Arab Region

Egypt

Egypt has witnessed an unprecedented worsening of human rights. The regime of President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi took a series of legal and security measures to eliminate opposition voices, stifle freedom of expression, harass journalists, and crush independent worker's movements. The right to life and to a free and fair trial, as well as the freedoms of assembly and association, have been systematically violated. The popularity and support of the Sisi regime has significantly diminished. During his inaugural period, the general public treated Sisi as the savior who would tackle Egypt's complex political, economic, and security challenges and bring stability to the country. More than 20 million Egyptians voted for him in the fear that Egypt might disintegrate like other countries in the region.¹ The Sisi government, however, has failed to address economic, service, and legal problems, and has not brought security and stability to the country, especially in areas, such as Sinai, where the military is engaged in battle with armed Islamist groups.

¹ "Al-Sisi's Popularity, From an Active Mass to a Static One," Nov. 9, 2015, *Daily News Egypt*, <http://www.dailynewsegyp.com/2015/11/09/al-sisis-popularity-from-an-active-mass-to-a-static-one>.

Parliamentary Elections:

The parliamentary elections, held in October 2015, signaled the final stage in the army's "roadmap for political transformation" announced in July 2013. The parliamentary elections witnessed a low voter turnout rate of 26.56 percent (a figure that may even have been exaggerated) in 14 governorates in both rounds of the first phase of the parliamentary elections. The pro-government electoral list, 'For the Love of Egypt,' swept the polls in the first round of the elections². The Sisi regime delayed the parliamentary elections for some time fearing it would have to face an unruly parliament. Authorities, backed by the security apparatus, therefore, promoted electoral lists with candidates loyal to the president. This meddling has raised serious concerns about the independence of the parliament and its ability to enhance good governance.³

The parliament is likely to face several challenges in relation to exercising its legislative and oversight authority, amidst a rising wave of terrorism and political violence as well as an obvious deterioration of the human rights record. Within 15 days of its inauguration, the parliament will have to review over 300 decrees⁴ -some of which contravene the constitution and much of which infringe citizens' basic rights- issued by interim president Adly Mansour and later Sisi.⁵ Calls by civil society to prioritize a number of issues during the approval

²"Pro-Sisi List Tops Polls with First Round Voter Turnout of 26.56 percent," *Mada Masr*, Oct. 21, 2015, <http://www.madamasr.com/news/pro-sisi-list-tops-polls-first-round-voter-turnout-2656>.

³ EUspring, Ragab Saad, "Did Egypt's Parliamentary Election just trump citizens' rights?," November 2015, http://www2.warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/pais/research/researchcentres/irs/euspring/publicationsnew/arabcitizenshipreviews1/arab_citizenship_review_n.12.pdf

⁴"Parliament Starts Reviewing Laws Passed in its Absence," *Mada Masr*, Jan. 13, 2016, <http://www.madamasr.com/news/parliament-starts-reviewing-laws-passed-its-absence>.

⁵ Egyptian Constitution (2014), art. 156

process,⁶ to restore and support the foundations of the rule of law and abide by constitutional provisions, have been ignored.

War on Terrorism:

Egypt's war on terror has been used as a cover for violations. An undeclared state of emergency has been in force with the support of a deeply politicized judiciary. While the Egyptian government has used anti-terror discourse, it has only succeeded in closing down public space and stifling peaceful dissent. Meanwhile, it has failed to gain control of the insurgency in Sinai.

Although Egypt does not lack penal provisions to counter crimes of armed violence by extremists groups and organizations, it has passed two laws to combat "terrorism" that severely contravene the constitution and international conventions ratified by Egypt.

The president issued the Terrorist Entities Law on February 17, 2015 despite criticism by human rights organisations.⁷ The law relies on a broad, vague definition of actions on the basis of which individuals or groups may be designated terrorists. Under this definition, human rights defenders, political parties, or developmental associations may be easily labelled terrorist entities and their members terrorists. Article 1 of the law contains undefined terms including "infringing public order, endangering the safety, interests, or security of society, obstructing provisions of the constitution and law, or harming national unity, social peace, or national security."

The law not only employs broad terms to designate entities or individuals as terrorists; it also allows them to be so designated for engaging in acts involving the use of violence or armed force without specifying the means. As such, it could cover statements, reports, protests, or newspaper articles if they are deemed to constitute "an infringement of the public order or social peace." Most puzzling is that the definition of terrorist entities and terrorists in the law is

⁶Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies, "From Rights Groups to the Parliament in its First Sessions: On the Parliamentary Agenda: Nine Issues to Anchor Democracy and the Rule of Law," Jan. 9, 2016, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=17871&lang=en>.

⁷CIHRS, "Law on Terrorist Entities Allows Rights Groups and Political Parties to be Designated Terrorists," Feb. 28, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=11031&lang=en>.

broader even than the definition of terrorism in Article 86 of the Penal Code, which was also condemned by rights groups for its overly broad language.

On August 15, 2015, President Abdel Fattah al-Sisi issued Law 94/2015 on the fight against terrorism.⁸ The law permits the president or his authorized deputy to take any measure, including the imposition of a curfew, in order to “preserve public security and order” in the event of a terrorist danger. Such procedures establish an undeclared state of emergency that is not subject to constitutional protections. The president may declare this disguised state of emergency to counter the dangers of terrorist crimes or environmental disasters for a period of six months, renewable indefinitely with the approval of a parliamentary majority.

The law expands the scope of criminal acts to a worrying degree by using imprecise language and including unspecified actions. It also evokes Article 195 of the Penal Code, which established the criminal liability of newspaper editors for material published in their papers. In Article 35, the law establishes the criminal liability of the legal personhood of news outlets for news and information published which conflicts with the official Ministry of Defence statements.

Even more seriously, as was the case under the emergency law and despite SCC rulings on the unconstitutionality of arbitrary arrest, Article 40 of the new law allows the arrest of persons not caught in a criminal act and without a judicial warrant, by calling the arrest a “holding.”

The Right to Life:

The Egyptian security apparatus has failed to adhere to basic international standards in their dealings with protests and public order issues, either with political opponents from various groups or even football fans.

On January 24, 2015, human rights defender Shaimaa al-Sabbagh was shot and killed by security forces trying to disperse a peaceful

⁸CIHRS, "Latest Counterterrorism Law Encourages Extrajudicial Killing and Cements Impunity," Aug. 26, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=17219&lang=en>.

protest march calling for bread, freedom, and social justice and carrying flowers to commemorate the martyrs of the January revolution. The next day, security forces used lethal force against demonstrators in various locations in Cairo and Alexandria, leaving dozens of protestors and ordinary citizens dead or injured.⁹

On February 7, the police failed to adhere to basic standards of the use of force and fired tear gas directly into an enclosed area where thousands of people were trying to enter a football stadium for a match. 22 people were killed.¹⁰ On July 1, 2015, nine Muslim Brotherhood members were shot dead by Egyptian security forces in an apartment in the 6th of October district – in what can qualify as an extra-judicial killing.¹¹

According to the quasi-governmental NHRC, between June 2013 and December 2014, violence had resulted in approximately 2,600 deaths, including 700 security personnel, 1,250 supporters of the Muslim Brotherhood, and 550 other civilians.¹² With the exception of the killer of Shaimaa al-Sabbagh, no high-ranking officers have yet been held to account for their actions; the few cases that were subject to investigation or trial ended with acquittal.

⁹ CIHRS, "Two Years After Adoption: President Must Repeal Unfair Protest Law and Immediately Release Thousands of Innocents", Nov. 25, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=17651&lang=en>.

¹⁰ CIHRS, "The Second Massacre of Football Fans: When will the impunity given to police crimes be lifted? 18 rights groups warn: The Interior Ministry's crimes are leading to the spread of counter-violence and terrorism in the country", Feb. 10, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=10866&lang=en>.

¹¹ Human Rights Watch, "Egypt: Police Account of Deadly Raid in Question", Jul. 31, 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/07/31/egypt-police-account-deadly-raid-question>.

¹² National Council for Human Rights, "Tenth Annual Human Rights Report 2013-2014", <http://www.nchregypt.org/index.php/activities/2010-02-07-16-22-57/2010-02-07-16-23-32/1586-annual-report-10.html>>

The Right to a Free and Fair Trial and the Independence of the Judiciary:

Violations of the right to a free and fair trial have made, according to UN experts, “a mockery of justice” in Egypt.¹³ At least 41,000 people were detained, charged, or sentenced between July 2013 and May 2014. Despite admitting the presence of innocent youth in prison and promising to use his presidential pardon powers to release them¹⁴, Sisi has issued only minimal pardons; indeed comparatively less than his former counterpart Morsi, and even the Supreme Council of Armed Forces.

No efforts have been made to address the politicization of and dysfunction in the Egyptian justice system that has led to the imprisonment of thousands of people, many of whom have been deprived of their liberty by protracted periods in pre-trial detention. This included the photojournalist Mahmud Abou Zied, known as Shawkan. Shawkan has been in pre-trial detention since August 14, 2013 for taking photographs. After a local and international outcry, his trial commenced on December 12, 2015, after more than two years. In October 2015, the Interior Ministry stated that 11,877 people had been arrested on terrorism-related charges that year.¹⁵

Several human rights defenders have had their trials postponed, thus unjustifiably prolonging their detention, or have been jailed on trumped-up charges. This includes human rights lawyer Mahienour El Masry, who has been detained since May 11, 2015. El Masry’s imprisonment is related to a sit-in staged at the First Raml Police Station calling for the release a number of activists who were being held at the police station. On May 31, 2015, El Masry and other activists were sentenced to one year and three months in prison.

¹³ OHCHR, “Egypt: Mass Death Sentences – a Mockery of Justice” (statement by 8 experts following death sentence given to 529 defendants), Mar. 31, 2014, <http://www.ohchr.org/EN/NewsEvents/Pages/DisplayNews.aspx?NewsID=14457&LangID=E>

¹⁴ Television Interview, 22 February 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AsfuTbE5Cfk>

¹⁵ “Almost 12,000 People Arrested for Terrorism in 2015: Interior Ministry,” *Mada Masr*, Oct. 30, 2015, <http://www.madamasr.com/news/almost-12000-people-arrested-terrorism-2015-interior-ministry>

Death sentences had reached grotesque levels. On February 2, 2015, the Giza Criminal Court ratified the death sentences of 183 defendants, all of whom are accused of killing eleven police officers and two civilians during an attack on the Kerdassa police station in August 2013.¹⁶ These mass death sentences were handed down after farcical trials during which the defendants' most basic rights were not met. The mass death sentences coincided with a controversial court decision to acquit former president Mubarak, his Minister of Interior and six of his aides, on charges of killing protestors during the January 25 revolution.

There are various other indications that point to the lack of independence of the judiciary. On March 14, 2015, 41 judges were subjected to forced retirement for protesting the removal of former President Mohammed Morsi in 2013.¹⁷ In April 2015, two prominent independent judges were referred to a disciplinary council for their participation in a conference on combating torture in Egypt organized by the United Group law firm.¹⁸ This is the first time that Egyptian judges will be investigated and possibly could be sanctioned for participating in a human rights conference held by an established human rights organization, labeled by the investigative authorities as an illegal entity.

Continued Torture and Police Violations:

Torture and collective punishment occurred on a large scale in Egyptian prisons and security facilities. In less than a year, 289 cases of torture, 27 cases of group torture, 97 cases of medical negligence, 16 cases of sexual assaults, and 3 cases in which family members of

¹⁶ Aswat Masriya, "Court Ratifies Death Sentences to 183 over Kerdasa Clashes", Feb. 2, 2015 <http://en.aswatmasriya.com/news/view.aspx?id=2146631f-d510-4705-8753-d8872a099fa5>.

¹⁷ CIHRS, "Rights Groups Condemn Forced Retirement of 41 Judges for Expressing their Opinions," Mar. 18, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=14650&lang=en>

¹⁸ CIHRS, "After Three Interrogation Sessions, Rights Groups: Questioning Negad El-Borai Demonstrates that Freedom of Work is Granted only to Legal Professionals and Judges who Turn a Blind Eye to Torture," Jun. 3, 2015 <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=15114&lang=en>

detainees were detained during detention visits were reported.¹⁹ According to Nasser Amin, Chairman of the Complaints Committee of the National Council for Human Rights (NCHR), the actual number of torture cases far exceeds those documented or reported in the media, describing torture as a systematic practice of the police.²⁰ The NHRC reported that overcrowding reached 160% capacity in prisons and 300% at police stations.²¹

On February 23, Karim Hamdy was tortured to death in Matareya police station. Hamdy, the attorney of a number of Islamists, was taken from his house and, according to witnesses, tortured for hours until he died. Under pressure from the Bar Association, the Public Prosecutor has opened an investigation into the death, and ordered a ban on the publication of any news about the investigations. On March 28, the officers accused of torturing Hamdy to death were released on bail.

In March 2015, rights groups documented torture and ill treatment in Liman II (ward B) of Abu Zaabal prison complex. Prison forces took 15 prisoners from their cells and tortured them for three hours in front of the rest of the prisoners, stripping them of their clothes, forcing them to verbally abuse themselves; and then transferred them to disciplinary cells in solitary confinement.²²

In a related context, the practice of enforced disappearances has significantly increased. Between August and November 2015, at least 340 cases of enforced disappearance were documented by rights

¹⁹ Nadeem Centre for the Rehabilitation of Victims of Torture, Statement of Account, June 2014 – Jun. 2015,

<https://drive.google.com/file/d/0B2-QqOchi4gFdEgtNFJIam1ONIU/view>

²⁰ Nasser Amin, chairman of the Complaints Committee of the National Council for Human Rights in an interview with *al-Masry al-Youm*: United Nations adopted 13 Cases of Enforced Disappearance in January 25, Dec. 29, 2015, <http://today.almasryalyoum.com/article2.aspx?ArticleID=489056>,

²¹ NHCR, "Tenth Annual Human Rights Report."

²² CIHRS, "Stop Torture in Egyptian Prisons: Rights organizations express their concern regarding testimonies of torture of prisoners in Abu Zaabal, call for an immediate investigation and repeat their request for permission to visit prisons and meet with prisoners," Mar. 24, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=14727&lang=en>.

groups.²³ The NCHR has verified 9 cases of enforced disappearance, and said it will further review 55 cases.²⁴

Freedom of Expression and Media Freedoms:

The number of journalists behind bars in Egypt rose dramatically in 2015 despite claims by Sisi that “Egypt enjoys unprecedented freedom of expression” and that “no one in Egypt was prosecuted for expressing his views.”²⁵ In a report issued by the Committee to Protect Journalists, Egypt was ranked the second worst jailer of journalists, with at least 23 journalists held behind bars.²⁶

On November 8, 2015, Hossam Bahgat, an investigative journalist and the founder of the Egyptian Initiative for Personal Rights, was arbitrarily detained on charges of “deliberately spreading false information with the purpose of harming public order or public interest” and “publishing, with malicious intent, false news that is likely to disturb public order.”²⁷

He was initially summoned for interrogation by Military Intelligence in relation to an investigative report he wrote for the online newspaper Mada Masr on October 13, 2015. Although Bahgat was released after an international outcry, including concerns raised

²³ Egyptian Coordination for Rights and Freedoms, "Enforced Disappearance Awaiting Justice," Dec. 22, 2015, <http://www.ec-rf.org/?p=1194>

²⁴ HRW, "Dozens Detained Secretly," Jul. 20, 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/07/20/egypt-dozens-detained-secretly>

²⁵ "Egypt's Sisi to CNN: Egypt Enjoys Unprecedented Freedom of Expression," *Ahram Online*, Sept. 28, 2015 <http://english.ahram.org.eg/newscontent/1/64/148600/egypt/politics-/egypts-sisi-to-cnn-egypt-enjoys-unprecedented-free.aspx>.

²⁶ Committee to Protect Journalists, "2015 Prison Census: 199 Journalists Jailed Worldwide," Dec. 1, 2015, <https://cpj.org/imprisoned/2015.php>.

²⁷ CIHRS, "Bahgat is Detained Incommunicado at an Unknown Location," Nov. 9, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=17551&lang=en>

by the United Nations Secretary General Ban Ki-Moon,²⁸ it is unconfirmed whether charges against him are still pending.

On November 29, 2015, the researcher and journalist Ismail Alexandrani, who writes about Islamist movements and developments in the Sinai Peninsula, was detained upon his return to Egypt from Germany at Hurgada airport. Alexandrani was brought before the State Security Prosecution and was questioned in the presence of attorneys for more than eight hours. He was then remanded in custody pending investigation.²⁹

The grip has been tightened on public figures critical of the regime. Many have been prevented from appearing on TV talk shows, holding public talks, and getting their work published in newspapers. On December 10, 2015, security banned the famous novelist Alaa al-Aswany's monthly seminar because of its content. Aswany was previously prevented from appearing on state-owned television, and was forced to stop publishing his weekly articles in al-Masry al-Youm newspaper after a defamation campaign against him.³⁰

Restrictions that contravene the freedom of cultural works and the freedom of creativity have significantly increased. The authorities have carried out an unprecedented crackdown on cultural institutions. For example, security forces raided the Zero Production Company in August and stormed the Contemporary Image Collective (CIC) in November. Three art institutions, namely Townhouse Gallery, Rawabet Theatre, and Merit Publishing House were raided in the last week of December alone.³¹

²⁸ UN, "Highlights of the Noon Briefing by Stephane Dujarric, Spokesman for the Secretary-General," Nov. 9, 2015,

<http://www.un.org/sg/spokesperson/highlights/index.asp?HighD=11/9/2015>.

²⁹ CIHRS, "Release Ismail Alexandrani and All Prisoners Of Conscience; Societies Are Built with Freedom," Dec. 1, 2015,

<http://www.cihrs.org/?p=17674&lang=en>.

³⁰ "Alaa Al-Aswany's Monthly Seminar Banned by Security Forces," *Daily News Egypt*, Dec. 8 2015,

<http://www.dailynewsegyp.com/2015/12/08/alaa-al-aswanys-monthly-seminar-banned-by-security-forces>

³¹ CIHRS, "War on Creativity: Closure of Townhouse Gallery & Rawabet Theater is Another Step to Shut Public Space in Egypt," Jan. 2, 2016, statement available in Arabic, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=17847>

Restrictions on Civil Society:

The government has taken serious steps toward eliminating the human rights movement.³² After the November 10, 2014 ultimatum, a government deadline for NGOs to register under a repressive associations law, the Egyptian authorities swiftly swung into action, banning 4 democracy advocates from the Egyptian Democratic Academy (EDA) from traveling abroad.³³ The bans were based on investigations related to the infamous foreign funding case that led to prison sentences against 43 national and international staff members of international NGOs in 2013.³⁴ The democracy advocates were also accused of breaching the NGO law by establishing a civil company working in the NGO field.

Airport security officers have confiscated the passport of at least 32 political activists and workers in non-governmental groups.³⁵

Existing organizations are being squeezed in terms of the work they can do, and human rights defenders are facing judicial and security harassment. On April 4, 2015, a force from the Sayyida Zeinab police station and the Artistic Products Investigations Unit of the Interior Ministry raided the office of Radio Horytna, arresting human rights defender Ahmed Samih and referring him to the Sayyida Zeinab Prosecution the same day. Samih was released on a bail of 5,000 EGP; the five charges against him include disseminating audio and visual content without a license from the competent authorities and managing a facility without a permit.³⁶

³² CIHRS, "From Restriction to Closure of Public Space in Egypt: Egyptian Government Clamps Down on Rights Groups, Seeking their Eradication" May 4, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=14940&lang=en>.

³³ CIHRS, "The Recent Travel Ban Decisions: A Way to Harass Democracy Advocates and a Serious Violation to the Constitution," Jan. 16, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=10572&lang=en>.

³⁴ CIHRS, "20 Egyptian Organizations in Solidarity with the NGO Workers Sentenced to Prison: Politically Motivated Case a Fatal Blow to Freedom of Expression and Association," Jun. 6, 2013, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=6759&lang=en>

³⁵ HRW, "Egypt: Scores Barred From Traveling," 1 November 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/11/01/egypt-scores-barred-traveling>

³⁶ CIHRS, "Human Rights Defenders Continue to be Targeted and Harassed: Radio Horytna Office Raided and Director Detained," Apr. 6, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=14821&lang=en>

Repressive actions and the creation of a hostile environment have forced some independent human rights organizations to downsize their work or move part of their activities outside Egypt. Cairo Institute for Human Rights Studies (CIHRS) was referred to investigation on June 9, 2015 when the investigating judge in the “NGO foreign funding case” delegated a committee from the Ministry of Social Solidarity to visit the offices of the CIHRS in Cairo and look into its activities and examine whether the CIHRS engages in the activities of civic associations under the provisions of Law 84/2002.³⁷

Labour rights:

On April 18, 2015 the Supreme Administrative Court upheld a court decision, criminalizing the right to strike. The decision considers striking “a crime” punishable by disciplinary measures, including forced early retirement or delayed promotions. This court decision will stifle the last social protest movement which has not yet lost momentum.³⁸ Despite this court ruling, workers continued to strike.

In December, strikes were held across several governorates by workers employed in seven companies subcontracted by the state-owned Suez Canal Authority (SCA), as well as the Asyut Cement Company and two privatized textile mills: the Nile Cotton Ginning Company and the Shebin al-Kom Textile Company. The workers have demanded higher wages, equality in the work environment, restoring dismissed workers, and the payment of overdue bonuses and profit shares.³⁹

³⁷ CIHRS, " Government Refers CIHRS to Investigation," Jun. 10, 2015, <http://www.cihrs.org/?p=15159&lang=en>.

³⁸ Legal Agenda, "Egypt's Supreme Administrative Court Says Labor Strikes Are a Crime," 6 July 2015, <http://www.english.legal-agenda.com/article.php?id=715&folder=articles&lang=en>

³⁹ "New wave of labor strikes across Suez Canal, Nile Delta, Assiut," *Mada Masr*, Dec. 10, 2015, <http://www.madamasr.com/news/new-wave-labor-strikes-across-suez-canal-nile-delta-assiut>

Women's Rights :

Sexual violence against women in public spaces persisted despite changes in state discourse on women's rights and a national strategy to combat violence against women announced in May. Legislation relating to crimes of rape, sexual assault and harassment in the Penal Code are inadequate and do not address a number of issues including but not limited to the rights of survivors of abuse and their protection while submitting reports.⁴⁰

Women continue to lack fair representation in decision-making positions. However, this year women's representation in the parliament has improved. The total number of women in the 2015 elections constituted 15.3% (87 candidates) compared to roughly 2% in the 2012 parliament. 73 women were elected - a number that the National Council for Women described as unprecedented- and a further 14 women were appointed by Sisi. It is worth mentioning that the parliamentary elections law stipulated a quota for women within lists requiring parties and coalitions to include seven women in 15-seat lists and 21 women in 45-seat lists.⁴¹ However, integrating women through the quota system reflects the absence of the debate about the importance of women's participation in the political process among political forces.

Minority Rights:

Whilst there have been some minor improvement in state discourses toward Coptic citizens, there has been very little development in reality. Authorities continued to follow the Mubarak-era method of responding to attacks on Copts by calling for customary "reconciliation meetings" rather than holding those responsible to account according to the law. Christians and other religious communities, especially in Upper Egypt, have had their homes and

⁴⁰Euspring, Mozn Hassan, "Women's Rights in the Aftermath of Egypt's Revolution",

⁴¹"Sisi Makes his Parliamentary Appointments, Parliament to Convene Jan 10," *Mada Masr*, Dec. 31 2015

<http://www.madamasr.com/sections/politics/sisi-makes-his-parliamentary-appointments-parliament-convene-jan-10>.

places of worship attacked, while the government did not take necessary measure to hold perpetrators accountable.

There has also been a continuance of political and religious incitement by state media and religious institutions against the Shia population.

Regarding another minority issue, the Bedouins in Sinai - who have long suffered political and economic marginalization - have been severely affected by the ongoing fighting between the Egyptian army and armed Jihadist groups. At least 3,000 families were evicted from their homes and thousands of houses were demolished by the Egyptian military during operations to destroy smuggling tunnels. Meanwhile the government has failed to provide adequate compensation.⁴²

⁴² HRW, "Egypt: Thousands Evicted in Sinai Demolitions," Sept. 22, 2015, <https://www.hrw.org/news/2015/09/22/egypt-thousands-evicted-sinai-demolitions>