

**Charles University in Prague**

Faculty of Social Sciences

International Economic and Political Studies



MASTER THESIS

**MEANS TO AN END: ARAB SPRING**

Author: Stefan L. Tanev

Supervisor: Mgr. Martin Riegl, Ph.D.

Academic Year: 2014/2015

## **DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP**

1. The author hereby declares that he compiled this thesis independently, using only the listed resources and literature.
2. The author hereby declares that all the sources and literature used have been properly cited.
3. The author hereby declares that the thesis has not been used to obtain a different or the same degree.

I assess that my own ideas contribute by approximately 70% to the presented text.

## **ACKNOWLEDGMENTS**

I wish to express my sincere gratitude to my supervisor Mgr. Martin Riegl, Ph.D. for sharing skills and knowledge and Doc. Ing. Vladimír Benáček for his assistance. I am also grateful to all lecturers, administration of IEPS and my colleagues in the IEPS

**RANGE OF THESIS: 90 861 characters (including spaces)**

**Abstract**

The thesis discusses the progress or lack thereof of in the Middle East, specifically Egypt to achieve “democracy”. It will critically explore the reasons why the Arab Spring happened, what were the factors and what changed in Egypt during those times until the present. I will show how it was before the revolution in Egypt which toppled ex-president Mubarak, examine the transition phase when ex-president Morsi was in power, and at the end the second revolution or coup d’état by current president El-Sisi. With that said Egypt will be compared with the other countries in the region; Tunisia, Libya and Syria, and we will see what are some of the similarities in the revolutions as well as some of the differences.

# Master Thesis Proposal



Institute of Political Studies  
Faculty of Social Sciences  
Charles University in Prague

Date:

---

<b>Author:</b>	<b>Stefan L Tanev</b>	Supervisor:	<b>Mgr. Martin Riegl, PhD.</b>
E-mail:	stefan.tanev@hotmail.com	E-mail:	martinriegl@email.cz
Phone:	+420778038300	Phone:	+420 606 462 351
Specialisation:	IEPS	Defense Planned:	June 2015

---

## Proposed Topic:

**MEANS TO AN END: ARAB SPRING**

Registered in SIS: .....

Date of registration: .....

## Topic Characteristics:

Research Question:

Was the Arab Spring successful in bringing more democratic notions to autocratic states?

I will critically analyse the evolution of the Arab Spring and use comparative politics elements to see how the Arab Spring was effective in the different Arab countries or how it got distorted along the way. We will see the evolution of an idea from inception to its final fruition. Compare and contrast between Tunisia, Egypt, Libya, and Syria. I will see to what level was the Arab Spring was able to bring some sort of change towards more democratic ideas or did it have the opposite effect and make it more autocratic. I will also see how individual states' government reacted to this push from the people of the Arab Spring, how they tried to deal with those notions and their policies towards them. I will see how the democratic Arab Spring visions of better life for the people got twisted and translated into something else, how the life of the people changed and also the perception of the outside worlds towards these changes.

## Working hypotheses:

H1: There was change towards more democratic notions in Egypt

H2: Arab Spring did not bring any democratic notions

H3: Other countries had different outcomes because of the degree of interest in them

## **Methodology:**

I will use Critical Theory approach combined with Comparative Politics approach. In the Critical Theory approach I will use influences from the first and second generation of Frankfurt school as well as some neo-Marxist ideas. On the Comparative Politics side I will draw from the likes of Samuel P. Huntington and Barrington Moore. Both of these approaches will help me analyze each country, perception, ideas, psychology, historical and cultural background as well as socio-economic strategies. We will see how Fukuyama's End of History was seen as an ultimate goal by him and by the people of the Arab spring country. At the end of the day, they wanted to achieve the means to an end by fighting for real democracy and achieve the End of History. It is important to see what pushed those people to revolt, what was the political thinking of that time which they were unsatisfied with and how history, culture and time played a factor as well in making this revolution happen.

## **Outline:**

### **1. Introduction**

#### **1.1. Democracy**

#### **1.2. Theoretical background**

##### **1.2.1. Critical Theory**

##### **1.2.2. Comparative Politics**

#### **1.3. The Arab Spring**

##### **1.3.1. Middle East**

##### **1.3.2. Egypt**

### **2. Empirical model**

#### **2.1. Egypt Before the Revolution**

#### **2.2. Egypt in Transition Phase**

#### **2.3. Egypt After the Second Revolution**

#### **2.4. Change of perception of different countries towards Egypt**

### **3. Comparative Analysis**

### **4. Conclusion**

## References/ Bibliography:

1. Aristotle, and Jowett, B. (1943). *Aristotle's Politics*. New York: Modern library.
2. Ballantyne, G. (2007). *Creativity and critique*. Leiden: Brill.
3. Barrow, C. (1993). *Critical theories of the state*. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press.
4. Eschle, C. and Maiguashca, B. (2005). *Critical theories, international relations and 'the anti-globalisation movement'*. London: Routledge.
5. Geuss, R. (1981). *The idea of a critical theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
6. Goldschmidt, A. (2008). *A brief history of Egypt*. New York: Facts on File.
7. Hathaway, J. (2003). *A tale of two factions*. Albany: State University of New York.
8. Huntington, S. (1991). *The third wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
9. McGregor, A. (2006). *A military history of modern Egypt*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International.
10. Montesquieu, C. (1777). *The complete works of M. de Montesquieu. Translated from the French. In four volumes. ...* London: Printed for T. Evans, in the Strand.
11. Moore, B. (1987). *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books.
12. Wyn Jones, R. (2001). *Critical theory and world politics*. Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

## **CONTENT**

<b>1. INTRODUCTION</b>	
<b>1.1. DEMOCRACY</b>	<b>9</b>
<b>1.2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND</b>	
<b>1.2.1. CRITICAL THEORY</b>	<b>12</b>
<b>1.2.2. COMPARATIVE POLITICS</b>	<b>14</b>
<b>1.3. THE ARAB SPRING</b>	
<b>1.3.1. MIDDLE EAST</b>	<b>17</b>
<b>1.3.2. EGYPT</b>	<b>23</b>
<b>2. EMPIRICAL MODEL</b>	
<b>2.1. EGYPT BEFORE THE REVOLUTION</b>	<b>26</b>
<b>2.2. EGYPT IN TRANSITION PHASE</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>2.3. EGYPT AFTER THE SECOND REVOLUTION</b>	<b>34</b>
<b>2.4. CHANGE OF PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES TOWARDS         EGYPT</b>	<b>40</b>
<b>3. COMPERATIVE ANALYSIS</b>	<b>44</b>
<b>4. CONCLUSION</b>	<b>47</b>
<b>5. BIBLIOGRAPHY</b>	<b>52</b>

# 1. INTRODUCTION

## 1.1 DEMOCRACY

In order to properly evaluate if the Arab Spring helped the Middle East and more specifically Egypt, bring “democracy” in we must first see what democracy is and how we evaluated it. Democracy is an old governing system invented in Ancient Greece. The word itself means “the rule of the people”. So by the sheer translation we can say it is a system by which governments functions. In the modern days democracy not only means the way a government is run through direct or representative democracy but a way of life. Political scientist Larry Diamond has this criteria for democracy: “A political system for choosing and replacing the government through free and fair elections. The active participation of the people, as citizens, in politics and civic life. Protection of the human rights of all citizens. A rule of law, in which the laws and procedures apply equally to all citizens.”<sup>1</sup> And according to Freedom House democracy or liberal democracy is extended to freedom expression for all the people, equal rights to minorities and women as well as freedom of the press with freedom of the net.<sup>2</sup> Democracy Ranking also adds another layer of analysis with these points” economy (economic system), knowledge (knowledge-based information society, research and education), health (health status and health system), environment (environmental sustainability)”<sup>3</sup>. In most of the world democracies the governing system is a mixed one, meaning there is a parliament with two chambers and a president with separate judicial system. In the US they call that system checks and balances in order for any of the branches not to gain the upper hand. Also there is a going theory that democracies do not go to war with each other, otherwise known as “Democratic Peace Theory”. The last time a

---

<sup>1</sup> Diamond, L. (2004). *What is Democracy?*. [online] Stanford University. Available at: <http://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/WhatsDemocracy012004.htm> [Accessed 4 Aug. 2015].

<sup>2</sup> FreedomHouse, (2015). *About us | Freedom House*. [online] Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/about-us#.VcDOLfkvTQ8> [Accessed 4 Aug. 2015].

<sup>3</sup> DemocracyRanking, (2015). *Global Democracy Ranking – Theoretical Basis*. [online] Available at: [http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/?page\\_id=590](http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/?page_id=590) [Accessed 4 Aug. 2015].

democratic nation declared war to somebody was Finland, during World War 2, against Britain, but they never fought.

All these criteria are based on theory and as we all know theory and practice differ greatly. Even the theory can be disputed for the sake of the argument. For example in the Francis Fukuyama's (1992). "*The End of History and The Last Man*" he states that people have reached the end their sociocultural evolution by achieving liberal democracy but according to me and Joseph Schumpeter in his book "*Capitalism, Socialism and Democracy*" he states that democracy is a method, more precisely he makes an experiment in where he gives as an example a democracy that persecutes Jews and Christians, since majority of the people have agreed to that by the democratic criteria and rules, should we follow those rules or should we not? He was trying to show that democracy is a method and depends in which point of time you use it and in what level of cultural evolution you apply it.<sup>4</sup> Even Aristotle in his book "*Politics*" categorizes democracy as the least favourite option for ruling and favours oligarchy plus democracy making up polity, which is composed of heavily-armed soldiers. Even the best Constitutional law, according to him, is made up of democracy and oligarchy, leaning more to oligarchy because it is closer to the truth.<sup>5</sup> Even Plato in his book "*The Republic*" criticized democracy and even listed his five regimes in book VIII. They are;

- 1) Aristocracy: "philosopher-king" who is a wise arbiter and leader of the city-state
- 2) Timocracy: military-man who value power the most, are high spirited and simple minded
- 3) Oligarchy: administrator class, which is significantly richer than the rest
- 4) Democracy: ultimate freedom but that freedom can be enslaving
- 5) Tyranny: one supreme leader who rules over everybody with an iron fist<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Schumpeter, J. (1994). *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*. London: Routledge. Pp 240 - 243

<sup>5</sup> Aristotle., and Jowett, B. (1943). *Aristotle's Politics*. New York: Modern library. Pp 22 - 23

<sup>6</sup> Plato., Ferrari, G. and Griffith, T. (2000). *The republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.pp. 302 - 344

Another great distinction is also made by Isaiah Berlin, in his book “*Liberty*”, where he differentiates between “Positive” freedom and “Negative” freedom. Since freedom is one of the notions of democracy, we can apply the positive and negative freedoms to democracy. Negative democracy is basically absence of coercion while Positive democracy there is some sort of coercion in order to keep the population civil and not anarchic. And that freedom is not in itself logically connected to democracy and self-governance.<sup>7</sup>

If we apply this in practice we can see that both cases are sound but I would lean towards democracy is great on paper but not great when applied purely as a democracy (idea). For example, in the US the representatives cater to the median voter in order to win votes but are influenced by interest groups who have access to votes and wealth. This corrupts the democratic notion as for free and fair elections. Nevertheless, democracy as a theory is very appealing and this is why Middle East was pushed naively to believe in that, thus creating the Arab Spring. People believed in the notions of freedom, expression, equal rights but didn’t take into the account education, sustainability, historical and cultural evolution. Those two last factors are very important especially for Middle East. The reasons for that are because each of those countries; Tunisia, Libya, Syria and especially Egypt have been under military/authoritarian regime for a long time and their cultural and historical background could have never changed overtime. Another factor which affected greatly the Arab Spring movement was education or lack of it. In Egypt 70% of the population is literate<sup>8</sup>. Creating great problems during the Arab Spring. Because few people who went out to protest, where the political elite and they knew what they were protesting for but the vast majority of the population was either influenced by money, chaos or just because of peer pressure from the rest.

It is true that democracy was the underlining factor why all these countries revolted. The people in those country were looking at the liberal democracies and saw how well the people are there. But, one, they were not ready for liberal democracy and, two, there was no concrete plan of what to do after the authoritarian regimes fell down. Let us not forget that Egypt was theoretically

---

<sup>7</sup> Berlin, I., Hardy, H. and Harris, I. (2002). *Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 166 - 180

<sup>8</sup> Cia.gov, (2015). *The World Factbook*. [online] Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html> [Accessed 4 Aug. 2015].

considered a democracy during ex-President Mubarak, so US supported him until they saw that the status-quo was shifting, making us wonder what kind of international influence/support for the Arab Spring movement was in those countries.

## **1.2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

### **1.2.1 CRITICAL THEORY**

Critical Theory in general terms is based on critique by taking into account the society and culture of a given state or nation. It has been strongly pushed by the Frankfurt School of political thought. The Critical Theory is divided into two forms, one is the modernist point of view, which is championed by Karl Marx and Immanuel Kant. While the other form is post-modernist. But we will focus on the modernist point of view because it serves my analysis much more. Max Horkheimer in his book “*Critical Theory: Selected Essays*” valued the cultural aspect greatly and even said that any reflection on culture which can come to grips with the critical present moment and consequently with the past ones as well must be concerned with the interrelationships in the maintenance or dissolution of given forms of society.<sup>9</sup> He also mentioned that certain cultures are resilient to internal self reflection and external self reflection that they do not change/evolve as fast as others.

Karl Marx in his “*Das Kapital*” criticises capitalism due to its core nature. It is based on class struggle between the proletariat and bourgeoisie. He mentions that Capitalism is like a vampire that sucks labour and depletes it. He also mentions that every process of production means that there is a process of reproduction. Also that surplus of labour is favouring only the bourgeoisie and the proletariat’s only hope of changing the system is to have a class conflict.<sup>10</sup> This cycle of control over the landowners and the workers based on the capital model is fair and the workers can virtually do nothing because all are playing by the capitalist rule. Historically and culturally speaking Democracies or economic version of it, Capitalism, have been controlling the factors of production but the middle class has grown to certain extent, once the middle class starts to shrink and the disparity between the workers and the owners gets bigger than the clash is

---

<sup>9</sup> Horkheimer, M. (1982). *Critical theory*. New York: Continuum Pub. Corp. p.53

<sup>10</sup> Wayne, M. and Choi, S. (2012). *Marx's "Das Kapital" For Beginners*. Newburyport: For Beginners.

inevitable. We can apply this principle in a Democracy on a political level, while most Democracies are representative, the people who are chosen to represent are incumbents and serve their purposes, thus creating a political gap between the ones on the top and the ones on the bottom. In other words political bourgeoisie against the political proletariat.

Immanuel Kant's book "*Critique of Pure Reason*" he had divided his argument in two main parts "Method of Elements" and "Doctrine of Method". He combines philosophy and science to show us that historically and socially contextualized reasons have the capacity to be organized in an empirical form of knowledge and be organized in a normative manner.<sup>11</sup>

Jürgen Habermas on the other hand has explored the philosophy of societies and their evolution to Democracy. In his book "*Legitimation Crisis*" he agrees with Marx in the criticism of capitalism and adds that progress of capitalism destroys the very notion of democracy, and in that way the state is unable to solve problems like unemployment, economic growth and environmental destruction. He also mentions that there is "organized and state-regulated capitalism", one which gives the rise of multinational corporations as well as organization of capital markets and goods while the other is where the state tries to bridge the gap when they appear in the market. On one hand the oligopolies will signal the end of competitive markets while on the other hand too much state intervention will signal end of liberal democracy.<sup>12</sup>

Critical Theory will help me, in the context of the history and culture of the countries in the Middle East, properly evaluate the social factor as well as the political factor why the Arab Spring happened and why was it different in Egypt compared to other countries. It will also help me analyse further the inner thinking of the people as well as the political elite before the revolution, during and after. It will also give me a good stepping stone to analyse the economic factor in Egypt. Maybe the organized capitalism was working as an oligopoly or maybe it was too much state run. We will also see how a society or more specifically the culture within a society is capable of change or will it be resilient as explained by Mr. Horkheimer. Critical

---

<sup>11</sup> Kant, I., Guyer, P. and Wood, A. (1998). *Critique of pure reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>12</sup> Habermas, J. (1992). *Legitimation crisis*. Cambridge: Polity Press. Pp. 33-34

Theory also touches on the transcendence of the metaphysics and of the changes a certain historical society goes through keeping in mind in what kind of polity they live in.

## 1.2.2 COMPARATIVE POLITICS

It is a way to compare different governments, countries or systems with each other. While keeping the given factors the same we can find out the variable factors which affect the change and similarities between what we are trying to compare. It is an empirical approach to the comparative method. Comparative politics is also described as a “study of foreign countries often in isolation from one another, the systematic comparison between countries, with the intention of identifying, and eventually explaining, the differences or similarities between them with respect to the particular phenomenon which is being analysed, and method of research, and is concerned with developing rules and standards about how comparative research should be carried out”<sup>13</sup> Arend Lijphart in his book *“Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration”* mentions that democracies in non-western countries are different from the western democracies, this is due to the “primordial loyalties”, those can be religious, cultural, historical, and/or communal. Also, that prospects of newly democratic notions in a non-western societies can be misguided.<sup>14</sup> He also mentions that political development is essential to nation building but it differentiates from the First World countries and the Third World, in a way that the latter is more accepting of a plural society with several sub-cultures and multi-racial societies. Aristotle in his book *“Politics”* introduces six “constitutions” which are:

1. Monarchy: rule of a royal family
2. Aristocracy: rule of an elite group of families
3. Polity: mix of Oligarchy and Democracy

---

<sup>13</sup> Goodin, R. and Klingemann, H. (1996). *A new handbook of political science*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press. Pp. 309 - 310

<sup>14</sup> Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in plural societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press. P. 18

4. Tyranny: one supreme leader
5. Oligarchy: rule of the elite
6. Democracy

These are based on two criteria, which are number of rulers and the political regime<sup>15</sup>

Barrington Moore in his book *“Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy: Lord and Peasant in the Making of the Modern World”* emphasises that different nations can start moving towards democratization at the same point in time but their societies can be totally different or vice-versa, their societies can be the same but each nation moves toward democratization at a different point in time. He also notes that historically there has been a striking balance between the ruling nobility and the bourgeois revolutions. One without the other will lead to unhealthy form of western democracy. Meaning, if the nobility or elite lead a revolution, it will lead to fascism and if the mass leads a revolution it will lead to communism, hence the need for balance.<sup>16</sup>

Samuel P. Huntington in his book *“The Third Wave: Democratization of the Twentieth Century”* he firstly points all the three phases of shifts towards democracy of different countries but also points out that it does not only imply on modern societies but ancient ones as well, pointing out as an example, Greece. Also, the dominating power of the Communist was dwindling while in the 1980’s in the Middle East, the shift was limited but there was some liberalization in 1990’s in Egypt, Tunisia, Algeria and Jordan.<sup>17</sup> He also mentions that the push for democratization was largely done by US all over the world, these are some of the methods:”

1. Statements by presidents, secretaries of state, and other officials endorsing democratization in general and in particular countries
2. Economic pressures and sanctions, including congressional limitations on or prohibitions of U.S. assistance, trade, and investment

---

<sup>15</sup> Aristotle., and Jowett, B. (1943). *Aristotle's Politics*. New York: Modern library. Pp 20 - 28

<sup>16</sup> Moore, B. (1966). *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press. Pp. 413 - 427

<sup>17</sup> Huntington, S. (1991). *The third wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. Pp. 24 - 25

3. Diplomatic action, including promotion of democratization by a new activist breed of "freedom-pusher"
4. Material support for democratic forces, including what were probably tens of millions of dollars from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) to the Socialist party in Portugal in 1975, substantial financial support to Solidarity in Poland"<sup>18</sup>
5. "Military action, including the Carter administration's deployment of American warships off the Dominican Republic to ensure a fair count in the 1978 election
6. Multilateral diplomacy, including the pressuring of the Soviet Union by Carter-Reagan appointee Max Kampelman on Basket III of the Helsinki Accords at the CSCE talks in Belgrade and Madrid, and efforts to mobilize opposition by United Nations (UN) agencies against notorious human rights violators."<sup>19</sup>

He also believed in his book that some of the changes contributing to the change were: decrease of the influence of the authoritarian regimes due to the rise of competitive elections, education, urbanization and the growth of the middle class, also the demonstration effect (snowball effect) or the domino theory.

Comparative politics will help me differentiate at what point did each of these countries started the democratic notions, did they start at the same point? Or were their societies the same but started at a different point? It will be good to compare and contrast Egypt with the above mentioned countries next to her. Also it will help me analyse if there was some international force or forces pushing for such democratic notions or was the inception only internal.

All these political scientist provide a good background for an accurate and descriptive analysis also giving me the necessary tools in order to see how democracy is different from each country and if we can actually call it a liberal democracy (western) or we can call it something else. Also it is good to see how the international powers might have had a hand in pushing liberal democratic notions into countries which are still not, historically and culturally ready for them.

---

<sup>18</sup> Huntington, S. (1991). *The third wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. P. 93

<sup>19</sup> Huntington, S. (1991). *The third wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. P. 94

## **1.3 THE ARAB SPRING**

### **1.3.1 MIDDLE EAST**

The Arab Spring started at the end of 2010 with Tunisia and more precisely when a street vendor lit himself on fire in front of the Tunisian government. It was a symbolic action which led to people all over the Middle East to rise and express their desire to shift the political regimes in their corresponding countries, from authoritarian ones to more liberal democracy. Some of these revolutionary movements were considered violent, like the ones in Kuwait, Bahrain, Libya and Syria and less violent, like the ones in Tunisia and Egypt. There were small revolutions in Algeria, Jordan and Saudi Arabia but nothing as significant as the first ones. The common people were tired from incumbent presidents and prime ministers who were holding the power, each for 20 years or more. With globalization and much easier access to TV, internet and social networks, even the common person was able to see how other countries are dealing with their citizens and reflect upon their own countries' approach.

The Arab Spring had a reason why it started with Tunisia. The Tunisian people are on average very intelligent and became very favorable about the injustices, even the elite rose up to the government. While they had more things to lose, they rose up because they felt that their country is getting ruined through years of authoritarian regime. And this is another key factor why the revolution in Tunisia succeeded, the elite were backing the movement of the people, they were sponsoring the mass protests and sit-ins. The same thing happened in Egypt, where elite were the leaders of the revolution. As an example, the leader of the Egyptian party El-Ghad, who was falsely imprisoned by Mubarak and was freed before the revolution, came out and openly supported it. His sons were even on the frontlines where the clashes with police happened. In other countries like Bahrain and Kuwait, the elite were part of the ruling government and had no

interest in supporting the people who were asking for change. In Syria and Libya the situation was so totalitarian that it was impossible for the elite to even mention anything about the Arab Spring, even though some of them wanted to so the only way was for the masses with the support, perhaps from outside, to rise and also from the help of the clans.

The Arab Spring also showed opportunity and gave rise to youth movements. These youth movements, even though they were not from a higher class, were well politically versed and had the will to fight for democratic notions in the face of intimidation, prison or death. They were the pivotal group in the Arab Spring revolution, they were the ones who used social media organize the events and gatherings, they were the ones chanting pro democratic slogans and condemning the authoritarian governments and they were the ones on the frontlines of the protests. Without the youth movements the impact of the Arab Spring would have never been so powerful.

Unfortunately, it also gave power to the Islamic political movements or parties. In Tunisia the Ennahda movement won the majority in the congress. That movement is part of the Muslim Brotherhood party which has been considered as terrorist organizations by the majority of middle east countries, including Egypt and Tunisia (before the Arab Spring). Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt on the other hand were exiled from political participation due to the assassination of President Sadat which was blamed on them. They dissolved as a political force and entered the doctors syndicate as well as lawyers syndicate, and during the Arab Spring, they were the most organized movement and later party which elected President Morsi after Mubarak. In Libya and Syria the Islamic movements were never as strong as Tunisia and Egypt but gained power through International support. Because they were the only one group which was fighting the authoritarian regime, they were supplied with weapons from abroad and became even more dangerous than the Muslim Brotherhood party. Later on we see that they become part of the ISIS group.

The Arab Spring can be compared to the revolutionary movements which swept Eastern Europe in 1989. This is when the Soviet Union collapsed and the people started abandoning communist and socialist regimes. It is true that the Arab Spring can be compared to those movements but also they should have learned from those movements. In other words Arab Spring movements

had to see that the transition phase from communism to liberal democracy takes a lot of time, more than 10 years for certain Eastern European countries. Old habits like corruption die hard and the political culture of the people takes time before it changes. Not to mention the erosion of the old institutions and knowhow to create new institutions with liberal notions takes time.

The Arab Spring movements also did another mistake and that was not to plan ahead. Most of the people who joined those movements were fighting for some democratic notions but once the Arab Spring ended and the governments changed, they didn't know what to do. Even the new government had no plans or political agenda which to follow and execute. It is a problem of short-sightedness, they did not plan ahead of what to do next and the people who planned ahead became the majority leaders in the parliaments and even presidents.

Media was also a big factor of publicising liberal democracy to Middle East and showing the political will of change from Middle East. Unfortunately these portrayals of the uprisings in Middle East were very misleading. Since the Media channels like CNN and Al Jazeera had political motive to present the Arab Spring in a certain way. On one hand, CNN is a well known pro-democratic news channel and they represent the Democrats in the US. While Al Jazeera is based in Qatar and owned by a pro Muslim Brotherhood supporter. It was in their interest to show how evil the regime of Ex-President Hosni Mubarak is, if we talk about Egypt. In the other Middle Eastern countries, like Tunisia, Syria and Libya was a similar depiction of the UNFAIR regime striking down their people. Even though to certain extent it was true, let us not forget that to destabilize stable regimes is the speciality of U.S., examples can be given like Afghanistan, Iraq in the recent years. Qatari government has invested interest in all pro-Islamic parties who want to get power in order to change the rule of the law by implementing pure Sharia law.

The Arab Spring also gave opportunity of people to move in the socio-economic scale. Giving rise to more corruption, due to the chaos and uncertainty. Many people got rich from the revolutions and the instability of certain countries. Many people who were part of the Muslim Brotherhood gained wealth just because they were in the group. In Libya the clan leaders, once controlled by Gaddafi, gained back their land, respect and weapons from the national army and foreign support. Also, countries like Britain, France, Italy and U.S. had great stakes in the oil production in Libya, to a lesser extent in Egypt. There were not only political pressures but also

economic ones for the regimes to fall. It is ironic, because all these countries had great relations with the leaders of those regimes before the Arab Spring and when the Arab Spring came, the very same nations condemned those authoritarian leaders.

### What led to the revolution?

- The increase of Political Culture of the mass society: This increased even in the less educated people because of the ever globalizing world and the many sources of media which can be seen without censorship or propaganda. This plus a word of mouth due to the fact that Egyptian people do like to talk a lot about politics made more and more people aware, especially those who don't have internet which is a big percentage in Egypt.
- The great unfairness in wealth distributions: Even a fool can see that the very few people possess all the wealth and possibilities. It is slightly deeper than that. An average Egyptian person will see this and not pay attention if he has three basic things: price of gas is low, cheap cigarettes and cheap food. Just before the revolution the price of gas increased, the prices of cigarettes also increased as well and the food has been taken away.
- No freedom of speech: Even though freedom of speech is in the constitution, Egyptian people cannot be heard because the government controlled all the media sources. Even if a person somehow was heard on a radio, TV channel, or online, this person next morning will be in jail for treason and treated as a traitor.
- No basic human rights: There has been the emergency law for more than 30 years now. This law allows the police or the secret police (which is a very large number of the population) to take a suspect and hold him without any charge or without any proof. There have been so many missing people like this and sometimes they are held for 10 years or more without them knowing what they did wrong. This has reflected on the rest of the people with anger and fear. This is why the only way a person has shown he has rights and has freedom of speech is by doing something extreme like setting themselves on fire, because he had nothing to lose.

- The ripple effect caused by Tunisia: Since the unfairness and pro democratic approach has been pushed by Tunisia through its revolution, it created a ripple effect, like when a stone is thrown in the water and creates ripples which get wider and wider from the centre. Egypt followed this as well as Libya and Syria.

The first revolution which started and was organized through the social networks, like Facebook, Tweeter, Skype and so on. It is truly amazing to see the ever emerging tools of communication are used to achieve something like toppling down a modern dictator like President Mubarak. But here we arrive at a point, where if the regime was totally authoritarian like North Korea, People's Republic of China, where Facebook, Tweeter or Youtube are not allowed, the revolution would have never had happed.

Due to high level of uneducated people in Egypt it was easy to sway the masses to do what is required of them. Each side, either be it the revolutionaries or the authoritarian regime knew about that and used it to their advantage. The government forces paid people to go out and physically assault the peaceful revolutions which were in the beginning, while on the revolutionary side, these masses were convinced that their lives will be better, by having more money, more opportunities and more freedom, to go out and fight against the government. This created tug of war sort of speak, and even though more than two thousand people died in the first revolution, it was still considered peaceful compared to the other countries in Middle East.

Egypt is geopolitically well located, since it has the Suez Canal, the Nile River, two seas and in the middle of Middle East, it has great appeal not only for the local powers by also for the international powers and both of those will fight to rule Egypt. But historically it has had troubles with the Sinai area as well as extremists who are against the government.

The development of Middle Eastern countries and specifically Egypt stagnated for these reasons:

**1-Penetration crisis:** State expanded enormously since the move to populist regime in 1952. Despite the 1970s reforms and the 1990s privatization, armed forces, police, public sector and governmental agencies continued to expand.

**2-Participation crisis:** Participation was reduced to mobilization under the populist regime. Serious participation problem is facing the regime with limitation on political parties, associations, syndicates, demonstrations and unfair elections.

**3-Distribution crisis:** Despite the signs of resolution of this crisis under the populist regime, serious distribution crisis is prevailing nowadays, with great disparities in distributing wealth and income between various regions and groups.

**4-Legitimacy crisis:** while it was a charismatic leadership under the populist regime, all grounds of legitimacy are eroding recently.

The Egyptian government also suffered from **Crony Capitalism:** Type of capitalism that is supporting the state and depending upon social networks and ruling establishment (elite). We also see signs of **semi-authoritarian regime:** This type of regimes appears mainly after the WWII. It combined between features of both; formal democracy and fundamental authoritarian tendencies. The regime is partially democratic in terms of having constitution, allowing a degree of freedoms and holding presidential or parliamentary elections. In this type of regimes, the ruling elite is always able to protect itself from open competition. The signs of any political freedom/openness lead to the consolidation of the elite position .Any reform is performed within the regime itself and designed to avoid collapse or threats to the regime itself. They are [reform sunder control] that don't touch the core of the regime and used to prevent real change by manipulating the law, the constitution and the elections. Main features of such a regime is the existence and persistence of mechanisms that effectively the transfer of power through elections from the hands of incumbent leaders or parties. Despite the limited space of political freedoms, there is no room to discuss the nature of the regime or the ruling elite. Membership in the core political elite is not determined via elections. Since rotation of power is not undertaken through elections, elections aren't democratic and are merely fiction/myth. **The transitional regime:** Regimes that didn't manage to consolidate democracy. Consolidation of democracy is ingoing process that has been accomplished yet. The main difference between [Semi-authoritarian regimes] and [transitional regimes], is that transitional have the intention to undertake the transition to democracy, while the semi-authoritarian regimes have no intention to do so.

### 1.3.2 EGYPT

Egypt has very rich history with pharaohs, pashas, occupation by the French and British but the Egyptian personality wasn't born until the 1919 revolution with the declaration of independence by the British on 22 February 1922. This made the people first aware that they can do without invaders and can do things on their own. With this notion of self-enlightenment the process of personality formation started. After it was followed by the 1952 coup d'état which made Gamal Abdul Nasser as the President of the Republic of Egypt, this is where left-wing nationalism started. People started to feel they belonged to country that takes care of them by having free education for all, promotions in the military, a big public sector which provided a lot of jobs as well as the nationalization of the Suez Canal which contributed to the national pride and nationalism. This stated, there was a national liberation from the Western countries, as well as the wars with Israel which contributed to the nationalism. Sadat later on came to power having completely different view on the economy and opened the market, privatizing a lot of the institutions, different foreign policies, as well as different classes or people rising and other high classes falling. These drastic contrasts of thinking between Sadat and Nasser somehow confused the nation which didn't know what to follow or how to follow it, nevertheless the country still showed itself as a strong, independent nation, which had a lot of prospects, money and power in the Middle East. Hosni Mubarak succeeded Sadat becoming the president having similar policies as Sadat. The Egyptian people suffered identity crisis, because in a standard definition of "nationalism" there must be one ethnic group, in Egypt there is a lot of ethnic groups like(Nubians, Bedouins, Caucasian), as well as different religions like Muslim, Christian Orthodox as well as Jews. Followed by unsure policies which were not for the benefit of the whole country but for the selected few, also the influence of the Western countries with their fast food places, clothing, life-styles, modernism and liberal notions contributed to their identity crisis. That is when the Egyptian people started losing themselves as a nation and started following rules and regulations presented readily in front of them without thought.

Based on the official information site for Egypt, the Arab Republic of Egypt is a supremacy of the law. The early constitutions of Egypt were in 1923, 1954 but in 1971, Anwar Sadat, adopted a more democratic constitution which focus on more freedom in the parliament, multiparty system and sharia law as the “principle source of legislation”. Some of the articles out of the 211, are:

“Part three was entitled "Public Freedoms, Rights and Duties". It comprised Articles (40 to 63) and highlighted the following:

- All citizens are equal before the law and have equal public rights and duties without discrimination on account of race, ethnicity, language, religion or creed.
- Individual freedom is a natural right and shall not be compromised.
- Freedom of belief and freedom of religious practice are guaranteed.
- Freedom of opinion is guaranteed.
- Extradition of political refugees is prohibited.
- Citizens shall have the right to vote and express their opinions according to the provisions of the law.

Part four was entitled "Sovereignty of the Law" and comprised Articles (64 to 72). It underlined the following:

- The sovereignty of law shall be the basis of rule in the State.
- Penalty shall be personal and there shall be no crime or penalty except by virtue of law.
- A suspect is innocent until proven guilty in a court of law, in which they are granted the right to defense.
- The right to litigation is inalienable for all, and every citizen has the right to refer to a competent judge.
- The right to defense in person or by mandate is guaranteed.

- Refraining to execute sentences or obstructing them by related civil servants is considered a crime punishable by law.”<sup>20</sup>

Egyptian government is divided into three branches; the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The executive branch is headed by the president, who is head of the national defence council, the head of police supreme council and together with his cabinet, they approve the national budget and are responsible for the economic growth, through the executive regulatory bodies who are administered by the local administration with the help of the economic service authorities. There is also a branch who is responsible for the public/private initiatives.

The Legislative branch is composed of two chambers, one is called People’s Assembly where the people are elected and the upper chamber is called El-Shoura Council where the people are selected by the Assembly. The upper chamber is considered only as a consultative body.

The Judicial branch is considered independent from the other branches and it has its own rules. It is divided into two sub-courts; Court of General Jurisdiction where there is civil, criminal appeal courts and Specialized Court which has the constitutional court with security court.

Egypt has always been led by charismatic leaders, starting from President Nasser (1952-1970), under President Sadat (1970-1981), under President Mubarak (1981 -2011) and with the current President El-Sisi. As we can see Egypt and the ruling of Egypt has been focused on charismatic few and the regime has always been a semi authoritarian. I am aware that during Nasser it was populist but this is just a phrasing of the regime, he was decided what should be done and how it should be executed. To compare Gaddafi’s regime was also called populist. What I mean is that Nasser didn’t let any other party rule, he started making all the decisions even though it was not his duty to do so, he was surrounded by the elite who had no idea what was going on with the people and there was no freedom of expression.

---

<sup>20</sup> State Information Service of Egypt, (2015). *State Information Services Constitution overview*. [online] Available at: <http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=206#.VcSZ6fkvTQ8> [Accessed 7 Aug. 2015].

In the era of Mubarak, he basically controlled the media, he controlled the elite and was surrounded by them, he controlled all the business starting in Egypt, or at least had a percentage going to him as well as his sons. Mubarak controlled the parliament by having a close friend of his as a Prime Minister, controlled all the ministries by appointing somebody from the elite circle as a minister, which were from the NDP (National Democratic Party). This is why now most of them are and were tried in a court for corruption because they were using public money for personal gains. He, also with his son, Gamal, entered by force into the steel industry by nationalizing it and making a lot of joint-ventures with construction companies while being secret partners.

## **2 EMPIRICAL MODEL**

### **2.1 EGYPT BEFORE THE REVOLUTION**

Hosni Mubarak started as a military man and followed the footsteps of his predecessors, as they were all military man before becoming presidents. Since his ascension to presidency in 1981, he ruled for almost 30 years. During those years he assimilated everything in the country under his control, starting from the media and ending with the military. He was removed from power in February 2011 and last breath was extinguished of the Free Officer's Revolution. He succeeded Anwar El Sadat after his assassination and also continued his policies of Intifah (the opening). Which aimed at releasing political prisoners, opened up media and also gave political opportunity for parties to run for parliament. Also, he allowed foreign satellite television stations in the 1990s and slowly opened Egypt's press.<sup>21</sup>

Even though Mubarak opened up the press and journalism in Egypt he still had direct control of what was being issued and censorship through six state controlled publishing houses; al-Ahram, al-Hilal, Roz el-Youssef, al-Akhbar, al-Tahrir, al-Qawmiyya lil tawziee. According to the

---

<sup>21</sup> Nassef, A. (2012). *Shifting Sands: Political Liberalization of Egypt Since 1952 - Fair Observer*. [online] Fair Observer. Available at: [http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle\\_east\\_north\\_africa/shifting-sands-political-liberalization-egypt-1952/](http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/shifting-sands-political-liberalization-egypt-1952/) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

constitution during Mubarak the supreme press council, was headed by the speaker of El Shoura council. But by 2003, there was independent press and channels which were privately owned.<sup>22</sup>

Economically, Mubarak implemented in the 1990s the International Monetary Fund-sponsored Structural Adjustment Program, which was the idea of his predecessor, which focus on increasing growth. That programme reflected negatively on the poor since introduced general sales tax and also devaluated the Egyptian currency. “In 1991 the World Bank noted that one quarter to one fifth of Egyptians lived in poverty, that the richest 20 percent of landowners owned 70 percent of agricultural land, and that food costs for the urban poor were up 40 per cent.”<sup>23</sup> Also, Egypt’s inequality can be clearly seen in the 30 years of Mubarak reign. On one had we have population increase from 45 million to 85 million this leading to a big youth population. This leading to at least 90% of the unemployment of Egypt to be youth and unable to find the limited jobs available for them after graduating college. There is also an education gap between the male and females, two thirds of the females are illiterate and this directly affects the economic growth of the person as well as the country.<sup>24</sup>

Mubarak also maintained very good relations with SCAF (Supreme Council of Armed Forces). The military council consists of twenty members representing the main chiefs and the main organs of the armed forces. The military council represents the continuity of the tradition of the military dominance over the political arena in Egypt since 1952. The four former presidents (including Mubarak) came from the armed forces. The armed forces enjoy a privileged position, have a secret subject and are self- sufficient. The system since 1952 found a good way to use the

---

<sup>22</sup> El-Issawi, F. (2014). *Egyptian media under transition: in the name of the regime... in the name of the people?*. [online] London School of Economics Research Online. Available at: [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59868/1/El-Issawi\\_Egyptian-Media-Under-Transition\\_2014\\_pub.pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59868/1/El-Issawi_Egyptian-Media-Under-Transition_2014_pub.pdf) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>23</sup> White, R. (2015). *Inequality and the Egyptian Revolutions: The Political Economy of Pre-Revolution, Pre-Coup and Post-Coup*. [online] Insurgentsia. Available at: [https://insurgentsia.wordpress.com/2015/01/27/inequality-and-the-egyptian-revolutions-the-political-economy-of-pre-revolution-pre-coup-and-post-coup/#\\_ftn23](https://insurgentsia.wordpress.com/2015/01/27/inequality-and-the-egyptian-revolutions-the-political-economy-of-pre-revolution-pre-coup-and-post-coup/#_ftn23) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>24</sup> Roudi-Fahimi, F., El Feki, S. and Tsai, T. (2011). *Youth Revolt in Egypt, a Country at the Turning Point*. [online] Prb.org. Available at: <http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2011/youth-egypt-revolt.aspx> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

army officers after their retirement by appointing them as heads of company or institutions or ambassadors or even governors and ministers. The system has guaranteed over a long period the loyalty of the army and matched the interests of the army and its staff by the existence of the system itself. It is also to be noticed that there is no clear boundary between the post of the chief of the staff and the minister of defense. The authority has considered through a long time the minister of defense as guarantee of the army loyalty and appointed only those who have no political ambition or high popularity among the people. This could also point to us the removal of the field marshal Mohamed Abdl-Halim Abo-Gazala from his post in the late 1980s after he gained high popularity, especially after the rebellion of the central security forces in 1986. This also explained to us why field marshal Mohamed Hussien Tantawi- the former chef of the republican guard (the military contingent dedicated to protect the president) remained a minister of defense from 1991 to 2012.

Also, there has been a long standing social contract between the presidents (government) and the military regarding these points:

- a) Secrecy of the military budget. Even economic ministers did not have information regarding it.
- b) A complete ban on any criticism of the army. 1956 law made it illegal to publish any information regarding the army without authorization
- c) Various benefits which were not granted to civilians and allowed military men to be active in other fields while receiving army pension
- d) Three central jobs were reserved, in practice, for the military; the presidency, the head of intelligence and the minister of defence.

The parliament as mentioned before is comprised of two chambers and Mubarak controlled it through the NDP (National Democratic Party). It has enjoyed complete dominance since its creation in 1978 by then president Sadat. Not only did Mubarak took up the policies of Sadat but also his party. The People's Assembly was governed by the NDP and by law, the assembly must propose candidates for the El- Shoura council, since they are not elected, the president must approve or disapprove their positions. So this creates total dominance in both chambers for

Mubarak. But in 2005, Mubarak stated that there will be an amendment of article 76 which will give all the parties at that time to propose a candidate for the next presidential elections and will not take into account the proportional conditions which required the 250 member support from the People's Assembly, the El-Shoura council and the municipal council.<sup>25</sup> This was a step toward towards a more democratic government. But the problem was always with the ID voting, and who is eligible to vote. These amendment was overshadowed by the high profile imprisonment of Ayman Nour who was the leader of the Ghad party. He expressed his anger regarding the corrupt nature of the government and president and spent 5 years behind prison before being released just before the fall of Mubarak.

Mubarak and the business elite dominated the Egyptian economy. Through the privatization policies as well as the elite circle of advisors and friends around the president Transparency International ranked Egypt 98 out of 178 countries in 2010 corruption perception index. Gamal Mubarak, the son of Hosni Mubarak, was part of those elite who would make joint ventures with powerful businessman. He would offer protection and privileges while receiving percentage from the company ownership and profits. Business elite like: "Rachid Mohamed Rachid, local partner of the international food company Unilever, and Mohamed Mansour, whose family business is the world's largest General Motors distributor. Others, first and foremost steel magnate Ahmed Ezz, occupied central positions in parliament and in the ruling National Democratic Party (NDP). Ezz, whose conglomerate possessed a virtual monopoly in the national steel sector, chaired the budget committee in the lower house of parliament and served on all the ruling party's leading bodies."<sup>26</sup> Gamal Mubarak was the chair of several committees and was in the NDP. He recruited back then Prime Minister Ahmed Nazif to his committees.

---

<sup>25</sup> Al-Shoubaki, A. (2005). *The Egyptian Presidential Elections: The Limits of Reform*. [online] Arab Reform. Available at: [http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/En\\_shoubaki\\_final.pdf](http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/En_shoubaki_final.pdf) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>26</sup> Roll, S. (2013). *Egypt's Business Elite after Mubarak A Powerful Player between Generals and Brotherhood*. *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, p.9.

## 2.2 EGYPT IN TRANSITION PHASE

SCAF immediately took control after Mubarak announced that he is stepping down after a relatively peaceful revolution which saw more than 1500 people killed. Before stepping down Mubarak assigned his powers to SCAF, and since he was part of SCAF, there was not much change in the governing area. SCAF immediately took control of all the governmental organs and deployed military troops in the major cities to protect the people and protect themselves from more unrest. They seized control of the media communications and stopped privately owned news channels to broadcast things which are not authorized. This led to Maspero massacre when a group of Coptic Egyptian were protesting and the military used deadly power to disperse the crowds.

SCAF also replaced the constitution of 1971 and unilaterally put their own interim Constitution, in March 2011. And declared that they will provision a new Constitutional Assembly to draft a new constitution. From then on until the imprisonment of President Morsi, SCAF has been playing tug of war with the different parties and political figures.

People protested strongly for the persecution of the old ruling elite and SCAF reacted fast and swift to do so. Blacklists were issued as well as travel bans for specific people. SCAF initially started taking these cases seriously but only four figures were ultimately given sentences Rachid Mohamed Rachid, Ahmed al Maghrabi, Ahmed Ezz and Hussein Salem. Excluding Mubarak who was found guilty of embezzlement and was given three years in prison while his sons were given four years but his wife was let go. All these charges of course were appealed and they are still pending.

But this new interim constitution gave rise and hope for old and new parties as well as political movement. Some of those were new political groups and some were old: All together there were 42 major political parties and 11 which are less popular, like the **National Party of Egypt**(former NDP), **Free Egypt(Misr Al-Hurra) Party**(former NDP), **You Are Egyptian Party**(Liberal, centrist position), and **Kenana Party**(Center left). Out of these 42 parties, 15 of

them are Islamic parties, 7 former NDP, 3 Nasserist, 2 Socialist, 4 Centre-left, 7 Center, and 4 Liberal parties. There are as well 11 parties which are old and small registered political formations created before the 25 of January Revolution that played a role of “formal opposition” during the previous regime but their liability of their effective existence is difficult to certify. There are as well 4 alliances made by the major parties: **Islamist Alliance:** Announced by the end of September 2011, led by El-Nour Party (previously member of the Democratic Alliance), composed of 5 Salafi parties and The Building and Development Party formed by Al-Gama’a Al-Islamiyya. Equality and Justice Party (Islamic), El Fadyla Party (Islamic), El Asala Party (Islamic), El Nour Party (Islamic), and Building and Development Party (Islamic). **Democratic Alliance:** Announced in June 2011, initially composed by a large and heterogeneous group of parties, it is led by the Muslim Brotherhood party, Freedom and Justice. The Waft left recently the alliance. Reform and Renaissance Party (Islamic), Egyptian Arab Socialist Party (Islamic), Islamic Labour Party (Islamic), Freedom and Justice Party (Islamic), El Ghad Party (Liberal), Civilization Party (Centre), and Karama Party (Nasserist). **Egyptian Bloc:** the main liberal alliance, composed by 3 parties in a united list, Free Egyptians Party gets 50% of the places, Social Democratic Party 40% and Tagammu’ 10%. Free Egyptians Party (Liberal), Social Democratic Party (Center-left), and Tagammu’ (Nasserist). **Completing The Revolution:** Announced in October 2011, composed by left and centrist parties. Altyar Party (Youth of Muslim Brotherhood) and by Revolutionary Youth Coalition. Altyar Party (Islamic), Socialist Popular Alliance Party (Socialist), Egyptian Socialist Party (Socialist), Masr Alhuryya Party (Center), and Equality and Development Party (Center).

There were also several non-partisan movements like **April 6 Youth Movement:** It appeared in the last three years as one of the most active protest groups to protest against Mubarak regime. Although the movement was one of the founders of a (coalition of revolutionary youth) which called for demonstrations on 25 January, they withdrew from the coalition in protest against the recent representation by a splinter group in the coalition. The group has refused to become a party, preferring to exercise its role as a pressure group to press certain issues. At present, the movement focused its campaigns on the political awareness of citizens, especially in regions and districts. **The Coalition of Revolutionary Youth:** It emerged during the Revolution

as the most important youth group that included the representatives of several currents (6 April Youth, the youth of the Muslim Brotherhood, the Democratic Front Party, The popular campaign in support of “ Mohamed ElBaradei”, other minor groups). But its role seems down recently after fulfilling most of the demands that were undisputedly agreed upon during the Revolution and after the leaders went in separate political projects. Shortly after the departure of “Mubarak” the coalition joined in turn with another set of block (The Coordinating Committee of the Masses of the Revolution) that has played a role in Tahrir Square demonstrations and contained beside the coalition five other groups [The Board of Trustees of the Revolution- The Alliance of Egypt revolutionists - The coalition of Egypt's revolution - The youth of 25 January 25- Independent Academics]. **The Coordinating Committee of the Masses of the Revolution:** It played an important role in the period following the departure of “Mubarak”, that by called for demonstrations of various Fridays and organizing these protests logistically, to press for various demands such as the dismissal of the Government of “Ahmed Shafik” and solve the state security apparatus and the trial of the Previous system icons. However, the members of the Coordinating Committee in which the Muslim Brotherhood enjoyed a strong presence, were divided amongst themselves.

With all those parties, the Freedom and Justice party (Muslim Brotherhood) were the most prepared one. Having been denied political participation since their ban and persecution after the assassination of Sadat. They have long been preparing for their political careers through infiltrating lawyer’s syndicates as well as doctor’s syndicates. By the middle of 2012, just before the presidential elections, the Freedom and Justice party together with the El Nour party enjoyed the majority in the parliament as well as in the constitutional assembly made by SCAF.

Mohamed Morsi was elected president in June 2012. And with parliament with his party majority the first thing he did was to sack the Mohamed Hussein Tantawi as defence minister and head of SCAF, replacing him with Abdul Fattah El- Sisi. This was pre planned since the people were becoming more unhappy of how SCAF were handling the situation. They had to show the people that the old regime was gone.

By December of 2012, Morsi signed the New Constitution which was drafted by the Constitutional Assembly which was dominated by pro-Islamic members and was boycotted by non-Muslim and secular members from the Assembly. This created rifts between the dominating Muslim Brotherhood and the rest of the people. Furthermore, he wanted to enact a law on behalf of the Executive branch that Judges over 60 years old will be forced to retire paving the way for new judges. This of course was a plan for the Muslim Brotherhood to gain control of the judicial branch as well but it backfired and people took to the street to revolt again.

SCAF took this opportunity of the people's uprising and took again control of the situation. The military coup of July 2013, was justified that SCAF was doing it for the people. They immediately suspended again the Constitution signed by Morsi six months earlier. Unwillingness for the Morsi to compromise with the other parties was also to blame for that. SCAF immediately started rounding up members of the Muslim Brotherhood, while keeping Morsi on house arrest. A big incident happened when pro Muslim Brotherhood were making a sit in strike in one of the regions of Cairo city and the military forces moved in, killing more than thousand people.

SCAF again took control of the media channels and this time El-Sisi was the new face of the military coup. A lot of pro-military and secular parties cheered him as the new saviour not knowing what would happen. Even though he was acting head of SCAF and defence minister, he announced that he will not run for president and will not get involved in politics, promising new referendum for the Constitution and expedited presidential and parliamentary elections.

Economically speaking, Morsi did not have clear economic policies even though they were well politically organized. Even he did not manage to successfully secure a loan from the IMF. This also contributed to the already dire situation in Egypt.

## 2.3 EGYPT AFTER THE SECOND REVOLUTION

El-Sisi became so popular that in May 2014 there were expedited presidential elections which he won by 93%<sup>27</sup> of the votes. Of course those were helped by boycotts by both secular parties and pro Muslim Brotherhood parties. Of course he was a part of SCAF and had their backing. Slowly he started cleaning the biggest opposition to him and SCAF, and that was pro-democracy movements as well as Muslim Brotherhood. The high ranking members of the Freedom and Justice party, like Morsi, were sentenced to life in prison while some lower rank members were executed with thousands still pending. SCAF is still using the Emergency law, which was and it still is active during the time of Sadat. It gives “greater powers to the police, suspends certain constitutional rights in the name of security, allows the state to detain individuals and censor and close newspapers more easily and allows authorities to try civilians in front of military and security courts under certain circumstances.”<sup>28</sup> Also, most of the people detained under that law are tried in military courts where there is no transparency.

The first major step of newly elected president El-Sisi was to announce the multibillion dollar project called the New Suez Canal. The project was suspected to cost \$8.4 billion and would increase the Canal’s revenue by 259% and all this was sponsored by and IPO (initial Public Offering).<sup>29</sup> By the end of 2015, the project was complete in time. The only downside to this was that Egypt would see that revenue which they mentioned if the international maritime trade increased by 5% globally, which it has not done yet.

The second big project was the Egypt Economic Development Conference in March, 2015 where his government streamlined tenders for international companies and through that he secured

---

<sup>27</sup> BBC News, (2014). *Egypt election: Sisi secures landslide win - BBC News*. [online] Available at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27614776> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>28</sup> Shehata, S. (2004). *Egypt After 9/11: Perceptions of the United States*. [online] Conconflicts.ssrc.org. Available at: <http://conconflicts.ssrc.org/archives/mideast/shehata/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>29</sup> Farid, D. (2014). *Al-Sisi kicks off new Suez Canal project, lays down tightened completion deadline*. [online] Daily News Egypt. Available at: <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/08/05/al-sisi-kicks-new-suez-canal-project-lays-tightened-completion-deadline/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

around \$60 billion dollars in investments and donations from the Gulf countries, primarily Saudi Arabia. Also, announcing a new administrative capital of Cairo that would cost around \$45 billion dollars and take seven years to complete.<sup>30</sup>

Economically speaking, currently the dollars to Egyptian pound is 7.8<sup>31</sup> and it was 5.8 during Mubarak time. The prices of natural gas and petrol have increased with at least 10% and the discrepancies between the rich and the poor has increased. While these investments from the big companies are much needed, it will only help the big companies, while the small and medium business see no effect from the Economic Conference.

There was also referendum on the amendments of the suspended Constitution of 2012, in 2014. It basically enforces the provisions of the 1971 Constitution with the power resting in the executive while making the legislative branch weak. It was drafted by a panel which included representatives from civil society, political parties, institutions such as the army and police, and the Coptic Church. It included just two Islamists, neither of whom were from Morsi's Muslim Brotherhood which won a series of polls after Mubarak's ouster, unlike the previous constitution where the majority was from the Muslim Brotherhood. The revised charter preserves the military's wide-ranging powers, including the ability to try civilians in certain cases. This has angered secular groups that backed the military in ousting Morsi. Other articles include one stipulating that Islamic Sharia law will be the main source of legislation, as was also the case during the regime of toppled ruler Hosni Mubarak. The other main article approved was one forbidding the formation of religious parties or parties based on religious grounds. Articles 204 and 234 are set to be the focus. These concern the Egyptian military, which led the ouster of Islamist President Mohammad Morsi in July after millions of people called for his resignation after just one year in office. Article 204 says that "no civilian can be tried by military judges, except for crimes of direct attacks on armed forces, military installations and military personnel".

---

<sup>30</sup> Aman, A. (2015). *Egypt hopes economic conference will yield results - Al-Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East*. [online] Al-Monitor. Available at: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/egypt-economic-conference-results-projects-investors.html#> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>31</sup> Themoneyconverter.com, (2016). *Convert United States Dollar to Egyptian Pound | USD to EGP Currency Converter*. [online] Available at: <http://themoneyconverter.com/USD/EGP.aspx> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Secular artists have demonstrated against the provision, saying it could be applied to protesters, journalists and dissidents. Activists and rights groups say that the draft charter also fails to curb the powers and privileges of the military. Article 234 stipulates that the defense minister be appointed in agreement with the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces, although the panel spokesman said this clause will apply only for the first two presidential terms. “The impediments to a strong parliament are not only found in the constitution, but lie also in the 2014 parliamentary election law. This law proposes a mixed electoral system that has both a candidate list and single member district representation. The system allows 420 parliamentary seats for single member candidates and 120 seats for closed list candidates. The remaining 27 seats of the 567-seat legislature shall be appointed by the president. Both the candidate list and the individual candidates are elected through a winner-takes-all system. In addition, the 2014 electoral district law divides the country into 232 districts, for individual candidacies, and 4 districts with electoral lists, where the winning list takes all allocated seats.”<sup>32</sup> But there are positive sides to the Constitution of 2014. “The law has some features that which have a positive discrimination and was introduced for a number of groups. For the first time, women will have at least 56 seats (9.9%), Christians will have at least 24 seats (4.2%), young people(aged between 25 and 35) will have 16 seats (2.8%), those with disabilities and those living abroad will each have 7 seats (1.3%)”<sup>33</sup>

The major results of the 2015 parliamentary elections are as follows: **Free Egyptians Party has 41 seats, Nation’s Future Party 26 seats, New Wafd Party 16 seats, Republican’s People Party 11 seats and Al Nour Party with 8 seats. Free Egyptians Party** as mentioned before is formed by ex NDP members after the party dissolved after the fall of Mubarak. **Nation’s Future Party** a Socialist/NDP party which is relatively new but with old members. **New Wafd Party** is a liberal party with some members of the NDP. **Republican’s People Party** nationalist party,

---

<sup>32</sup> Sika, N. (2015). Egypt’s Upcoming Parliamentary Elections. *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, p.2.

<sup>33</sup> Abd Rabou, A. (2014). *W hat future awaits Egypt’s political parties ? Analyzing new l egislation for the House of Representatives*. [online] Arab Reform Initiative. Available at: [http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/20140710\\_ABD-RABOU\\_Elections-law-Egypt\\_Formatted%20EN\\_0.pdf](http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/20140710_ABD-RABOU_Elections-law-Egypt_Formatted%20EN_0.pdf) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

while **Al Nour Party** is the only pro-Islamic party which was spared any charges because they sided with SCAF during the military coup. Even with the announcement of that there were no major protests, no people standing in Tahrir square, it was as if they lost interest in the democratic notion they have been fighting for years. All things became undone.

Media again is controlled by the government just like Mubarak and recently there has been a crackdown on pro-democracy and anti-government groups. Like the arrest of the leaders of the April 6 movement, and were accused of inciting violence.<sup>34</sup> Or like the crackdown of two liberal art galleries in downtown Cairo since those were famous places where liberals and activists would gather.<sup>35</sup> And let us not forget about the highly publicized trial of the three Al-Jazeera journalists who were eventually pardoned by the President himself, El-Sisi.

The Sinai Peninsula is also a troubling spot for El-Sisi. Egypt is currently one of the most important countries in Middle East. On one side it has to play the Peace Maker in the Palestinian/Israeli conflict on the other side it has joined the coalition to fight ISIS (Islamic State of Iraq and Syria). The main cities in Egypt like Alexandria, Cairo and Luxor are relatively safe from any terrorist aggression (Muslim Brotherhood) but that aggression still prevail in Upper Egypt and in the Sinai Peninsula. The sea resorts which are located there (Hurghada, Dahab and Sharm El Sheik) are guarded by police and are safe, more and more tourists every year are visiting them but in the South and central part there are still unrests. Terrorist section of the Muslim Brotherhood is still operational and is still fighting against the Egyptian police as well as the army. Not only is that but there many Palestinian fighters crossing over the border with Israel to Sinai. That creates two points of conflict, on one side the Muslim brotherhood in Sinai, the other side the Palestinian radicals entering through the boarder to Sinai. The problem with Sinai

---

<sup>34</sup> Yahoo News, (2015). *Egypt arrests 4 leaders of anti-Mubarak movement*. [online] Available at: <http://news.yahoo.com/egypt-arrests-4-leaders-anti-mubarak-movement-194400927.html> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>35</sup> FAHIM, K. (2015). *Egypt Shuts Arts Venues Amid Signs of Clampdown*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/30/world/middleeast/egypt-shuts-arts-venues-amid-signs-of-clampdown.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/30/world/middleeast/egypt-shuts-arts-venues-amid-signs-of-clampdown.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&_r=1) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

is that it is very mountainous area and it is very hard to track down wanted people, this is why radicals choose to hide there and the Egyptian government has problems controlling that region.

Insurgency in Sinai intensified during the few years and especially after the 30 June revolution that brought an end to Muslim Brotherhood rule of Egypt. Tracing the roots of the Islamic rebellion of Sinai must inspect the situation after the completion of Israeli withdrawal from Sinai in 1982. Since that time, the government omitted the peninsula which was left underdeveloped. Sinai is greatly under populated compared to the Nile valley. While Sinai represents 6% of the whole size, it is only inhabited by no more than 1 million 300 thousand. Not until late 1990s, that south Sinai witnessed great changes thanks to tourism industry that employed largest portion of population there. In North Sinai there was no significant developmental change and the population remained mostly impoverished compared to South Sinai.

During the wave of Islamic violence in 1980s, 1990s, Sinai stayed apart from the cycle of violence, but some of the peninsula residents who studied in Nile valley absorbed the extremist ideas and returned back to Sinai. By the end of 1990s, social changes took place in Sinai, the role of tribal leaders have declined thanks to urbanization and increased number of educated youth and government continuous efforts to apply [Divide and rule] to control the tribes. Also the old generation of tribal leaders and/or elders who fought with the army from 1948-1973 and locally known as [Mujahedeen] passed away, they were considered natural elite of Sinai and had strong relations and loyalty with the army. Parallel to that the old generation of army officers who fought in Sinai and cooperated with the Bedouins either retired or died and new generations from both sides came to existence. On the other hand, Sinai witnessed continuous influx of Salfists and Islamists scholars who were either from Sinai or outside it and reside in after the liberation to work, especially in Arish city. Although this influx was peaceful and posed no threat to state's security, but they changed the face of the peninsula and paved the way for new generation who are more conservative and more prone to Islamists ideas.

By Late 1990s and beginning of the new millennium, State's security apparatus began to arrest conservative youth and send them to prisons, where they build network with other extremists and even got more radicalized. By 2004, the first wave of attacks occurred in Sinai and then were followed by wave of attacks in 2005 and 2005. The extremists rallied under the banner of so-

called [Tawheed & Jihad] until police killed its leader "Khaled Mossad" in 2006 and the group disbanded under heavy security crackdown. Security crackdown created rift with the state, due to was widely seen as violation of local traditions, such as arresting woman to force their men to surrender and storm suspect's homes at night and large number of arrested persons. In one state like [Shiek Zoiad] form 50 thousand inhabitants, in 2005 security arrested 5000, which counts for 5% of the whole population.

The extremist's remnants escaped either underground or to Gaza, where they found safe haven there and developed their skills. In 2009, Hamas in Gaza destroyed small Salafist group that declared Gaza Islamic Emirate and thus opposite immigration took place from to Sinai from Gaza. By 2008, tunnels witnessed boom after Hamas defeated Fatah and was then put under siege from both Egypt and Israel. The tunnels began under the supervision of intelligence and security services, but then expanded far beyond and turned Sinai to land of smuggling and ideal ground for regional/international intelligence services. The most devastating effect was the exchange of fighters and ideas across the borders and the distortion of social balance, economic system and political order due to the emergence of shadow market and emergence of new social class of smugglers and infiltration by foreign intelligence.

By 2011 the situation exploded and the revolution in Northern Sinai turned violent by 28 January, where police camps and stations destroyed by RBG and stormed by many. The group [Ansar Bait Elmaqdas] began its operations in February 2011 and then grown by time to launch several complicated operations against Israel in 2011, 2012, 2013. The group exploited the opportunity and entrench itself in local community along with recruiting several personal from Nile valley. Noteworthy, several groups worked in Sinai and then either merged with Bait Elmaqdas or returned to Gaza like the group of [Majles Shura Mujahedeen fei Aknaf Bait Elmaqdas]. Several attacks targeted security and army personal like August 2012 attack and kidnapping of 8 soldiers in mid-2013.

The group which give its allegiance to ISIL in Iraq in late 2014 witnessed several important changes. First of all the group membership expanded to include many members from across Egypt, so that we can call it now "national group" that is based on Sinai. Second, its goal is not only to respond to government's violations, but to topple the whole system in the context of

regional chaos and extremist ideology extending from Iraq to Libya. Third, it is the first important challenge the army faces since the end of 1973 and is questioning heavily the army's leadership, capabilities and tactics to fight the new form of wars -Known as "Hybrid Wars"- and thus decide its role and importance in the new Middle East and its position in Egypt and toward Egypt. Fourth, until now it seems that government's strategy to deal with this problem is not efficient and the results are not satisfactory yet, fifth and last government concentration is mainly security, but it ignores the developmental and social sides of the problems.

Another challenge for El-sis will be the tourist industry. Before the 2010 revolution, tourism accounted for 13% of the GDP and employed one out of seven people in the labour force<sup>36</sup> but with two revolutions and with the current downing of a Russian charter plane full with tourists the economic looks very grim. Unless El-Sisi does something the Gulf States will stop supporting Egypt. The reason for this is that they want to see results that Egypt is getting back on its feet and is fighting the Islamists. It has been a very bad year for gas prices which are a high time low and the Gulf countries have started to feel it.

## **2.4 CHANGE OF PERCEPTION OF DIFFERENT COUNTRIES TOWARDS EGYPT**

The perception of the people through the help of the media outlets showed the people who were not in Egypt, that the Egyptian people were fighting for democracy and freedom. But under that noble cause there were other agendas with regards to US. Even though US government had very close relations with the Egyptian government, it still was officially supporting the Egyptian people on the street while still giving Egypt \$2 billion dollars annually to the Egyptian military for their services. While the foreign media was focusing on sensationalism and the local media were silenced either by Mubarak government, Morsi or El-Sisi, US bet on both horses. On one hand they were in contact with Muslim Brotherhood, after all Morsi is American educated and his son has an American passport. Even to this day American government still is saying that

---

<sup>36</sup> The Economist, (2013). *Arab spring break*. [online] Available at: <http://www.economist.com/news/business/21577089-turmoil-has-scared-all-rugged-and-russians-arab-spring-break> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Muslim Brotherhood are a none violent group<sup>37</sup> while even UK recently labelled them as a terrorist group, and they are the closest partner of US.<sup>38</sup>

Even though the \$2 billion dollars for the Egyptian military is currently unsuspended we see that they are still keeping relations with the Muslim Brotherhood. There is no doubt that they were involved to some degree in the negotiation of power after the fall of Mubarak. On the other side, when Morsi came into power Qatar was also a foreign benefactor, buying up \$3billion dollars<sup>39</sup> of government bonds and promising more over the course of time. But of course that did not last. Qatar has been known to sponsor terrorist groups around the world and it is considered the richest country in the world per capita. US also pledged \$1 billion dollars for Egypt and when State Secretary John Kerry visited Morsi he pledged another \$250 million dollars immediate assistance as well as \$60 million dollars US-Egyptian fund.<sup>40</sup>

While other countries condemned Mubarak's regime, and thought he was a totalitarian leader, which he was, they naively thought that Morsi's regime was freely and fairly elected. That of course what all the outside media were reporting but it was not the truth. While there were elections, those elections were widely corruption. One, by exploitation of poor people, prior to the elections they would get free medical check-ups as well as medications if necessary. Food bags were also common to be given away before the elections to the poor. Illiterate people are easy to manipulate, and in Egypt there are a lot of people who cannot read or write and the

---

<sup>37</sup> Gertz, B. (2015). *Inside the Ring: Muslim Brotherhood has Obama's secret support*. [online] The Washington Times. Available at: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jun/3/inside-the-ring-muslim-brotherhood-has-obamas-secr/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>38</sup> Beamon, T. (2015). *UK Declares Muslim Brotherhood Terrorist Group, Breaks With Obama*. [online] Newsmax. Available at: <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsfront/uk-declare-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist/2015/12/22/id/706848/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>39</sup> The Daily Beast, (2013). *Qatar Sends Aid Money to Help Egypt*. [online] Available at: <http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/04/11/qatar-sends-aid-money-to-help-egypt.html> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>40</sup> U.S. Department of State, (2013). *U.S. Support for the Egyptian People*. [online] Available at: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/03/205579.htm> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

voting had to be done by pictures of who you would want to vote for. Of course the average person would not know who to vote for so he can be easily manipulated. The international media did not report on that but instead decided to focus on the sensationalism.

When El-Sisi came to power, he was immediately praised by the other gulf countries and on the economic forum Saudi Arabia and Emirates donated to him \$20 billion dollars and promised more for infrastructure projects. “Egypt received \$12.5 billion in support from the Gulf states, which will be directed at projects carried out within a year or two; this is in addition to \$5.2 billion in loans and funds with the Ministry of International Cooperation.”<sup>41</sup>

El-Sisi also received a lot of investments from western companies who were all too eager to invest in Egypt and recently World Bank approved a loan of \$1 billion dollars which is the first instalment of the \$8 billion dollars from the financial plan to help with the economic reforms.<sup>42</sup> Even though clearly El-Sisi is cracking down on journalists and pro-democratic movements and trying them in military courts the people from outside still see and hope for a democratic transition.

We saw Mubarak raise to power before the revolution because he was a charismatic leader and was from a military background as were the presidents before him. If we take into account the cultural and historical background of Egypt, would could have predicted that the so called “free and fair” election of Morsi and Muslin Brotherhood would have failed and it did. For one, Morsi was not a charismatic leader, two, he did not have the military background and three he tried to change the cultural and historical mind set of the majority of the Egyptian people who are uneducated, too fast. This process of change happens slowly and people who toppled Mubarak thought that overnight they would have democracy as the western world has it. But they

---

<sup>41</sup> Aman, A. (2015). *Egypt hopes economic conference will yield results - Al-Monitor: the Pulse of the Middle East*. [online] Al-Monitor. Available at: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/egypt-economic-conference-results-projects-investors.html#> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

<sup>42</sup> CNS News, (2015). *World Bank approves \$1 billion loan to Egypt*. [online] Available at: <http://cnsnews.com/news/article/world-bank-approves-1-billion-loan-egypt> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

should have known that there is a transition period and that transition period takes around 10 years. If we see Eastern Europe after the collapse of the socialist regimes in 1991, it took most of them 10 years to become fully democratic and some of them are still in that transition period. Another problem is that democracy cannot be bought as a whole sale project, each democratic system is tailored for the specific country and it cannot be changed for other countries democratic system, unless, the political culture of the people changes slowly.

Another critical mistake with the impulsive toppling of Mubarak was that people focused so much on bringing him down after 30 years in power that they did not plan what would happen after that and none of the political elite were planning any policies or steps except for the Muslim Brotherhood who were waiting for that moment, it is perhaps why they came briefly into power, because the rest of the people focused all their energy in bringing down Mubarak.

The definition of mass media is a tool to share, transfer and share information with large group of people, to say in simplest words. In Egypt the media is a very effective tool of information, propaganda as well as entertainment which either affects the Egyptian people in a positive, negative, or neutral way.

To start with the simplest and oldest media, which are the newspapers, the paper has been around for thousands of years and the Egyptians have invented paper, so naturally they will have the newspaper as the oldest means of communication/media. People who read the newspaper are somewhat more trustworthy towards it because of its history and with the credibility it brings with it. Nowadays the newspapers not only have important information about the daily events, local or global, as well as sports section, and puzzles which stimulate the brain. This was not available back in the days but due to the business nature of the worlds the newspapers were forced to put them in order to attract more people, meaning more money.

Another means of mass media is through the TV, the private or public channels, which is more of a Western method of information sharing and spreading. But in the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the information wave in its peak, it has because phenomena in Egypt. More and more people are beginning to change from the newspaper to televised programs for information, due to the wide

spread of TV's and channels which even a ,poor family who has no money to eat, has. It is like the people demand information and entertainment more than food. Also because the TV has video recording which show what is happening unlike the newspapers which might only have one picture of the event. This adds a lot of credibility to the TV surpassing the desire for the newspaper to certain extend.

We see now how effective is the mass media in changing our perception of certain events depending on how the news is presented. But there is a new phenomenon and that is the emergence of cyber activism and social networks as a means of transferring information much faster than a newspaper or a TV. That is one of the reasons why the revolution of 2011 succeeded.

### **3 COMPERATIVE ANALYSIS**

The arab spring, as mentioned above, started in Tunisia and after that spread among the other countries. Egypt has a lot of similarities with Tunisia, Lybia and Syria. All these countries have in common is a dictator who is incumbent, for Tunisia it was Zine Ben Ali, for Lybia it was Muammar Ghaddafi, for Syria it is Bashar El-Assad and of course for Egypt in was Mubarak. All these dictarors countrolled all aspects of the political life as well as the economic life, theyr militaries and secret police were feared in their countries because any person who would speak against the state is the enemy of the state.

If we examine closely we will see that each country failed or succeeded in toppling their dictators for different reasons. In Tunisia the toppling became very fast and also relatively peaceful just like in Egypt, but also just like in Egypt there was a strong leader who just like Mubarak had a millitary background. In fact all the leaders of those country had military backgrounds, all of them were cahristmatic and all of them were strong leaders. But unlike Egypt, Tunisia had more educated people and when there was a Constitutional Assembly formed for the new Constitution, the supervisory board was not SCAF but they were of civilian origins. While in Lybia and Syria it turned into a civil war the reason why this did not happen in Egypt and

Tunisia was because the Muslim brotherhood took over in both countries, in one through Freedom and Justice party and in the other through Islamist Ennahda Party. This in my opinion united the people even further more to stand against one enemy rather than divide themselves like Lybia and Syria.

Another reason why in Lybia and Syria was and still is civil wars is because of the international interests in those countries. In Lybia we have France, Italy and UK with the support of UN helping the rebel side against the Ghaddafi government, and that is due to strategic position and natural resources of Lybia. Since the petrol companies there are Italian, British and French, those countries have interests to protect.

While for Syria, Russia came to help the Bashar government against the rebels who were supported by the US. Russia had long lasting relations with Bashar senior and Bashar junior, they also have a military base which gives them geopolitical advantage. The US supported the rebels also in order to gain geopolitical advantage in that region, which it has been trying to get for a long time, if we take into account Afghanistan and Iraq.

Population is also a factor for the international actors since Egypt is 85 to 90 million people, depending on which consensus we take, Lybia and Syria seem to be a lot smaller and theoretically easy to handle.

Another reason why US did not involer itself militarily with Egypt is because historically speaking US has had good relations with the Egyptian military but the same cannot be said for Syria and Lybia.

Tunisia on the other hand has learned faster than Egypt and is more advanced with its political culture by not having another charismatic dictator with military background come into power and that falls on general education and political education.

But it seems that these dictatorships present in Egypt, Syria and Lybia have created extreme thinkers, in other words, terrorists or terrorist organizations, especially the current one, called ISIS. For Egypt, Sinai area has been the breeding ground for such people, the reason is the area is inhabited by many beduins who are very conservative and are strongly against the Egyptian government, making it a fertile ground for extremism. Also, the hidden tunnels between Egypt and Israel where the extremists can pass without being detected is helping that region become more unstable. While in Lybia, these extreme groups were armed by the US to fight against Ghaddafi forces and once the forces were wiped out the remaining old guard turned to radicalism to fight the foreign invaders, as they saw them but originally those rebel groups which US armed were from specific tribes which hated the Ghaddafi tribe, since he was the first to unite the tribes under one government actually making the country prosperous for a certain time. Syria's radicals were also armed by US to fight Bashar but they won't be satisfied after they win, they would continue to kill and pillage.

The comperative argument I am trying to make is that those countries who have had a long history of charismatic, military leaders as presidents should be allowed by themselves to politically and culturally evolve at their own pace and not be pushed by international powers. The reason for this is that whatever models are implemented later, they will fail. This is the case with Lybia and Syria. This is the case with Lybia, the president was toppled and now Lybia is in complete chaos. If president Bashar was to be allowed to fall, I believe that the same will happen with Syria. Egypt is still not ready for democracy since it is still enticed by the charismatic military leader. Tunisia is the most politically educated from all the countries in the region and that is why civilian government is so far functioning as it should be.

As far as the comparsion goes, Tunisia based on democratic evolution is one the first spot, followed by Egypt, then Syria and last place Lybia. Even though Lybia did make some sort of a government, it quickly dispersed and it becaome again tribes fighting tribes in order to gain the upperhand while the international countries tried to gain more interest be supporting both sides. Tunisia does not have that and we can see it, since it is the most stable from the group and the most politically evolved.

Egypt has something which all the other countries do not have, and that is the Nile river, it is the longest river that the main supplier of water to Egypt. But recently Egypt has been having trouble with Ethiopia and Sudan on how to share the Nile water. Since Ethiopia was planning to build a dam, Egypt was worried that there would not be enough of water for the Egyptian people. Nile river is a source of geopolitical advantage over the other countries as well as economic opportunity. Aswan Dam generates a lot of the electricity for Egypt, it is in the national interest to keep the water flowing to Egypt. This is why a deal was struck between, Sudanese, Egyptian and Ethiopian government for the construction of the Grand Renaissance Dam, while Ethiopia promises it will not diminish the water flow for Egypt.<sup>43</sup>

Another discrepancy we can talk about is the economic gap existing in Egypt between the poor and the rich, which is also available in Egypt and Syria. We can see that in Syria very vividly by the recent migration of Syrian refugees to Western Europe, looking for better financial and peaceful life. While in Tunisia this is not the case and there is a middle class there, it seems that it not only is politically charging ahead but also economically more stable than any of its peers in the same category.

#### **4 CONCLUSION**

According to my analysis throughout this research paper, I have deduced that In Egypt the Arab Spring did not in fact bring any democratic notions. Politically speaking even though the constitution was changed several times, the 2014 version only enforces the executive branch from the version in 1971 Constitution. It also dilutes the legislative branch and while people fought for a change, in the latest parliamentary elections the party who won the most votes the Free Egyptian Party is made up of ex members in the NDP, which ruled the legislative branch when Mubarak was in power. The current president is a military man from SCAF, just like

---

<sup>43</sup> Abdelaziz, K. (2015). *Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan sign new Grand Renaissance Dam agreement*. [online] Yahoo News. Available at: <http://news.yahoo.com/egypt-ethiopia-sudan-sign-grand-renaissance-dam-agreement-153735363--sector.html> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Mubarak was. He is charismatic, just like Mubarak was.

Economically speaking, the only reason why Egypt is not having a second revolution is because of the “grand” projects being announced most of the time by El-Sisi, to distract the public from the economic trouble Egypt is in. The disparity between the poor and the rich is growing and the virtual middle class in Egypt which existed in Mubarak era, does not exist anymore.

Freedom of speech during El-Sisi seems to be getting tighter with all the current arrests of movement leaders, cultural centers being shut down, military courts being fuller than Mubarak era. I would go so far as to say that during Mubarak era it was more democratic and more economically stable than now.

It seems that the Egyptian people have forgotten why they rose against Mubarak not many years ago, it seems now they worship El-Sisi as they worshipped Mubarak when he came to power and as they worshipped his predecessors. This is why I think democracy in Egypt has failed and cannot be pushed by any kind of new forms of socialization or international pressure. If people want true democracy, they must first historically and culturally evolve. Democracy is a long process which has a transition phase and requires time.

As for democratic notions in Middle East I think Tunisia is a prime example of democracy coming into fruition. After all it began with them and it is only logical to end with them as the most successful country to adopt democratic notions. The transition is far from over but it seems they are on the right track and have not forgotten their fight against totalitarian regime. That means that they have evolved politically and will continue to do so. In all four countries which I compared and contrasted Tunisia is the most successful one, firstly because it got rid of the old regime thinking by completely dissolving the party, also by electing a civilian body to supervise the new Constitution.

It is also true that the different countries I compared to the different interests from the international countries have yielded different results. For example, in Libya the international

interest was great and the country is currently a combat zone and will be for many years to come. In Syria the international interest was less than Lybia but we see a tug of war or a proxy war between Russia and US. While in Egypt the international interest was only limited to political influence, the country come under rule of the same person people in the first place were trying to get rid of. Tunisia on the other hand did not receive a large amount of international interest and faired very well. It makes sense since democracy is tailor made for each country, without international pressure to change, the specified country has time to develop on its own pace without greater risk of instability.

Media institutions on the other hand have great power to tilt certain events in either direction, which makes them very dangerous and sometimes it would be better if those media instituions do not have bias even though they state clearly that they do not. It is a very scary thing to see something shown on TV saying one thing and to see it with your own eyes as completely another thing. Here we can talk about Cyberactivism which actually paved the way to the uprising of the Egyptian people against Mubarak, was planned and coordinated. That triggered by years of corruption, inequality and econimic distress a new kind of activism, using internet power to mobilize mass protests. It is a fenomenan of how this happened and how in the future people will use this cyberactivism for more protests.

I believe that each of those countries would have achieved democracy if they were to have more time to naturally evolve and not feel pressured to change. Unfortunately, Egypt still has a long way to go before it becomes more democratic and I think history will only repeat itself until the culture of the people changes and their political awareness through education and time.

We also see that the constituion is kept the same throughout the post revolution, and after the military coup. Even though attempts were made to amend it, at the end it besicallly became more closed rather than liberal. After if the contitution is not liberal then any other action will be converned by the given constituion so inherently it will not be a democratic system. Since the Constitutian is the basic form of a social contract, in its inception it must involve all the population. But there are different social contracts and it depends on what kind of government

people want to have. According to Thomas Hobbes who says that people must give up some freedom to the totalitarian leader in order to be protected. So to me, the Egyptian people have made that social contract with the ruling government/ president El-Sisi. Majority of them are still unaware of the other forms of social contracts so they take what they are used to and what they know. For me Mubarak era was more democratic, economically and politically than the El-Sisi era. While the Morsi era was an experiment which failed. Because to me people do not know what they want but do know what they don't want.

In Egypt the public opinion is exceptionally important for many reasons. Since the economy is not going very well, there is a wide gap between the rich and the poor the only thing left untouched is a person's voice. This voice can combine with other people in order to get stronger and more powerful. Egypt lacks this active participation which is needed for an effective public opinion because people feel they are against oppressions from the government, as well as the intellectual few are relatively little in numbers who are aware of the strong consequences an organized opinion can have on the political life in Egypt. But if those revolutions have thought the people something, that is to express their opinion and not to be scared for the government. Public opinion is good for the government officials who formulate policies, theoretically speaking, if the active majority expresses its views the policies can be changed and the officials can calculate more or less the right policy to take. It provides information to the officials how many are actively participating and if the previous policy or decision was good or bad. The public opinion can also be exploited for the benefit of certain individuals. Unfortunately, the theory here in practice is very vague due to so many elements and the perception of the people that their socio-economic status is fixed and that active participation is useless but in fact it is very important because it bridges the gap between the society and the government.

My policy recommendations would be to gradually liberate the socio-economic mobility by more education, including females because they are direct contributors to the whole economy. Another policy would be to facilitate a platform which would support small to middle size businesses in order to boost innovation and creativity among business. Give again political participation to the muslim brotherhood party gradually and try to have a political dialogue not only with them but

also with the youth of the Egyptian society, instead of imprisoning them. To conclude Egypt is not ready for democracy but in the next 10 years it will be ready and there will be some sort of soft revolution or gradual transition to more democratic society.

## References

### Books

- Aristotle., and Jowett, B. (1943). *Aristotle's Politics*. New York: Modern library.
- Berlin, I., Hardy, H. and Harris, I. (2002). *Liberty*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Goodin, R. and Klingemann, H. (1996). *A new handbook of political science*. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Habermas, J. (1992). *Legitimation crisis*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Horkheimer, M. (1982). *Critical theory*. New York: Continuum Pub. Corp.
- Huntington, S. (1991). *The third wave*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press.
- Kant, I., Guyer, P. and Wood, A. (1998). *Critique of pure reason*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lijphart, A. (1977). *Democracy in plural societies*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Moore, B. (1966). *Social origins of dictatorship and democracy*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Plato., Ferrari, G. and Griffith, T. (2000). *The republic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schumpeter, J. and Swedberg, R. (1992). *Capitalism, socialism and democracy*. London: Routledge.
- Wayne, M. and Choi, S. (2012). *Marx's "Das Kapital" For Beginners*. Newburyport: For Beginners.

### Online sources

- Abd Rabou, A. (2014). *What future awaits Egypt's political parties ? Analyzing new legislation for the House of Representatives*. [online] Arab Reform Initiative. Available at: [http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/20140710\\_ABD-RABOU\\_Elections-law-](http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/20140710_ABD-RABOU_Elections-law-)

Egypt\_Formatted%20EN\_0.pdf [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Abdelaziz, K. (2015). *Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan sign new Grand Renaissance Dam agreement.*

[online] Yahoo News. Available at: <http://news.yahoo.com/egypt-ethiopia-sudan-sign-grand-renaissance-dam-agreement-153735363--sector.html> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Almasryalyoum.com, (2015). *Ù, Ø±Ø§Ø; Ø© Ù • ÙŠ Ù†ØªØ§Ø|Ø¬ Ø§Ù,, Ù...Ø±Ø-Ù,, Ø© Ø§Ù,, Ø£ÙÙ,, Ù%Ù,, Ù,, Ø§Ù†ØªØ®Ø§Ø·Ø§Øª (2) | Ø§Ù,, Ù...ØµØ±ÙŠ Ø§Ù,, ÙŠÙÙ....* [online] Available at:

<http://www.almasryalyoum.com/news/details/833486> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Al-Shoubaki, A. (2005). *The Egyptian Presidential Elections: The Limits of Reform.* [online]

Arab Reform. Available at: [http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/En\\_shoubaki\\_final.pdf](http://www.arab-reform.net/sites/default/files/En_shoubaki_final.pdf) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Aman, A. (2015). *Egypt hopes economic conference will yield results - Al-Monitor: the Pulse of*

*the Middle East.* [online] Al-Monitor. Available at: <http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2015/03/egypt-economic-conference-results-projects-investors.html#> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

BBC News, (2014). *Egypt election: Sisi secures landslide win - BBC News.* [online] Available

at: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-middle-east-27614776> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Beamon, T. (2015). *UK Declares Muslim Brotherhood Terrorist Group, Breaks With Obama.*

[online] Newsmax. Available at: <http://www.newsmax.com/Newsfront/uk-declare-muslim-brotherhood-terrorist/2015/12/22/id/706848/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

CIA, (2015). *The World Factbook.* [online] Available at:

<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/resources/the-world-factbook/geos/eg.html>  
[Accessed 7 Aug. 2015].

CNS News, (2015). *World Bank approves \$1 billion loan to Egypt.* [online] Available at:

<http://cnsnews.com/news/article/world-bank-approves-1-billion-loan-egypt> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

- DemocracyRanking, (2015). *Global Democracy Ranking – Theoretical Basis*. [online] Available at: [http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/?page\\_id=590](http://democracyranking.org/wordpress/?page_id=590) [Accessed 7 Aug. 2015].
- El-Issawi, F. (2014). *Egyptian media under transition: in the name of the regime... in the name of the people?*. [online] London School of Economics Research Online. Available at: [http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59868/1/El-Issawi\\_Egyptian-Media-Under-Transition\\_2014\\_pub.pdf](http://eprints.lse.ac.uk/59868/1/El-Issawi_Egyptian-Media-Under-Transition_2014_pub.pdf) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- FAHIM, K. (2015). *Egypt Shuts Arts Venues Amid Signs of Clampdown*. [online] Nytimes.com. Available at: [http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/30/world/middleeast/egypt-shuts-arts-venues-amid-signs-of-clampdown.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&\\_r=1](http://www.nytimes.com/2015/12/30/world/middleeast/egypt-shuts-arts-venues-amid-signs-of-clampdown.html?partner=rss&emc=rss&_r=1) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- Farid, D. (2014). *Al-Sisi kicks off new Suez Canal project, lays down tightened completion deadline*. [online] Daily News Egypt. Available at: <http://www.dailynewsegypt.com/2014/08/05/al-sisi-kicks-new-suez-canal-project-lays-tightened-completion-deadline/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- FreedomHouse, (2015). *About us / Freedom House*. [online] Available at: <https://freedomhouse.org/about-us#.VcDOLfkvTQ8> [Accessed 7 Aug. 2015].
- Gertz, B. (2015). *Inside the Ring: Muslim Brotherhood has Obama's secret support*. [online] The Washington Times. Available at: <http://www.washingtontimes.com/news/2015/jun/3/inside-the-ring-muslim-brotherhood-has-obamas-secr/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- Nassef, A. (2012). *Shifting Sands: Political Liberalization of Egypt Since 1952 - Fair Observer*. [online] Fair Observer. Available at: [http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle\\_east\\_north\\_africa/shifting-sands-political-liberalization-egypt-1952/](http://www.fairobserver.com/region/middle_east_north_africa/shifting-sands-political-liberalization-egypt-1952/) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- Roll, S. (2013). *Egypt's Business Elite after Mubarak A Powerful Player between Generals and Brotherhood*. *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, p.9.

- Roudi-Fahimi, F., El Feki, S. and Tsai, T. (2011). *Youth Revolt in Egypt, a Country at the Turning Point*. [online] Prb.org. Available at:  
<http://www.prb.org/Publications/Articles/2011/youth-egypt-revolt.aspx> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- Standford University, (2015). *What is Democracy?*. [online] Available at:  
<http://web.stanford.edu/~ldiamond/iraq/WhaIsDemocracy012004.htm> [Accessed 7 Aug. 2015].
- State Information Service of Egypt, (2015). *State Information Services Constitution overview*. [online] Available at:  
<http://www.sis.gov.eg/En/Templates/Articles/tmpArticles.aspx?CatID=206#.VcSZ6fkvTQ8> [Accessed 7 Aug. 2015].
- Shehata, S. (2004). *Egypt After 9/11: Perceptions of the United States*. [online] Conconflicts.ssrc.org. Available at: <http://conconflicts.ssrc.org/archives/mideast/shehata/> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- Sika, N. (2015). Egypt's Upcoming Parliamentary Elections. *German Institute for International and Security Affairs*, p.2.
- The Daily Beast, (2013). *Qatar Sends Aid Money to Help Egypt*. [online] Available at:  
<http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2013/04/11/qatar-sends-aid-money-to-help-egypt.html> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- The Economist, (2013). *Arab spring break*. [online] Available at:  
<http://www.economist.com/news/business/21577089-turmoil-has-scared-all-rugged-and-russians-arab-spring-break> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- Themoneyconverter.com, (2016). *Convert United States Dollar to Egyptian Pound | USD to EGP Currency Converter*. [online] Available at:  
<http://themoneyconverter.com/USD/EGP.aspx> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].
- U.S. Department of State, (2013). *U.S. Support for the Egyptian People*. [online] Available at:  
<http://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2013/03/205579.htm> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

White, R. (2015). *Inequality and the Egyptian Revolutions: The Political Economy of Pre-Revolution, Pre-Coup and Post-Coup*. [online] Insurgentsia. Available at: [https://insurgentsia.wordpress.com/2015/01/27/inequality-and-the-egyptian-revolutions-the-political-economy-of-pre-revolution-pre-coup-and-post-coup/#\\_ftn23](https://insurgentsia.wordpress.com/2015/01/27/inequality-and-the-egyptian-revolutions-the-political-economy-of-pre-revolution-pre-coup-and-post-coup/#_ftn23) [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].

Yahoo News, (2015). *Egypt arrests 4 leaders of anti-Mubarak movement*. [online] Available at: <http://news.yahoo.com/egypt-arrests-4-leaders-anti-mubarak-movement-194400927.html> [Accessed 1 Jan. 2016].