

Egypt: From Authoritarianism to Revolution

INAF 538
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University
Fall 2011

Instructor: Samer S. Shehata

Class Meetings: Tuesday 12:30-3:00

Location: ICC 214

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Between January 25 and February 11, 2011, millions of Egyptians took to the streets to protest against the regime of Hosni Mubarak. The octogenarian Mubarak had been in power more than 29 years, since October 6, 1981. After eighteen days of sustained nationwide mobilization in the face of violent regime repression, Mubarak was forced from power, with the help of the Egyptian military. “The January 25 Revolution” was heralded as ushering in a new era in Egyptian history, including the possibility of democracy.

This course examines Egyptian politics from 1952 until the present, from authoritarianism to “revolution.” Before we can make sense of recent events in Egypt, however, we must first understand Mubarak’s and his predecessors’ regimes. Thus, we will devote approximately half of the course to exploring politics in Egypt under Gamal Abdel Nasser, (1954-1970), Anwar Al Sadat (1970-1981), and Hosni Mubarak (1981-2011). There were significant changes in political institutions, economic policies, and the social bases of regime support during this period. In addition to exploring the dynamics of Egyptian politics from 1952 until 2011, the course will also explicitly address a series of questions about “the January 25 revolution” and Egypt’s future.

How did the “January 25 revolution” happen, especially considering that no one expected it? Which groups, both new and old, were involved in the uprising? What factors influenced the trajectory of developments between January 25 and February 11, 2011, during the revolution? What were the *underlying* political and economic causes of protest? What role did technology play in the uprising and was the “revolution” inevitable?

Much has happened in Egypt since Mubarak was removed from office and this course will also attempt to understand the recent period and evaluate the extent and type of political change that has occurred. Can we call what happened in Egypt a “revolution”? Was the Mubarak regime toppled or only its president? What role did the military play in these events and what role is the institution likely to play in the future? How have secular and Islamist forces fared in Egypt in recent months are how are they likely to do in the future? We will also examine the major debates that have taken place in the country during this period about the constitution, parliamentary elections, and other questions.

Course Goals: By the end of course students should have a deep familiarity with contemporary Egyptian history and politics, especially the period from 1952 until the present. Students will be also exposed to some of the theoretical literature about authoritarian politics and will have gained particular insight into the bases of authoritarian regime support. Students will also have developed a deep knowledge of recent Egyptian political history, especially the “January 25 revolution” and the current state of politics in the country. Class discussions and presentations are intended to provide students with an opportunity to effectively express their ideas analytically, coherently, and persuasively to colleagues. Other course requirements (i.e., weekly response papers) are intended to allow students to synthesize and independently assess historical and conceptual material, and formulate their own critical opinions through writing. Writing assignments are also geared to improving students’ abilities to write clearly and effectively. The final and major writing assignment for the course involves *independent research* and will provide students with the opportunity to analyze primary and secondary sources.

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

****PLEASE NOTE**:** Because this course takes up current Egyptian politics, you are required to follow developments in Egypt throughout the semester. Below are some resources for doing so. We will likely discuss current happenings on the Egyptian political scene in class each week.

Online News & Information Resources: One of Egypt’s leading independent newspaper is *Al Masry Al Youm (Arabic)*. The newspaper is also available online [<http://www.almasry-alyoum.com/>]. An online English version of the paper is also available (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>].

Other 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>] and *Al Ahram Online* [<http://english.ahram.org.eg>]. 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>] 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 helpful 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/>.

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 these issues in Egypt.

Background Reading: Students who want to familiarize themselves with Egyptian political history 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. A short, entertaining, and interesting account of many of the modern day difficulties of life in Egypt, told through the stories of Cairo's cab drivers, is Khaled Al Khamissi's *Taxi* (Aflame Books), 2008.

“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 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 explain 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 assignments provide an opportunity for you to present your critical *reactions* to the readings. They are not summaries or book reviews and do not need to be beautifully polished.
- 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 traditional media sources. 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., Al Jazeera, Haaretz, BBC, 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 November 1. You are required to speak with me about the topic of your paper during the semester.

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

Books Available for Purchase:

*Galal Amin, *Egypt in the Era of Hosni Mubarak* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2011.

*Alaa Al Aswany, *On the State of Egypt: What Made the Revolution Inevitable* (New York: Vintage), 2011

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

**Middle East Report*, 258 (People Power), volume 41, Spring 2011.

**Middle East Report*, 259 (The Political Economy of Revolt), volume 41, Summer 2011

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

Optional/Recommended:

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

***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).**

Introduction: September 6

Syllabus, requirements, schedule, in-class and out-of class assignments, and Introduction to the course & the state of contemporary Egyptian politics.

****EVENT: The Ambassador of Egypt to the U.S. (H.E. Sameh Shoukry)
Tuesday September 13, 2011 – 9:30 am in the CCAS Boardroom
RSVP to mad35@georgetown.edu**

Topic 1: September 13 -- “The January 25 Revolution”

*Mona El Ghobashy, “The Praxis of the Egyptian Revolution,” *MERIP* 258, Spring 2011.

*Ahmad Shokr, “18 Days of Tahrir,” *MERIP* 258, Spring 2011.

*Tareq Masoud “The Road to (and from) Liberation Square,” *Journal of Democracy*, July 2011, vol. 22, no. 3, pp. 20-34. **BB**

*Joshua Stacher, “Egypt Without Mubarak,” *MERIP ONLINE*, April 7, 2011. Available at: <http://www.merip.org/mero/mero040711>

*Jason Brownlee, “Egypt’s Incomplete Revolution: The Challenge of Post-Mubarak Authoritarianism,” *Jadaliyya*, July 24, 2011. Available at: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2219/roundtable-on-post-mubarak-egypt_authoritarianism-

*See the “Roundtable on Post-Mubarak Egypt” in *Jadaliyya*, available at: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2219/roundtable-on-post-mubarak-egypt_authoritarianism-

*Samer Shehata, “Citizens and State in Post-Mubarak Egypt,” *Jadaliyya*, July 23, 2011. Available at: http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/2211/roundtable-on-post-mubarak-egypt_authoritarianism-

****Event: The Role of Islam in the New Egypt**

Wednesday September 14, 2011 – 12:30 pm, ICC 270

RSVP: <https://www12.georgetown.edu/sfs/rsvp/index.cfm?Action=View&EventID=3458>

Topic 2: September 20 -- The July 1952 “Revolution” & Nasser’s Egypt

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

*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, 3rd edition) 1971.
- *Anouar Abdel-Malek, "Nasserism and Socialism" (from the *Socialist Register*)
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]

***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.

****Event: "The State of the Egyptian Revolution"**

**September 21, 2011, George Washington University Institute for Middle East Studies
Location & Time TBA**

Topic 3: September 27 -- 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 4 -- Mubarak's Egypt (I)

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

- *Jason Brownlee, "The Decline of Pluralism in Mubarak's Egypt," *Journal of Democracy*, 13, 4, 2002, pp. 6-14. Available at:
[http://muse.jhu.edu/journals/journal_of_democracy/v013/13.4brownlee.html]
- *Gamze Cavdar, "The Paradox of the Egyptian Political Reform," *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 30, no. 4 (Summer 2007) **BB**
- *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 Keindle, '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

*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>

****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.

Recommended Film: *Ahlam Hind wa-Kamiliya* (Dreams of Hind and Kamilia; 110 min.)

Topic 5: October 11 -- 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

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.

Topic 6: October 18 -- Mubarak's Egypt (II)

*Galal Amin, *Egypt in the Era of Hosni Mubarak: 1981-2011* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2011.

Recommended:

*Galal Amin, *Whatever Happened to the Egyptians? Changes in Egyptian Society from 1950 – Present* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press), 2001.

*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 7: October 25 -- Egypt's Workers: Class & 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]

SKIM

Recommended:

*Hesham Sallam, "Striking Back at Egyptian Workers," *MERIP*, 259 (The Political Economy of Revolt), summer 2011.

*Francoise Clement, "Worker Protest under Economic Liberalization" in N. Hopkins (ed.) *Political and Social Protest in Egypt* (Cairo papers in Social Science), 2009, pp. 100-116.

Topic 8: November 1 -- 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

*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]

*Eric Trager, "The Unbreakable Muslim Brotherhood: Grim Prospects for a Liberal Egypt," *Foreign Affairs*, September/October 2011. **BB**

***FRONTLINE Film: "The Brothers"**

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/revolution-in-cairo/inside-muslim-brotherhood/>

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>]
- *Sameh Naguib, "The Muslim Brotherhood: Contradictions and Transformations," in Nicholas S. Hopkins (ed.) *Political and Social Protest in Egypt* (Cairo Papers in Social Science), vol. 29, no. 2, 2009, pp. 155-174.
- *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.
- *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
- *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.
- *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.

Recommended Films:

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

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

Topic 9: November 8 -- Neoliberal Reforms, New Social Movements, & Popular Protest

*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>

*Rabab El-Mahdi, "Enough! Egypt's Quest for Democracy," *Comparative Political Studies*, vol. 42, Number 8, pp. 1011-1039, 2009.

Available at: <http://cps.sagepub.com/content/42/8/1011.full.pdf+html>

* Rabab El-Mahdi, "The democracy movement: cycles of Protest," in Rabab El-Mahdi and Philip Marfleet (eds.) *Egypt: Moment of Change* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 2009. **BB**

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

*Walter Armbrust, "A Revolution Against Neoliberalism?" *Al Jazeera*, February 24, 2011.

Available at: <http://english.aljazeera.net/indepth/opinion/2011/02/201122414315249621.html>

Adam Hanieh, "Egypt's Orderly Transition? International Aid and the Rush to Structural Adjustment," *Jadaliyya*, May 29, 2011. Available at:

<http://www.jadaliyya.com/pages/index/1711/egypts-%E2%80%99orderly-transition%E2%80%99-international-aid-and->

*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>

Further Readings:

*Adam Hanieh, "Egypt's Uprising: Not Just a Question of Transition," *MRZINE*, February 2, 2011. Available at: <http://mrzine.monthlyreview.org/2011/hanieh140211.html>

*Mustapha Kamel al-Sayyid, "Kefaya at a Turning Point," in Nicholas S. Hopkins (ed.) *Political and Social Protest in Egypt* (Cairo Papers in Social Science), vol. 29, no. 2, 2009, pp. 45-59.

*Manar Shorbagy, "Understanding Kefaya: The New Politics in Egypt," *Arab Studies Quarterly*, Winter 2007 [Available online]

*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

**Doing Business in Egypt 2008* (World Bank) 2007, [Available at:

http://www.doingbusiness.org/documents/subnational/DB08_Subnational_Report_Egypt.pdf]

*Arab Republic of Egypt: 2010 Article IV Consultation, *IMF Country Report*, April 2010.

<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/scr/2010/cr1094.pdf>

*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.

*Joel Beinin, "Popular Social Movements and the Future of Egyptian Politics," *MERIP Online*, March 10, 2005 [<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero031005.html>]

*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>]

*Joel Beinin, "The Militancy of Mahalla al-Kubra," *MERIP Online*, September 29, 2007 [<http://www.merip.org/mero/mero092907.html>]

- *Nadia Ramsis Farah, *Egypt's Political Economy: Power Relations in Development* (Cairo: American University in Cairo Press) 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
- *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 10: November 15 -- The "January 25 Revolution"

- *Alaa Al Aswany, *On the State of Egypt: What Made the Revolution Inevitable* (Vintage) 2011. *Selections*.
- *Dina Shehata, "The Fall of the Pharaoh," *Foreign Affairs*, May/June 2011, pp. 26-32. **BB**
- *David Wolman, "The Instigators: How a small band of digital activists risked their lives and helped bring down the government of Egypt," *Atavist*, Number 4. **BB**
- *Also see the graphic available at: <http://atavist.net/the-instigators/>
- *See the articles that appeared in Foreign Policy's *Middle East Channel* and on *Jadaliyya* during the revolution.
- ***FRONTLINE Film**: "Inside the April 6 Movement"

Further Reading:

- **NYT Magazine*, "Revolution, Facebook Style," January 22, 2009.
- *Speeches by Hosni Mubarak and President Obama during the revolution.

Topic 11: November 22 -- In Class Film Screening

*TBA

*We will be following Egyptian and international press coverage of Egypt's parliamentary elections scheduled for November 2011.

Topic 12: November 29 -- From January 25 until the Present

*"Inside Egypt's Uprisings: The Cairo Review Interviews," *The Cairo Review of Global Affairs*, Spring 2011, vol. 1, pp. 67-125. (Interviews with Amr Khaled, Esraa Abdel Fattah, Hossam Badrawi, Alaa Al Aswany, Essam El-Erian, Nabil Fahmy, Amr Hamzawy, Aida Seif El-Dawla).

*Washington Institute for Near East Policy, "Phone Survey of Cairo and Alexandria, February 5-8, 2011," Pechter Middle East Polls. Available online.

*Pew Research Center, "Egyptians Embrace Revolt Leaders, Religious Parties, and Military," April 25, 2011. Available at:
<http://pewglobal.org/2011/04/25/egyptians-embrace-revolt-leaders-religious-parties-and-military-as-well/>

*International Republican Institute, "Egyptian Public Opinion Survey, April 14-27," Available at:
<http://www.iri.org/news-events-press-center/news/iri-releases-egypt-poll>

*Abu Dhabi Gallup Center, "From Tahrir to Transition: Egyptians on their assets and challenges and what leaders should do about it," June 2011. Available at:
<http://www.abudhabigallupcenter.com/147896/Egypt-Tahrir-Transition.aspx#1>

*TBA

December 6 – No Class

****Last Meeting: Dinner & Discussion**

Time & Location: TBD

*Jason Brownlee and Joshua Stacher, "Change of Leader, Continuity of System: Nascent Liberalization in Post-Mubarak Egypt," *Comparative Democratization Newsletter*, May 2011.

*Jeffrey Martini and Julie E. Taylor, "Commanding Democracy in Egypt: The Military's attempt to manage the future," *Foreign Affairs*, August 25, 2011.

*Marc Lynch, "After Egypt: The Limits and Promise of Online Challenges to the Authoritarian Arab State," *Perspectives on Politics*, June 2011, vo. 9, no. 2, 2011, pp. 301-310.