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エジプト民主化へのロードマップ

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2010年末にチュニジアで始まった長期独裁政権打倒と自由民主主義の確立を求めたにアラブの春」が11年1月、エジプトに上陸、ガガラク前政権が打倒されて以降、ラントではのからによりにはののでは、カードのでは、カードでは、カードでは、カードでは、カードのでは、カードでは、カードのでは、カードのでは、カードのでは、カードでは、カードでは、カードでは、カードでは、カードでは、カードのでは、カードがは、カードでは

ロードマップの大筋

暫定政権が掲げた民主化へのロード・マップの第一段階は、1月14日と15日に予定されている新憲法の是非を問う国民投票だ。同投票を通じて新憲法が承認されれば、第二段階は新憲法に基づく大統領選挙と議会選挙だ。



大統領宮殿前広場を埋め尽くした反モルシ大統領デモ=2013年 7月1日

Massive demonstration against president Morsi at the square of Egyptian Presidential Palace, July 1, 2013 (CNN)

Roadmap to Democratization of Egypt

Ryutaro Minami Cairo-based journalist

The Arab Spring seeking to defeat long-term dictatorship and establish liberal democracy which originated in Tunisia at the end of 2010 caused collapse of Mubarak regime in Egypt in January, 2011. Three years have passed since then. The Morsi regime supported by the Islamist organization Muslim Brotherhood was born on June, 2012 and promoted blatant Islamic fundamentalist policies and failed in economic management. The Morsi regime eventually lost people's trust and collapsed. The interim government formed after that announced the Roadmap to Democratization and is making efforts to implement the roadmap. However. Islamic extremists including the Muslim Brotherhood are steadfastly resisting democratization and the country's future path is unpredictable.

Outline of the Roadmap

The first phase of the roadmap to democratization announced by the interim government is the national referendum on the new constitution scheduled for January 14 and 15. If the new constitution is approved by the referendum, the process can move forward to the second phase, the presidential and parliamentary elections based on the new constitution. There are still some debates on which of those elections will be held first. If representatives of the nation are elected through those elections without problems, a new democratic government elected by the people will be established and the nation will be on the democratic course. This is the outline of the roadmap to democratization shown by the interim government.

どちらが先に実施されるかははまだ議論の余地を残しているものの、2大選挙を通じて国家の代表者が順調に選出されれば第三段階では国民から選出された新たな民主政府が樹立され、民主主義が軌道に乗ることになる。これが、暫定政権が示す民主化へのロードマップの大筋だ。

ロードマップ実現を阻むイスラム主義勢力

ところが、その行く手を阻む勢力がいる。モルシ前大統領の支持基盤イスラム根本主義組織「ムスリム同胞団」と、シナイ半島に長く拠点を築きムバラク元大統領時代から今日に至るまで治安機関や石油パイプラインなどを標的にで治安機関や石油パイプラインなどを標的にで治安機関や石油パイプラインなどを標的による手にである。 織だ。両者は、モルシ政権崩壊後各記念日毎にはぼ毎週デモやテロを繰り返し、治安部隊や暫定政権支持者との衝突による死傷者は増え続けている。

長年、世界銀行に勤務し、エジプト中部タンタ市のタンタ大学で教鞭を取ったルシディ・サレハ元教授は、「シナイ半島の武装勢力の内、6割はハマス®だ」と断言している。最近爆弾の爆発や銃撃など、かつてはシナイ半島で発生してきたことがカイロ市内や他の主要都市でも見られるようになった事に対し国民は同胞団とハマスが裏で協力して、エジプト国内各地でのテロやデモを先導しているのではないか、と同胞団関係者の動きに懸念を強めている。」

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迷える米国の中東政策

Islamist Groups Trying to Block Implementation of the Roadmap

There are forces that are trying to block the roadmap. They are the Islamist organization Muslim Brotherhood, former President Morsi's support base, and Islamic extremist groups based in Sinai Peninsula that have been repeating terrorist attacks against security agencies and oil pipelines for many years since the time when President Mubarak was in power.

Those two forces have been organizing demonstrations and terrorist attacks almost every week during holidays since the collapse of the Morsi regime. The number of casualties continues to increase as they clashed with security forces and supporters of the interim government.

Dr. Rouchdy Saleh, who was a professor of Tanta University in Tanta city in the central area of Egypt after working at the World Bank for many years, states, "60% of armed groups in Sinai Peninsula are Hamas." In recent months, bombings and shootings that used to occur in Sinai Peninsula are occurring in Cairo and other major cities. People are becoming increasingly suspicious that the Muslim Brotherhood and Hamas are collaborating behind the scene and leading terrorist attacks and demonstrations throughout Egypt.

Misguided Middle East Policy of the United States

It is said that the United States Obama Administration has placed the Muslim Brotherhood and Turkey at the center of its Middle East policy after the Arab Spring. The United States which has been fighting against Islamic extremists seems to have considered the Muslim Brotherhood as a moderate organization that can fight against the extremists. Moreover, the United States expected the Muslim Brotherhood to bring together moderate Muslims in Tunisia, Libya, Syria and Jordan and become the central entity in Middle East. However, this was clearly a miscalculation. It is because the Muslim Brotherhood is essentially obsessed with " establishment of Islamic nation by the Islamic Law" and is willing to use force to achieve that. Former President Mubarak stated, "The Muslim Brotherhood is a hot bed for Islamic extremists and is the force than can become extremist any time."

① ハマス:ムスリム同胞団を母体とするパレスチナのイスラム根本主義過激派組織。武装闘争によるイスラム国家樹立を目的としたスンニ派武装組織。2012年11月末、エジプト政府の仲介の下、双方は停戦に合意している。

① Hamas: Islamic fundamentalist, extremist group in Palestine derived from the Muslim Brotherhood. It is a Sunni armed group aiming at establishment of Islamic nation through armed struggles. At the end of November, both sides agreed to cease fire with intermediation of the Egyptian government.



アラブ連盟元エジプト代表フセイン・ハッス一ナ氏 Dr. Hussein Hassouna, former Egyptian representative to the Arab League

ムバラク元大統領は「ムスリム同胞団は過激派の温床であり、いつでも過激になり得る勢力」 と断定していた。

アラブ連盟元エジプト代表ハッスーナ氏は 「今回の政変はオバマ政権にショックを与え、 慌てさせたのだ。しかし同政権は、クーデター との表現だけは控えた。もし『クーデター』と 表現した場合、エジプトへの軍事援助を差し止 めざるを得ず、そのことはエジプト、ひいては 中東地域への影響力低下につながるからだ。内 心では『クーデター』と見なしつつも、その表 現だけは控えていたのだ。その後、暫定政権 が、座り込みを続けたデモ隊を強制排除し数百 人の犠牲者が出たことなどを踏まえて10月9 日、エジプトへの軍事援助の一部を停止した。 具体的には対エジプト軍事支援の内、2億60 00万ドル(約252億円)の資金援助と、F 16戦闘機など大型兵器の供与を停止した。| と語った。

11月3日ケリー米国務長官は暫定政権発足後初めてエジプトを訪問し「軍事支援の凍結は『制裁』ではなく、非常に小さな問題」と位置づけし「ロードマップの順守と"包括的でらに11月20日、同長官は「モルシ氏は、民主主義的に選ばれた政府に求められた声に応えることと的によって協議が、「革命は最も組織的な正と指摘、「革命は最も組織的なこと指摘、「革命は最も組織的なことを指摘、「革命は大リー長官が正と明言した。この発言はケリー長官が正と明言した。この発言はケリー長官が正とり、と明言した。この発言はケリー長官が正とり、と明言した。この発言はケリー長官が正さい。

Dr. Hussein Hussouna, former Egyptian representative to the Arab League said, "The recent political change shocked and panicked Obama Administration. However, Obama Administration avoided to use words coup d'etat. If the words "coup d'etat" are used, the United States has no choice but to terminate the military aid to Egypt and it will lead to decline of the United States influence in Middle East region.

That is why the United States avoided the words although she internally regarded it as a coup d'etat. Subsequently, the interim government dispersed demonstrators who continued sit-in by force causing death of a few hundred victims, and the United States terminated part of the military aid to Egypt on October 9. Specifically, the United States terminated 260 million dollar financial aid and stopped provision of large weapons including F16 fighters that are part of the military aid to Egypt."

The US Secretary of State John Kerry visited Egypt on November 3 for the first time after establishment of the interim government there. He explained that "the freezing of the military aid is not a sanction but a very small problem," and encouraged his counterparts "to follow through the roadmap and implement free and fair elections." On November 20, Secretary Kerry stated, "Mr. Morsi failed to respond to the people's expectation for the government that was democratically elected," and "The revolution was stolen by one most-organized group (i.e., the Muslim Brotherhood). This statement indicates that Secretary Kerry endorses the claims of the majority of the Egyptian people, and the United States is beginning to accept Egypt's interim government.

Dr. Hussouna said, "In my opinion, the United States has pragmatic policies and understandings, so it came to understand that Egypt and the Arab world would not be happy under the rule of the Muslim Brotherhood. Therefore, I think the United States will accept the changes currently taking place in Egypt."

Strong Trust of the People on the Military

Dr. Hussouna pointed out by saying, "The military supported the people who tried to remove the government of the Muslim Brotherhood, just as it supported the people who removed Mubarak from power.



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会談後ケ -リー米国務長官を見送るシシ国防相= 2013年11月3日

Egyptian Minister of Defense General Abdul Fatah Khalil al-Sisi bids farewell to U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry after a meeting in Cairo, Egypt, on November 3, 2013. [State Department photo/ Public Domain]

強い、国民の軍への信頼

「軍は、ムバラクを追放し ハッスーナ氏は、 た時の国民を支持したように、同胞団政権を追 放しようとした民衆を支持した。

ムバラクを追放したのは軍ではなく国民だった し、今回も同胞団政権を追放したのは、軍では なく、国民だ。軍はただ、国民と共にあること を決断したのだ。」と指摘した。

「軍は 第4次中東戦争②で エジプトでは、 イスラエルに勝利した」とされていることか ら、軍に対する信頼がとても強い。軍は常に国 民の味方だとの思いが強烈だ。

アズハル大学③総長顧問マフムード・アザブ師 は、「エジプト人は今、教育を受けていない人 でも、農民でも、エジプト軍を愛し、誇りと し、感謝している。軍の努力を知っている」と 語った。

今回の政変(第2革命)に関し元外相でアラ ブ連盟前事務局長だったアムロ・ムーサ氏は1 月9日、民放テレビの番組に出演し、同胞団の 前ナンバー2で、最も危険人物とされる実力者 シャーテル氏と懇談した際の感想を次のように 語った。「同胞団のシャーテル氏は事実を100% 理解していないことがわかった。彼は獄中にあ るにもかかわらず、自分に反対する者は何の力 もなく、問題にならないと豪語し、自分の理想 に熱中するあまり周りが全く見えない状態だっ た。現実に起きている変化を事実として認識す る力を全く欠き、独りよがりである事に驚い た。」

The one who removed Mubarak was not the military but the people, and the one who removed the Muslim Brotherhood regime this time was not the military but the people. The military only decided to be with the people."

In Egypt, the people's trust on the military is very strong because it is believed that the military won the victory over Israel in the Fourth Middle East War. 2 There is a strong sentiment that the military always sides with the people. Dr. Mahmoud Azab, advisor of the president of Al-Azhar University 3 said, "Egyptians including those who are uneducated and farmers now love and are proud of and grateful for the Egyptian military. They know the military's efforts."

Dr. Azab who was the foreign minister and the secretary general of the Arab League, appeared on the commercial television program on the recent political change (the second revolution) on January 9, and made the following comments in his dialogue with Mohamed Khairat Saad El-Shaater who is former No.2 leader of the Muslim Brotherhood considered to be the most dangerous and capable person in the organization. "I came to understand that El-Shaater of the Muslim Brotherhood did not understand the fact 100%. Although he was in the prison, he arrogantly stated that those who oppose him have no power and can be ignored. He was so obsessed with his ideal that he could not see his surrounding at all. I was surprised that he totally lacks ability to recognize the changes in the real world as facts and is so self-righteous."

El-Shaater apparently was preparing the founding of the military force to protect Egyptian revolution" which resembles Iran's Revolutionary Guard. Had the Muslim Brotherhood regime continued a little longer, the situation of the country would have been worsened to the extent that is irreparable.

シャーテル氏は、イランの革命防衛隊に似せた「エジプト革命を守るための軍隊の創設」を 準備していたと見られている。同胞団政権がも う少し長く続けば、取り返しのつかない状態に まで進んだと思われる。

新憲法の是非を問う国民投票が14, 15日に

同胞団は、投票妨害を企画、投票所付近の治安悪化を演出するなどして、投票率の低下を意図している。

②第4次中東戦争:1973年10月、イスラエルとエジプト、シリアなど中東アラブ諸国との間に行われた戦争。アラブ連合軍の奇襲攻撃により緒戦はアラブ側優位となるもイスラエルの巻き返しによりアラブ側は苦戦となる。アメリカとソ連の仲裁により停戦。エジプト軍指揮官はサダト大統領。緒戦はアラブ優位に進んだことから、アラブ側は勝利とみなしている。

②Fourth Middle East War: The war fought between Israel and Arab countries in Middle East including Egypt and Syria in October, 1973. The Arab coalition force had surprise attacks which put Arabs more advantageous position in the initial phase of the war. Israel regained its advantage over Arab countries whose military suffered many losses. The war was mediated by the arbitration of the United States and theSoviet Union. The Egyptian military commander was President Sadat. After all, Arabs maintained advantage and Arabs consider the war their victory

National Referendum on the New Constitution Scheduled for January 14 and 15

The national referendum on the new draft constitution is going to be held on January 14 and 15. El-Shaater who served as the chairman of the Committee to Enact the New Constitution emphasized in his interview, "This new draft constitution is not ignored by any one or any organization, and it benefits all people in Egypt." He appealed to all the people including the Muslim Brotherhood members to cast a vote. He expected that many people would cast a ballot. He emphasized saying, "The Muslim Brotherhood should first change the policy and stop violence." He further stated, "The efforts of Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, Vice Prime Minister and Defense Minister, saved Egypt from a civil war. Many people understand that the event was not a coup d'etat but a revolution. If he runs for the office, I will vote for him."

The Muslim Brotherhood intends to bring the voting rate down by planning to prevent the ballot and creating the perception of deteriorating security around the polls.

③アズハル大学:アル=アズハル・モスク(971年建立)に付属する宗教教育専門機関として988年に設立された。アズハルは「最も栄えある」の意味。当時プラトン、アリストテレスなどギリシア哲学の研究が行われた。イスラム法の権威であることからイスラム教スンニ派の総本山と言われる。

③Al-Azhar University: It was founded in 988 as a religious education institution affiliated with Al-Azhar Mosque (built in 971). Azhar means "most glorious." It used to focus on the study on Greek philosophy including Plato and Aristotle. Because it is the authority of Islamic Law, it is said to be the headquarters of Sunni Islam.