



The world cheered the Egyptian Revolution and now wonders, What's next? Will Egypt invent the first twenty-first century new form of democracy, taking into account the role of cyberspace, international interdependency, and a rapidly changing world? Will it become a centrally controlled political system with a decentralized local economic system? Or will it create a participatory democracy using the power of the Internet to constantly identify new approaches through a national collective intelligence system to address the persistent problems of poverty, water, education, and public health?

The Cairo Node of The Millennium Project created a Real-Time Delphi on the future of Egypt. The results will be used by the Egypt Arab Futures Research Association and its Collaborative Partners to create future scenarios of Egypt and produce a *State of the Future of Egypt* report. The study is ongoing at the time of this writing; hence, this chapter is a work in process.

The study was designed to collect judgments about developments that might shape the future of Egypt, exploring new directions for the country after the revolution. These developments or seeds of the future were identified by an initial group of Egyptian futurists, historians, sociologists, and professionals from a variety of fields. The initial group submitted suggestions about emerging trends, technologies, and priorities to improve the future for all Egyptians, along with revolutionary genres and formats.



The Cairo Node invited selected Egyptians and those who have worked in Egypt to rate 34 developments as to how strongly the public supports the development; the level of government support for the development; how likely it is the development will be achieved by 2020; and how to ensure the continued expansion of the new Egyptian spirit and an Egyptian

renaissance of thinking for a more positive future. Participants were also invited to explain their answers without attribution. The methodological background is fully explained in the CD section Egypt 2020. Table 5 lists the 34 developments in the order of how likely it is the development will be achieved by 2020.







What will ensure the continued expansion of the new Egyptian spirit and an Egyptian renaissance of thinking for a more positive future? A distillation of views

The continued and persistent uprising of young people (both nationally and internationally)... making real gains politically, socially, economically, and spiritually... People will insist on not missing the chance to create a bright future... hand in hand charting the future now and only now.

People are no longer afraid to protest; they know how to defend their rights. They know how to demonstrate peacefully in "Friday's Million Marches" and how to confront security forces of despotic regimes.

Participation of the public and private sectors in adopting the values of the Egyptian Revolution, to support social solidarity and help the needy... Change the tactics of the revolutionary movement and discourse, to identify and present the key

issues for the future of Egypt to the people in all the governorates and villages across the country... Establish one or two parties for the civic state.

Procedures for participation on all levels have to be established. A fair and balanced division and sharing of power and the control of power has to be institutionalized. The old power structures have to be eliminated or at least weakened. Fast and sustainable successes in socioeconomic development are necessary.

Tough and drastic measures should be taken within the framework of the law to fend off the sectarian clashes and cool down religious tensions...Amending much of the legislation to protect the public funds against the malpractice and misconduct of officials.



CHAPTER THREE

Table 5. Developments that might shape the future of Egypt, listed by their average likelihood to be achieved by 2020

Rank	Item	Popular Support	Gov. Support	Likelihood
1	High-speed Internet access for at least 75% of population	9.60	83.89	92.22
2	Freedom for all to establish political parties	9.10	83.56	90.10
3	Functional illiteracy rate reduced by 50%	8.67	95.75	88.50
4	Sufficient safe drinking water for all	8.20	98.75	86.89
5	Freedom: discussions of issues of tolerance and values exist in all media (TV, radio, press, Internet)	9.07	80.85	85.33
6	Sufficient food for all, with adequate reserves	7.75	96.71	84.86
7	Standard of living for all citizens increases 50%	7.44	92.25	84.71
8	Over 50% reduction in suicide rate among young people	8.50	82.00	84.44
9	Public option poll finds over 50% of the public believes a renaissance has begun in Egypt	9.30	82.88	84.25
10	Rich-poor gap reduced by 50%	8.22	95.00	83.88
11	Equal pay for equal jobs between men and women	8.78	76.50	83.75
12	Establishment of win-win relation between Egypt and Nile-Basin countries	8.90	100.00	83.56
13	Free and transparent voting in election campaigns	8.78	96.50	83.10
14	Very active tele-Egypt connecting Egyptians overseas to development process back home	8.10	90.67	82.22
15	Acknowledgment by most of a new sense of citizenry and national loyalty, particularly among young people	9.20	88.67	82.10
16	Freedom House (an organization that rates countries' freedom) has changed Egypt's status from "not free" to "free"	9.60	92.22	81.27
17	Basic health services accessible to all	7.30	93.75	81.00
18	Political violence essentially ended	7.56	88.63	80.11
19	No sectarian and minority violent incidents reported for over six months	7.10	99.25	79.75
20	Public option poll finds over 50% of the public are happy with the new political and social regimes	9.15	86.71	79.65
21	Corruption reduced by 50%	7.20	94.22	78.50
22	Sanitary sewage access for all	7.67	90.63	78.13
23	Social class and values conflicts are essentially abolished	7.50	79.67	76.00
24	NGOs certify respect for citizens' basic rights by international standards	8.23	83.30	74.82
25	WHO has certified continued progress in all basic health standards	7.89	93.75	74.75
26	Educational objective to increase students' intelligence (brain functioning)	7.44	95.25	74.38
27	Illegal immigration rate reduced by 50%	7.70	80.38	74.00
28	Resolution of conflicts over modernism vs. fundamentalism	7.10	83.44	72.78
29	Air, water, and land pollution decreased by 30%	8.00	86.00	71.75
30	Renewable energy provides 20% of the electricity generation mix	7.70	91.11	71.63
31	Micro-finance and small business development accessible to all	7.60	75.89	67.67
32	Noticeable reduction in business influence in political and economic life	7.50	86.00	65.60
33	Population growth rate reduced below 1%	8.40	95.44	65.00
34	At least 30% of Parliament and Cabinet are women	7.30	64.78	64.44

What could counter the new Egyptian spirit? A distillation of views

Re-emergence of corruption among political parties dominated by the former politicians of the former regime – Unexplained delays, hesitancy, and/or reluctance in dealing with symbols of the former corrupt regime and/or a postponement of the reforms could counter the new Egyptian spirit. Expedited purging of the ousted autocratic and despotic regime's associates must be implemented as soon as possible.

A state of unrest created by uncontrollable reactions of some people due to ignorance, or thugs leading to unsafe conditions forcing the Supreme Military Council to use violence **against destructive protesters** – The sudden disappearance of the police created chaos all over the country, and remnants of the toppled regime still cause insecurity. Some speak of the urgent need to restore security and stability, while blaming revolutionaries. Prisoners fled, thugs were freed, and extremists became bolder in public. The Supreme Council of the Armed Forces has to restore internal security. Unlawful acts and violence by the deviants will be met by lawful measures and even violence by the SCAF, if law and legality are to reappear.

External turmoil from neighboring countries – Egypt is committed to observing the human rights of Egyptians and its neighbors. Libyans and Tunisians fled to Egypt. Palestinians in Gaza were seeking relaxation of their long-lived siege. Revolutionaries in Syria, Yemen, Bahrain, and other Arab countries are inspired by the Egyptian revolt.

External interference of some countries to achieve certain objectives where Egypt's political disorder is in their favor – Some of the neighboring influential countries are pressing for reconciliation with the ousted president and his associates, despite their slaughtering, profiteering, and corrupt activities. External foreign concepts are addressed in favor of new region democratization, a greater Middle East, creative chaos, and combating terrorism.

Lack of commitment by the government pledges – There were rumors that the government and SCAF might forgive the ousted president and his associates, despite the crimes committed during the last 30 years. To help counter this, a mass march was held at Al-Tahrir Square on May 27, 2011, as the "Second Anger Friday" and the "Second Revolution."

Divisions within and among the revolutionaries – Divisions among the revolutionaries, especially between the youth coalition and the Muslim Brotherhood and other political powers, could create a rift between the people and the ruling military council (SCAF). Calls to violate SCAF's roadmap (which was approved by the majority, including the proposed constitutional amendments, during the March 19 referendum) would counter the spirit that is uniting the masses and the ruling military council.

Resorting to foreign aid with tough preconditions to avoid national bankruptcy

- SCAF warned that the Egyptian economy could collapse, leading to capital flight and the use of its strategic reserves. If this begins, then the government would agree to foreign aid from international institutions or the big powers, which carries tough preconditions, which might constitute an additional burden to the economy rather than salvaging it and might depress the Egyptian spirit.



The Egypt 2020 study is still ongoing as this report is being printed. Those interested in the study should contact Dr. Kamal Zaki Mahmoud Shaeer, Chair of The Millennium Project Node in Cairo and the Egyptian-Arab Futures Research Association, at kzmahmoud@hotmail.com.

