

## **Egypt 1952 - Present: Politics, Culture, and Society**

INAF 400  
School of Foreign Service  
Georgetown University  
Fall 2010

Instructor: Samer S. Shehata

Class Meetings: Tuesday 4:15-6:05

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This course is an introduction to the politics, culture, society, and economy of contemporary Egypt from 1952 to the present. With a population exceeding 80 million, Egypt is the Arab world's most populous country. It has historically been very influential throughout the Arab region, both politically and culturally, although its influence has waned in recent decades. Egypt's Islamic institutions (e.g., Al Azhar and Islamist organizations such as the Muslim Brotherhood) are among the oldest in the "Muslim World," and their significance extends far beyond the country's borders. Egypt has also been an important "strategic ally" of the United States for over three decades and the country receives more than one billion dollars in US military and economic assistance annually.

This course takes up a tumultuous period in Egypt's history; an era of tremendous political, social, and economic transformation. In addition to conveying a basic understanding of Egyptian politics under Gamal Abdel Nasser (1952-1970), Anwar Al-Sadat (1970-1981), and Hosni Mubarak (1981-present), the course will approach Egypt's recent history from an interdisciplinary perspective. Along with political and economic history, we will examine Egyptian literature, film, and music in order to understand Egyptian society more broadly. Students will be introduced to some of the major questions, debates, and recurring themes in the study of contemporary Egyptian politics and society.

Some of the topics covered include: the character of Egyptian politics and political participation; socio-economic transformations in Egyptian society from 1952 to the present; Egyptian social and class structure; the relationship between culture and politics in Egypt; Egyptian popular culture; the rise of political Islam (including extremist groups) and Islamist politics (e.g., Muslim Brotherhood); recurrent economic crises, economic reform (e.g. structural adjustment, privatization, and the socio-political consequences of these policies); the current political and economic situation in Egypt, and prospects for the future. We will also touch upon a number of other important subjects indirectly including the US-Egyptian relations and Egypt's role in regional politics. Although this course is about Egypt, many of the issues discussed go far beyond the borders of a single country and are relevant for understanding more general

debates about economic development; “third world” politics; the relationship between culture and politics, politics in the Arab world, authoritarianism, Islamist politics, and other subjects.

This is a particularly significant time in Egypt and an exciting time to be studying Egyptian politics. President Hosni Mubarak is 82 years old and is serving his fifth term in office. He has ruled the country for more than twenty eight years (since President Anwar Al Sadat’s assassination on October 6, 1981) without ever appointing a vice-president. In September 2005, Mubarak won the country’s first ever multi-candidate presidential election. Recently he has been rumored to be in declining health after undergoing surgery in Germany in March 2010 and many in Egypt and beyond speculate that the president’s younger son, Gamal Mubarak, is being positioned for the presidency.

Egypt has also experienced a period of heightened political activity and economic and labor protest over the last few years. Potentially important parliamentary elections will take place in the fall of 2010 (during the semester) and presidential elections are scheduled for 2011. In short, it is an exciting time to study Egypt.

Of course, no course can be exhaustive, even a course that focuses on a single country for an entire semester. There are a number of important topics we will not be able to take up directly through class readings and discussion. These include (but are not limited to): rural Egypt and agriculture; Egyptian feminism and gender issues; urban Egypt (Cairo and Alexandria, both as real cities and as imagined places in foreign and Egyptian literature); etc.... All of these topics as well as many others are rich subjects of study, and as such are suitable topics for the final research paper. If these subjects interest you, please see me for a list of recommended readings.

**Films:** We will be viewing a number of movies outside of class throughout the term. Check the syllabus and class meetings for specific dates.

**Online News & Information Resources:** Egypt’s leading independent newspaper is *Al Masry Al Youm (Arabic)*. The newspaper is also available online [<http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/>]. Recently, an online English version of the paper has been released (note that it is not a translation of the Arabic version, although some articles from the Arabic version are translated) [<http://www.almasryalyoum.com/en>].

*On-line English language resources*, which can be consulted throughout the semester, include: *Al-Ahram Weekly*, an excellent, credible source of news and opinions [<http://www.ahram.org.eg/weekly>]. Other English language sources include: *Daily News (Cairo)* [<http://www.thedailynewsegypt.com/>]; and *Egypt Today* (<http://www.egypttoday.com/>). The Economist Intelligence Unit Country Studies are also very useful.

You can also access the web sites of the *Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood* at: [English --- <http://www.ikhwanweb.com/>] [Arabic -- <http://www.ikhwanonline.com/Default.asp>] Muslim Brotherhood Parliamentary Bloc website: <http://www.nowabikhwan.com/>

Several useful *official Egyptian Government sites* include: State Information Services [<http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Default.aspx>]; Egyptian Cabinet [<http://www.cabinet.gov.eg/>]; Cabinet Information Decision Support Center: <http://www.idsc.gov.eg/>

Some *Egyptian blogs* are also useful in providing information and analysis of current events. These include (in English): Arabist [<http://www.arabist.net/>]; Arabawy [<http://www.arabawy.org/>]; and Baheyya [<http://baheyya.blogspot.com/>]. Other blogs of interest (in Arabic) are: Wael Abbas's *Al Wa'y Al Masry* (human rights; police abuse and torture; press freedom) available at: <http://misrdigital.blogspot.com/>; Abdel Monem Mahmoud's "Ana Ikhwan" (Muslim brotherhood; youth; politics) available at: <http://ana-ikhwan.blogspot.com/>

I also suggest the English-language websites of human rights groups working in Egypt: Egyptian Organization for Human Rights [<http://en.eohr.org/>]; Cairo Institute for Human Rights; [<http://www.cihrs.org/english/default.aspx>]; Arab Network for Human Rights Information [<http://www.anhri.net/en/>]. Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch also follow human rights issues in Egypt.

**Background Reading:** Students who want to read background material on Egyptian political history before the course might consult Afaf Lutfi al-Sayyid-Marsot's *A Short History of Modern Egypt* (New York: Cambridge University Press) 1985 or; P.J. Vatikiotis, *The History of Modern Egypt : from Muhammad Ali to Mubarak* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press) 1991; or Maye Kassem, *Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 2004.

**"Recommended" & "Further" Readings:** In addition to the assigned readings, at times I have also included several "recommended" or "further" readings on the syllabus for each topic. Neither are "required readings." I believe the items marked "recommended readings" (there are only a few of them) will significantly increase your understanding of the given topic and I encourage you to read them. "Further readings" are included for those who have a particular interest in a topic or who plan to write their final papers on a topic.

**Requirements:** This course is a seminar whose success depends in part on the *active participation* of everyone. Each week I will present general background information and an overview of the topic but much of the class will be devoted to focused discussion and analysis of readings.

- 1) Therefore, students are required to read and be prepared to discuss the readings *before* they come to class.
- 2) Everyone will be required to lead discussion at least once during the semester. Please note that leading discussion DOES NOT MEAN presenting a lecture. I will discuss exactly what is entailed in successfully leading a class discussion in class.
- 3) You will also be required to write one page reaction papers to the readings *each week* – distributed to seminar participants via Blackboard (by Monday evening, 8:00 pm) before class).

You are also required to read your classmates reactions to the reading before coming to class. These papers provide an opportunity for you to present your critical reactions to the readings. They are not summaries or book reviews.

4) Watch several movies related to the course. Several movies will be viewed together outside of class while other movies will be available in the library.

5) Follow news developments in Egypt using the internet sources listed above in addition to US sources such as the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*. I urge you to take advantage of the English-language Egyptian press (as well as the Arabic press for those of you who read Arabic) in addition to other regional and international sources of information (e.g., Haaretz, BBC, Al Jazeera, etc.).

6) Write a final paper of between 20 and 25 pages on a subject of your choice in consultation with the instructor. Please start thinking about the subject of your paper early in the semester. I suggest finalizing a topic by early November. You are required to speak with me about the topic of your paper during the semester.

**Grading:**        20% weekly reaction papers  
                      30% in-class participation  
                      50% final essay

#### **Books Available for Purchase:**

\*Alaa Al Aswany, *The Yacoubian Building* (2004).

\*Samer Shehata, *Shop Floor Culture and Politics in Egypt* (Albany: SUNY Press) 2009.

\*Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) 1996.

**\*Readings marked "BB" will be available on Blackboard. Some readings will be available online and others will be available through JSTOR (through university computer terminals).**

## **Egypt 1952 - Present: Politics, Culture, and Society**

### **Introduction: September 7**

Syllabus, requirements, schedule, in-class and out-of class assignments, and Introduction to the course.

### **Topic 1: September 14      The July 1952 "Revolution"**

\*Joel Gordon, *Nasser's Blessed Movement: Egypt's Free Officers and the July Revolution* (New York: Columbia University Press) 1997. (SELECTIONS) **BB**

\*Possible additional short reading *TBD*

**\*FILM SCREENING:** *Nasser 56* (film - AFD) (Time & location TBD)

Recommended Reading for Film:

\*Joel Gordon, 'Nasser 56/Cairo 96: Reimagining Egypt's Lost Community,' in *Mass Mediations: Approaching Popular Culture in the Middle East*, ed. W. Armbrust (Berkeley: UC Press) 1999.

## **Topic 2: September 21 Nasser's Egypt: 1952/54-1970**

\*Gamal Abdul Nasser, *Egypt's Liberation: The Philosophy of the Revolution*, (Washington DC: Public Affairs Press) 1955. **BB**

\*Kirk J. Beattie, *Egypt During the Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics and Civil Society* (Boulder: Westview) 1994, Ch. 5 – "Nasser's Pursuit of National and Social Revolutions: 1954-1960" (pp. 111-153) **BB**

Recommended Reading:

\*<http://nasser.bibalex.org/main.aspx> (Highly Recommended -- *Peruse*)

Project of the Bibliotheca Alexandrina in cooperation with the Nasser Foundation (in Arabic). This site includes hundreds of speeches, photographs, and historical documents related to Gamal Abdel Nasser and is, in my opinion, the best internet sources on this topic.

Further Reading:

\*Malcolm Kerr, "The Emergence of a Socialist Ideology in Egypt," *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 16, No. 2 (November 1962).

\*Malcolm Kerr, *The Arab Cold War: Gamal Abdel Nasser and His Rivals 1958-1970* (Oxford University Press, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition) 1971.

\*Anouar Abdel-Malek, "Nasserism and Socialism" (from the *Socialist Register*)  
[http://socialistregister.com/socialistregister.com/files/SR\\_1964\\_Abdel-Malek.pdf](http://socialistregister.com/socialistregister.com/files/SR_1964_Abdel-Malek.pdf)

\*Anour Abdel-Malek, *Egypt Military Society: the Army Regime, the Left, and Social Change under Nasser* (New York: Vintage) 1968.

\*Kirk J. Beattie, *Egypt During the Nasser Years: Ideology, Politics and Civil Society* (Boulder: Westview) 1994. –ch. 2 'The Major Competitors for Hegemony' (about politics and cleavages in the immediate pre-revolutionary period) (pp. 17-35); ch. 5 – 'Nasser's Pursuit of National and Social Revolutions: 1954-1960' (pp. 111-153).

\*M. Abdel-Fadil, *The Political Economy of Nasserism* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press) 1980.

\*Latifa Al Zayat, *The Open Door* [translated by Marilyn Booth] (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2002. [Novel, originally published in 1960]

\*Sonallah Ibrahim, *The Smell of It* [translated by D. J. Davies] (Heinemann) 1971 [Novel originally published in 1966]

### **Topic 3: September 28      Sadat's Egypt: 1970-1981**

\*Raymond William Baker, *Egypt's Uncertain Revolution Under Nasser and Sadat*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press) 1978 – chapter 6 'Sadat's Egypt Takes Form,' pp. 132-169. **BB**

\*Raymond A. Hinnebusch Jr., *Egyptian Politics under Sadat: The post-populist development of an authoritarian-modernizing state* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1985, chapters 3, 8 and 9. (ch. 3- 'The Making of Sadat's Egypt,' pp. 40-77; ch. 8 'The Regime and the Mass Public,' pp. 223-256; ch. 9 'Public Policy and the Political Economy of Development,' pp. 257-288.) **BB**

\*John Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: the political economy of two regimes* (Princeton: PUP), 1983 (Read ch. 7, 'The Open Door to the Triple Alliance,' pp. 123-157). **BB**

#### Further Reading:

\*Kirk Beattie, *Egypt During the Sadat Years* (Palgrave), paperback July 2001.

\*Sonallah Ibrahim, *Zaat* (Cairo: AUC press), 344 pages, translated by Anthony Calderbank.

\*Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat* (Princeton: PUP) 1983, chapter 10 'Equity and Inequity Without Pain,' pp. 207-23; chapter 11 'State and Class,' pp. 232-262.

\*Nawal El Saadawi, *Memoirs from the Women's Prison* (translated by Marilyn Booth) (Berkeley: UC Press) 1986.

**Recommended Film:** *Days of Sadat* (2001)

### **Topic 4: October 5      Egyptian Popular Culture & Politics**

\*Walter Armbrust, *Mass Culture and Modernism in Egypt* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) 1996 (SELECTIONS). **BB**

\*Samia Mehrez, *Egypt's Culture Wars: Politics and Practice* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2010 (SELECTIONS: Introduction (pp. 1-14); Prologue – "Take Them Out of the Ball Game: Egypt's Cultural Players in Crisis," (pp. 14-22). **BB**

\*James R. Grippo, "The Fool Sings a Hero's Song: Shaaban Abdel Rahim, Egyptian Shaabi, and the Video Clip Phenomenon," in *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, 16, 2006. [Available at: <http://www.tbsjournal.com/Grippo.html>]

\*Watch Selected Egyptian Video Clips

#### Further Reading on Egyptian Film & Television:

\* Joel Gordon, *Revolutionary Melodrama: Popular Film and Civic Identity in Nasser's Egypt* (University of Chicago: 2002).

\*W. Armbrust ed., *Mass Mediations: New Approaches to Popular Culture in the Middle East and Beyond* (Berkeley: UC Press) 2000 (esp. Introduction, chs. 7, 11, 12, and 13).

- \*Ibrahim Fawal, *Youssef Chahine* (London: BFI Publishing) 2001.
- \*Linda Herrera's review of Armbrust in *IJMES*, vol. 33, August 2001.
- \*Lila Abu Lughod. 1993b. "Finding a Place for Islam: Egyptian Television Serials and the National Interest." *Public Culture* 5: 493–513.
- \*Lila Abu Lughod. 1995a. "Movie Stars and Islamic Moralism in Egypt." *Social Text* 42: 53–67.
- \*Lila Abu Lughod. 1995b. "The Objects of Soap Opera: Egyptian Television and the Cultural Politics of Modernity." In *Worlds Apart: Modernity through the Prism of the Local*, ed. Daniel Miller, 190–210. London: Routledge.
- \*Lila Abu Lughod, *MERIP* article on Egyptian Soap Operas.
- \*Walter Armbrust, "Transgressing Patriarchy, Sex and Marriage in Egyptian Film" *MERIP* 206 (28,1) Spring 98:29-31.
- \*Joel Gordon, 'Film, Fame, and Public Memory: Egyptian Biopics from Mustafa Kamil to Nasser 56,' in *IJMES*, vol. 31, no. 1, February 1999.
- \*Garay Menicucci, "Homosexuality in Egyptian Film," *MERIP*, Spring 1998. Also available on-line: <http://merip.org/mer/mer206/egyfilm.htm>
- \*Mustafa Darwish, *Dream Makers on the Nile: A Portrait of Egyptian Cinema* (Cairo: The American University in Cairo Press, 1998).
- \*Viola Shafik, *Arab Cinema: History and Cultural Identity* (Cairo: AUC Press) 1998.
- \**MERIP*, July-August 1989, no. 159, issue on popular culture
- \*Nicolas Puig, "Egypt's Pop-Music Clashes and the "World-Crossing' Destinies of Muhammad Ali Street Musicians," in Diane Singerman and Paul Ammar, eds. *Cairo Cosmopolitan: Politics, Culture, and Urban Space* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2006.

#### Further Reading on Egypt's "Culture Wars":

- \*Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, 'Silencing is at the heart of my case,' Interview with Nasr Hamid Abu Zayd, interview in *MERIP*, Nov-Dec, no. 185, vol. 23, no. 6 1993, pp. 27-29.
- \*Max Rodenbeck, 'Witch hunt in Egypt,' *New York Review of Books*, November 16, 2000. [Available at: <http://www.nybooks.com/articles/13904>]
- \*Book Banning at AUC: Didier and the Maxime Rodinson Controversy (Joseph Logan's article in *Lingua Franca*).

#### Further Reading on Shaaban Abdel Rahim:

- \*Joel Gordon, 'Singing the Pulse of the Egyptian-Arab Street: Shabaan Abd al-Rahim and the Geo-pop-politics of Fast Food,' *Popular Music* 22/1 (2003), 73-88. **BB**
- \**Washington Post* article by Anthony Shadid on Shaaban Abdel Rahim [<http://www.washingtonpost.com/ac2/wp-dyn?pagename=article&node=&contentId=A7563-2003Mar10&notFound=true>]
- \**Washington Post* (Style Section) Article ['I Love You, Now Go Away,' Sharon Waxman, *Washington Post*, 12/17/01]
- \*Interview with Shaaabn Abdel Rahim (**BB**)
- \*Tarek Atia, 'Shaaban!' *Al Ahram Weekly* (18-24 January, 2001). <http://weekly.ahram.org.eg/2001/517/ti.htm>

#### Further Readings on Amr Khaled:

\*Official Website [<http://amrkhaled.net/acategories/categories79.html>]

\*Yasmin Moll, "Islamic Televangelism: Religion, Media and Visuality in Contemporary Egypt," Arab, Media and Society, Issue 10, Spring 2010. Available at:

<http://www.arabmediasociety.com/?article=732>

\*Samantha M. Shapiro, "Ministering to the Upwardly Mobile Muslim," *New York Times Magazine*, April 30, 2006 [Available at:

<http://www.nytimes.com/2006/04/30/magazine/30televangelist.html>]

**\*FILM SCREENING: *Umm Kulthum: A Voice Like Egypt* - (Time & location TBD)**

Recommended Reading for Film:

\*Virginia Danielson, *The Voice of Egypt: Umm Kulthum, Arabic Song, and Egyptian Society in the Twentieth Century* (Chicago Studies in Ethnomusicology) (Chicago: University of Chicago Press) 1997.

### **Topic 5: October 12      Egypt's Workers: Social Class, Culture, and Politics**

\*Samer Shehata, *Shop Floor Culture and Politics in Egypt* (Albany: SUNY Press), 2009.

\*Joel Beinin, *The Struggle for Workers Rights in Egypt: A Report by the Solidarity Center*, 2010 (Washington DC) (SELECTIONS) [available: [www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs\\_egypt\\_wr.pdf](http://www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs_egypt_wr.pdf)]

### **Topic 6: October 19      Everyday Politics or Politics from Below**

\*Diane Singerman, *Avenues of Participation: Family, Politics and Networks in Urban Quarters of Cairo* (Princeton: PU Press) 1996. (SELECTIONS)

\*Michael Slackman, "Egyptians Lament Lack of Government," *New York Times*, March 1, 2007. Available at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/28/world/africa/28iht-cairo.4756016.html?\\_r=1&pagewanted=all](http://www.nytimes.com/2007/02/28/world/africa/28iht-cairo.4756016.html?_r=1&pagewanted=all)

Further Reading:

\*Diane Singerman and Barbara Ibrahim, 'The Cost of Marriage in Egypt: A Hidden Variable in the new Arab Demography,' in *The New Arab Family* (ed.) Nicholas Hopkins (Cairo papers in Social Science), vol. 24, no.1/2, spring/summer 2001.

**FILM SCREENING: *Terrorism and Kebab* - (Time & Location TBD)**

Recommended Reading for Film:

\*Joel Beinin's review, 'Aspects of Egyptian Civil Resistance,' *MERIP*, Nov-Dec 1992, no. 179, vol. 22, no. 6, pp. 38-39.



## **Topic 7: October 26 Militant Islamist Movements**

\*Gilles Kepel, *Muslim Extremism in Egypt: the Prophet and the Pharaoh* (Berkeley: UC Press) 1993 (with Preface). [SELECTIONS] **BB**

\*Saad Eddin Ibrahim, 'Anatomy of Egypt's Islamic Groups,' *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, vol. 12, 1980. **JSTOR**

\*Mamoun Fandy, 'Egypt's Islamic Group: Regional Revenge?' *Middle East Journal* 48/4, Autumn 1994. **JSTOR**

\*John Calvert, *Sayyid Qutb and the Origins of Radical Islam* (New York: Columbia University Press), 2010 [SELECTIONS] **BB**

\*Sayyid Qutb, *Milestones* (Selections, Chapters 3-4) [Available at: <http://majalla.org/>]

\*Handout with Data on recent terrorist attacks in Egypt (2004-2010). **BB**

**Recommended Film:** *The Closed Door* (film by Atef Hetata, 1999 - AFD).

**Recommended Film:** *The Terrorist* (starring Adel Imam, 1994)

### Further Readings:

\*Fawaz Gerges, "The End of the Islamist Insurgency in Egypt. Costs and Prospects," in: *Middle East Journal*, Vol. 54, No. 4, 2000, pp. 592-612.

\*Salwa Ismail, "The Popular Movement Dimensions of Contemporary Militant Islamism: Socio-Spatial Determinants in the Cairo Urban Setting," in: *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 42, No. 2, 2000, pp. 363-393.

## **Topic 8: November 2: The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood**

\*Mona El-Ghobashy, "The Metamorphosis of the Egyptian Muslim Brothers," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 37 (2005), 373-395. **JSTOR**

\*Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "The Brotherhood Goes to Parliament," *MERIP*, 240, Fall 2006. Available at: [http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata\\_stacher.html](http://www.merip.org/mer/mer240/shehata_stacher.html)

\*Nathan Brown and Amr Hamzawy, *The Draft Party Platform of the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Foray into Political Integration or Retreat Into Old Positions*, Carnegie Papers, January 2008 [Available Online: [www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs\\_egypt\\_wr.pdf](http://www.solidaritycenter.org/files/pubs_egypt_wr.pdf)]

\*Amr Hamzawy and Nathan J. Brown, *The Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood: Islamist Participation in a Closing Political Environment*, Carnegie Papers, March 2010. Available at: [http://carnegieendowment.org/files/muslim\\_bros\\_participation.pdf](http://carnegieendowment.org/files/muslim_bros_participation.pdf)

\*Jason Brownlee, "The Muslim Brothers: Egypt's Most Influential Pressure Group," *History Compass*, 8/5, 2010, pp. 419-430. [Available online: <http://www3.interscience.wiley.com/cgi-bin/fulltext/123417047/PDFSTART>]

Further Reading: Muslim Brotherhood & Islamist Politics in Egypt

\*Richard Mitchell, *The Society of the Muslim Brothers* (NY: Oxford University Press) 1969/1993.

\*Carrie Rosefsky Wickham, *Mobilizing Islam: Religion, Activism and Political Change in Egypt* (Columbia University Press 2002) Selections.

\*Samer Shehata and Joshua Stacher, "Boxing in the Brothers," *MERIP ONLINE*, August 8, 2007, [Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero080807.html>]

\*Bruce Rutherford, "What do Egypt's Islamists Want? Moderate Islam and the Rise of Islamic Constitutionalism," *Middle East Journal*, vol. 60, no. 4, Autumn 2006.

\*Ahmed Abdalla, 'Egypt's Islamists and the State,' in *MERIP*, July-August 1993, pp. 28-31.

\*Alexander Flores, 'Secularism, Integralism and Political Islam: the Egyptian Debate,' in *MERIP*, July-August 1993, pp.32-38.

\*Sami Zubaida, 'Islam, the State and Democracy: Contrasting Conceptions of Society in Egypt,' *MERIP*, Nov-Dec 1992, no. 179, vol.22, no. 6., pp. 2-10.

**Recommended Films:**

\**Destiny* (film by Youssef Chahine - AFD) 1997.

\**On Boys, Girls and the Veil* (film by Yousry Nasrallah - AFD)

**Topic 9: November 9 Mubarak's Egypt**

\*Maye Kassem, *Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule* (2004). (Selections) **BB**

\*Diane Singerman, "The Politics of Emergency Rule in Egypt", *Current History*, No. 651, January, 2002, pp. 29-35. **BB**

\*Jason Brownlee, "The Decline of Pluralism in Mubarak's Egypt," *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 4, 2002, pp. 6-14. **JSTOR**

[[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal\\_of\\_democracy/v013/13.4brownlee.html](http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.4brownlee.html)]

\*Holger Albrecht, "How Can Opposition Support Authoritarianism? Lessons from Egypt," *Democratization*, vol. 12, No. 3, June 2005, pp. 378-397. **BB [SKIM]**

Gamze Cavdar, "The Paradox of the Egyptian Political Reform," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4 (Summer 2007) **BB**

\*Louay Abdulbaki, "Democracy and the re-consolidation of authoritarian rule in Egypt," *Contemporary Arab Affairs*, vol. 1, no. 3, July 2008, 445-463. **BB**

Further Readings:

- \*Sonallah Ibrahim, *Zaat* [Novel] (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press), 2004 (first published in 1992).
- \*Galal Amin, *Whatever Happened to the Egyptians? Changes in Egyptian Society from 1950 to the Present*(Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2001.
- \*Samer Shehata, "Authoritarian Mechanics," *Al Ahrām Weekly* (2006) (available online).
- \*Hala Mustafa and Augustus Richard Norton, "Stalled Reform: The Case of Egypt," *Current History*, January 2007. **BB**
- \*Robert Springborg, *Mubarak's Egypt: Fragmentation of the Political Order* (Boulder: Westview Press) 1989.
- \*Robert Bianchi, *Unruly Corporatism: Associational Life in Twentieth-Century Egypt* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press) 1989 (chapters 1-3, pp. 3-89).
- \*Eberhard Keinle, 'More than a Response to Islamism: The Political Deliberalization of Egypt in the 1990s,' *The Middle East Journal*, 52:2, Spring, 1998. **JSTOR**
- \*Vickie Langohr, "Too Much Civil Society, Too Little Politics? Egypt and Other Liberalizing Regimes," *Authoritarianism in the Middle East: Regimes and Resistance* (Lynne Reiner: Boulder) 2005, (eds) Marsha Pripstein Posusney and Michele Penner Angrist.
- \*Ahmed Abdalla, 'Egypt before and after September 11, 2001: Problems of a Political Transformation in a complicated international setting,' Deutches-Orient Institut (Nr. 9 Marz, 2003)  
<http://www.duei.de/doi/en/content/onlinepublications/focus9.pdf>
- \*Samer Shehata, 'Egypt After 9/11: Perceptions of the United States,' SSRC.  
<http://conconflicts.ssrc.org/mideast/shehata/>
- \*'Clashing With Cairo' (Online NewsHour: 8/16/02)  
[http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/july-dec02/egypt\\_8-16.html](http://www.pbs.org/newshour/bb/africa/july-dec02/egypt_8-16.html)
- \*Bill Moyers' TV documentary on the reaction in Egypt to the Iraq War. "The View from Cairo," April 25, 2003. <http://www.pbs.org/now/politics/viewfromcairo.html>

## **Topic 10: November 16 Neoliberal Economic Reforms, New Social Movements, & Popular Protest**

- \**Doing Business in Egypt 2008* (World Bank) 2007, [Available at:  
[http://www.doingbusiness.org/documents/subnational/DB08\\_Subnational\\_Report\\_Egypt.pdf](http://www.doingbusiness.org/documents/subnational/DB08_Subnational_Report_Egypt.pdf)]  
 [SKIM]
- \*Egypt: Reforms Trigger Economic Growth, IMF Survey Magazine, February 13, 2008. [2 pages]  
 Available at: <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2008/car021308a.htm>
- \*Sufyan Alissa, *The Political Economy of Reform in Egypt: Understanding the Role of Institutions*, Carnegie papers, October 2007. Available at:  
[http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cmec5\\_alissa\\_egypt\\_final.pdf](http://www.carnegieendowment.org/files/cmec5_alissa_egypt_final.pdf)
- \*Joel Beinin and Hossam el-Hamalawy, "Egyptian Textile Workers Confront the New Economic Order," *MERIP Online*, March 25, 2007.

Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero032507.html>

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\*Samer Shehata, "Afterward" in *Shop Floor Culture and Politics in Egypt* (American University in Cairo Press Edition) 2010. **BB**

#### Further Readings:

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\*John Sfakianakis, "The whales of the Nile: Networks, businessmen and bureaucrats during the era of privatization in Egypt," in Steven Heydemann, ed., *Networks of Privilege in the Middle East: The Politics of Economic Reform Revisited* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), pp. 77-99.

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\*Joel Beinin and Hossam el-Hamalawy, "Strikes in Egypt Spread from Center of Gravity," *MERIP Online*, May 9, 2007 [<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero050907.html>]

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\*Nicholas S. Hopkins, ed., *Political and Social Protest in Egypt*, Cairo Papers in Social Science, volume 29, no. 2, 2009.

\*Eberhard Keindle, *A Grand Delusion: Democracy and Economic Reform in Egypt* (London: IB Tauris) 2000.

\*Karima Korayem, *Structural Adjustment, Stabilization Policies, and the Poor in Egypt* (Cairo Papers in Social Science) vol. 18, no. 4 Winter 1995/1996.

\*Tim Mitchell, 'Dreamland: The Neoliberalism of Your Desires,' *MERIP*, Spring 1999. Available online at: [http://merip.org/mer/mer210/210\\_mitchell.html](http://merip.org/mer/mer210/210_mitchell.html)

\*Robert Springborg, 'Political Structural Adjustment in Egypt: A Precondition for Rapid Economic Growth,' *European University Institute Working Papers*

\**Economist* (the special issue on Egypt which was banned)

\*Dennis J. Sullivan, 'Extra-State Actors and Privatization in Egypt,' (pp. 24-45) and Khaled Fouad Sherif and Regina M. Sooc, 'Egypt's Liberalization Experience and its Impact on State Owned Enterprises,' (pp. 46-80), both in *Privatization and Liberalization in the Middle East*, eds. Iliya Harik and Denis Sullivan, (Bloomington: Indian Univ. Press), 1992.

\*Tim Mitchell, 'America's Egypt: Discourse of the Development Industry,' *MERIP* (March-April 1991). **JSTOR**

\*S. Eddin Ibrahim, 'Governance and Structural Adjustment,' in his *Egypt, Islam and Democracy* (Cairo: AUC Press), 1996, pp. 135-181.

## **Topic 11: November 23 Egyptian Elections, Past and Present**

\*We will be following Egyptian and international press coverage of Egypt's 2010 parliamentary elections

**In Class -- FILM SCREENING:** *Days of Democracy* (film by Ateyyat El-Abnoudy, 1996 - AFD)

\*Maye Kassem, *Egyptian Politics: The Dynamics of Authoritarian Rule* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner) 2004. (Selections) chapter 3 "Political Parties and Participation" pp. 49-86. **BB**

\*Vickie Langohr, "Cracks in Egypt's Electoral Engineering: The 2000 Vote," *MERIP Online* [Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero110700.html>]

\*Mona El-Ghobashy, "Egypt's Paradoxical Elections," *Middle East Report*, 238, spring 2006. [Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mer/mer238/elghobashy.html>]

\*Joshua Stacher, "Damanhour by Hook or By Crook," *Middle East Report*, 238, Spring 2006. **BB**

\*Samer Shehata, "Inside an Egyptian Parliamentary Campaign," in Ellen Lust Okar and Saloua Zerhouni, eds., *Political Participation in the Middle East* (Boulder: Lynne Reinner) 2008. **BB**

\*Kevin Koehler, "Authoritarian Elections in Egypt: Formal Institutions and Informal Mechanisms of Rule," *Democratization*, vol. 15, no. 5, December 2008, pp. 974-990. [Available online]

### Further Readings:

\*"Hendrik Kraetzschmar and Francesco Cavatorta, "Bullets over Ballots: Islamist groups, the state and electoral violence in Egypt and Morocco," *Democratization* vol. 17, no. 2, April 2010, pp. 326-349 [available online]

\*Ahmed Abdalla, *Parliamentary Elections in Egypt: What Elections, What Parliament and which Egypt?* (Amsterdam: University of Amsterdam, Research Center for International Political Economy and Foreign Policy Analysis), 1995.

\*Lisa Blaydes and Safinaz El-Tarouty, "Women's Electoral Participation in Egypt: The Implications of Gender for Voter Recruitment and Mobilization," *Middle East Journal*, 63, 3 (July 2009)

\*Samer Shehata, "Winners and Losers in Egypt's Parliamentary Elections," *Daily Star*, December, 2005 (available online).

## **Topic 12: November 30 Literary & Cinematic Reflections on the Current State of Egyptian society**

\*Alaa Al Aswany, *The Yacoubian Building* (Harper Perennial) 2006.

**FILM SCREENING:** *The Yacoubian Building* (Time and Place TBD)

**Recommended Film:** *Hayna Maysara* (Until Things Get better) (2008, directed by Khaled Youssef)

**Recommended Film:** *Chaos (Heya Fuwda)* 2008, directed by Youssef Chahine.

## **Topic 13: December 7 Egypt's Future**

\*Samer Shehata, *Reform and Security in Egypt*, USIP Report, 2008. **BB**

\*Samer Shehata, "Political Succession in Egypt," *Middle East Policy*, volume IV, Number 3, September 2002. **BB**

\*Samer Shehata, "After Mubarak, Mubarak?" *Current History*, volume 107, Issue 418, December 2008, pp. 418-424. [**Available through university computers**]

\*Jason Brownlee, "A New Generation of Autocracy in Egypt?" *Brown Journal of World Affairs*, Fall/Winter 2007.

\*Joshua Stacher, "Egypt: The Anatomy of Succession," *Review of African Political Economy* vol. 35, no. 2, 2008, pp. 301-314. **Available Online**

\*Max Rodenbeck, "The Long Wait," Special Report on Egypt, *Economist*, July 15, 2010.

\*Mohammed Zahid, "The Egyptian Nexus: the rise of Gamal Mubarak, the politics of succession and the challenges of the Muslim Brotherhood," *The Journal of North African Studies*, vol. 15, no. 2, June 2020, pp. 217-230 [**Available online**]

\**TBD* – Short Reading on Mohamed El Baradei and the National Movement for Change & Translation of the National Movement for Change's 7 Point Petition  
[Available at: <http://www.taghyeer.net/>]

### Further Readings:

\*Foreign Policy's Middle East Channel, "Can Egypt Change?" (contributions by M. Dunne, Lisa Anderson, and Steven Cook) July 23, 2010.

\*Samer Shehata, "Egypt: The Gamal Mubarak Paradox," *Arab Reform Bulletin*, June 2006. (Available online)

\*Anonymous, "The President, the Son, and the Military: Succession in Egypt," *Arab Studies Journal* (2001/2002), pp. 73-88.

\*Dennis Sullivan, 'The Struggle for Egypt's Future,' *Current History* January 2003. **BB**

\*Michelle Dunne, "Time to Pursue Democracy in Egypt," Policy Outlook, Carnegie Endowment, January 2007 (available online).